

PROTESTANT
EXILES FROM FRANCE

IN THE REIGN OF LOUIS XIV.;

OR,

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

BY THE

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PIERRE DE RUVIGNY, SIEUR DE LA CAILEMOTTE, MADAME LA MARQUISE DE RUVIGNY, AND COLONEL RUVIGNY DE COSNE.

I. LE SIEUR DE LA CAILLEMOTTE.

PIERRE DE MASSUE DE RUVIGNY, second son of the Marquis de Ruvigny, was born in Paris on the 4th of January 1653. As was usual among younger sons of the noblesse, he assumed one of the family titles, and was styled Sieur de la Caillemotte, or Monsieur Caillemotte (which the English transformed into Calimote.)

He entered the French army, and was a protégé of old Marshal Schomberg, under whom he served in Catalonia and Flanders. On the establishment of peace in 1679 he received a pension of 3,000 livres.

Of the date of his leaving France I can find no reliable information. In 1685, when his parents and his elder brother came to England, he did not accompany them. But in the Memoirs of Du Bosc he seems to have been known by name and by character to the refugees in Holland, and to have been loved and admired by them. He was an officer of infantry, and was in the year 1688 eligible for the rank of Colonel. He first appears in British annals as Colonel of one of the infantry regiments of French refugees. In that capacity he served under Schomberg in Ireland, and also under His Majesty. He did good service in 1689, and helped to soothe the weariness and impatience of the officers and troops by his cheerfulness and pleasantry.

We find him in the spring of 1690, engaged in the blockade of Charlemont. "On the 8th of March he possessed himself of a small village within less than two miles of the fort, from which the enemy attempted to dislodge him, but retired on the loss of three or four men. Four nights afterwards he marched out with twenty officers and eighty soldiers, to cut down the wooden bridge at Charlemont, and thus prevent the garrison from making nightly excursions. He landed his men from three boats within a mile of the place, and though he was discovered at a distance, he marched to the bridge and set fire to it, taking a redoubt at the end of it, and another near the gate leading to Armagh." This strong town surrendered to Schomberg on the 15th May.

La Caillemotte's memory is chiefly associated with the Battle of the Boyne. In the midst of the river, when he was at the head of his regiment, and in command of the Huguenot brigade of foot, resisting the Irish cavalry, he was shot through the thigh. As he was carried off by four soldiers, he encouraged his men to advance, by calling out cheerfully and undauntedly, "*A la gloire, mes enfans, à la gloire!*"

The first news that reached his friends in England was, "Monsieur Caillemotte is wounded, but (it is hoped) not mortally." (Letter from the Hon. Mrs Edward Russell.) On the morning after the Battle, Dumont de Bostaquet had an opportunity to enquire for him at his tent; he found that he had fallen into a pleasant slumber, and the surgeon spoke hopefully of his case. But too soon the wound proved to be mortal. At his own request he was removed to Dublin; and he died there, aged 37.

To his widowed mother the following letter of condolence, written in French, was addressed by Rachel, Lady Russell:—

"God hath smitten us, my dear madam, with a blow that to us appears harsh; but God's thoughts are not like man's, and we should believe that He takes no pleasure in torturing His poor creatures. And what! are we dreaming that God shall change His course in His Providence for our pleasure? No—assuredly! We must bear up as best we can under all kinds of events, living in hope that we shall one day see more clearly the reason of all his dark dispensations which encounter us and pierce us to the quick.

"Madam, I do not censure your lively grief. You owe it to a son, to a man so brave and so beloved, removed from this world.

"There is every possible variety of consolation in the manner of his death. In the retrospect of all his last occupations my soul realizes a strong hope that he was accepted, and that his spirit is now reposing in the arms of that Saviour on whom he did repose with so much faith. God grant, Madam, that you and I may so discharge our obligations, that the casualties which may happen to us may not turn us away from God's paths, but on the contrary may aid us to pass peacefully the few days that remain to us before our entrance into the eternal delights which he is preparing for us. Till that happy moment, I am, &c.

R. RUSSELL."

II. LA MARQUISE DE RUVIGNY.

MADAME LA MARQUISE DE RUVIGNY, in her widowhood, is separately memorialised, because (as the reader will perceive) historical inquirers have thus a vein opened up for further research. On the death of her aged husband in 1689, her younger son was with his regiment in Ireland. Her grief at his death, in the prime of life and at the height of promise, is alluded to in Lady Russell's letter. And Dumont de Bostaquet says, as to the royal gift of the colonelcy of *Schomberg's Horse* to her eldest son, that "she was little elated by the gift of such a magnificent regiment, seeing in it nothing but the exposure of her dear and only surviving son to the perils of that Irish war, which had deprived her of La Caillemotte."

Greenwich was her place of abode up to this date. Mr Baynes says, "The Dowager Marchioness De Ruvigny had a residence at Blackheath."

From the Earl of Galway's Will I extract the following:—

"My late dearly beloved mother, Marie Tallemant, widow and relict of my late honoured father, Henry de Massue Lord of Ruvigny deceased, did in her lifetime by her last Will and Testament in writing, bearing date on or about the Fourteenth day of May, 1698, 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 not get possession of the same, as by the said Will, relation being thereunto had, will more at large appear."

Where the venerable lady's Will is deposited I cannot ascertain. The date of her death

is not preserved, but it probably was May 1698, or soon after, as may be inferred from the following communication to our Ambassador at Paris, the Earl of Manchester :—

“Whitehall, July 17, 1699. . . .” “I am likewise to put into your lordship’s hands a petition of my Lady Russell concerning her pretensions to the estate of the late Marquis De Ruvigny, her uncle—the memorial of Sir William Douglas—the petition of Monsieur Le Bas, Mareshal of the Ceremonies, and the case of Mrs Mary Cardins, who all pray to be restored to their estates in France as is more fully contained in the papers herewith delivered to your lordship.”

(Signed) JERSEY.”

Louis XIV. met such petitions by alleging that to repossess the memorialists was to dispossess the present occupiers, thus disobliging as many persons as would be obliged. This apology did not in honesty apply to the Ruvigny estate, as it was not given away until 31st March 1711, at which date the king gave to Cardinal de Polignac “la confiscation des biens de Monsieur de Ruvigny, qui s’appelle en Angleterre Milord Galway.”

III. COLONEL RUVIGNY DE COSNE.

“WHO was Colonel RUVIGNY DE COSNE?” is a question which Messieurs Haag have put; and as a testimony of my gratitude for the assistance received from *La France Protestante*, I give the following details in reply.

Pierre Tallemant, banker in Paris, was by his second wife the father of the Marquise De Ruvigny. But he had a daughter by Elizabeth Bidault, his first wife, who was named Elizabeth, and was married to Francois Le Venier, Sieur de La Grossetière. In honour of this brother-in-law, the Marquis De Ruvigny named his third son Francois. This child (according to Haag) was presented for baptism by Francois Le Venier and Marie Tallemant, 6th Feb. 1656, and died before the Revocation. The Ruvigny and Le Venier families thus appear to have been intimate. Aimée Le Venier de la Grossetière, probably a niece of the Marchioness, was married to Pierre De Cosne, a refugee gentleman in Southampton, a native of La Beauce, Province of Orleans.

The family of Cosne, originally from Dauphiny, had been settled in La Beauce since the fifteenth century. The first on record is Pasquier de Cosne, Seigneur de Houssay et de Chavernay. He left two sons, of whom Charles (the younger) founded the branch of Cosne-Houssay. The elder son, Jean, was the head of the Cosne-Chavernay branch, and his great-grandson, Jacques, Sieur de Chavernay, was gentleman of the bedchamber to Henri IV. Jacques’ representative was his son Daniel de Cosne, Sieur de Chavernay, whose first marriage was solemnized in 1636, and whose second wife was Susanne Des Radretz; by the latter he had seventeen children.

The name of Pierre is found in both branches of the House of Cosne, but most frequently in the Chavernay branch. Captain De Cosne Chavernay came over with William of Orange, and commanded a company of gentlemen volunteers; he was Lieutenant-Colonel of Belcastel’s regiment at the taking of Athlone in 1691. I have no proof that Pierre De Cosne was a brother of that officer; but there is room for the two in the family of seventeen already mentioned. And if anything can be inferred from the probability of relations choosing the same town as a residence, it may be in point to note that Madame Lucrece Chavernay lived in Southampton (as appears from Lord Galway’s Will).

When Lord Galway settled in Hampshire, he renewed his intimacy with the Le Venier family, as represented by Madame De Cosne. He and Lady Russell were frequently sponsors to Monsieur De Cosne’s children, from 1708 to 1717, either personally or by proxy.

On the 8th September 1717, the infant Ruvigny De Cosne was registered, amidst evident enthusiasm, in the Register of Baptisms of Maison Dieu, Southampton, the parents being overjoyed at being permitted, or requested, by the veteran Earl to give their son the illustrious name of Ruvigny. In this entry “Monsieur Pierre De Cosne, gentilhomme de La Beauce” becomes “Messire Pierre De Cosne, Chevalier de la Province d’Orleans.”

The Earl of Galway, dying in September 1720, left "To Monsieur Peter De Cosne of Southampton, £500—to his eldest son, Charles, £1000—to his daughter, Henrietta, £1500—and to his youngest son, Ruvigny, £2000."

Ruvigny De Cosne being invested with £2000 at the age of three years, was enabled in due time to enter the army in advantageous circumstances. He was admitted into the Coldstream Guards as an Ensign, with the rank of Lieutenant in the army. In March 1749, his Colonel, William Anne, Earl of Albemarle, was appointed Ambassador to the Court of France, with Mr Joseph Yorke as Secretary to the Embassy. The latter appointment becoming vacant, the Ambassador remembered, as a officer of his regiment, his young friend, Captain de Cosne, who had by this time got a step in promotion. The sons of French refugee gentlemen were of remarkably polished manners, and also spoke the French language with ease. These circumstances led to their being frequently selected as attachés to foreign legations; and such considerations probably had their influence in the case before us. Accordingly, we find the following entry in the *Gazette*:—"1751, Sept. 17. The king was pleased to appoint Ruvigny De Cosne, Esq., to be Secretary to His Majesty's Extraordinary Embassy to the Most Christian King."

Lord Albemarle died suddenly in his carriage, when taking a drive in Paris, on the 22d December 1754. De Cosne had the honour of conveying the French king's present to the new Earl, namely, the king's picture set in diamonds—a present intended to show his personal esteem for the deceased ambassador. In 1755 the Peace between Great Britain and France ended in an open rupture, so that France recalled her ambassador, and England sent no successor to Lord Albemarle. The Court of Madrid remained neutral, and De Cosne was transferred to that embassy. We infer this incident in his biography from the following announcement in the last year of George II.:—"1760, April 22. His Majesty was pleased to appoint Ralph Woodford, Esq., to be Secretary to the Extraordinary Embassy to the Catholic King [Charles III. of Spain] *in the room of Ruvigny De Cosne, Esq.*"

Lieutenant-Colonel De Cosne (for he had become a Captain in the Guards and Lieutenant-Colonel in the army, on the 14th November 1755) rejoined his regiment on his return home. He was included in the brevet of 9th February 1762, and thus became a full colonel in his 45th year: in the following year he retired on half-pay. Colonel Ruvigny De Cosne was a Director of the French Hospital from 3d April 1754 till his death. But the date of his death I cannot ascertain, as the number of the Directors of that Hospital is unlimited; and therefore a death occasions no vacancy, and is never recorded.

Chapter II.

DUMONT DE BOSTAQUET.*

AN ancient and knightly Protestant family of Normandy, surnamed Dumont, long resident in the vicinity of Dieppe, was represented in the beginning of the seventeenth century by Le

* This chapter is an abridgement of the MS. of 281 folio pages, referred to by Lord Macaulay in his History of England, and which was printed in 1864, at Paris, under the direction of Messrs Charles Reid and Francis Waddington, whose preface and notes are exceedingly valuable. The MS. title is "Registre faict en Hollande à La Haye le mois d'April mil six cent quatre vingt huit. Continué en 1689 en Angleterre à Greenwich en décembre. Finy le mois d'april 1693 à Dublin en Irlande." The title-page of the imprint is, "Mémoires inédits de Dumont De Bostaquet Gentilhomme Normand sur les temps qui ont précédé et suivi la Révocation de l'Edit de Nantes, sur le Refuge et les expéditions de Guillaume III. en Angleterre et en Irlande." This book has not as yet been translated into English, but there is a good summary of it in the Edinburgh Review, vol. 121., No. 248.

Chevalier Samuel Dumont. He was married on the 2d January 1624 to Anne De La Haye, daughter of Isaac, Sieur De Lintôt.

Isaac Dumont De Bostaquet, the only son of that marriage, and the hero of this chapter, was born on the 4th February 1632. His father dying in the following May, he and his sisters were brought up by that lovely and excellent lady, their mother, who had become a widow at the early age of 24, and who lived to keep her eightieth birthday in the prison of Caudebec, a prisoner for Christ's sake. Isaac's school-days at Rouen and Falaise came to an end in 1645, after which date he spent three years at the colleges of Saumur and Caen. He then entered a military academy at Rouen, and finished these professional studies at Paris.

In 1652 he became a cornet of cavalry in the Marquis d'Heudreville's regiment, in the company of Monsieur De Royville. But in 1657, on his marriage with Marthe de la Rive, he retired from the army. The nuptial ceremony was performed in the Protestant church of Grand Quevilly, near Rouen, by the Pasteur Maximilien De l'Angle. From this time the young Seigneur added largely to his landed possessions in deference to his mother, by whose advice he acted, and who had persuaded him, as an only son, to give up thoughts of campaigning, and to settle down as a country gentleman. Le Bostaquet was but a small house and estate. In 1660 he removed to the fine chateau of La Fontelaye.

He was an elder in the church of Lindebœuf. It 1665 it was by sentence of law condemned to be demolished, because it stood within a Catholic Seigneurie, a zealot lady, the Marquise de La Tour, being prosecutrix in the action. De Bostaquet went to Paris, and resisted the action to the utmost. He solicited the good offices of Turenne, who said that he did not meddle in ecclesiastical business, but referred him to his illustrious Vicomtesse; and she took infinite pains in the matter. The Protestant advocate in all such cases was the Sieur Des Galinières, who had hoped to have won this case. De Bostaquet, however, complains that he was not assisted by the Marquis De Ruvigny, the Deputy-General, whom he describes as "well-intentioned," "a very eminent and most honourable man, but devoted to the court, and more anxious for his own standing there, than for the interest of the Churches." It is remarkable that De Bostaquet never withdrew these expressions, although afterwards not only so much indebted, but also so respectfully and affectionately attached, to the old Marquis. No doubt the king had irrevocably doomed all Protestant temples built in the domains of Catholic Seigneurs; and therefore Ruvigny would not waste his influence with his Majesty by appealing to him against his deliberate and final regulation.

De Bostaquet was on his way home when he heard that the sentence had been pronounced against his church. He therefore proceeded to Longueville, and made a formal declaration before a magistrate that Fontelaye was his principal residence, and that Protestant worship would be celebrated in it. When he was at the gates of Dieppe with the intention of making a similar declaration in that town, a messenger from home informed him of the dying condition of his wife, and before she could reach his house she had expired.

"At this time," writes de Bostaquet, "the Bishop of Munster went to war with the Estates of Holland; and the King of France, being the ally of the latter, sent them his *Mousquetaires* and several other regiments. As I was a widower, I felt anxious to offer my services to a nation for whom my ancestors had done loyal and courageous deeds, and for themselves they had thereby acquired honour. I was quite in earnest, and enthusiastic in the project; but my mother heard of it, and perseveringly argued against it, and set all my friends upon me to dissuade me from a resolution which they all disapproved of. I yielded, but I still regret that I did not give this substantial proof of zeal for the republic from which I receive such hospitality, and which is truly my country." [This paragraph occurs in that portion of his autobiography which was written at the Hague in the spring of 1688.]

After little more than a year of widowhood, De Bostaquet married his second wife, a beautiful cousin of the maternal stock, Anne Le Cauchois, daughter of the Chevalier De Timbermont, by Marie de la Haye de Lintot. This lease of married life was cut short in the eleventh year of its course. In August 1678, a few months after this wife's death, another calamity

came—namely, the destruction of his Chateau of Fontelaye by fire ; the occupation of rebuilding, however, somewhat calmed his violent grief. He now had many children, and his eldest daughter having married, he was obliged to enter upon another marriage ; and in 1679 he again made a happy selection. His third wife, Marie de Brossard, daughter of the Chevalier de Grosmenil, was the devoted partner of his lot as a refugee in Holland and in the British Islands.

The troubles of the Protestants of Normandy thickened from year to year. In 1685 he had completed the preliminaries of a marriage between his eldest son Isaac, Seigneur de la Fontelaye, and Ester, daughter of Monsieur David Chauvel. "The religion," he writes, "was at its last gasp, all our temples being either demolished or shut up. Monsieur Chauvel and I had to take our young folk to Charenton to be married, where Monsieur Mesnart gave the nuptial benediction." The date of this event was 16th June 1685, as appears in the Charenton Register. This and all the principal occurrences in Dumont du Bostaquet's memoirs are confirmed by cotemporary documents still in existence and quoted in the form of notes by the editors of the printed volume.

The Edict of Revocation (*l'edit de revocation de celui de Nantes*) was registered at Rouen on the 21st October 1685. Every Protestant temple in Normandy having been already put down, De Bostaquet flattered himself that the dragoons would not disturb the Protestant families of his province in their private worship and silent faith. Forewarnings of the opposite event soon were published ; he therefore meditated an immediate flight into Holland. In that republic his late uncle Abraham Dumont (who died in 1653) had served with distinction in the Estates' army, and his own family was connected by marriage with a Dutch officer of high rank, General De Torcé, with whom they corresponded as a kinsman.

The Seigneur de Bostaquet called a meeting of Huguenot gentlemen. He moved that they all should ride off at once, because by signing written abjurations at the dictation of the military visitors they would serve their families no better than they would by leaving them for a time under the guardianship of the God of Providence, in whom they could trust, and by whom family re-unions in some land of liberty would eventually be brought about. And as a preparation for this step, he proposed that they all should have one purse. At the meeting the gentlemen all approved of the proposal. But upon reflection they, and especially the ladies, shrank from the difficulties of the moment. So the dragoons, under the command of the Marquis de Baupré-Choiseul, beat up their quarters in detail, and all the principal gentry had to sign a recantation. Dumont's wife's mother died of humiliation and grief, and others of the Grosmenil family fled to Holland.

For a time the public authorities seemed satisfied with Dumont de Bostaquet and his family and neighbours as new converts nominally ; but a demand for their regular observance of the Roman Missal and Ritual loomed in the distance. A large party of them accordingly conspired to escape from France, and on the 19th May 1687 negotiations with the crew of an English ship were made. The intending emigrants were rendezvoused on the sea-shore in two parties, one at Quiberville, and the other at Saint-Aubin. At the latter point Dumont himself was ; but owing to some omission in the agreement with the sailors as to giving a signal, his party was kept waiting in vain, until some men, supposed to be the coast-guard, came down upon them.

"The pilgrims," says the Edinburgh Reviewer, "were three hundred in number, and it is hardly possible to doubt that their flight had been winked at by the local authorities. The character of the time in France is well illustrated by what followed afterwards. A band of marauders attacked the emigrants just as they had reached the sea-shore, pretending to be the royal guard which had been stationed along the coast in order to stop any Huguenot's passage."

It being night, the general skirmish and discharges of firearms in the moonlight were of a random and unrecitable kind. If the fugitive Protestants had been sufficiently supplied with war material, their victory would have been complete and not merely partial. But the plan of

the sea voyage having come to nothing, the conductors had to think of securing the safety of the ladies and children before daybreak. The ladies now were forward to propose what they should have agreed to in 1685, namely, that the gentlemen should make their escape from their deadly perils, seeing that the worst temporal evil that could befall the weaker sex was to be immured within convents.

After employing a few days in settling his affairs as well as haste would permit, the Seigneur de Bostaquet rode off for Picardy. He was suffering from a dangerous gunshot wound received in the mêlée on the coast. At the frontier the guards allowed him and his valet to pass, telling him, at his request, the route for Beaumel. His real destination was Prouville, where he arrived safely. He inquired for the house of a rich Romanist gentleman, but succeeded in quietly housing himself under the roof of a Protestant friend, Monsieur de Monthuc, his wife's kinsman. He stayed here for some time under the care of his affectionate host and hostess, and of a competent surgeon, until he was joined by a Norman comrade, Monsieur de Montcornet, who shared with him the dangers of the onward route until they reached Ghent in the Spanish Netherlands. There they were comparatively safe, except from swindlers, who took advantage of the necessity Dumont was under of selling his horses by giving him a shamefully small price, and who would have arrested him for pretended custom-dues, if a good Samaritan had not helped him to slip away from their grasp. From Ghent Montcornet took the road for Brussels. Dumont and his valet took the boat for Sas-van-Ghent, and landed on the shores of Holland (un pays de repos et de tranquillité d'âme) with a sacred joy. He went by easy stages to Rotterdam, and thence by water to the Hague.

On the 29th June 1687, in the Walloon church, he made his public declaration of contrition for the signature which the converters had extorted from him in France. He now realized all the advantages which he had expected from the friendship of General De Torcé. By command of the Prince of Orange he was enrolled in the Dutch army as a captain of cavalry, the rank to which he had attained in the French service. France, by its laws, proscribed and cast him off on the 14th of August. A legal narrative of his flight and its attendant consequences, which has been preserved among the De Bostaquet Papers, may be here quoted:—"En 1687 il fut poursuivi criminellement, soupçonné d'avoir voulu favoriser la sortie du royaume de quelques particuliers, et entre autres de . . . , ce qui l'obligea de sortir effectivement du royaume, et en haine de cette sortie le proces criminel fut continué, et lui condamné, et ses biens declarés confisqués."

The letters which he received from his wife contained melancholy details of calamity and desolation; but in the course of the autumn she managed to send him (*via* Dieppe) one of his little children, Judith Julie. In the following spring she herself, and the other surviving children, put off to sea at the same port, through the address and courage of Captain Laveine, and landed at Rotterdam, where Dumont met them. They arrived as a refugee family at the Hague on 22d March 1688.

The expedition of the Prince of Orange into England soon interrupted this domestic life. De Bostaquet joined it as a cavalry officer. The Huguenot cavalry were provisionally enrolled in two regiments of blue and red dragoons. The officers of "the Blues" [*les bleus*] were Colonel Petit, Captains Desmoulins, Petit, Maricourt, D'Escury, Montroy, Neufville, Vesansay, Montaut, and Bernaste; Lieutenants Quirant, Louvigny, Moncornet, Tournier, Le Blanc, D'Ours, Fontanes, Bernard, Senoche, Serre, and Rumigny; Cornets Martel, Dupuy, Larouvière, De Lamy, Lassaux, Salomon, Larouvière, La Bastide, De Bojeu, De Gaume, and Constantin.

The officers of "the Reds" [*les rouges*] were Colonel Louvigny; Captains Bostaquet, La Grangerie, Passy, D'Olon, Vivens, Varenques, and La Guiminière; Lieutenants Boismolet, Mailleray, Clairvaux, Vilmisson, La Caterie, D'Ornan, and Rochebrune; Cornets Vasselot, Maillé, Maillé (brother), D'Olon, jun., Du Chesoy, Montpinson, and Ricard.

It appears from the above list that De Bostaquet, who had then nearly completed his 57th year, was senior captain of Louvigny's red dragoons. He gives a lively account of the embarkation and voyage to our coast, then of the disembarkation and the march towards the

capital. On the arrival of the fleet at Torbay, "the disembarkation was effected with great skill and promptitude," says the Edinburgh Reviewer, from whom we borrow a translation of De Bostaquet's account of the arrival of the fleet:—"We distinctly saw many people gathering upon the hills to watch our coming and enjoy the spectacle. They did not appear alarmed in the least, when the men of war and the entire army made their way into a bay in the vicinity. The place was called Torbay, and here we landed. It seemed as if nature had made it for our reception. The bay like a crescent runs in a long distance; where we cast anchor it was overlooked by cliffs of great height and with rocky points; and it is spacious enough to hold a number of vessels. Our fleet did not nearly fill it; the anchorage was good, and the surrounding heights enabled our ships to ride in safety. It was here, as I said, that our Great Prince and the whole of our army disembarked. Heaven, which had conducted him to the spot in triumph, appeared resolved to continue its favour. The sea was calm, the bay like a lake, and the setting sun shone with such lustre that he seemed to leave our hero with regret; yet at last he sank, for he wished to inform another world of our great adventure. The moon, however, took his place, and shone brightly to illuminate our landing." "We may leave our readers," adds the Reviewer, "to learn from M. De Bostaquet how badly tilled and bleak of aspect were the Devonshire valleys at this period, and how execrable were the roads of Somersetshire; and to imagine how 'little edified he was by the huge wax candles, the font and altar-plate, the surpliced canons and the choir of boys, so different from our reformed simplicity,' which were then the pride and glory of the cathedral of Exeter. He notices particularly that at every place the army were welcomed as deliverers; and he adds that the discipline enforced by William contributed to the success of the enterprise."

The Huguenot cavalry were conspicuous in the Prince's army, and also 2250 foot-soldiers of the same communion. The French historian, J. Michelet, estimates the number of French officers at 736, some of them making their debüt in the service of the liberator of Britain as privates. Observing that this steadfast and considerable portion of the troops is not alluded to in Lord Macaulay's word-picture of the march from Exeter, Michelet complains rather bitterly in words like these:—"In the Homeric enumeration which that historian gives of William's comrades, he counts (as one who would omit nothing) English, Germans, Dutch, Swedes, Swiss, yes, down to the three hundred negroes, with turbans and white plumes, in attendance on as many rich English or Dutch officers. But he has not an eye for our soldiers. Is it that our band of exiles are clad in costumes incongruous with William's grandeur? The uniform of many of them must be that of the impoverished refugee—dusty, threadbare, torn."

De Bostaquet took up his quarters in London under the sign of *The Angel* on the 15th December. After the Proclamation of William and Mary in January 1689 (new style), he tendered his services to his king, either in the Dutch or English establishment, as his Majesty should appoint; and being accepted for the latter, he went to Holland to bring his family over. Fearing lest the army under Schomberg should embark for Ireland without him, he conveyed Madame and the children across the Channel with as much speed as wind and weather would permit. He and they were put ashore at Greenwich. Here they found a home, and the aged Marquis and Marquise De Ruvigny lavished their kindness upon them as upon all the refugees. On the 2d July another infant son was born to De Bostaquet; the young Marquis De Ruvigny stood godfather, and named him Henri. The death of the old Marquis took place about a month afterwards—namely, on August 5th (new style). It drew from Dumont a tributary sentence extolling "the illustrious deceased, who has left behind him a memory worthy of his life, wholly engrossed with the care of the Church in France, notwithstanding the contrariety of the times—a life illustrated at its close by his overflowing beneficence to the refugees in Britain, whose stay and protector he has been on all occasions."

De Bostaquet, as a subaltern in De Moliens' Company of Schomberg's Regiment of Horse, and with the rank of captain in the army, marched from London on the 28th August. He arrived in Ireland after the taking of Carrickfergus. Having weathered out that fatal autumn,

he made application at Lisburn for leave of absence to visit his family. The Duke of Schomberg was obliged to answer in the negative, condescendingly adding, "You made such efforts to be in my regiment, and now you desire to quit it; do you wish to leave me here by myself? Wait for King James's leave, and we will go to England together." On Christmas eve he was attacked with a fever which raged for weeks; this circumstance obtained for him his furlough. The Marquis De Ruvigny had secured that he should retire on full pay; but he determined to serve in the campaign of 1690, when it was announced that King William was to join the army. Having served with distinction he returned to London, and having been taken to their Majesties' levee by the Duke of Schomberg and the Marquis De Ruvigny, he re-entered his Greenwich home on the 28th November. His family were in mourning for his mother, who died in France in October (1690) aged 84, rejoicing to hear that her son had been preserved in the battle of the Boyne; she had hoped to the last to join him in England. Ruvigny had again arranged for his retirement, but Schomberg's Regiment having been given to the noble Marquis, the devoted captain resolved once more to postpone his adieux; however, he remained with his family during the campaign of 1691. In the spring of 1692 he went to Dublin in the suite of the Marquis, now styled Viscount Galway, and appointed Commander-in-Chief of the Forces in Ireland. The excursion occupied three months. "This journey," he writes, "although paid there and back by my Lord Galway, has cost me a good deal of money, without any gain but the honour of following his lordship; this has not saved me from the envy of some people at whom I laugh."

In the autumn, Lord Galway preparing to serve in the descent upon France under the Duke of Leinster, De Bostaquet volunteered to accompany him, and could hardly be dissuaded, expecting that the expedition would accomplish something great. Lord Galway assured him that nothing would come of it, and urged him to take his family to Ireland before the coming winter. This advice was taken; and again our refugees were in motion, leaving London on the 12th August 1692, and proceeding (*via* Coventry) to Chester. On the coast of Cheshire they found the wind against them; they had to wait for a month, all but two days, at the village of Neston, so that it was not till the middle of September that they found themselves in Dublin. In Bray Street in that capital they still were at the date of the conclusion of De Bostaquet's manuscript, 3d April 1693, Lord Galway having arrived to command the forces, and to superintend the Protestant colonisation.

Our refugee family's final resting-place was Portarlington. There the veteran captain obtained a lease of ground, built his house and garden-wall, brought up his younger children, served as an elder in the French Church, and enjoyed his pension of 6s. 3d. *per diem*, till his death in 1709, at the age of 77. The following is the registration of his burial in the Register of St. Paul's, Portarlington:—"Sepulture du lundi, 15 Aoust 1709. Le dimanche, 14^e dernier à 3 heures du matin, Est mort en la foi du Seigneur et dans l'espérance de la glorieuse resurrection Isaac Dumond, escuyer, Sieur Du Bostaquet, Capitaine à la pension de S.M.B., dont l'âme étant allée à Dieu, son corps a été enterré cejourd'hui dans le cemetière de ce lieu par Mr. De Bonneval, ministre de cette Eglise."

Before leaving France, he had sold La Fontelaye to his first wife's brother, Messire Jeremie de la Rive, Seigneur de Lamberville. Dumont's eldest son, Isaac being the nephew of the buyer, became his heir, and from him descended the French family, which became extinct in 1847 at the death (in his 82d year) of Colonel Isaac Antoine Auguste Dumont, Marquis de Lamberville, great-great-grandson of the refugee.

The refugee children who left descendants were two daughters: (1.) Judith Julie was married to Auguste de la Blachière, seigneur de la Coutière; their son Isaac Philip de Coutières was born 19th Sept. 1701, and in 1735 he was a captain in the 24th Regiment (*Wentworth's*).

(2.) Marie Madeleine was married to Mr de Vignolles, whose great-grandson, the Dean of Ossory, brought to light Dumont de Bostaquet's manuscript.

Here we may give his list of officers to whom settlements were granted in Ireland with half-pay, commencing from 1st January 1692 :

OFFICERS OF CAVALRY.—*Colonel* de Romagnac. *Captains* De Bostaquet, Desmoulins, Questrebrune, D'Antragues, Dolon, De Passy, D'Eppe, De L'Isle, De Vivens, Fontanié, De La Boissonade, Du Vivier, Dupont-Bérault, Pascal, Ferment, Sève, L'Escours; La Boulaye, La Boulaye (brother), La Brosse-Fortin, Lantillac, Vilmisson, Mercier, De Causse and La Cateria. *Cornets* De Rivery, La Bastide-Barbu, Goulain, L'Amy, Lemery, and La Serre.

OFFICERS OF INFANTRY.—*Lieut.-Colonels* Du Petitbosc and Du Borda. *Captains* La Ramière, La Clide, Bethencour de Bure, Saint-Garmain, D'Ortoux, Champfleury, Loteron, Sainte-Maison, La Sautier, La Brousse, Barbaut, Serment, Millery, Du Parc, L'Estrille, Courteil, De L'Ortle, D'Aulnix, Charrier, Tiberne, Pressac, Verdier, La Rochemonroy, Champ-laurier, Harne, Prou, Liger, Verdelle, Dantilly, Ponthieu, Sally, Vignoles, Linoux, La Rochegua, Vebron, Bernardon, Revole, Chabrole and La Garde. *Lieutenants* Baise, Sailly, Boyer, Pruer, De Mestre, L'Île du Gua, Saint-Sauveur, La Maupère, Saint-Aignan, Belorm, Saint-Faste, Lungay, Mercier, Bignon, Boisbeau, Petit, Lainé, Saure, Pegat, Bourdin, Massac, Damboy, Bellet, De Loches, La Motte, Loux, Bemecour, Vialla, Delon, Lanteau, Londe, Aldebert, Mercier (brother), Fortanier, Saint-Yorc, La Risole-Falantin, Le Brun and La Rousselière. *Ensigns* Lanfant, La Hauteville, Castelfranc, Saint-Paul, Laval, Saint-Etienne, Guillermin, Quinson and Champlaurier (brother) [Additional names. Bourdiquet du Rosel, Bernières.] Of these some died before him (dates not mentioned), *Captains* Questebrune, De l'Isle, De Vivens, Dupont-Bérault, La Ramière, Champfleury, Verdier and La Rochegua, *Lieutenants* Pruer, Massac and Lanteau.

Captain Des Moulins died in 1696. Captain Bethencour de Bure, and Lieutenants Ferment and Saint-Yorc died in 1697. Lieutenant Du Vivier and Cornet Lemery did not remain.

Chapter VII.

MAXIMILIAN MISSON.

A WISH has been expressed, that there could be found or compiled some record of the impressions and sensations of the French Protestant Refugees among the strange scenes and society of England. It is because one of Misson's books, entitled, "Observations of a Traveller," contains materials for such a record that I devote a chapter to him.

His father was the Pasteur Jacques Misson, who at the time of the Revocation was in charge of the Reformed Church of Niort. He and his family were naturalized in England on the 15th April 1687; in the Patent Rolls their names are enumerated thus:—"James Misson (clerk); Judith, his wife; Maximilian, James-Francis, and Henry-Peter, their sons; and Anne-Margaret, their daughter." That they may have endured hardships on their way may perhaps seem probable from Quick's description of a manuscript book of the Acts of the National Synods which was lent to him by "that reverend and ancient minister of Christ, Monsieur Misson, who had been pastor of the Church of Niort," which manuscript was "fairly written, but much impaired by rain and salt water." What Maximilian Misson writes about those refugee ministers, who had no fixed charges (either because of the impossibility of finding a congregation for every one or because they were forestalled by "the first that came over,") may be interpreted as a panegyric on his venerable father. With pious resignation he submitted to the decree of providence, which so disposed of him. Until age and infirmity

laid their arrest upon him, although not in charge of a congregation, he “preached frequently, visited the sick and the afflicted, and wrote books of devotion; and his whole conduct had a sweet savour of charity and edification.”

I have found no account of any of the family, except of the eldest son, Maximilian, who (according to Haag) was born about the middle of the seventeenth century, and was one of the Protestant Judges in “The Chamber of the Edict, in the parliament of Paris.” Soon after becoming a refugee, he was selected by James, 1st Duke of Ormond, to be tutor to his younger grandson, Lord Charles Butler. This youth was created Earl of Arran in 1693, and became a lieutenant-general in the army, and Chancellor of Oxford University. Misson travelled with him through Holland, Germany, and Italy, and out of this arose his celebrated work, “Nouveau Voyage d’Italie,” of which the 4th edition in French was published at the Hague in 1702, and the fifth English edition in four volumes appeared after his death in London in 1739, entitled, “A new Voyage to Italy—with curious observations on several other countries, as Germany, Switzerland, Savoy, Geneva, Flanders and Holland.” In it he tells us that he was never ashamed to be recognised as a Frenchman except twice,—*once* in 1695, when he was shown how the French army had gutted one of the Duke of Savoy’s charming palaces; and *again*, “when I saw myself reduced to the necessity of falling into the hands of a Dunkirk privateer.” He published also “Observations faites par un voyageur en Angleterre,” Hague, 1698; and “Theatre Sacré des Cevennes ou Recit des prodiges arrivés dans cette partie du Languedoc,” London 1707.

The “Observations,” published in 1698, seem to have been finished on the day in 1697 when news arrived of the signing of the Treaty of Ryswick. This I mention as the date of the publication of the English translation is 1719; the English title is “M. Misson’s Memoirs and observations in his Travels over England, with some account of Scotland and Ireland—disposed in alphabetical order—written originally in French, and translated by Mr Ozell.” From this translation I now attempt to glean Mr Misson’s sentiments regarding his adopted country. [At that date our translators failed to catch the neat simplicity of French writers, and imported boisterous expletives into translations, so that I regret that I cannot obtain the original French publication to enable me to prune away all English excrescences.]

Finding himself at port and wishing to reach London, he asked information as to means of transit. He is therefore now able to inform us (p. 331), “They have several ways of travelling in England, and the prices are all fixed. The post is under a good regulation throughout, and the horses are better than those in France. There are coaches that go to all the great towns by moderate journeys, and others which they call *Flying Coaches* that will travel twenty leagues a day and more; but these don’t go to all places. They have no *Messageries de Chevaux* as in France, but you may hire horses for what time you please. The sea and the rivers also furnish their respective conveniences for travelling. I say nothing of the waggons, which are great carts, covered in, that lumber along very heavily; only a few poor old women make use of this vehicle.”

In London he remarks upon the old streets, whose houses are (p. 134), “the scurviest things in the world, nothing but wood and plaster, and nasty little windows, but with one little casement to open,—the stories low, widened one over another all awry, and in appearance ready to fall.” He admires, however, the streets built since the great fire; “the houses are built with brick, with even fronts, without magnificence or anything like it, but with sufficient symmetry and neatness, roofed with tile, and generally built high enough. Balconies are very much in use. All the rooms have ceilings, and the windows are large and sashed; the ground-floors and the first floors are always wainscotted—sometimes the second floors also.”

He notices (p. 283) how Englishmen, when they meet, no more dream of pulling off their hats than women would think of pulling off their head-gear; they salute one another by giving one another their hands, and shaking them heartily, but (p. 74) without that flood of compliments that usually pours out of the mouth of the French, Italians, &c. Other nations upbraid this as incivility; but every one follows his own ideas, and the idea of the English is, that

civility does not consist wholly of outward demonstrations, which very often are hypocritical and deceitful." But Misson observed how the English Court at that time was more exacting of outward courtesy than even the Court of Louis XIV., the officers in attendance on the French king at a review being allowed to keep their hats on, whereas (p. 29) "I saw the king of England reviewing above 12,000 men (which could be no short review) surrounded by a large attendance, all with hat in hand."

As we have come within sight of royalty, there may be introduced here an account of King James' agitation at the approach of the expedition from Holland, which Misson asserts to have come under his attention at first-hand (p. 242). James, being very restless and uneasy, on 23d Oct. (1688) orders a weathercock to be placed where he might see it from his apartment, that he may ascertain with his own eyes whether the wind is Protestant or Popish; for this was the way of talking in the court and in the city; the east wind was called *Protestant*, and the contrary *Popish*. On the 30th he receives letters from Newport, informing him, with extravagant exaggerations, of the dispersion of the Prince of Orange's fleet. Being at dinner, he used one hand only, holding in the other this most welcome letter. Laughing, he says to Monsieur Barillon, "At last, then, the wind has declared itself a Papist;" but adds, resuming his habitual serious air, and lowering his voice, "You know that for these three days I have caused the Holy Sacrament to go in procession." That very evening, letters arrive which modify the former tidings, and the joy of Whitehall is changed into consternation. Two days after, namely, on 1st November, the weathercock points a north-east wind, and the consternation increases. At this moment William goes on board again. "The weathercock, large, handsome, and high, is (writes Misson) still to be seen; it is at one end of the banqueting-house."

As to William III., Misson says (p. 362), "I leave his eulogium to be made by the professed makers of such, and shall only say here, out of the abundance of my heart, and with sufficient knowledge of the fact, that I do not believe there is in the world a more worthy man, a sublimer genius, or a king so fit to govern."

To return to private life, our author speaks of catching cold, like one who had personally suffered (p. 41). "When a cold grows inveterate in England, you may reckon it the beginning of a mortal distemper, especially to strangers; you must beware, therefore, how you neglect a cold." But, if a sufferer, he had a fireside to cheer and warm him. Under the heading "Coals," he writes (p. 37, see also p. 364):—

"In many parts of England they burn nothing but wood, in some others, turf, ling, &c., but their common fuel is the coal which comes from Scotland and Newcastle. The Scotch coal burns faster than the other, and is dearer; it flames like wood, and makes a bright fire. The common coal is not so combustible; but when once it is lighted, and there is a sufficient quantity of it, it burns very well, and has this convenience that it lasts a great while with little mending. To make a coal fire, they put into the chimney certain iron stoves about half a foot high, with a plate of iron behind and beneath; in front, and on each side, bars are placed and fastened like the wires of a cage, all of iron; this they fill with coal, small or great, just as they come. In the middle they put a handful of small coal, which they set fire to with a bit of linen or paper. As soon as this small coal begins to burn, they make use of the bellows, and the other coal takes fire in less than two minutes. After this you must blow a little longer, till the fire spreads a little round about, and then you hang up the bellows. As the coal grows hotter, it becomes glutinous, and sticks together. To keep up the fire, and revive it, you now and then give it a stir with a long piece of iron made for the purpose. As it burns out, you must throw on more coals, and thus with a little pains you have a fire all day long. The smoke that rises is horribly thick, but if the chimneys are well built, it is carried clean away, and consequently incommodates the streets more than the houses. The smell of sulphur caused by this is offensive to persons lately come from France, but one soon gets used to it; and the smell is less perceptible within doors than in the street, especially when the fire is thoroughly lighted. All things considered, a wood fire is unquestionably more agreeable; yet, being

naturally prejudiced in favour of what they themselves possess, not a few English people pity the unhappy state of the French and other nations who have no coals. I have sometimes said to them in reply, 'It is a 'strange thing that your king and all the nobility should voluntarily throw themselves into the misery of poor French folks in burning nothing but wood in their bed-chambers.'" Sometimes, of course, Misson would put on his hat and go out in search of variety. "The coffee-houses (he reports, p. 39) are extremely convenient. You have all manner of news there. You have a good fire, which you may sit by as long as you please. You have a dish of coffee; you meet your friends for the transaction of business, and all for a penny, if you don't care to spend more" (p. 146). "There are cook shops enough in all parts of the town, where it is very common to go and choose upon the spit the part you like, and to eat it there. In France custom would not allow a man of any distinction to be seen to eat in such a place; but in England they laugh at such niceties. One of the first lords of the Court makes no scruple to take a hack if his own coach keeps him waiting too long; and a gentleman of £1500 a-year enters a cook's-shop without fear of being despised, and dines for his shilling to his heart's content. I have often eat in that manner with a gentleman of my acquaintance who is very rich, and was a Member of the House of Commons."

As to visits, by which he means friendly or ceremonious calls, he remarks (p. 332)—"People of high rank pay visits to one another in England as much as we do in France, generally about evening; but not so the ordinary sort of people. In France all the little shop-keepers, particularly the women, go with their gowns about their heels to call upon one another by turns. In England persons of that rank go to see one another with their work in their hands and cheerfulness in their countenances, without rule or constraint, except on the occasion of a marriage or a death, when a visit of ceremony is expected." (P. 77)—"The English eat well, but are no great feasters; they do not invite their friends to eat at their houses so frequently as we do in France; but upon certain grand occasions they make sumptuous banquets." (P. 1)—"The English mutton in my opinion is not so good as ours in France; it has quite another taste; this I was sensible of the moment I came to London. The English beef is said to be the best in the world; let them be judges who have a nicer palate than I pretend to have. Their poultry is tender, and (I think) excellent, yet many French people think it insipid, compared with the exquisite relish of French poultry." (P. 315)—"Blessed is he that invented pudding! Oh, what an excellent thing is an English pudding! Flour, milk, eggs, butter, sugar, suet, marrow, raisins, &c., are the usual ingredients. *To come in at pudding-time* means to come in at the most lucky moment of time. Give an Englishman his pudding, and he will think it a noble treat in any part of the world. They never dream of desert, unless it be a piece of cheese; fruit is brought only to the tables of the great, and to but a small number among them." (P. 88)—"Those Frenchmen who set up for a nice taste despise all English fruit, but this is going too far. Though the climate of France is more happy, that of England is not unhappy. The fruit sold at common markets (and the French refugees eat little other) is generally bad enough, but we must not judge of the whole piece by such a sample."

(P. 17.) "Hundreds of kinds of beer are made in England, some of which are not bad. Art has well supplied nature in this article. But what I say is, Beer is art, and wine is nature; and I will stand up for nature against the world." (P. 69.) "In England, especially among the middle classes, when you drink at table, you must drink to somebody's health, and must observe two rules—*first*, to sit as motionless as a statue while the drinker is drinking; and, *secondly*, thereafter to make him a low bow, to the great risk of dipping your wig in the sauce on your plate. A foreigner thinks it most comical to observe a man, who is just going to cut some bread or to chew a mouthful of meat, or who has begun some operation of that kind, and all at once to see him put down his knife, or fork, or spoon, grow as motionless as one paralysed, put on a solemn face, and keep his eyes fixed on some man who has announced himself as about to drink his health. If you are going to drink a man's health, you should first fix your eye on him, and give him time to swallow his mouthful, that you may not place

him under the uneasy necessity of putting so sudden a stop to his mill, as to sit for a time with his cheek swelled into the shape of an egg or a wen."

With regard to morality and religion in England, he observes :—(P. 78.) The Church of England was not willing to melt down the Roman religion quite, as was done at Geneva and elsewhere, and to purify it by the crucible of Calvinism. She set about the reformation of that religion in another manner, cutting off what was bad and superfluous, and mending what was mendable, without thinking herself obliged to change the face of it entirely." (P. 310.) "The English of all sects, but particularly the Presbyterians, make profession of being very strict observers of the Sabbath day. I believe their doctrine upon this head does not differ from ours, but assuredly our scruples are much less than theirs. This appears upon a hundred occasions, but I have observed it particularly in the printed confessions of persons who are hanged. Sabbath-breaking is the crime the poor wretches always begin with; if they had killed father and mother they would not mention that, till they have professed how often they broke the Sabbath. One of the good English customs on the Sabbath-day is to feast as nobly as possible, and especially not to forget the pudding." As to family government, he says (p. 33), "They have an extraordinary regard in England for young children; they are always flattering them, always caressing them, always praising what they do. At least it seems so to us French people, who correct our children as soon as they are capable of reasoning; being of opinion that to keep them in awe is the best way to put them in a good mould." Partly applicable to peculiarities of English education is the following note (p. 304):—"Anything that looks like fighting is delicious to an Englishman. If two little boys quarrel in the street, the passers-by stop, make a ring round them in a moment, and set them against one another. They encourage the combatants, and never part them as long as they fight according to the rules. The father and mother of the boys let them fight on as well as the rest, and try to keep up the courage of the one who seems to be giving ground, or to have the worst of it."

Mr. Misson, being deeply grateful for English hospitality, is always inclined to say a good word for the English, either categorically, or as a qualifier to a partly unfavourable criticism. "A beau (he says at p. 16) is in England all the more remarkable, because Englishmen, as a general rule, dress in a plain, uniform manner. Fops or beaux are creatures compounded of a periwig and a coat loaded with powder as white as a miller's, a face besmeared with snuff, and a few affected airs; they are exactly like Molière's marquises, and want nothing but the title, which they would infallibly assume in any other country but England." Hear him doing honour to the fair sex (p. 364):—"They pay great honour to the women in England, who enjoy very great and very commendable liberties; yet they receive neither as much favour nor as much honour as their beauty, their graceful mein, their gentility, and their very many charms deserve." As to the English character, he exclaims (p. 73):—"I can't imagine what could occasion the French notion that the English are treacherous. That the English, of all nations of the world, should lie under this scandal, is strange indeed—they, whose generosity cannot endure the sight of two men fighting without an equality of weapons. Any man who would venture to use either a cane or a sword against another who had nothing to defend himself with but his hands, would run a risk of being torn to pieces by the apprentices of the neighbourhood and by the mob. . . . I am willing to believe that the English are prone to some faults, as all nations are; but I am satisfied, by several years' experience, that the more that foreigners are acquainted with the English, the more they will esteem and love them. What brave men do I know in England! what moderation! what generosity! what uprightness of heart! what piety and charity! Thoughtful men and devout! lovers of the liberal arts, and as capable of the sciences as any people in the world! Yes; there are in England persons that may truly be called *accomplished*, men who are wisdom and goodness itself, if we may say so much of any being besides God. Peace and prosperity be eternally upon England!"

I have not been able to find any reminiscences of the author's mother and sister. The following remark may have been first addressed to them (p. 171):—"They make in England the best knives and the worst scissors in the world."

In the list of Misson's works at the beginning of this chapter, is one on the prophecies and miracles attributed to prophets among the Cevenols; and his friends justly regretted that these men imposed upon him, and took his faith captive. The Messieurs Haag say that he tarnished his reputation by his credulousness. I think that it was a malady or fever that soon subsided. And if he was credulous, he has almost atoned for it by telling the following story, which, even if read as a fiction, is beautiful and instructive (p. 179):—

“The 26th of November 1693 there happened a very extraordinary thing in London. A girl, named Mary Maillard, thirteen years and two months old (daughter of a French sword-cutter of Coignac, in Xaintonge), was cured in a manner which many people of good sense believe to be miraculous. At the age of thirteen months she became lame, and her distemper never ceased to grow worse. The bone of her left thigh, whereof the end towards the hip is rounded, was slipped so far out of the hollow bone that serves as a case to the convexity of the first, and at the same time had got so far above its natural situation, that that leg was four inches shorter than the other; the knee turned inwards, and the foot did the same. The girl, instead of resting upon the sole of her foot, leaned inwards upon the ancle. It was a wearisome effort to walk, and she sometimes felt violent pain. When she walked, her body swayed from one side to the other so much, that her elbows, particularly her left one, almost touched the ground at every step she took. This made her so ridiculous to children in the street, that they threw dirt at her and insulted her. This lame condition of the girl is well proved, and of public notoriety. On Sunday, the 26th of November 1693, as she returned from church, she was so ill-used by a mob that followed her, that when she got home (to the house of Mademoiselle De Laulan, whom she served as an interpreter), she fell a-weeping. Mademoiselle De Laulan said several things to comfort her. The girl took up a New Testament to read a chapter or two, and she read the second chapter of St Mark. Filled with indignation at the incredulity of the Jews on the occasion of the miraculous cure of the paralytic, she exclaimed, ‘*I am sure I should believe if such a thing were to happen to me, and should run fast enough.*’ She had scarcely finished these words when her leg stretched out, the bone of her thigh went into its natural place with some noise, her foot and leg grew straight, her pain ceased, and she walked with ease. Ever since that time she has felt nothing of it, and continues in perfect strength, only she limps a little, but so little that it is almost imperceptible. Might not Providence order it so, that this remnant of an infirmity might serve her for a memorial of her deliverance?”

Mr Misson held a high position in literary society. I find the following reminiscence of him in the Literary Journal, April to June 1731:—“Mr Misson, who gave us an account of his travels into Italy, told me that as he was walking one day with Dr Grabe at Oxford, near Christ College, he proposed to him a theological difficulty; whereupon Dr Grabe lifted up his hands towards heaven, and cried out, *May God enlighten us! may God enlighten us!* ‘Sir!’ said Mr Misson, ‘that is no answer to my question.’ *What would you have me say?* replied the Doctor, *may God enlighten us.*”

Among Des Maizeaux's Correspondence I have found an autograph letter, of which the following is a translation:—

“A thousand pardons, sir, for all the trouble that I give you, and for the liberty which I still take to ask the continuance of your obliging attentions. I believe that the advertisement will be of fourfold more advantage to the booksellers, because all the good that is spoken of the book will be the occasion of reviving the desire of seeing it. A second edition might be made much better, but I must not speak of that yet. You will observe, sir, some few alterations from the original, which I return to you, and I think that you will not disapprove of them. The least that the booksellers can do is to put this advertisement in the *Post-Man* and in the *Post-Boy* [dans les *Post-Man-et-Boy*]; but it seems to me that it should appear twice in each of those journals.

“When you have an hour to throw away [à confisquer], and your route is in the environs of

Porter Street, you are very strenuously entreated not to refuse a little charitable visit to your old friend, who is more lonely than ever, being kept within his den [la grotte] by the importunate remains of a terrible malady, not to speak of the cold air, and the rich mud [des boues], and the famous smoke of London (the subject, by-the-bye, of a poem by Mr Evelyn, which I should not be displeased to see). I hope, or I flatter myself, sir, that you in no wise doubt that I am, with truth, your very humble and very obedient servant, but here I repeat it, according to the good and laudable custom,

“MAX : MISSON.

“Monday, 5th day of the year 1718-9.

“To-day I have managed to run through the short controversial productions [les controversicules] of the two penitents. They would do well to continue begging pardon of God and the Church (speaking with reverence) ; for the word *Church* [eglise] signifies at least six things in common usage, and in several of these senses claims my safe reverence, authorised in a parallel case by the gentlemen of the Academy.”

He was about seventy-two years of age when he died. The Chronological Diary appended to the *Historical Register* for 1722 notes:—“January 12, Died, Maximilian Misson, Esq., author of the *Voyage to Italy*, in four volumes.” According to the new style, Messrs Haag exactly concur by writing January 23.

Chapter VII.

REV. JAMES FONTAINE, M.A., AND J.P., ENSIGN JOHN FONTAINE, AND THE MAURY FAMILY.

I. REV. JAMES FONTAINE, M.A., AND J.P.

It was in the year 1535, that two members of the noble family of De La Fontaine, a father and son, became converts to the principles of the Reformed Church. The son, Jean, was born in 1500, and died a martyr in 1563, himself and his wife being assassinated one night in the mansion of the family estate in the Province of Maine. His scattered family fled and was at last re-united within the walls of La Rochelle. The eldest surviving son was Jacques de la Fontaine, who was fourteen years old, and destitute, but soon learned to support his younger brothers as a journeyman shoemaker. He became a merchant of competent fortune, and died in 1633, aged eighty-three. His only son was Jacques Fontaine, the Huguenot pastor of Vaux and Royan, who dropped the aristocratic prefix to his surname from motives of humility. In his youth he travelled as tutor to a young French gentleman, and spending some time in London, he betrothed himself to Miss Thompson. He married this lady in 1628, and she left several children at her death.

The refugee, Jacques, or James, Fontaine,* was the youngest child of the pasteur, by his second wife, Marie Chaillon, daughter of the proprietor of Rue au Roy, near Pons, in Saintonge. He was born on April 7, 1658, and during his infancy became lame for life through the carelessness of a nurse. His father died in 1666, so that his boyish education was irregular ; but being placed at the age of seventeen under the tuition of the eccentric De la Bussière of Marennes, he took the degree of M.A. with distinction at the College of Guienne in 1680.

* For the facts (not the phraseology) of this Memoir, I am indebted to a most interesting book, “Memoirs of a Huguenot Family ; translated and compiled from the original Autobiography of the Rev. James Fontaine, and other family manuscripts, by ANN MAURY, with an Appendix containing a translation of the Edict of Nantes, and Edict of Revocation.”—New York : George P. Putnam & Co., 1853.

About this time his mother died ; and by buying off his brothers and sisters he became sole proprietor of the estates of Jenouille and Jaffé, with an annual income of 1000 francs and a dwelling-house.

His sister Marie had married Pastor Forestier of St Mesme in Angoumois, and under his roof young Fontaine studied theology. Forestier had to take refuge in England soon after. Fontaine, finding the Protestant population without a temple, encouraged public worship in the open air, and he sometimes officiated. For this crime he was imprisoned and tried, and was condemned in the inferior courts. But his accusers having specified a meeting for worship, at which he was not present, he carried his plea of *alibi* to the Parliament of Paris, and was acquitted ; this was in 1684. "The history of our persecution," he writes, "spread far and wide, and I received many letters of congratulation upon the courage and successful result of my appeal to the Parliament. Among others the Marquis de Ruvigny, father of Lord Galway, wrote me a complimentary letter."

The dragoons visited the district of Royan early in 1685. Several shiploads of Protestants had escaped a few days before, but Fontaine was not among them. He fled, accompanied by his valet. Both were on horseback, remarkably well mounted, and his saddle was decorated with scarlet housings and black fringe, and pistols within holsters. His clerical costume was secularised by the fashionable wig which he wore and by a band of crape round his hat. As he sat well on his horse, his distinguished appearance was not marred by his lameness. Officers and soldiers, whom he frequently met, saluted him as an orthodox gentleman. He passed some time in paying visits to relatives and friends. At length, that he might not waste his money, which at his setting out amounted to 500 francs, he dismissed his valet and fixed his headquarters with a peasant on the estate of the Comte de Jonzac. The Comte's groom (his master being absent) was engaged to attend one horse at grass, while Fontaine rode about the country on the other, professedly on business.

The latter arrangement lasted about three months. Then came the month of October, and with it the Edict of Revocation, whereupon he went to Marennes, and arranged with an English captain to embark himself and a party at Tremblade. The party consisted of Anne Elizabeth Boursiquot (to whom he was betrothed), her sister Elizabeth, and his niece, Janette Forestier. They intended to rendezvous on the sands near the Forest of Arvert, until, hearing that the Custom-house was on the look-out for them, they abandoned that plan. By the advice of the captain they went out in a boat to meet the ship, after the voyage had begun. One of His Christian Majesty's frigates hove in sight, searched the British ship, and providentially found no prisoners, but compelled it to proceed on the straight course for England. The fugitives were immediately concealed in the bottom of the boat, and covered with an old sail. The boat being hailed by the frigate, the boatman and his son counterfeited drunkenness, and thus contrived both to quiet the suspicions of the naval captain and to give the appointed signal to the Englishman, by letting their sail drop three times while they seemed to be earnestly attempting to hoist it. The frigate sailed away towards Rochefort, and in a little time the boat made for the English vessel which had slackened its speed, and the exiles were received on board while the frigate was still in sight. After a voyage of eleven days, the party found a refuge in Barnstaple. Fontaine was hospitably received into the house of Mr Downe, along with his property, which consisted of twenty pistoles and six silver spoons, one of which was gilded and engraved with the infantine initials of his father, I. D. L. F. His betrothed accepted the hospitality of Mr Fraine.

The necessity of quickly earning a livelihood made him doubly acute. By his very first purchase, a cabin biscuit, which cost only a halfpenny, while in France the price would have been twopence, he was led to speculate in shipping grain for France. Mr Downe became his partner, getting one-half of the profits, and advancing all the money. The first cargo realised a fair profit. But, writes Fontaine, "the English seldom know when they are well off," and Mr Downe insisting on naming a different consignee for the two subsequent cargoes, the speculation was ruined by dishonest agents. Mr Downe was the owner of an estate near

Minehead, valued at £10,000. He was about 40 years of age, and unmarried. A maiden sister took charge of his house.

There was every probability that the state of Fontaine's purse would for some years be an inexorable argument against naming the day for his marriage with Miss Boursiquot. Miss Downe, with the self-satisfaction of a lady endowed with £3000, resolved to announce herself as a rival candidate for the hand and heart of the refugee, although she was his senior by at least six years. Fontaine describes the English lady as totally destitute of personal attractions, while he gives this glowing picture of his lovely affiancée:—"She was very beautiful; her skin was delicately fair; she had a brilliant colour in her cheeks, a high forehead, and a remarkably intellectual expression of countenance; her bust was fine, rather inclined to *embonpoint*, and she had a very dignified carriage which some persons condemned as haughty, but I always thought it peculiarly becoming to one of her beauty; the charms of her mind and disposition were in no way inferior to those of her person."

Mr Downe and Fontaine were able to keep up a connected conversation by having recourse to Latin, French, and English, according to the exigences of the moment. And, at least in course of time, Fontaine's knowledge of English enabled him to understand Miss Downe's hints as to the folly of his engagement, and as to new and prosperous arrangements which might result from breaking it off, when both he and Miss Boursiquot might look hopefully in another direction. He, however, took refuge, in "*n'entends pas*," successfully feigning his inability to follow her to the end of her sentences. But one day, when the farcical dialogue was being repeated, her brother came into the room, and was abruptly called upon by her to explain the two-fold project which they had agreed to suggest. Mr Downe was embarrassed; he hesitated, but at length he said, "The plain truth of the matter is, my sister wishes to marry you, and if you will agree to it, I have promised to help to remove the difficulty which we see in the way, by taking for my wife your intended lady, whom you brought with you from France." Fontaine silently drew out of his pocket the written engagement between his countrywoman and himself, and then answered Mr Downe (who had read the document without remark). He said that his heart was engaged irrevocably, and as for Miss Boursiquot, he felt confident that her feelings were unchangeable; nevertheless, he was so disinterestedly anxious for her welfare, that he would communicate to her this offer to become the wife of a rich man.

On the evening of that very day Fontaine went to Mr Fraine's house. The scene, by readers who are not natives of France, might be called rather dramatic, but it was all true love and honesty. The lovers met, and he presented the Downe double proposal before her mind in such a business-like way, that she supposed that his judgment was convinced in favour of his own marriage to Miss Downe. She burst into tears, but at last commanding herself, and scarcely raising her eyes, she said slowly and distinctly, "You are free; I release you absolutely and entirely from every promise that you have ever made to me. I feel deeply sensible of the great weight of my obligation to you for having rescued me from persecution, and brought me to this country. I shall be for ever grateful to you for it, and I will not make you such an unkind return for those favours as the holding you to your contract, and condemning you to poverty for life, would be. Think no more of me; I am contented to remain as I am; only be so good as convey to Mr Downe a request not to repeat to me himself what I have heard from you, for I will never be his wife." Fontaine, of course, told her at once that if she had accepted Mr Downe, he would have remained single. He returned home with a light heart to deliver himself of the brief message or monosyllable, No! and he observed, "Mr Downe was a man of good sense and kind feelings, and I verily believe he was relieved by the issue of the negotiation. It was otherwise with his sister; she was displeased and aggrieved, and made no secret that she was so."

The refugee pair now resolved to share each other's poverty, and they were married in the parish church of Barnstaple by the Rev. Mr Wood, the rector, on the 8th February 1686. Mr Fraine "took upon himself the furnishing of a wedding feast for us, to which he invited almost all the French refugees in the neighbourhood. Mr Downe invited the same party to a similar

entertainment at his house the day following." The poverty of the young couple was relieved by the great liberality of the inhabitants of Barnstaple. He had no assistance from the national fund, collected for the refugees, because he would receive the Lord's Supper for spiritual benefit only, and not as a qualification for pecuniary benefactions. He did receive £7 10s. as the first quarterly payment; but for want of the Episcopal sacramental certificate, he received no more, except, indeed, a gratuity of £3 when in person he appealed to the committee against the regulation.

After various straits he settled at Taunton. There he made a livelihood by teaching boarders, also by extensive provision dealing, and by the manufacture of calimanco. He prospered as well as the jealousy of the native tradesmen would allow. At last, having realised £1000, and being weary of the turmoil of business carried on amidst so much ill-will, he resolved to resume the life of a pastor. A French Protestant Synod at Taunton had some years previously (on June 10th 1688) admitted him to holy orders. In 1694 he set out for Ireland in search of a congregation.

As a specimen of his trials at Taunton, I shall give an account of his appearing according to citation before the mayor and court of aldermen, as an interloper and a "jack of all trades"—being a wool-comber, dyer, spinner, and weaver, grocer and retailer of French brandy, hatter, dealer in St Maixant stockings, and dyed chamois leather, and in tin and copper ware.

The mayor (who was a wool-comber) enquired, "Have you served an apprenticeship to all these trades?" Fontaine replied, "Gentlemen, in France a man is esteemed according to his qualifications, and men of letters and study are especially honoured by everybody if they conduct themselves with propriety, even though they should not be worth a penny. All the nobility of the land, the lords, the marquises, and dukes take pleasure in the society of such persons. In fact, there a man is thought fit for any honourable employment, if he is but learned; therefore my father, who was a worthy minister of the gospel, brought up four boys (of whom I was the youngest) in good manners and the liberal arts, hoping that wherever fortune might transport us, our education would serve instead of riches, and gain us honour among persons of honour. All the apprenticeship I have ever served, from the age of four years, has been to turn over the leaves of a book. I took the degree of Master of Arts at the age of twenty-two, and then devoted myself to the study of the Holy Scriptures. Hitherto I had been thought worthy of the best company wherever I had been; but when I came to this town, I found that science without riches was regarded as a cloud without water, or a tree without fruit,—in a word, a thing worthy of supreme contempt; so much so, that if a poor ignorant wool-comber or a hawker amassed money, he was honoured by all, and looked up to as the first in the place. I have, therefore, gentlemen, renounced all speculative science. I have become a wool-comber, a dealer in pins and laces, hoping that I may one day attain wealth, and be also one of the first men in the town."

This sally was received by the audience with a general laugh. The Recorder laid down the law as follows:—"King Charles II., of blessed memory, issued a Declaration, whereby he invited the poor Protestants, who were persecuted in France for the cause of the Gospel, to take refuge in the kingdom. If the poor refugees who have abandoned country, friends, property, and everything sweet and agreeable in this life for their religion and the glory of the Gospel—if they had not the means of gaining a livelihood, the parish would be burdened with their maintenance, for you could not send them to their birth-place. The parish is obliged to Mr Fontaine for every morsel of bread he earns for his family. In the desire he has to live independently, he humbles himself so far as to become a tradesman, a thing very rarely seen among learned men, such as I know him to be from my own conversations with him. There is no law that can disturb him." Fontaine then retired amidst showers of benedictions.

Strange to relate, he was in personal danger after the landing of William of Orange. Some of the inhabitants had denounced him as a Jesuit. "On the arrival of a company of soldiers at Taunton," says Fontaine, "they were informed that there was a French Jesuit in the place

who said mass in his house every Sunday. The captain of this company was a French Protestant, who had taken refuge in Holland. He was determined to be the first to seize the Jesuit. He was posted opposite to the door of my house with a guard of soldiers, before any of the family were stirring, except a female domestic, who was a Frenchwoman. He asked her who lived in that house. She replied, 'Mr Fontaine, a minister from Royan in France lives here.' The captain immediately desired her to go up to my room, and tell me that Captain Rabainières was below. I waited only long enough to get on my dressing-gown, and went down to welcome a dear friend; for we had been intimately acquainted with each other in France, and our residences were only four or five miles apart. We embraced one another with the warmth of fraternal affection. I was then introduced to the rest of the officers, who were most kind in their offers of friendship. They went to the door to disperse the crowd, which was not an easy matter, under the disappointment they felt at not seeing the Jesuit punished. They told them that their captain knew Mr Fontaine to be a good Protestant—better than they were in all probability."

When Fontaine went to Ireland, a new home was soon chosen. He found a congregation in Cork, where he arrived in 1694, and was installed by an Act of Consistory, dated January 19th 1695. His settlement attracted many refugees to Cork, and the congregation increased. He turned his £1000 to account, and established a manufactory of broad cloth. This provided much welcome employment, and was also necessary for his own support, because the congregation could not give him any stipend. He also received the freedom of the city. All this happiness was destroyed in consequence of his sermon on the text, "Thou shalt not steal." In his expository details he upbraided dishonesty so effectively, that a merchant interpreted the discourse as a personal attack, he having just perpetrated a swindling act, of which, however, Fontaine had not heard. The said Mr De la Croix took his revenge by propagating notions of the advantages of the Episcopal ordination, which Fontaine had not. By this artful scheme the Bishop of Cork, was drawn into the quarrel, and also His Excellency the Earl of Galway; and so Fontaine resigned the pastorate in 1698. But Lord Galway recommended a French Presbyterian as his successor, Mr Marcomb, who was appointed, to Fontaine's satisfaction.

Soon after this, Fontaine took a farm at Bear Haven on Bantry Bay, being anxious to found a fishery. He took also other small farms, including the island of Dursey. In 1699 his son Aaron's death affected him and his family so much, that they finally quitted Cork. Some London merchants took shares in the fishery; but becoming engrossed with the wine trade, they detained the vessels that should have transported the fish, and the fishery company failed. Fontaine, however, still resided at Bear Haven. He thus describes his neighbours:—

"My Irish neighbours were in the habit of pillaging and cheating me in a thousand indirect ways. I had brought thirteen destitute Frenchmen into the neighbourhood, who had served in the army under King William, and had been discharged (the war being over), and they knew not where to lay their heads. I gave them land to cultivate; but whether it was owing to their ignorance of agriculture, or their habits of indolence engendered by a military life, or the perpetual injuries they received at the hands of the Irish, I know not, but certain it is, they became discouraged, and most of them left me before the end of the three years. I lost £80 by them, having advanced so much for their use.

"There was a Court held for the Barony of Bear Haven, which was competent to decide in all causes under forty shillings. I do not believe that there were more than half a dozen Protestants in the adjacent country besides my own family and those I had brought with me; so that when I or any of my Protestants demanded what was due to us, the matter was referred to a jury of Papists, who invariably decided against us. If the Irish took it into their heads to make any claim upon us, however unfounded, they were sure to recover. After some little experience, I put a stop to this system of cheaterly and false swearing, by appealing from the decision of the Barony to the County Assizes."

Fontaine made himself conspicuous as a Justice of the Peace, in endeavouring to break up

the connection between the Irish robbers* and the French privateersmen. This came to a height in June 1704, when a French privateer entered the bay, and attacked his settlement, but was signally discomfited.

Fontaine, as a Justice of the Peace who did his duty, had been introduced to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, the Duke of Ormond, in the autumn of 1703. The Duke was then at Kingsale on an official tour. Fontaine, with the secret support of Lord-Chancellor Cox, represented to His Excellency that a fort should be erected at Bear Haven. The Duke, finding that Fontaine was a refugee, conversed with him in French in the kindest manner; but seeing that his petition was to be enlarged upon by some of the company, he abruptly closed the interview, saying, in a jocular tone, "Pray to God for us, and we will take care to defend you in return."

After the fight with the privateer, Fontaine wrote to the Duke; and an extract from his letter, and a valuable public document which was obtained, will give the reader some idea of the circumstances. The letter began thus:—"Since I had the honour of paying my respects to your Grace at Kinsale, I have not failed to pray for you daily, in conformity with the request you then made; but you must allow me to complain that your Grace has not been equally true to the promise you then made of defending me; for without your assistance I have had to defend myself from the attack of a French corsair."

The following is the public document addressed "to our right trusty and right entirely beloved cousin and councillor, James, Duke of Ormond, our Lieutenant-General, and General Governor of our kingdom of Ireland, and to our Lieutenant-Deputy, or other chief governor or governors of that our kingdom for the time being:—"

"ANNE R.

"Right trusty and right entirely beloved Cousin and Councillor, we greet you well. Whereas, James Fontaine, clerk, did by his humble petition to us pray that we would be graciously pleased to bestow on him a pension of five shillings a day on our establishment of our kingdom of Ireland, in consideration of his good services in his defence against a French Privateer, and the great charge he is at in securing the remote port he lives in against the insults of the French, and whereas our High Treasurer of England hath laid before us a report made by you upon said petition, wherein you testify that the petitioner is settled in a very remote port, in Bear Haven in our said kingdom, which place is very much infested with the privateers—that he hath built a very strong house with a small sort of sod fort, on which he hath the permission of our said government to mount five guns,—that he hath often been in danger of being attacked by the privateers, and that by the continuance of the said fort he hath protected several merchant ships,—that there hath been produced to you several very ample certificates from the merchants of Dublin and of Cork, of the commodiousness of that place for securing merchant ships, as also from the captains of our ships, the 'Arundel' and the 'Bridgewater'—and that upon the whole you are of opinion that the said James Fontaine very well deserves our favour and encouragement, in consideration of his said services and expenses. And in regard he is a French Refugee you propose that a pension of five shillings a day may be inserted for him on the establishment under the head of French Pensioner, to commence from Michaelmas 1705. Now we, having taken the premises into our Royal consideration, are graciously pleased to consent thereunto, and accordingly our will and pleasure is, and we do hereby direct, authorise and command, that you cause the said pension or allowance of five shillings a day to be paid to him the said James Fontaine, or his assignees, from Michaelmas last 1705 as aforesaid, for maintaining the said fort for the better preserva-

* It is amusing to observe that Irish robbers were then called *TORIES*. Fontaine uses that word, and his editor remarks, "The word *tory* having been long known as a cant term applied to a political party, it may not be amiss to remark that it is here used according to its original signification. It is derived from the Irish word *TORUIGHIM*, *to pursue for purposes of violence*, and in the days of Queen Elizabeth we discover it first used to signify the lawless banditti who were so troublesome in Ireland during her reign. In England we find it applied by the opponents of Charles I. to his followers, under an idea that he favoured the Irish rebels."

tion of our subjects of the said kingdom against the insults of French Privateers, the same to continue during our pleasure, and to be placed for him in the list of French Pensioners on the establishment of our expenses in our said kingdom, and paid in like manner as others, the pensions within the said list, are or shall be payable. And this shall be as well as to you for so doing, as to our Lieutenant-Deputy or other chief governor or governors of our said kingdom for the time being, and to our Receiver-General and all others concerned in making the said payments, and allowing thereof upon account, a sufficient warrant. And so we bid you very heartily farewell.

“ Given at our Court of St James’s, the twelfth day of October 1705, in the fourth year of our reign.”

By Her Majesty’s command,

GODOLPHIN.”

Besides this, he received a grant of £50 for building the fort, and a rent from government of £23 16s for the Island of Dursej.

On Fontaine’s side, a Scotchman, John M’Liney, and a Frenchman, Paul Roussier, greatly distinguished themselves—but none more than Madame Fontaine, who showed no sign of fear; though a military officer residing in the house was in such trepidation that in loading a musket, he put the ball next the touch-hole, and rammed down two cartridges over and above. She encouraged everybody with pious and courageous words, and acted as aide-de-camp and surgeon. The engagement (which was, in fact, a siege, or a storming of the buildings) lasted from 8 in the morning till 4 in the afternoon, when the French decamped with the loss of three killed, besides seven wounded. They spread in their own country a salutary terror of Fontaine and his battery. In 1705, when Fontaine was in London on the business of his fort and pension (the guest of John Arnauld) a privateer cautiously approached Bear Haven. “ But,” writes Fontaine, “ my wife was on the alert, she had all the cannons loaded, and one of them fired off to shew that all was in readiness for defence. When they saw this they veered off, landed on Great Island, stole some cattle, and sailed away.”

All was tolerably quiet till the month of October 1708—a company of soldiers was quartered in the Half Barony, and the captain was a boarder with the gallant refugee family. On the 7th day of the month he was absent. A French privateer came in the evening to reconnoitre and to try stratagem where an assault had failed. She hoisted English colours, which deceived the subaltern, who was temporarily resident. This ensign hastened to get on board to drink with the ship’s officers, and was taken prisoner. He was regaled to his heart’s content and speedily became intoxicated, when he revealed the circumstance that there was no officer in Fontaine’s house. A great portion of the crew were Irishmen, and when they landed an attacking party at midnight, their guide was a man named Sullivan, to whose family Fontaine had shown great generosity. They did not succeed in surprising the household. Fontaine hailed them through a speaking-trumpet. No answer being returned, they were fired upon. They then separated into six detachments, and began to set fire to the offices and stacks; the household, under the directions of Madame Fontaine, protected the dwelling-house from combustion. The men of the family discharged their firearms at intervals, but at random, on account of the smoke from the burning premises. The enemy, with ignited straw tied to long poles, continued to do all the mischief they could; and some of them with crowbars made a breach in the wall of the house. This, however, did not serve their purpose, because the constant firing from the house led them to suppose that it was defended by at least twenty soldiers; they therefore kept at some distance and wasted their ammunition. At length they summoned the besieged to surrender, and offered good quarter. The firing ceased, and Fontaine advanced to the breach for a parley, when one of the Irish lieutenants took aim at him and would have killed him, if Peter Fontaine had not promptly pulled his father aside. This treachery made the Fontaines resume firing, which did not relax for a quarter of an hour. The enemy then threatened to throw in a barrel of gunpowder and blow them up; to which Fontaine replied, that he had enough powder to blow himself and them all into the air together. Terms were then agreed to, by which the enemy got the plunder, and the Fontaines and their

followers life and liberty. The brigands secured the plunder ; but they made Fontaine, his sons James and Peter, and two servants, their prisoners.

Against this violation of a treaty Fontaine protested ; but the commander replied, “ Your name has been so notorious among the privateers of St Maloes, that I dare not return to the vessel without you. The captain’s order was peremptory, to bring you on board dead or alive.” When he appeared on deck the crew shouted “ *Vive le Roi!*” and repeated it three times in grand chorus. Fontaine called out to them in a loud tone, “ Gentlemen, how long is it since victories have been so rare in France that you sing in triumph on such an occasion as this? A glorious achievement truly ! Eighty men, accustomed to warfare, have actually been so successful as to compel one poor minister, four cowherds, and five children, to surrender upon terms.”

In the cabin Fontaine represented to the captain that his being taking prisoner was a breach of treaty, and that the Government would retaliate on French prisoners of war. This was actually done ; French officers in Kingsale were put in irons, and also the French prisoners at Plymouth. In the meantime the captain landed the ensign (not yet sober) and all the captives, except Fontaine. He opened up a communication with Madame Fontaine on Dursey Island, and fixed her husband’s ransom at £100. She paid £30, which she contrived to borrow ; whereupon Fontaine was liberated and his son Peter was carried off as a hostage to guarantee the remaining £70. This balance was never claimed. The French government, convinced by international law, and by the groans articulated from Kingsale and Plymouth, sent the youth home to his now celebrated parents.

Fontaine had recently made the acquaintance of the Commander of the Forces, General Ingoldsby, who proved a friend in need. He procured for him an immediate grant of £100. His pension was continued ; and the General undertook to obtain for Peter and John, the position and rights of half-pay officers.

Bear Haven, having been completely desolated, was abandoned. The county of Cork paid Fontaine £800 as damages, it having been proved that Irishmen had been concerned in the attack and robbery. This money enabled him to begin a school at Dublin for instruction in Latin, Greek, and French, geography, mathematics, and fortification. There were very suitable premises in St Stephen’s Green, with a yard and garden, 300 feet in length and 40 feet in breadth. But the house was supposed to be haunted. No one having for several years offered to tenant it, Fontaine easily obtained a lease of 99 years for an annual rent of £10. The spectres proved to be a gang of Irish vagrants, whose nocturnal howlings did not alarm the brave refugees, and who were ejected without delay. The school was most successful, and Fontaine passed the remainder of his days with serenity. His noble wife died on the 29th of January 1721, and his unmarried daughter, Elizabeth, presided over his housekeeping afterwards. His married daughter and three of his sons had emigrated to Virginia. It was to them that he addressed his autobiography ; and he wrote out a verbatim copy of it for his other two sons who lived in London. All this he accomplished in less than three months, namely, between March 26th and 21st June 1722.

Having had no space for more than a very small portion of those memoirs, I have omitted the many pious and unaffected comments and ejaculations which the work contains. The following sentences present a specimen and summary of them :—“ My dear children, I would fain hope that the pious examples of those from whom we are descended, may warm your hearts. You cannot fail to notice in the course of their lives the watchful hand of God’s providence. I hope you will resolve to dedicate yourselves wholly and unreservedly to the service of that God whom they worshipped at the risk of their lives ; and that you and those who come after you will be steadfast in the profession of that pure reformed religion, for which they endured with unshaken constancy the most severe trials. When I look back upon the numberless uncommon and unmerited mercies bestowed upon myself, may my gratitude towards my Almighty Benefactor be increased, and my confidence in him so strengthened, that I may be enabled for the future to cast all my care upon him. The frailties and sins of the different

periods of my life are brought to my mind. Great as is my debt of gratitude for the things of this life, how incalculably greater is it for the mercy to my immortal soul, in God having shed the blood of his only begotten Son to redeem it! O my God! I entreat thee to continue thy fatherly protection to me during the few days I have yet to live, and at last to receive my soul into thy everlasting arms. Amen."

My readers will be pleased if I give the names of other Huguenot refugees preserved in this exile's memoirs. The first is Mr Maureau, an advocate of Saintes, who managed Fontaine's case before the French courts, and who knew that the successful appeal to parliament had set at liberty twenty of Fontaine's poor and pious neighbours, for whose sake he had voluntarily surrendered himself for trial. This gentleman, becoming a refugee, was appointed secretary to the Committee in London for administering relief to the necessitous refugees. When the Committee refused Fontaine's claim, on account of nonconformity to the sacramental test, Mr Maureau, with much warmth, pled his cause, saying, "You will not, I trust, suffer so worthy a man to be reduced to extreme want, without affording him any assistance,—a man who has shown that he counted his life as nothing when the glory of God was in question, and who voluntarily and generously exposed himself to uphold the faith of a number of poor country people. Perhaps there are not four ministers who have received the charity of the Committee, who have done so much for the cause of true religion as he has done."

In Barnstaple, Fontaine mentions the surnames of Mausy (the French pastor) and Juliot. He had boarders at Taunton—one named Travernier (from Plymouth), and another, Garaché. At Cork the Huguenot names are Abelin, Caillon, P. Renue, P. Cesteau, M. Ardouin, and John Hanneton. He had dealings with three London merchants, Renue, Thomas, and Gourbould. At Bear Haven, he had reason to praise two French soldiers, Paul Roussier and Claude Bonnet.

In the French Register at Portarlington, the surname of La Lande occurs—for instance, Monsieur Aulnis de La Lande. It is probably to him that Fontaine, among the reminiscences of his own school-days, makes the following allusion:—

"Mr de La Lande, who now lives at Port Arlington in Ireland (1722), was at Rochelle in Mr Arnauld's school, at the same time I was there (1664-1666). We became the greatest friends, and we desired some mode of showing it to each other. We decided at last that when either of us should be taken to the room for chastisement, the other should follow and call Mr Arnauld names for his cruelty, which would of course irritate him, and then we should be both punished together. . . . The object was fully accomplished. . . . Mr Arnauld tried to discover what had prompted such conduct, but we would not have disclosed it for the world. Some of our schoolfellows, however, let out the secret. He tried various expedients to conquer our resolution, but in vain. At one time he punished the innocent, and allowed the guilty to go free; this pleased us mightily, for we were able to testify our affection by saving each other from the rod. At last his mother-in-law, my Aunt Bouquet, persuaded him to adopt the following plan. His habit was to keep a record of the faults of each pupil, and to administer the rod when a certain number had been committed. So when one of us two had reached the limit, the punishment was delayed until the other had filled up his measure, and then both were whipped at the same time. This plan worked well, and made us circumspect, to spare each other."

Many of the Fontaines and their connections became refugees, as appears from the following notes, which may be called their "Refugee Pedigree:—"

JACQUES FONTAINE, Pastor of Vaux and Royan, (born 1603, died 1666), married,
1st, in 1628, Miss Thompson, of London; and
2dly, in 1641, Marie, daughter of Monsieur Chaillon, of Rue au Roy.

His children were

JACQUES, Pastor of Archiac, in Saintonge, who died in the prime of life (and before the

birth of Jacques, the refugee). After his death, his widow suffered a three years' imprisonment, and was then banished. She and

Three sons became refugees in London—one of whom became a Protestant minister in Germany. As to the latter, I find his autograph in the Rev. William Douglas's Album, in which he wrote what follows :—

Christiano Homini quæ radix? Pietas,—quæ lex? Veritas,—qui finis? Charitas,
—qui modus?—in divinis Fides, in humanis Humilitas, in utrisque anguina
Prudentia columbinæ Simplicitati juncta.

Hæc in sanctam memoriam
Nobilissimo D:^{no} Possessori
adscriptis

ANDREAS DE LA FONTAINE,
Ecclesiæ Reform : Hamburgs.
Pastor.

19 gbris
1688.

PIERRE, assistant and successor to his father as Pastor of Vaux. His temple was demolished, and he was banished. He became chaplain of the *Pest House*, in London. He was alive and on active duty in 1697. He had three daughters. His youngest daughter, Esther, became the wife of Jean Arnauld, refugee merchant in London, "whose uprightness and correctness of judgment caused him frequently to be called upon to act as umpire, when differences arose between any of the French merchants in London." J. A. was the grandson of Madame Bouquet, who was a sister of *the first Jacques Fontaine* mentioned in this pedigree.

JUDITH, widow of Monsieur Guiennot, had to take refuge in London.

Four daughters were refugees in London—who, with their mother, were dependent upon needlework for their support.

ELIZABETH was the wife of Pastor Sautreau, of Saujon, in Saintonge.

Five children (with the father and mother), having fled to Dublin, set sail for America, but the ship was wrecked, and all seven were drowned within sight of their desired haven, Boston.

[The above were children of the first wife.]

ANN, wife of Leon Testard, Sieur des Meslars—both took refuge in Plymouth, but she died a few months after landing, "rejoicing to leave her children in a land where the pure gospel was preached."

MARIE, wife of Pastor Forestier, of St Mesme—both became refugees.

Their children were—

Janette, whom her uncle brought to England.

Pierre, watchmaker in London.

JACQUES (or James), born in 1658, married in 1686 Anne Elizabeth Boursiquot; "she willingly gave up relations, friends, and wealth."

His children were—

James, born in 1687, was married in Ireland—a farmer, settled in Virginia in 1717.

Aaron, died young.

Mary Ann, Mrs Maury.

Peter, B.A. of Trinity College, Dublin, married in 1714 Elizabeth Fourreau.

He became a clergyman in Virginia.

John, b. 1693, a military officer.

Moses, B.A., also of Dublin—studied law in London—but became an engraver.

Francis, b. 1697, M.A. of Trinity College, Dublin. He was admitted to holy orders by the Bishop of London (Robinson) in 1721, and settled in Virginia.

Elizabeth, b. 1701. After her father's death, she lived with John and Moses, and was married to Mr Daniel Torin.

II. ENSIGN JOHN FONTAINE.

JOHN, the fifth child, and (at the date of his entering the army) the third surviving son of the Rev. James Fontaine, was born at Taunton in 1693. He was a dutiful son and pupil of his father; but a prospect appearing of his being enrolled in the British army, he was allowed to desist from more profound study, and gave proof of talent in the art of military drawing, and in kindred pursuits. All the family had made the acquaintance of General Ingoldsby about two months before the destruction of their home at Bear Haven. The General was Commander of the Forces in Ireland, and frequently acted as a Lord Justice. When on an official tour he was met by Fontaine, who asked him to visit his snug house and fort. "He accepted my invitation (says Fontaine), and he and his whole retinue remained with me three days, during which time I treated them as hospitably as I possibly could, making them welcome to the best the country afforded. Having had a little notice beforehand we had time to make preparations, and I was able to have as many as fourteen or fifteen different dishes on the table every day, and a great variety of wine. He has been one of my best friends from that day to this."

On hearing of the disaster inflicted by the French and Irish pirates, the General immediately obtained for him a grant of £100; and being pleased with the appearance and gallantry of his sons Peter and John, he put them down on his list to be provided for. He entered them among half-pay military officers, and in 1709 they received orders to embark for Spain; but Mr Secretary Dawson removed their names from the list. This disappointment proved to be a merciful providential appointment, as the small transport in which the officers sailed had to surrender to a large French-man-of-war, after a desperate resistance, in which one-half of their number were killed, and almost all the remainder were wounded. Next year, however, the Lord-Lieutenant having removed from the regiments under orders for Spain the names of all subalterns under sixteen years of age, John Fontaine applied for one of the vacancies. But his Lordship had resolved to sell all the commissions, and so John's prospects of success were more than doubtful. "At last (says his father) on the very eve of departure, finding that some of the commissions were unsold, General Ingoldsby went himself to the Lord Lieutenant and obtained an Ensign's commission for John, without our having to pay anything more than the office fees."

Ensign John Fontaine, of Colonel Shaw's regiment of foot, sailed from Cork in February 1711, and from Plymouth on March 26th; the troops arrived at Lisbon on April 22d; and at Barcelona on May 31st. They evacuated Barcelona in November 1712; and were afterwards quartered in Majorca and Minorca. But in 1713 they were back again in England, and with the war John Fontaine's military life ended.

Our Generals, employed under the Harley-Bolingbroke *regime*, were expected to do nothing; and if the Allies wished to fight the enemy, their duty was to draw off the British troops. So that young Fontaine was never in action. What is most interesting in this part of his Journal is his paragraph about the poor Catalans whom our un-English rulers abandoned to Philip the Bourbon's revenge:—

"The latter end of November 1712 we had orders to embark; and as we were leaving Barcelona, the poor Spaniards seeing they were left in the lurch, they called us traitors and

all the most vile names they could invent; and the common people threw stones at us, saying we had betrayed them into the hands of King Philip. It was with a great deal of difficulty we embarked."

The true English party at home implored our Queen to throw her shield round the Catalans, but in vain. All the glory of Lord Peterborough was tarnished by our sacrificing that people, for it evidently would have been better if Catalonia had never been taken. Lord Peterborough, at the time when he ought to have joined Lord Galway at Madrid, had been made our ambassador for the express purpose of residing in that capital and consolidating King Charles's dynasty. We have seen how Lord Galway drove the Duke of Berwick's forces before him, and how also the concentration of the French forces, for their siege of Barcelona, had cleared Lord Galway's road to Madrid. But even if we accept Lord Peterborough's statement * that it was he himself who had cleared the way to Madrid for Lord Galway, what was the use of his clearing the way to the rendezvous, if he did not himself hasten to join the allies there? What happened at last was a consequence of this cruel trifling; we lost the whole of Spain except Catalonia, and for that corner of land Lord Peterborough's political friends did not care. Those politicians made use of an after-thought as an apology, namely, that King Charles III. having become the Emperor Charles VI. of Germany, it was impolitic for them to continue to support his claim to the throne of Spain. But they had abandoned him, before the unexpected death of his brother took place. Queen Anne, in reply to the lately mentioned appeal on behalf of the Catalans, was instructed by her ministers to insinuate that the new Emperor should relieve them. But those ministers had left him in a helpless condition in Spain. In order to take possession of his German dominions, he had to steal away from Spain like a poor hunted refugee.†

To return to John Fontaine. He staid in Dublin for some time after leaving the army. The result of some grave family consultations was, that it would be desirable to obtain a settlement for the clan in Virginia. And John, having a love of travel and adventure, was sent across the ocean to make enquiries and to buy an estate. He landed in the new country on the 28th May 1715; and, acting on the best advice, he made his way to Williamsburg. Though industrious in his negotiations, he reports himself as still a visitor there in April 1716, not having made a purchase. He obtained the friendship of Governor Spotsiswood, and accompanied him in his famous expedition for the discovery of the *Passage over the Mountains*, when Mount George and Mount Alexander received their names. On the second day they came to Christanna Fort. As to the fourth day we find the following satisfactory entry in John Fontaine's Journal:—"In the morning I rid out with the Governor and some of the people of the fort to view the lands which were not yet taken up. We saw several fine tracts of land, well watered, and good places to make mills on. I had a mind to take some of it up, so I asked the Governor if he would permit me to take up 3000 acres, and he gave me his promise for it. I went through the land I designed to take up, and viewed it. It lies upon both sides of Meherrin River, and I design to have it in a long square, so that I shall have at least three miles of the river in the tract. I am informed that this river disgorgeth itself into the Sound of Currytuck. The river, though large and deep, is not navigable, because of the great rocks it falls over in some places. There is a great deal of fish in this

* Lord Peterborough's case is faithfully reported in 'Collins' Peerage,' though in the ambiguous language which such a case required:—"The possession he gained of Catalonia, of the kingdom of Valencia, &c., gave opportunity to the Earl of Galway to advance to Madrid without a blow. . . . That war being looked on as likely to be concluded, he received Her Majesty's commission for Ambassador Extraordinary, with powers and instructions for treating and adjusting all matters of state and traffic between the two kingdoms. Whatever were the causes of his being recalled from Spain, they are not publicly known; but 'tis certain that our affairs there were soon after in a very ill condition by the loss of the Battle of Almanza."

† "Charles hastened home from Spain to take possession of the throne which had been unexpectedly vacated. The Capuchin Monks of Mount St Jerome helped him to escape. That act cost the guardian and reader of the cloister their lives."—*History of the Protestant Church of Hungary*, translated by Craig (London, 1854), page 265.

place; we had two for dinner—about sixteen inches long—which were very good and firm. I gave ten shillings to Captain Hicks for his trouble in showing me the land, and he promises that he will assist me in the surveying of it. We saw several turkeys and deers, but we killed none. We returned to the fort about five of the clock.”

We have now before us John Fontaine, as an owner of landed property in Spottsylvania (so named after the Governor Alexander Spottiswood) in King William county, Virginia, the father and founder of a plantation, at which, however, he was not himself to reside.

The first of his brothers who arrived was the Rev. Peter Fontaine and family; they came in December 1716. The singular circumstances of the marriage of Peter while a student at Trinity College, Dublin, are thus related in old Fontaine's Memoirs. “In the month of November 1713 Captain Boulay, a French gentleman, a half-pay cavalry officer, with whom I had not the slightest acquaintance, called upon me to offer his granddaughter in marriage to one of my sons. Her name was Elizabeth Fourreau. He was upwards of eighty years of age; she was his sole descendant, her father and mother were both dead, and she was to inherit all his property. He told me he had heard an excellent report of my sons . . . he said he preferred in the husband of his child virtue without fortune, above the largest property, accompanied with piety and discretion.” On the 29th March 1714 Peter was married to the Huguenot girl, whose grandfather died in March 1715, leaving £1000. John wrote to him that he had found a parish for him in Virginia. “He had taken his degree, and was ready to be ordained at the time he received John's letter. He accordingly went to London, and received ordination from the hands of the Bishop of London, who is also Bishop of all the British colonies.” Peter obtained the parish of Roanoke near Williamsburg, and took up his abode there.

John set about building houses in his Spottylvanian plantation; and before they were quite finished his eldest brother James arrived to occupy the first lot; this was in October 1717. In the following March their brother-in-law Maury arrived, and secured his lot. “On the 17th of July 1718 (says John), I made over the deeds of the land to my brother James in order to go to England.”

John was again in Dublin in 1719. More than a year thereafter he removed to London, taking with him his youngest brother Francis, now a Master of Arts, who was fortified with a letter from the Dublin Primate, Archbishop King, to the Bishop of London (Robinson). The bishop ordained him in 1721, and he joined the family colony in Virginia. He was a superior scholar and an eloquent preacher, so that he had the choice of several parishes, and settled in St Margaret's Parish, King William County.

Thus we have marshalled before us the Fontaine colonists. The 1st of June annually they observed as a religious festival, a family thanksgiving for the many providential deliverances experienced by their father's household. They all met on that day, and went to the House of God in company. A sermon preached by Peter Fontaine at the festival in 1723 has been printed.

After the death of their father (the date of which is not preserved) the Virginians reported their progress to their brothers John and Moses, who lived in London. The latter was an engraver. John, having been forsaken by the military service, resolved to work for his livelihood, and under the tuition of his cousin, Peter Forestier, he became a watchmaker. John was married, and had four sons (or four boys in his family, sons and grandsons, or nephews?); he had also an only daughter, who was married to her first cousin, a son of her uncle James Fontaine, farmer in Virginia. Her early death was a great grief to the English and the American family circles.

The letters published in the Huguenot Family Volume afford us the first information of the state and circumstances of the Fontaine and Maury families in Virginia; but they begin at the not very early date of 1745. By this time the Rev. Peter Fontaine was married to a second wife. But the Huguenot wife of his youth was not forgotten, as appears from Mrs Maury's tribute to her memory:—“My brother Peter's first wife Lizzy was one of the loveliest creatures

I ever saw. God had endowed her with all the virtues of a good Christian, a good wife, and a watchful mother. She never let the least thing pass in her children that had any appearance of evil in it, and was very tender of them. She was an obliging neighbour, charitable to the poor, beloved of all them that knew her, and most dear to us." She left a son Peter "loved and respected of all," and a daughter Mary Ann, who married Isaac Winston, "a wealthy planter, and (what is much better) a tender husband and a good Christian." The Rev. Peter's second wife was "a lovely, sweet-tempered woman." By taking notes from the remaining correspondence, I am able to report that the second family of the Rev. Peter Fontaine (who after 1749, and until his death in 1757, is addressed as Minister of Westover, James River, Virginia) consisted of four sons, Moses (born 1743), Joseph (born 1749), Aaron (born 1754), and Abraham (born 1756), and two daughters, Sarah (born 1745), and Elizabeth (born 1748); the latter became the wife of William Mills.

The eldest son of the Rev. Peter was Peter Fontaine of Rock Castle, Hanover County, Virginia; he had three daughters, Sarah, Mary Ann, and Judith, and four sons, John, Peter (who died young), William, and James. In the generations when these regions were British colonies, the Fontaines may be classed as Refugees in the British Empire; but if the above-named William was the same person as "Colonel William Fontaine" (though the colonel may have been a son of uncle James Fontaine, the farmer) who wrote the letter dated "Richmond, 26th Oct. 1781," that letter is so American that to attempt a memoir of its writer would be to overleap the necessary limits of this publication.

I go back to the Rev. Francis Fontaine. Before he left England he married, in London, Miss Mary Glanisson, a young lady of a French family of Jonzac, in Saintonge. But he also comes to view in 1745 with a second wife and a second family. And his sister, Mrs Maury, writes:—"As for his first wife she was, I believe, a good Christian, and very careful to instil good principles in her children, but she was not a fit wife for this country; so by that means, and by her ignorance of country business, my brother was almost ruined in his estate." This wife left one daughter, Mary, and three sons, of whom Thomas died young. The Rev. Francis was more unhappy in his second wife, although she was "a mighty housewife." She was "the daughter of one Brush, who was gunsmith to Colonel Spotswood; he used to clean the magazines and the Governor's arms at the same time my brother John was at the Governor's." This Mrs F. Fontaine usurped the throne, and ruled with relentless tyranny; her stepsons, Francis and John, had to fly from her, to give up thoughts of learned professions, and to become carpenters. Their own father was transformed into a heartless stepfather, and continued such, dying unreconciled in 1749. The lads, however, eventually prospered in life. Their uncle Peter wrote in 1751, "Frank was cast off without a rag to cover him, and we see how God hath taken him up, and hath been to him a most tender and kind Father;" and in 1754, "Francis lives at New Berne, in North Carolina, has three children, two boys and a girl. He and his brother John have all the business of the town, they both of them being good joiners and carpenters. John is lately married to a girl of good fortune and reputation, a thing somewhat scarce in those parts, as they have no established laws and very little of the Gospel in that whole colony." Peter compared his cruel sister-in-law to Xantippe. But the said Xantippe shewed great affection for her own daughter, Judith, and also for her only son, James Maury Fontaine (born 1738), whom she sent to college, and who became an ornament to his family. All these family details were reported to John and Moses Fontaine, who as sojourners in the mother country were the virtual heads of the family, and to whom each of the Virginians signed as an affectionate brother (or sister), and "humble servant." As Moses was John's faithful shadow, I need now speak of John only.

When John Fontaine was in about his sixtieth year, his thoughts turned to an exchange of London life for the air of the country. He found a good investment in South Wales; so that in 1754 he was the resident proprietor of Cwm Castle, probably in the county of Glamorgan. The last memento of him, which we have, is his letter to the Rev. James Maury, dated 2d January 1764:—

“Dear Nephew Maury,—The last letter we received from you was dated the 18th June 1760, which was very acceptable to us, the which we answered the 24th January 1761, and have received no letter from you since. Our great desire to hear from you will not permit us to be any longer silent, as the peace is now concluded so much to our advantage, and more especially so to all those who possess estates in North America, bounded on the north by the North Pole, on the south by the Gulf of Florida, and the west by the great river Mississippi. Nothing more can (we think) be wished for as to extent of territory, but to be thankful for this great enlargement, and the great deliverance from our powerful enemies the French and Spaniards, and from popery and slavery which in our opinion is as great if not a greater blessing than any, or indeed all the others put together.

“Now, thanks be to our great God for it, HE may and will be worshipped without a rival from the North Pole to the Gulf of Florida. It is impossible for you and me, without his especial assistance, to be sufficiently thankful for so many favours conferred on us, and our posterity. A land flowing with milk and honey to inhabit—the pure and unadulterated doctrine brought down from heaven by our blessed Saviour and Redeemer to lead us to eternal life,—these are blessings so complete that no more can be added to them.

“The poor natural inhabitants still remain as thorns in your sides, lest you and we should forget the past deliverances. We pray to God to open their understandings, and make them one flock with us, obedient to the same God and Saviour. Whilst those Indians continue uninstructed in the principles of Christ’s true religion, they will be cruel and treacherous. We are greatly concerned to hear of the horrible cruelties committed by those infidels upon your out settlers. We hope you will soon put a stop to their proceedings, and by a superior force bring them to reason, and convince them of the folly of such undertakings.

“I received the Timothy grass you were so kind as to send me. I sowed some in my garden, and it grew well. I tried in the field, and the grass killed it. It would grow well in well cultivated lands if well weeded and (I think) would produce a great crop; but I am too old and too feeble to undertake anything, and I am often confined with the gout.—Your affectionate uncle,
JOHN FONTAINE.”

I understand, that this worthy representative of a Huguenot family founded an English family of Fontaines, but I have found no genealogical record of it. Ann Maury says that it was from his descendants she borrowed his Journal, and she adds, “They are now (1853) living in the neighbourhood of London. I cannot refrain from expressing my admiration of the piety and excellence of my kinswomen.” She presents her readers with a pleasing portrait of John Fontaine, “from an original likeness by Worlidge,” and with another of the reverend and venerable refugee “after an original likeness in the possession of Miss Fontaine, Bexley, England.”

III.—THE MAURY FAMILY.

MATTHEW MAURY, of Castel Mauron, in the Province of Gascony, came to Dublin as a Protestant Refugee in 1714. On October 20th 1716 he married Mary Ann Fontaine (who was born on April 12th 1690) the eldest daughter of the Rev. James Fontaine, who describes his son-in-law as “a very honest man and a good economist, but without property.” In 1717 he made a voyage to Virginia, and took a portion of the land which John had purchased, and having given orders for building a dwelling-house, he returned to Dublin. In September 1719 the Maury family sailed for America, and arrived there in due time as settlers.

The eldest child, James, was born in Dublin, and made the voyage to Virginia in the unconsciousness of infancy. Afterwards a daughter was added to the family, named Mary, who became the wife of Daniel Claiborne. And in 1731 Abraham Maury brought up the rear, a very favourite child who grew, up to be a devoted son, an excellent man, and a successful merchant.

The good refugee, Matthew Maury, died in 1752. His widow writes to John and Moses Fontaine on the 15th April, as their "most afflicted and affectionate sister and servant to command." "I have been deprived of the dearest partner of my joys and affections. He made the most uneasy things tolerable to me, and though I knew we were mortal, and that we must soon part, yet by my continual indispositions, I thought my labours were the nearest at an end. . . . Cruel self-love, that I should lament the happiness of that good soul which is gone before me, to attain the immortal crown of glory which God has promised through the merits of our blessed Saviour to them that trust in him." Her husband (one of the family writes) "left her the house, land, and stock, household furniture, and six working slaves during her life, besides £20 a-year."

Most reluctantly did these settlers own slaves. Not their own desires, but the politicians of old England, brought this about. The Rev. Peter Fontaine calls them, "our intestine enemies, the slaves," and he writes in 1757, "Our Assembly hath often attempted to lay a duty upon them which would amount to a prohibition, such as ten or twenty pounds a-head: but no Governor dare pass such a law, having instructions to the contrary from the Board of Trade at home. By this means they are forced upon us, whether we will or will not. This plainly shows the African company hath the advantage of the colonies, and may do as it pleases with the Ministry." It was in the house of this reverend brother that Mrs Maury died on 31st December 1755. In writing the news to England he thus expresses himself:—"My sister came to reside with us in the beginning of last October, but we had no long enjoyment of her company, for she departed this life the last day of December, after a five days' illness, which, though very sharp, she bore with a truly Christian patience and resignation to the Divine will, spending her last breath in prayers for all her relations and acquaintances, and in blessing me and my little family, one by one, as we stood in tears around her. The first thing she said to me when she came to my house was, *Brother, I am come to die with you.* Her countenance was cheerful, and I was in hopes that her words would not be so soon accomplished. During the little time she was with us, she did me and my family much good by her pious exhortations, and she instructed my little ones in commendable works they were unacquainted with before, which she was very capable to teach them. She had, after her duty to God, taken the excellent daughter (Prov. xxxi., 18 to the end) for her pattern; and she kept all about her employed, and would often wish she had strength to do more herself, and not to be the only lazy person in the family; and yet in that short time, besides her daily task in the Bible, four chapters, and the Psalms for the day, she had read the best part of *The Persecutions of the Vaudois of Piedmont*, a pretty large folio by John Leger, a minister of that country. She concluded her labours here in the sixty-sixth year of her age, and by the truly Christian manner of her death gave us great comfort who were eye-witnesses of it. This being the last scene she acted on this troublesome stage of life, I have transmitted it to you faithfully, and I hope we may all imitate her faith and constancy."

Her son was the Rev. James Maury. He paid a visit to England in 1742, when he received ordination from the Bishop of London. On his return he became minister of Frederickville parish, Louisa county. He married a niece of Colonel Walker, described as the chief person in the Ohio Company, in whose territory he settled. His letters to his uncles in England (to whom he signs himself sometimes "Your dutiful nephew and affectionate friend"—sometimes, "Yours affectionately and dutifully," show him to have been a sensible and able man. I find the names of six children, Matthew, James, and Walter his sons, and Ann, Mary, and Elizabeth his daughters.

Of these James Maury and his son, with their wives, replanted the family in England. They were merchants in Liverpool, and Mr Maury, sen., as a special mark of the esteem of the community, received the freedom of the borough. The second wife of Mr Maury, jun., was an Englishwoman, and having visited America she published a book entitled, "The Englishwoman in America." Both father and son had become widowers soon after landing in England; in her book Mrs Sarah Mytton Maury gives us this reminiscence:—"The father and

the son had each borne to the shores of England a daughter of their country—had borne them thither but to die. The emphatic words of that venerable man still ring in my ear as he thus addressed my husband, who had alluded to his wish to carry me his English partner to America, *My son, every exotic will thrive in a foreign land, except a woman.*” There is an engraved portrait of the venerable “James Maury, Esq., drawn on stone by Richard Lane, from a picture by G. S. Newton.”

Ann Maury, to whom myself and my readers are so much indebted, is his daughter. As to the invaluable book, “The Huguenot Family,” she says in the Preface, “On the former appearance of a portion of the present book, many supposed it to be a work of imagination merely, presented under the guise of autobiography. It is therefore proper now to state that it is in truth, what on the title page it purports to be, an authentic narrative of actual occurrences, and is drawn entirely from family manuscripts.”

It would be to trench on American ground to trace the exact parentage of Commander Maury of the American navy, who by his writings has made the family name universally known. It is satisfactory, in referring to Knight’s English Cyclopaedia, to have ocular demonstration of his descent from James Fontaine and Matthew Maury, for we find that Matthew Fontaine Maury, author of “The Physical Geography of the Sea,” was born in Spottsylvania county, Virginia, on the 14th January 1806.

Chapter VIII.

NEAU AND BENEZET.

I. LE SIEUR ELIE NEAU.

ELIE NEAU, when only eighteen years of age, that is, in 1679, saw how persecution in France was always advancing to the climax of the extermination of the Protestants. Professor Weiss styles him “the chief of a great family from the principality of Soubise, in Saintonge.” Yet he made up his mind to be a voluntary exile. Being by profession a sailor, he had no dread of the ocean, and his first place of refuge was the island of St Domingo. At the beginning of the reign of William and Mary he was at New York; and his application for naturalisation as a British subject having been forwarded to London, he was naturalised on the 31st January 1690. His name is in the Patent Rolls of that date; and the reader will find it anglicized into Elias Neau, in the Historical Introduction to this work, List XVII., page 50. About this time he married, and his friends provided him with a trading vessel, in command of which he made a first voyage. But it was also the last; his vessel was unarmed, and had to surrender without resistance to a French privateer. The prisoners were taken to St Malo; and when it was known that he was a French Protestant he was tried for the crime of disobedience to the Proclamation of Louis XIV., recalling the fugitive Protestants to their native country. He was sent to the galleys, and underwent the severest treatment, of which an account was published in the French language.* An abridged account was printed in English, and from the copy in the British Museum my readers are presented with the following transcript of it. It is in the brave martyr’s own words.

It is not out of any vanity that I have been induced to publish the following account of my sufferings while I remained on board the French king’s galleys or in the dungeons of

* *Histoire Abregée des souffrances du Sieur Elie Neau sur les galères et dans les cachôts de Marseille.*—A Rotterdam, chez Abraham Asher. MDCCI.

Marseilles. But the Lord out of his infinite mercy having saved me out of my distresses, brought me out of darkness and broken my fetters, some pious persons have thought I should be ungrateful did I not praise the Lord for his goodness, and publish his wonderful works to the children of men.

I left the kingdom of France on account of my religion in the year 1679, being then about 18 years of age, and went to St Domingo, and from thence to New York, where I married some time after. As I had been bred to the sea, some friends of mine fitted out a small ship of 80 tons, which they trusted to my care and command, I having been made a free denizen of England by his present Majesty, in the first year of his reign.

I sailed from New York on the 15th August 1692, bound for Jamaica, and was taken on the 29th by a privateer from St Malo, who was returning home from St Domingo. I continued two months on board his ship, after which I was put in prison with other seamen and prisoners of war. The judge of the Admiralty, being informed that I was a French Protestant, gave notice thereof to the King's Attorney who, having acquainted Monsieur De Pontchartrain with it, received orders to persuade me to change my religion, or, in case I proved obstinate, to condemn me to the galleys. This order was signified unto me; but God was pleased to assist me in such a manner that I was not terrified in the least, and did not hesitate at all to answer that I could not comply with their desire, seeing it was against my conscience.

Their solicitations proving vain, I was brought before the court to be examined, and asked why I was not returned into the kingdom, when the king had, by a proclamation, recalled all his subjects who were in foreign countries. I answered it was because the Gospel commanded me, when I was persecuted in one kingdom to fly into another country. The Judge, being likely a stranger to Scripture maxims and expressions, told me that I blasphemed; but I having desired him to tell me wherein, he would not, and repeated the same word. I replied that this was an expression of the Son of God contained in the Bible. Whereupon he inclined his head, looking on the greffier (or clerk of the court), repeating once more that I blasphemed. He examined me also upon several other articles foreign to my purpose, and sent the informations, which he had taken, to court.

I remained four months in the prisons of St Malo, where I had many temptations to overcome, as, threats and promises; but by the grace of God I was proof against all their artifices. The order of the court having arrived, I was sent to Rennes to appear before the Parliament of Brittany. I was put on horseback bound hand and foot, but, the shaking of the horse causing my arms to swell, the manacles proved then too little, and I felt then a most exquisite pain. An Advocate of the parliament who travelled the same road, pitying my condition, desired those who were appointed to conduct me to take off the manacles, but had much ado to persuade them to it. I was then considerably eased, but it was impossible for me to hold a pen to write in a fortnight's time.

Some days after my arrival at Rennes I appeared before the Great Chamber and was commanded to hold up my hand, and swear to answer truly and directly to the interrogatories which should be made unto me. They asked me first my name and profession, and then why I had settled myself in a foreign country contrary to the king's orders. I own I was then struck with such a terror that I could hardly speak; but they bid me be assured, and to answer the questions that were put to me. This having revived me, I told them I had left my native country because Jesus Christ, the king of kings, commanded me to fly from that country when I could not enjoy liberty of conscience, and retire into another.

The First President told me that persecution was a great evil, but added that I was not to be ignorant that St Paul commands to obey kings not only in temporal things but likewise in conscience. I replied that likely St Paul did not understand that passage in the sense of his lordship; for *if he did so, my Lord* (said I to the President), *why did he not obey Nero?*

He asked me afterwards, whether I had fired on the king's subjects; but understanding that my ship had no guns, or any other offensive arms, he asked me whether I would have fired upon them, if I had been in a capacity to do it. I replied that it was natural for a man

to defend his estate and goods ; whereupon he interrupted me in these words : *It is a great misfortune for you to be born in that religion, and that the Holy Ghost has not enlightened you. Withdraw.*

I was remanded to the prison ; and two hours after, the attorney-general came to tell me that if I would change my religion, I should have my pardon, and that they would help me to a good employment at Brest. I gave him the same answer that I had given to the king's attorney at St Malo, namely, that I was ready to lose my life rather than renounce my religion ; whereupon he went away, commanding to put me to the chain with some other galley slaves.

It was on the 3d April 1693 that I was tied to the great chain, with fifty-nine other slaves, who were condemned to that dreadful punishment—some for desertion, others for defrauding the king's duties upon salt, and others for horrid crimes, as robbery, murder, and worse. It rained almost all that month, so that we could hardly travel five leagues a-day ; and when we arrived at night at any town or village, to lie, they put us as so many beasts in stables, where, though always wet and dirty, we often wanted straw to lie upon. We had $3\frac{1}{2}$ [sous?] a-day for our nourishment ; but it often happened that we could find no bread for our money in those villages where we were obliged to lie upon the road. When they put us in these stables, they fastened both ends of the chain to the walls, so that we had only the liberty to lie down, but not to stir at all. That hard fatigue and the coldness of the walls threw me into a being unable to walk. I gave forty livres to our captain to be carried in a cart—happy to find a man whose cruelty could be melted with money !

As we went through all the capital cities of the Provinces that lie between Brest and Marseilles, our number increased apace ; for we took sixty other slaves at Saumur and Angers, condemned for various crimes. We recruited also at Tours, Bourges, and Lyons, insomuch that we were upwards of 150 men when we arrived. It is indeed a horrid spectacle, to see such a number of men fastened to a chain, and exposed to so many miseries, that death is not so hard by half as this punishment.

We arrived at Marseilles on the 10th May ; and about the same time arrived also 800 slaves from several parts of that kingdom. We were divided into forty lots ; and I and several others were sent on board the *Magnanimous*, commanded by Mr De Soison. There were on board that galley six persons on account of their religion ; and among them were three, very timorous and fearful, who had sometimes the weakness to comply, in some manner, with the idolatries of the mystical Babylon. God was pleased to send me thither to encourage them ; and my example and exhortations wrought such an impression upon them, that they resolved to glorify their Saviour openly, and without disguise. One of them told the first-lieutenant of the galley, with a Christian courage and resolution, that he had indeed been so unhappy as to faint under the weight of the persecution, but that he begged God's pardon for that crime, and that he abhorred the idolatry of the Church of Rome. They told him, in my hearing, that they would make him expire under beating ; but he answered that, by the grace of God, he was ready to die. This was enough to kindle the fury of the captain of the galley, who complained that, since I was arrived, that man had discontinued *to do his duty* (to use his own phrase, for thus they speak of such who have the weakness to go to mass, &c.) This incensed them so much against me, that they resolved to treat me with a greater severity than the rest of the slaves, and loaded me with two chains, whereas the others had but one.

There happened, sometime after, another thing, which considerably increased their rage. A Roman Catholic slave on board the *Warlike*, for having deserted the king's service, observing that the officers used more severity towards Mr Carrières than any others, and understanding he was there only for refusing to change his religion, had the curiosity to know from him what was the religion he maintained with so much constancy and magnanimity. That faithful confessor explained to him the principles thereof, and gave him a New Testament, translated by Father Amelote. I was informed thereof, and wrote to him some letters to encourage him to go on with the examination of our religion ; to which he applied himself

with so much sincerity, that, upon Easter Day next following, he refused to worship the host, and had the courage to declare to his captain that he would never own himself any more a Roman Catholic. They loaded him with two chains, and used him with a most barbarous severity. They searched immediately his pockets; and having found therein some of my letters, my persecutors were enraged against me, and made me sufficiently fear the effects of their fury. Their barbarous usage did not fright our new proselyte into any compliance; for God has so strengthened him, that for these five years since, he has been and is still a most glorious confessor of His Name.

When my enemies saw that their chains and other hardships wrought no impression upon me, they writ to court that I spoke English, and was perpetually a-writing. This reason was sufficient for them to obtain an order to transfer me from the galleys into the prisons of the citadel of Marseilles. But before I speak of the cruelties they exercised upon me, I think it may not be improper to give a short account of the hardships the slaves are exposed to.

They are five upon every form, fettered with a heavy chain, which is about ten or twelve foot long. They shave their heads from time to time, as a sign of their slavery, and they are not allowed to wear any hats or periwigs; but the king allows them every year a cap, with two shirts, two pair of drawers of the coarsest linen, a sort of upper coat of a reddish shift and a capot; but it is to be observed that they have of late but one coat and capot every two years, and two pair of stockings every year. They have only beans, and nothing else, for their food, with about 14 ounces of coarse bread a-day, and ne'er a drop of wine whilst they are in port. They are devoured in winter by lice, and in summer by bugs and fleas, and forced to lie one upon another, as hogs in a sty. I shall not take notice in this place of the barbarity they are used with by the officers of the galleys, which is beyond imagination. The Protestants are obnoxious to all these miseries, and a great many other besides. They are not allowed to receive any money from their friends and relations, unless very privately. They are every day threatened and tormented by priests and friars, who, being unable to convince them by reasons, think that severity alone can do it. To this I must add the trouble and vexation a Christian soul is afflicted with, to live with wicked and desperate fellows who never use the name of God but for cursing and swearing.

On the 3d of May, in the year 1694, orders came from court to transfer me into the prison of the citadel, and I was put into the same dungeon wherein Mr Laubonnière, one of our most illustrious confessors, died seven months before. I was forced to lie upon the stones, for I could not obtain for a year together any bed or even straw to lie upon. There was a strict order to suffer nobody to speak to me nor me to write to anybody, and the aid-major came every night to search my pockets when he had taken his round. Though my condition was as miserable as possible, nobody took pity on me, and the victuals they gave me was hardly sufficient to keep me alive. In the meantime, God, out of his infinite love, afforded me such comforts that I little regarded the miseries I was reduced to.

I remained there about a year without seeing anybody; but about that time the Director of Conscience of the then Governor came to see me as they were bringing me my dinner. He had hardly looked upon me, but he cried out, *Lord! in what a condition are you, sir!* I replied, *Sir, don't pity me, for could you but see the secret pleasures my heart experiences, you would think me too happy.* He told me that the greatest sufferings did not entitle a man to the glory of martyrdom, unless he were so happy as to suffer for truth and justice, which I granted him, but told him withal that the Holy Ghost had sealed that truth in my heart, and that very thought was my comfort in all my afflictions. That priest, taking his leave of me, wished that God would multiply his grace upon me, and sent me a straw bed to lie upon. I continued twenty-two months in that prison without changing my clothes, my beard being as long as the hair of my head, and my face as pale as plaster.

There was just under me a generous confessor whom they had so much tormented that they had turned his brains; but he, having some good intervals, had always reason enough to refuse to comply with their desires. He asked me one morning with a loud voice how I did.

This was immediately reported to the governors, whereupon I was immediately removed into another prison, where I continued very little, because of my singing of psalms, though I sung with a very low voice, that I might disturb nobody. I was put on the 20th May 1696 in a subterraneous hole, wherein I remained till the first of July next following, when I was sent, together with the distracted person I have named, by express order from the court, to the Castle of If, about five miles from Marseilles, in the mouth of the harbour.

They had likewise five weeks before sent thither five other persons from the same citadel. We were all at first in different prisons, but as five sentinels were required to keep us, they obtained leave from the court to put us together in a secure place, so that on the 20th of August I and the poor gentleman I have spoken of were put in a hole, and the other three in another. The place was so disposed that we were obliged to go down a ladder into a dry ditch, and then to go up by the same ladder into an old tower through a cannon hole. The vault or arch wherein we were put was as dark as if there had been no manner of light in heaven, stinking, and so miserable, dirty, that I verily believe there was not a more dismal place in the world. We might have received some money to help us in this great distress, but they would not suffer it, so that all our senses were attacked at once, sight by darkness, taste by hunger, smell by the stench of the place, feeling by lice and other vermin, and hearing by the horrid blasphemies and cursing, which the soldiers (who were obliged to bring us some victuals) vomited against God and our holy religion.

The missionaries, who had flattered themselves that we could not resist much longer, were almost enraged when they saw our firm resolution to die in the profession of our religion, and therefore began to talk of nothing else but the judgments of God. And thereupon I could not forbear one day to tell them that the judgments of God were upon them, for he suffered them to fill the measure of their crimes in insulting over us in our miseries; but that God was just and would not fail to avenge us, and punish them according to their demerits. Having continued six months in that pit, my fellow-sufferer happening to die, I was removed into the other with the other three confessors. As that poor man was in his agony, he heard the soldiers say that it was necessary to send for the chaplain; but he made a sign with his hand to testify his aversion to it, and so gave up the ghost unto the Lord.

We continued all four in the other pit for some time without seeing any light at all; but at last they gave us leave to have a lamp while we eat our victuals. The place being very damp, our clothes were rotten by this time; but God was pleased to have mercy upon me, miserable sinner, and upon another of my fellow-sufferers. For on the 3d July the Lord broke our fetters, the Right Honourable the Earl of Portland, then Extraordinary Ambassador to the Court of France, having reclaimed us in his Majesty's name. We left two of our companions in that dreadful pit, and about 370 others on board the galleys, where they glorify the name of God with an unparalleled courage and constancy.

This is the short but sincere account of my suffering which I have written, at the request of several eminent persons, as a means to comfort, and rejoice in the Lord, the faithful servants of Jesus Christ, and confound the emissaries of Satan, who would fain make the world believe that there is no persecution in France.

ELIAS NEAU.

The above narrative shews that the fact, that he was a naturalised subject of Britain, procured his deliverance, our Ambassador having a plain right to demand his release when negotiating the Peace of Ryswick.

With evident propriety the larger memoir was dedicated to the Earl of Portland by Elie Neau's Pasteur, J. MORIN. From this work the following additional details may be interesting. St Domingo was a French colony, and he did not leave it, until compelled by persecution; thus any Frenchmen at home who had facilitated his departure would not be chargeable with the offence of promoting emigration to British territory. Boston in America was the "city belonging to the English" which first sheltered him, after flying from the spreading flames of persecution. The vessel which he commanded was the *Marquise* (80 tons), belong-

ing to Gabriel Le Boiteux, merchant of New York ; the date of its capture was 8th September 1692. The vessel was sent back to New York, Elie Neau having promised 3500 livres (£ 140 sterling) for its redemption. The privateer kept hold of his person as security for payment. And it was not the interest either of the captor or of his partners at St. Malo, that Neau should be regarded by the law of France as a felon, for then the price of their prize would be lost to them. It was therefore in spite of their strenuous endeavours that the religionistic prosecution was insisted on. His sentence was, "To serve the king as a convict (forcat) at the galleys, for life—and that, for having settled in foreign countries without the permission of His Majesty, and contrary to his declaration in 1662 which prohibited his subjects from leaving the kingdom."

The larger memoir also contains some letters from Elie Neau. Some are addressed to Monsieur Morin, who had been his pasteur in France, and had settled as a refugee in Holland. The following is a part of one written to his sister, Rachel, on 14th Sept. 1696 ; she, as well as his father and mother, had apostatised from the dread of persecution, a circumstance which the martyr regarded with lamentation and indignation :—" You have pierced my heart with lively grief by the tidings of the death of my very dear mother. I have full in view the beaten path along which all mankind must pass. Think, my dear sister, of that enormous crime which you have committed at the instigation of those who gave you birth,—that terrible shipwreck which keeps you engulfed in a sea of misery. For these twelve years and more, do not the waves of God's justice go over you ? I wish to say, have you not, since the beginning of that period, added crime to crime ?"

Another letter is to Pierre Neau, of Amsterdam, his first cousin :—"Your letter gave me a joyful surprise ; for I thus got intelligence not only of a dear cousin to whom I am attached, but also of all his family, and of my dear cousin Henri Neau, whom I love with all my heart. You know well that for seventeen years I have not had the honour of seeing you ; hence my surprise arose. I was well aware that you had become a refugee, my dear sister Sason told me so five years ago, when she removed to New England, I having sent for her. There she was married, three years since, to a native of La Tremblade, a remarkably honest man and very steady. I am greatly obliged to Monsieur Gorgeon, who (you tell me) enquires about me and my family. I do not deserve such concern from so worthy a gentleman whom I have not the honour to know. My family is not in Europe, my dear cousin ; it is in New England ; it consists of two little children. The first offspring of our marriage was a daughter, whom God took from us eight days after her birth. When I parted from my dear wife she had only an amiable little boy, eighteen months old, who was beginning to speak ; but she was very near her accouchement. For two years I remained without any news from home ; but at last the Lord had pity on me, and gave an opportunity, through Messieurs Le Boiteux. I had no ink or paper to write an answer. I was obliged to write to these gentlemen with a pencil which had been left in my possession."

One of these cousins probably settled in England, or on British ground. For James Neau was naturalized by Royal Letters Patent, dated Westminster, 11th March 1700 (see List xxiv).

Professor Weiss devotes the fourth book of his great work to the "Refugees in America," and he shows that it was to be under British rule that Huguenots went off to that hemisphere ; and this began at a date earlier than 1679. "In 1662 some La Rochelle shipowners were prosecuted for conveying, as passengers to a country belonging to Great Britain, a considerable number of emigrants." I refer my readers to the Professor's five chapters on America, in a note to which he informs us that a book may at some time be expected on the subject, from the pen of "an American, whose name seems to indicate a descendant of a refugee family, Mr Thomas Gaillard, residing at Mobile, in the State of Alabama." There is one worthy name, connected with both England and America, to which I must now devote a few paragraphs before quitting the Anglo-American department.

II.—ANTHONY BENEZET.

ANTOINE BENEZET, the amiable and useful author and correspondent concerning slavery and the slave trade, was by birth a Frenchman, the son of a Huguenot gentleman. A mistake concerning him has accidentally found its way into a noble and careful publication, "The Imperial Dictionary of Biography," which begins an article thus:—"BENEZET, *Antoine*, a man of colour." E. M. Chandler, a poet of America (in some verses addressed to Anthony Benezet) correctly indicates France as his birthplace:—

"Friend of the Afric! friend of the oppressed!
Thou who wert cradled in a far-off clime,
Where bigotry, and tyranny unblest,
Defaced with gory hand the page of time!"

The Benezet family was wealthy and important, but their estates were confiscated on account of their Protestantism in 1715. Antoine was born at St Quentin on the 31st January 1714 (new style).^{*} His ancestors were of Calvisson in Languedoc; but removed to the northern and manufacturing district of France on the marriage of Antoine's grandfather, who married a lady of the celebrated family of Crommelin. The good old man died in 1690. His eldest son, John Stephen Benezet continued to keep up the family registers in the old way, a pious sentiment being appended to each entry; to the name of his little Antoine he added the prayer, "May God bless him in making him a partaker of his mercies." John Stephen Benezet set out for Holland with his family (including the infant Anthony) in 1715; his plan was to get out of France secretly, and in defiance of the arbitrary laws against Protestant emigration. "To accomplish this purpose (says the American biographer) he secured the services of a young man, upon whose attachment he could rely, to accompany him beyond one of the military outposts which then skirted the frontier of France. Nothing occurred to interrupt their progress until they approached the sentinel; when their adventurous friend presenting himself before him, displaying in one hand an instrument of death, and tendering with the other a purse of money, said, *Take your choice; this is a worthy family, flying from persecution; and they shall pass.* The guard accepted the gold, and their escape was safely accomplished."

Their first retreat was Rotterdam; but in the course of a few months they sailed for England and settled in London. In that city, John Stephen Benezet lived for sixteen years, and was a prosperous merchant; and there Anthony received a good commercial education. At the age of 14 "he was united in membership with the religious Society of Friends, called Quakers." Having too scrupulous a conscience for trading speculations, he wished to be a mechanic, but could not persevere in his resolution from a want of muscular vigour; and he had not fixed upon any business or occupation in his eighteenth year, when he emigrated with his parents to America and made Philadelphia his home; this was in 1731. In 1736 he married Miss Joyce Marriott, a young woman of congenial principles and disposition.

At length, in his twenty-sixth year, desiring to engage in a profession which would itself be eminently useful to mankind, and also afford leisure for varied benevolence, he, from a sense of duty, became a schoolmaster. His first school was at Germantown. But he returned to Philadelphia in 1742, having been elected to fill a vacancy in the English department of the Public School founded by a charter from William Penn. He quite revolutionised the system of teaching, which had been previously conducted with combined dulness and harshness. In 1755 he opened a female school, and was "entrusted with the education of the daughters of

^{*} For this memoir I am chiefly indebted to the *Memoirs of Anthony Benezet* by Roberts Vaux (1817)—and to "Anthony Benezet—from the Original Memoir, revised with additions by Wilson Armistead (1859)." The original memoir is indispensable,—the reviser has given 1713 as the year of birth (omitting month and day)—failing to notice that the true date is 1713 (old style), and that in consequence of his reckoning according to the old style of year, the biographer called the month of January the "Eleventh Month."

the most affluent and respectable inhabitants of the city." One of these pupils was deaf and dumb ; and without any of the advantages of the experience and theories of the nineteenth century, he educated her successfully ; "she acquired, during two years under his tuition, such instruction as enabled her to enjoy an intercourse with society which had been previously denied to her."

It was a great advantage to him as a teacher that, being a member of a refugee family, and yet by education an Englishman, he had a complete practical command of both the English and French languages. How enlightened his views on education were, as compared with the school systems of his own generation, and even of rather later times, a letter written by him at the close of his life makes manifest. He says (29th March 1783) :—"With respect to the education of our youth I would propose, as the fruit of forty years' experience, that when they are proficient in the use of their pen, and become sufficiently acquainted with the English grammar and the useful parts of arithmetic, they should be taught mensuration of superficies and solids. It would also be profitable for every scholar of both sexes, to go through and understand a short but very plain set of merchants' accounts in single entry, particularly adapted to the civil uses of life. In order to perfect their education in a useful and agreeable way both to themselves and others, I would propose to give them a general knowledge of the mechanical powers, geography, and the elements of astronomy ; the use of the microscope might also be profitably added. Such parts of history as may tend to give them a right idea of the corruption of the human heart, the dreadful nature and effects of war, the advantage of virtue, &c., are also necessary parts of an education founded upon Christian and reasonable principles. It might also be profitable to give lads of bright genius some plain lectures upon anatomy, the wondrous frame of man, deducing therefrom the advantage of a plain simple way of life ; enforcing upon their understanding the kind efforts of nature to maintain the human frame in a state of health, with little medical help but what abstinence and exercise will afford."

It was in 1750 that his sympathy for the negro slaves brought him into notice as a public man. He opened an evening school for black people in Philadelphia. His professional experience and habits of observation entitled him to be heard in reply to the fashionable assertion that the blacks are, in their mental capacities, inferior to human beings born with a white skin. He testified deliberately, "I can with truth and sincerity declare that I have found amongst the negroes as great variety of talents as among a like number of whites." In his unpaid services he exhibited the same patience and good humour as in his regular classes. Here it may be observed with reference to his principles as a quaker, that though he held them with great decision, so much so, that he published, both in English and French, "A Short Account of the Religious Society of Friends, commonly called Quakers" (Anno 1780), his tone towards the outer world was conciliatory and forbearing. One of his lady pupils, being grown up and married, he called upon her to plead some benevolent cause, and he was admitted though ordinary visitors would not have been, for she was just going to a ball. Looking with surprise and regret at the splendid dress, he said, "My dear, I should not have recognised my amiable pupil, but that thy well-known features and excellent qualities are not to be hidden by so grotesque and lamentable a disguise. Thy kind and compliant temper has yielded at some expense to thy heart, to the opinions of others. I love thee for the motive, though I cannot admire the evidence of it."

It was chiefly as an author that Benezet promulgated anti-slavery sentiments and statistics. His works were usually reprinted in England under the editorship of Mr Granville Sharp, a compliment which was paid and returned, before the two philanthropists became correspondents. Granville Sharp's copy of one of Benezet's works contains an autograph note, from which I extract the following :—"The author of this book, as printed at Philadelphia in 1762, was Mr Anthony Benezet of that city, descended from a French family which forsook (and lost very considerable property in) France for the sake of their religion ; so that the present Mr B.

is obliged to earn his bread in the laborious office of a schoolmaster, and is also unhappily involved in the errors of Quakerism; nevertheless, he has a very large and extensive acquaintance, and is universally respected, not only among the whole body of Quakers (Dr Fothergill and Dr Franklin having been his correspondents), but also by all others who knew him. When G. S. was involved in the first law-suit to defend himself against a prosecution for having set a negro slave at liberty in 1767, he accidentally met with a copy of this book on a stall, and, without any knowledge whatever of the author, caused this edition to be printed and published.

“In 1769 G. S., having non-suited his prosecutors, was at liberty to print his representation of *The injustice and dangerous tendency of tolerating Slavery*, which he had drawn up during the proceedings against him; and it is remarkable that Mr Benezet reprinted that tract at Philadelphia without knowing that the author had paid the same compliment to Mr B.’s work in 1767.”*

This publication by Benezet, reprinted by Sharp, was entitled, “A Caution to Great Britain and her Colonies, in a short representation of the calamitous state of the Enslaved Negroes in the British Dominions.” This pamphlet contained quotations from the works of celebrated authors, but at the head of these we find a Scotchman, George Wallace, advocate, Sheriff of Ayrshire and Professor of Law in the University of Edinburgh; the quotation is from his *System of the Principles of the Laws of Scotland*, of which I copy a few sentences:—“They (the negro slaves) are purchased from their princes who pretend to have a right to dispose of them. Kings, princes, governors, are not proprietors of those who are subject to their authority; they have not a right to make them miserable. On the contrary, their authority is vested in them, that they may, by the just exercise of it, promote the happiness of their people. They have not a right to dispose of their liberty, and to sell them for slaves. Besides, no man has a right to acquire or to purchase them; men and their liberty are not *in commercio*, they are neither saleable or purchaseable. Every one of those unfortunate men who are pretended to be slaves has a right to be declared to be free, for he never lost his liberty; he could not lose it; his Prince had no power to dispose of him; of course, the sale was *ipso jure* void. This right he carries about with him, and is entitled everywhere to get it declared. As soon, therefore, as he comes into a country in which the judges are not forgetful of their own humanity, it is their duty to remember that he is a man, and to declare him to be free.”

In 1771 was published his most important work:—“Some historical account of Guinea, its situation, produce, and the general disposition of its inhabitants, with an inquiry into the rise and progress of the slave trade, its nature and lamentable effects, also a republication of the sentiments of several authors of note on this interesting subject, particularly an extract of a treatise by Granville Sharp; by Anthony Benezet.”

This publication led to the correspondence between Benezet and Sharp, as to which the biographer of the latter says (vol. i. p. 172):—“The correspondence with Benezet, if it did not inspire, at least confirmed and enlarged Mr Sharp’s desire of inquiry respecting the general subject of the African slave trade. It conducted his view to an examination of the *source of the evil*, and he conceived the vast design of extending his endeavours, and of augmenting and strengthening his means, until he should obtain an entire abolition of the infamous traffic carried on by Great Britain and her colonies. In justice then, and no less in honour, to the memory of the pious but humble Benezet, let it be remembered that, although his zealous labours failed to eradicate from America the evil which he deplored, they contributed to strengthen the arm of the great champion of his favourite cause, and finally to wipe away no small portion of human disgrace.”

Another favourite topic on which Benezet wrote and printed, was Peace among the Nations and the Unlawfulness of War. In 1756 he aided in the formation of “The Friendly Association for regaining and preserving peace with the Indians by pacific measures.” In 1763 he

* Hoare’s Memoirs of Granville Sharp [*born* 1735, *died* 1813], vol. i. p. 145.

made an appeal to Sir Jeffery Amhurst, commander of the army against these natives of the mountains, urging that security be given to them that they would not be robbed and spoiled by British traders, in which case their policy would be that expressed by their old chief in a message to his comrades:—*Brethren, if you desire to become grey, and to see many days upon this earth, leave off striking the English.* The war with the mother country which began in 1775 gave him too good an opportunity for again pressing his opinions, and in 1776 he published his tract, “Thoughts on the Nature of War.” This, with his other publications, he was in the habit of circulating gratuitously, and sending copies to the leading personages both of Europe and America. One was addressed to Henry Laurens,* President of the Congress of the United States. These presentation copies were respectfully acknowledged by the receivers; probably, however, the remark of Governor Livingston, of New Jersey, expressed the general opinion:—“The piece on slave-keeping is excellent, but the arguments against the unlawfulness of war have been answered a thousand times.”

The war suspended his correspondence with Granville Sharp. It was renewed on the return of peace; but by this time Benezet’s health was fast declining.

With regard to personal traits, Benezet had much of the Huguenot firmness and humility, and of the French gaiety of spirit and conversation. His stature was small, and his features intelligent, but not handsome. On being asked to sit for his portrait, he exclaimed, “Oh! no, no, my ugly face shall not go down to posterity.” He disapproved of verbose panegyrics on tombstones, and entreated that he should never be the subject of an epitaph, unless such a one as this:—“Anthony Benezet was a poor creature, and, through divine favour, was enabled to know it.” His biographer steered gracefully clear of flattery by applying to him the quotation:—

He was the offspring of humanity,
And ev’ry child of sorrow was his brother.

Benezet’s humble expressions as to himself did not originate with his failing bodily health. They pervade all his correspondence—for instance, in 1774 he wrote:—“I beg thou wilt spare complimenting me about the importance of my engagements. Thou amongst others of my fellowmen art welcome, nay hast a right, to my poor service. I indeed desire not to be my own; but I am much out of humour with most of what I have been long doing, as well as with myself. I am rather fearful much of my activity has been nothing, less than nothing. O that a true *gospel nothingness* may prevail in my heart, is my most earnest desire.”

“He often (says his biographer) indulged an inherent facetiousness of mind, though the sallies of his wit were always controlled by the predominance of goodwill, and intended to convey lessons of instruction. Seeing one of his friends in the street, who was remarkable for a hurrying habit he had acquired, Benezet called to him to stop. *I am now in haste*, said the gentleman, *I will speak with you when we next see each other.* But resolved on his purpose, Benezet detained him for an instant with this impressive question, *Dost thou think thou wilt ever find time to die?* They then parted; but the person who received this laconic interrogation was afterwards heard to say, that he felt infinitely indebted to Mr Benezet for his kind admonition.”

* The parents of Henry Laurens were Huguenot refugees. He was born at Charlestown in 1724, and at the date before us (1776) he had made his fortune as a merchant. He died in 1792, and was the father of Colonel John Laurens (born in 1755), who was mortally wounded on 27th August 1782. “Of the seven Presidents who directed the deliberations of the Congress of Philadelphia during the American War, three had French emigrants for ancestors, and all three were distinguished men, Henry Laurens, John Jay, and Elias Boudinot. The last named President (*born 1740, died 1821*) retired early into private life, when, “true to the traditions of the French Protestant families, he devoted himself wholly to the great work of the propagation of the Gospel.” John Jay was born at New York, of a Guienne family. A volume has been published in America containing his life, and a narrative of the escape of his refugee ancestor from France. The name of Jay occurs among refugees in Britain. A well-connected family of that name in England has a tradition of descent from refugees from Poitiers, and the Christian names of its members correspond very much with those of the American Jays.

Benezet died in his 71st year, and was interred in the Friends' burial-ground, Philadelphia. His funeral (says Granville Sharp's biographer) "was attended by several thousands of all ranks, professions, and parties, who united in deploring their loss. The mournful procession was closed by some hundreds of those poor Africans who had been previously benefited by his labours, and whose behaviour on the occasion showed the gratitude and affection which they considered to be due to him as their own special benefactor, as well as the benefactor of their whole race." That biographer has, however, not been aware that in Benezet's lifetime he had fruit of his anti-slavery exertions in America—*first*, the emancipation of all slaves held by "the Friends"—and, *secondly*, the law passed in 1780 for the gradual abolition of slavery in Pennsylvania.

The date of his death was the 3d of May 1784. In 1785 in the English University of Cambridge Thomas Clarkson, B.A., resolved to compete for the prize offered for the best Latin dissertation. The subject was, *An liceat invitos in servitutum dare?* and Clarkson was thus required to study the history and moral bearings of the slave trade. A part of the "few weeks" allotted for the composition of the essay had passed, and he felt hampered by the scantiness of the information he had collected. "Going by accident (he himself narrates) into a friend's house, I took up a newspaper then lying on the table, and one of the articles which attracted my attention was an advertisement of Anthony Benezet's Historical Account of Guinea. I soon left my friend and his paper, and, to lose no time, hastened to London to buy it. In this precious book I found almost all I wanted." Clarkson gained the first prize; and the study so roused his best feelings and resolutions that he dedicated his life to the abolition cause. Thus soon did Benezet obtain a successor, as

The champion of an injured race,
Among the great and good.

It appears that Anthony Benezet had brothers, and one or more of them remained in England. James Benezet, Esq., married Elizabeth Frances, daughter of Claude Fonnereau, Esq., of Christ Church Park, in Suffolk (as appears from his father-in-law's will proved 17th April 1740). The annotator of the Countess of Huntingdon's life says, as to James Benezet, "His descendant, the late Major Benezet, was a resident in Margate for many years, where he acquired considerable property, a great part of the new town having been built on land belonging to him. The name is now (1841) nearly extinct, only one person remaining, an old bachelor, upwards of seventy years of age."

Chapter IX.

LIEUTENANT-GENERAL, LE MARQUIS DE MIREMONT, AND MAJOR-GENERAL CAVALIER.

I.—MARQUIS DE MIREMONT.

ARMAND DE BOURBON, Marquis De Miremont, was born on the 12th of July 1655. He was a scion of the house of Bourbon-Malauze—a branch of the great Bourbon Family founded, before the Protestant Reformation, by Charles, bâtard de Bourbon, in the reign of Charles VIII.

Henri de Bourbon-Malauze, Vicomte de Lavedan (born 1544, died 1611) was the first

conspicuous member of his family, a good and dashing officer, an enthusiastic Huguenot, and a personal friend of King Henri of Navarre, who was the royal chief of the legitimate Bourbons. He married Françoise de Saint-Exupery, daughter of Guy Seigneur de Miremont. Miremont was a fortress in Auvergne, which the Vicomte de Lavedan often gallantly defended against the royalist papists, and where he died, aged 67.

His son was Henri de Bourbon, Marquis de Malauze, who for very many years was eminent as a Huguenot military commander, but abjured, and died in 1647, aged 80. By his wife, Marie (or Madeleine) de Chalons, Dame de La Case, he had one son and two daughters, who all stood firm to protestantism. My readers are specially introduced to the family of the son, Louis de Bourbon, 2nd Marquis de Malauze (born 1607, died 1667) and of his second Marchioness, Henriette de Durfort, daughter of Guy Aldonce, Marquis de Duras, by Elizabeth de La Tour d'Auvergne.

Armand, Marquis de Miremont, was the second son of his family, which consisted of three sons and two daughters. His elder brother, Guy Henri, third Marquis de Malauze, abjured Protestantism in 1678 at Paris, and thus remained in France. Similar, though involuntary, was the destiny of the younger sister, Henriette, who was imprisoned in a convent, and, after a very long resistance, conformed to Romanism. The other daughter, Mademoiselle Charlotte de Malauze, was a Protestant refugee in England, where she died in 1732 aged 74 and unmarried. The third brother, Louis, Marquis de La Case, was an ensign in King William's Guards, and was killed at the Battle of the Boyne.

The Marquis de Miremont left France without molestation. He was sick at heart at the sight of the wrongs and cruelties inflicted on the Huguenots, and abandoned his native country for a foreign shore. Besides British hospitality, we must mention his relationship to the Earl of Feversham, as attracting him to England. This nobleman was Louis de Durfort, Marquis de Blancquefort in France, and a brother of Miremont's mother, being a younger son of Guy, Marquis de Durfort. King Charles II. had made him Baron Duras in the English Peerage, and in 1677 by a special destination he had succeeded to the earldom of his father-in-law, Sir George Sondes, Earl of Feversham. He had come over at the invitation of his comrade in foreign wars, James, Duke of York; and when his patron became King James, he was given the command of his army to oppose the Duke of Monmouth's invasion. The Prince of Orange, who was pleased at the high spirit with which his royal father-in-law at first treated the French king, volunteered to take the command, saying that *Monsieur Feversham*, though a very brave and honest man, had no amount of experience adequate to the greatness of the emergency. The event proved this, although Monmouth's expedition failed through intestine disorders. Dean Swift pronounces that Feversham was "a very dull old fellow." Burnet says: "Both his brothers changing their religion, though he continued himself a Protestant, made that his religion was not much trusted to. He was an honest, brave, and good-natured man, but weak to a degree not easy to be conceived." Separating private from public matters, we can understand that Miremont felt sure of a kind reception from his Uncle Feversham.

The Marquis de Miremont's pedigree was serviceable to him in all the fluctuations of English party feeling. Feversham obtained for him the protection of King James, and, at a later date, retained for him the smiles of Queen Anne during the closing years of her life, when most of the French refugees were out of favour at court. To King William III. he was related through his maternal grandmother, La Marquise de Duras, who was a daughter of Elizabeth, Duchesse de Bouillon, and grand-daughter of William the First, of Orange.

Miremont was anxious to serve in the English army. Finding, however, that his brother refugees were afraid to be mixed up with the plans of a popish king, he proposed to form them into a corps to go to Hungary, and fight under the Emperor of Germany against the Turks. King James, anxious to get rid of Protestant refugees, supported with all his influence this chivalrous project, which the rapid march of domestic events soon extinguished.

When King James's army was organised to oppose the landing of the Prince of Orange,

Feversham persuaded his nephew to accept the command of a regiment of Dragoons. Miremont stood by the royal Stewart longer than did a large proportion of the troops. The order for disbanding the army came from the retreating king. Oldmixon informs us that the Marquis of Miremont got his regiment together five hours thereafter, and told his officers that he thought it best to declare for the Prince of Orange. They all joined with him; whereupon he ordered all the Popish troops to alight and quit their arms and cloaks, which fifteen of them did.

He now visited the Huguenot refugees in Switzerland to encourage them in succouring the Waldenses against the Duke of Savoy, and also in planning an irruption into their native provinces of Languedoc and Dauphiny. He collected money for them and infused so much spirit into their preparations that he had a share of the credit of causing the Duke of Savoy's desertion from the French alliance. As to the proposed incursion into France, Professor Weiss makes the following statement:—"The Marquis de Miremont, who was to command the expedition, applied to Marshal Schomberg, and submitted to him the plan of a campaign. He reckoned upon the discontent of the Protestants of the South, and supposed that they would fly to arms as soon as they saw hopes of assistance. The absence of the troops, who were employed on all the frontiers, leaving entirely unoccupied the provinces where Protestants abounded, seemed to him to afford a favourable opportunity. Two thousand picked men, commanded by the best officers, were to enter Dauphiny from Geneva, Nyon, and Coppet, and present themselves among secret meetings of their fellow protestants. These brethren were to be warned beforehand, and to assemble, armed with weapons, under pretext of defending their ministers. Care was to be taken not to irritate the Roman Catholics; attempts were even to be made to get them to join the Protestants. As Frenchmen, they were to be reminded of the grievances common to both parties, the splendour of the nobility tarnished, the authority of the parliaments humbled, and the States-General suppressed. Everywhere upon its progress the insurrectionary column was to proclaim the abolition of stamps, of imposts, and of the billeting of troops in the houses of civilians. The rural population was to be incited to burn the custom houses; thus being compromised, many would be retained under the banner of revolt by the fear of the vengeance of the government. The junction of the Duke of Savoy with the Alliance against Louis XIV., and the events of the general war, occasioned a remodelling of plans, and the postponement of the expedition of the refugees into the South of France."

To the celebrated St. Evremond we owe all the personal reminiscences of the Marquis de Miremont. This writer of fragmentary philosophy was a political refugee from France. He was a man of the world, and practically indifferent to religion; but he was no scoffer. He was hospitable to his refugee countrymen of the Protestant faith, who were grateful for his kindness and sympathy. To them he was an interesting relic of very old times, an ancient seigneur, Lord Galway's senior by thirty-five years, and more than forty years older than Miremont. His conversation was delightful; in fact it was the only explicable cause of his brilliant reputation, which his writings could never have procured for him. King William was charmed by his society when in Holland, and renewed his friendship towards him in England. His Majesty was in the habit of visiting the Marquis de Miremont at his house in Brompton, and St Evremond was, by royal command, very frequently invited to meet the king. A letter from the philosopher to the Marquis portrays some of Miremont's characteristics. It appears that he took a large share in conversation, was an impatient listener, would interrupt a speaker with exclamations, and would often make a rather bold statement, adding, "Take my word for it." Yet all were delighted with his ardour and honesty. At the time when this letter was written, he had gone to Flanders as Aide-de-camp to the king. It alludes to Lord Galway's impressions of Ireland as a place of abode, and, therefore, was written probably in March or April 1692. I have attempted to translate it.

"My Lord,—An author is allowed to speak sententiously; so here is an aphorism from which you will not dissent, '*On ne connoit bien le prix des choses, qu' après les avoir perdues.*' I

speak from experience, from what I have lost in yourself. Since you left us, conversation languishes, disputation is dead, the combatants are in confusion. Neither rank nor merit receive distinction.

“People still to church can go,
Where grave solid preachers speak,
And the way to heaven show,
In *the Savoy* or *Les Grecs*.*
But a religion brilliant,
Brisk, animated, disputant,
Beating ratiocinations,
Off hath sailed from habitations.

“One misses not only familiar objects, but also familiar words. We miss that ‘*fie! fie!*’ so appropriately shutting up an antagonist; we miss that ‘*bon! bon!*’ which adroitly diverted us from what it was not desirable to hear. Then there was that expression, ‘*fiez-vous à moi*’—that noble confidence which inspired listeners, and made it impossible to doubt bold propositions, which you generously advanced. We lose all such in losing you, and we hardly cherish the hope of again seeing them in use on your return.

“Through your example I was passing the time easily with things superfluous and often with things convenient. Your departure removes the example, and consigns me to my philosophy only, which does not suffice. A day will come when you will learn to make a good use of abundance; and you will change our suppers of new-laid eggs for lobsters and other recipes of your officers.

“Madam Mazarin would be inconsolable for your absence, were it not that her absence is so well made up to you. She thinks you happy to be near a king who has delicacy of taste for recreations, and the vigour of the virtues for great affairs.

“What an advantageous thing,
Miremont, to be near a king,
Who to renown from pleasure goes,
Who reposes like a sage,
And the exploits of heroes does,
To be embalm’d through every age.
May he (true patriots to please)
Rejoice in constant victory;
And as now he for turmoil to ease says *good-bye*,
May he soon change triumphantly turmoil for ease.

“My Lord Galway does not content himself with his wish to tamper with your august house. His corruption has extended to Madame Mazarin and myself—in the shape of usquebaugh for Madame, and of Irish frieze for me. One may be constant without being unconvincible. We have accepted the presents, but have held firmly by our integrity. And however strong the temptations presented to us by my Lord Galway expatiating on the attractions of Dublin, the plentiful crops, and the excellence of the fish, we shall not set the refugees the example of settling in that kingdom.

“Adieu, my Lord! I have been trying to enliven serious truths. Nothing can be so true as my regret for your absence, and my desire to see you again.

SAINT-EVREMOND.”

At the close of the war Miremont was promoted to be a Brigadier. In honour of the occasion, St. Evremond penned some rhymes, which I need not translate. The following is their “argument.” “The campaign is over—but why does he not return, that we may see each other, and sip our tea together? He stays by the King’s command. He is revered as a

* Two of the London French Protestant Chapels.

General. He is styled *His Excellency*. But he might picture the levee of friends at home who are inconsolable without him. Let him take leave of the magistrates and burgesses of Ghent on new year's day at the latest."

In the beginning of 1699 the French refugee regiments were disbanded. One of these was the Marquis of Miremont's dragoons, which English scribes sometimes designated *Mermon's* regiment. Soon after the accession of Queen Anne, the Marquis was made a Major-General. A pension of £500 a-year was granted to him on the Irish establishment.

On the eve of the declaration of the European war in 1702, the French Protestants of the South rose against their persecutors. This civil war raged throughout Languedoc; the chain of mountains in that province, named *The Cevennes*, was the home and the battle-ground of the Protestant combatants, who, as mountaineers, were known as the Cevenols, and as warriors were nicknamed the *Camisards*. Determined to be rid both of the Inquisition and of the Dragoons, they did wonders under Roland and Cavalier (of the personal history and achievements of the latter I shall give a separate memoir). The Marquis de Miremont's enthusiasm was again aroused, and his Queen and the government gave him encouragement, and substantial aid to the amount of £15,000. He issued appeals to his brother refugees in England and Ireland, and entered into negotiations with the States-General of Holland. The Dutch were to send their contingent under the command of Belcastel. From Cavalier's book on the War in the Cevennes, we learn that in the beginning of 1703, Miremont communicated with Roland, who brought his letter to Cavalier. The substance of this letter was:—"The Queen being informed of your deplorable condition is resolved to send you some succours, and I myself will come to help you; and desire you in the meantime to behave with prudence." Cavalier adds, "We sent him an answer with an account of the present state of our affairs, and in a short time after we received a second letter, which confirmed what he had written to us before. Afterwards he sent us an express, called Flotar, to know what measures he could take to come and succour us; having conferred together, we sent back the express with all the necessary instructions we could give him; he arrived safe in England, and gave the Queen an exact account of his journey, and we were assured by a third letter of speedy relief."^{*}

As to the year 1703, we are informed by the annals, that of all the persons sent either by England or Holland, only Mr David Flotard, the Marquis de Miremont's messenger, penetrated into and returned from the Cevennes. He staid six whole days with the Cevenols—formally met the chief officers in a council, delivered Miremont's message, and instructed them as to the signals which the British fleet would make, and how to answer them by other signals. Three French refugees accompanied Admiral Shovel's fleet, and witnessed by their presence and signatures all the projects for aiding the Cevenols—namely, Messieurs Charles Portales, Paul la Billiere, and S. Tempié.

On receiving Miremont's letters the *Camisards* resolved to stand on the defensive. But as the promised succour never came, this resolution did them harm. "The third letter," says Cavalier, "proved very prejudicial to us afterwards; for it was then that we were beginning to get the better over our enemies, and our remissness gave them time to take measures to stop our progress; the Court of France learned the secret, and stopped the communications. I do not pretend to blame Monsieur Miremont's slowness, for I believe it was not his fault. Being inexperienced in such affairs, he was under the necessity of taking advice. And all his projects were as well known in the Court of France as in England, and this through some persons whom he had chosen for his counsellors. This is what is incident to princes who communicate their secrets to several persons. All our hopes of the fair promises the Marquis made us for the Queen vanished after a delay of eighteen months; I believe it was not his fault, as I said before; for had he been able to fly with ten thousand men to the place we were in, I am sure he would have given no quarter to his relation's [His Bourbon Majesty's] troops."

It was found impracticable to send succours to the Cevennes either by Holland and thence

* Cavalier's Memoirs of the Wars of the Cevennes, second edition, page 172.

by land, or by landing troops on the coast of France. The Camisards blamed the calculating hesitation of the English, and the proverbial slowness of Dutch military counsels, and the winds, storms, clouds, and mists on the coasts, and in such remarks there was truth, more or less. As we candidly report this, it is only fair that we should also mention that some blame was considered due to the refugee warriors who had enlisted. The Right Hon. Richard Hill observed, "One Camisard in the Cevennes is worth a hundred of them out of France" (p. 491); "there is a great difference between the zeal of a Camisard in the coffee-houses of London and on the frontiers of Languedoc" (p. 386). The Marquis De Miremont was, therefore, destined to take his men to Piedmont, and there, under the orders of the Duke of Savoy, to watch his opportunity. Belcastel was to raise recruits in Switzerland, and thence to join the same Duke.

Miremont was promoted to the rank of Lieutenant-General. Mr Tucker wrote to Mr Hill from London, 25th July 1704, "The Marquis De Miremont is like to have a commission to raise some Vaudois for you, wherewith he is not a little pleased, as you will easily believe." The following appeared in the *News-Letter* of the 28th :*—"Her Majesty has been pleased to sign a commission appointing the Marquis De Miremont Lieutenant-General of her Armies, and Commander-in-chief of her Forces, to be employed in Piedmont and the parts adjacent; the said forces are to consist of French refugees."

Under date 4th August 1704, Luttrell records, "Four hundred French refugees, enlisted by the Marquis De Miremont, appeared in St James' Park, being all brisk young men, and were reviewed by her Majesty." The Royal countenance did good, for by the month of September the number amounted to fifteen hundred. After this, Miremont was in Holland, raising men and forming projects. It appears that, in May 1705, he was ready to take the route for Piedmont, but if he went there he did not remain, as he returned to England in September 1705.

In the Marlborough Despatches there is a letter from the Duke to the Marquis de Miremont dated from the "Camp of Herenthals, 29th Sept. 1705," "acknowledging his letter of the 10th inst., as the first after a long interval, which circumstance proves the Marquis to be dissatisfied with him, which he would not have been, if he knew all the truth and the many difficulties which the Duke's successful solicitations with the States had cost him."

St. Simon makes the following allusion to the long conflict in the South of France :—"The fanatics of Languedoc and of Cevennes gave occupation to the troops, who cut up some of their squadrons from time to time, but without hurting them much in the main. Some Hollanders were surprised in the act of conveying to them both money and weapons with great promises of succour. Geneva also sustained them to the utmost of its power in a secret manner, and supplied them with preachers. What was most annoying was their correspondence with the population. Rochegude, a gentleman with an estate of from ten to twelve thousand livres per annum, was arrested, informed against by a Dutch officer, who was taken, and who, to save his own life, betrayed him, and promised to reveal many other things. It was to Rochegude that he and his comrades had received orders to apply, when in want of money, arms, or provisions. Besides, there were many other distinguished persons in those provinces who were among the most forward in the revolt, and who had been altogether unsuspected." (Vol. vii., p. 167, edit. 1853.)

The Lord of Rochegude here spoken of was not the illustrious refugee, Le Marquis de Rochegude, but a relative who, by conforming to Romanism, had obtained a gift of the forfeited estate. That he was not a convert is evident. It is to the Marquis, however, that we must now turn. He devoted himself to obtain the release of Protestant martyrs from the galleys of France, and obtained hearty help from Miremont.

Jacques de Barjac,† Marquis de Rochegude, was the eldest son of Jean (or Charles) Barjac,

* Kemble's State Papers, p. 422.

† This corrected account of the antecedents of the Marquis de Rochegude is chiefly obtained from Haag (Articles *Barjac* and *Moutmaur*, and Errata of volume 1st, given in volume 9th, page 562.)

Seigneur de Rochegude. His mother was Francoise d'Agoult, daughter of Hector, Lord of Montmaur and Bonneval, by Uranie de Calignon. His father died at Vevay in Switzerland, where he had been a refugee for only a few months. His two sisters were immured in a convent, from which they escaped to Switzerland after fourteen years' detention. For the same period he and his younger brother were under the tutelage of the Jesuits. He also suffered imprisonment, but was at length released and joined the rest of the family. He was soon the only surviving son of a widowed mother, who had made an earlier escape from proselytizing tormentors, but not early enough to find her husband in life. On reaching Switzerland, the Marquis de Rochegude was immediately employed as a negociator with foreign governments on behalf of the refugees in the cantons. At a later period he took up the case of the galley slaves.

One of his letters, in defence of the moral principles of the sufferers, alludes to his own life, and I therefore quote it here, although it is his last paper in order of time, being dated March 1713:—

“I should think myself wanting in due respect to the Potentates who have charged me with letters to the Queen in favour of the Confessors in the French Prisons and Galleys, if I should not make it appear that it is with injustice some people endeavour to brand as criminals and villains those very persons whom the Potentates are pleased to call their brethren, good and commendable Christians, and Confessors of the Faith.

“Every one knows that the violent persecutions against the Protestants of France has been attended with banishments, imprisonments, confinement on board of the galleys, tortures, and the most exquisite torments that were ever invented. Is there any occasion for proofs? About two hundred thousand witnesses, both without and within the kingdom of France, testify this truth. Let anybody enquire why the Protestant refugees left their country, their estates, their employments, and their relations? It was on no other score but to avoid persecutions, and obey God who commands us *when we are persecuted in one place to fly to another*. This is the crime of the confessors in question. Some of them were arrested as fugitives, others for having been in religious assemblies to pray to God in their own way, some for having been in the city of Orange to hear Protestant sermons, others for having served as guides to those who went out of the kingdom, all (in short) upon no other account but their religion, as may be seen by the general List. This truth is still more conspicuous by their perseverance in their sufferings for above twenty-five years past, in dungeons and on the galleys, rather than abjure their religion; though they have been constantly solicited to it, with promises not only of their liberty, but also of pensions and honours, and the king's powerful protection. Does any government offer such great advantages to profligate villains?

“But here is the height of injustice! As their persecutors find it impossible to corrupt their faith or shake their firmness, either by promises or by torments, they and their emissaries endeavour to sully their good name by representing them as criminals, who disobeyed the king's orders enjoining all his subjects to go to mass. At this rate there are abundance of criminals. I myself am one whom the king caused for some years to lie a close prisoner in gaols and dungeons,* and whom he, at last, set at full liberty, of his own motion, or rather by a superior order of the King of kings, who holds in his hands the hearts of kings, and inclines them as he pleases. He did not grant the same favour to many others.

* * * * *

“Here is the disobedience—the not going, or not suffering one's children to go to Mass, the not permitting a priest either to baptize or instruct them; in short, the endeavouring to serve God according to the dictates of one's conscience. These are thought sufficient crimes to confine men either in prison or the galleys. Formerly this was accounted only stubbornness

* For some account of Rochegude's imprisonment and prisons, see Laval's History of the Reformed Church of France, Appendix, p. 52.

and obstinacy ; now, it is downright rebellion, open revolt, and high treason. However, this was the crime of the primitive Christians, and of our Saviour himself, who was accused of being against the king, the laws, and the State ; happy conformity ! This is also the crime of this people of the Cevennes, that are condemned to the galleys. It is well known that they took up arms (wherein they were approved, encouraged, and supported) only to avoid being forced to go to Mass. (Signed) ROCHEGUDE."

The martyrs had been sentenced to the galleys, both for the crime of "making profession of the pretended reformed religion," and also in accordance with the Royal Declaration, dated 31st May 1685, "commuting the penalty of death into that of perpetual confinement, with hard labour, in the galleys at Marseilles, for the offence of going forth from the realm, and entering into any foreign service, or settling in any foreign country, without the king's permission." It had been hoped that the French government would set them at liberty on the submission of Cavalier. But this hope having proved delusive, the Evangelic French Cantons of Switzerland agreed to give the Marquis de Rochegude the style and credentials of their Envoy to the King of Sweden and the other Protestant courts ; this was in 1707. Two of this king's replies were published, the first being addressed "To the Protestant Cantons of Switzerland." The other was "To the King of Prussia ;"—and the following is an extract from it:—

"WE, CHARLES. Before we had received the letters, wherein your Majesty recommends to us the affair of the Marquis de Rochegude, he himself was arrived in our camp, and had given us a very particular account of the deplorable condition of his countrymen, who have been condemned to the galleys, and confined there so many years, for the sake of religion. Touched with a sense of their wretchedness, and at the prayer of the laudable cantons of Switzerland, we have ordered our Envoy at Paris to represent to the King of France how much we should be obliged to him for the enlargement and deliverance of those poor captives, whose only crime is that they have different sentiments of worship from those of the Church of Rome ; and that we are persuaded he is too good and just, were he but thoroughly informed of their case, to suffer so many of his subjects, who are otherwise faithful to him, to groan under so undeserved and cruel afflictions.

CHARLES.

Alt Ranstat,
Dec. 9, 1707.

C. PIPER."

The Duke of Marlborough wrote to Rochegude on the 16th January 1708, congratulating him on his success with the King of Sweden, and gave him a letter of introduction to the English court. The letter was dated from "Hague, 6th May 1708," and was addressed to the Prince of Denmark (consort of Queen Anne). It begins thus:—"Sir, The Marquis de Rochegude, who has been with the king of Sweden, to desire his intercession with the Court of France for the release of the Protestants out of the galleys, being desirous of giving the Queen and your Royal Highness a particular account of his negotiations on the subject, I would not omit paying my duty by him."

Viewed with reference to the prospects of success, Rochegude's object was three-fold: *first*, the liberation from the galleys of the victims of Revocation times ; *secondly*, the identification of the insurgent Camisards with the sufferers under the previous persecution ; and, *thirdly*, the re-establishment of toleration, that Protestant worship might cease to be treasonable or illegal. He made a favourable impression upon the court and government of England, and upon all with whom he had intercourse. It seems certain that he derived much help from the Marquis de Miremont. A memorial was presented to the Godolphin ministry, proving that the Sovereign of England was entitled, by treaty, to insist on the perpetuity of the Edict of Nantes, and of the other Edicts of toleration, both those on which it was framed, and those by which it was confirmed. The satisfaction which Rochegude reaped from this visit may be inferred from the royal letter of which, on his departure, he was the bearer to the States-General of Holland:—

“High and Mighty Lords, our good Friends, Allies, and Confederates,

“Whereas we ought to be more careful in nothing (after the happy success wherewith it has pleased God to bless our arms in this just war) than to improve that assistance to the advancement of the honour of His Holy Name, by delivering those that are oppressed from their sufferings, and by maintaining the cause of the Protestant religion, we did in the last negotiations for peace give orders to our Ministers and Plenipotentiaries to endeavour, in our name, to procure all the good and relief that was possible for the Protestants of France, that when a general peace is established, they may not be left to groan under the calamities which they have so long suffered in galleys, prisons, &c.

“And as it is fit that the Protestant Powers should concur to support the interests of the said confessors, who are persecuted by reason of their adherence to our holy faith,

“We were willing to write to you on this subject, to acquaint you with our sentiments more expressly, and earnestly recommend to you the affair of the French Protestants, who are overwhelmed with all the calamities of an unjust and violent persecution. We persuade ourselves that your zeal, faith, piety and compassion are so great, that you take to heart as much as possible the oppressions of our Protestant brethren, having with pleasure seen the resolution you delivered upon it to the Marquis of Rochegude, who brings you this letter.

“We doubt not but you will join your efforts with ours, when occasion offers to act effectually in favour of the French Protestants, that their persecution may be brought to an end, and that they may enjoy all the advantages that can be obtained for them. . . .

“Given at our court of Windsor, 20th July, 1709, in the eighth year of our reign,

“ANNE R.

“By Her Majesty’s Command,
H. BOYLE.”

On the 9th of April of this year Lord Feversham died. He had no children; the estate which he had in right of his wife descended to the heirs of her only sister, the Baroness Rockingham; and his money and personal property to his nephew and niece, the Marquis de Miremont and Mademoiselle de Malauze. We observe nothing for two or three years concerning the Marquis, except that he continued on the list of Lieutenant-Generals. His friend, Rochegude, appears again before long.

France was all but exhausted by the long war, and all the refugees thought that the allies would extort many concessions from her government, not only for territorial and political aggrandizement, but also in behalf of persecuted Protestants. But the advent of Harley and Bolingbroke to power in Britain changed the attitude of our government, so that instead of dictating the terms of peace, we as very humble servants of the French monarch gave the *carte blanche* to him. Astonished Frenchmen exclaimed, “Les Miracles de Londres!” The Marquis de Rochegude in great agitation hastened to London, and was graciously received at Windsor. He presented a memorial to our government, dated, “Windsor, 6th Sept., 1711,” urging that an article in favour of the French Protestants who are in the galleys, prisons, convents, or other places of confinement, should be inserted in the preliminaries of the negotiations for peace, such being a matter rather of humanity than of religion. The Memorial was written in a fervid style, and asked, “Is it possible that there should not be one article in favour of the church so severely oppressed and persecuted in France?—an article which ought to be the preliminary of the preliminaries!” He suggested that the 4th Article of the Peace of Ryswick, regarding the Protestants of Germany, might be adopted and extended so as to embrace Protestants everywhere, the effect of which would be to recognize all Protestants of all nations as one corporate body. “A more particular care,” he added, “ought to be had of those who, for so long a time past suffer under oppression—not daring to own the true religion without exposing themselves to the galleys or gibbets. And this shews the necessity of re-establishing the Protestant religion in France, otherwise the galleys will ever be filled with Protestants, under pretence of their trespassing against the king’s orders, enjoining all his subjects to go to Mass.”

About the month of June 1712, the refugees memorialized Queen Anne to assert herself to be the guarantee of the French Edicts in their favour, as had been done by James I., Charles I., and William III., the two former having had their right of intervention recognized by the French kings. The memorial was so favourably received, that the Queen was graciously pleased to name and appoint the Marquis de Miremont to be a Commissioner at the Congress at Utrecht, "to act in concert with all the Plenipotentiaries of the Protestant Princes without exception, that they all may together consider of expedients to give satisfaction to the Protestants of France in the matter of religion, with all the most appropriate methods of relief, it being the Queen's most ardent desire that this re-establishment should be made, than which she has nothing more at heart." This commission was dated the 9th of June 1712.

One of the odious galleys happened to be at Dunkirk, and the treatment of its martyr crew contributed to call renewed attention to the case of all the captives. At the peace, Dunkirk was to be dismantled, and handed over to the Dutch; but during the negotiations it was to be held by the English. In July 1712 the French garrison marched out, and Brigadier John Hill took possession with several English regiments, and a battalion of Scotch Guards. The French, however, retained the civil government, guarded the churchyards against Protestant burials, kept the harbour with their ships and galleys, and with two or three battalions of their marines—privateers having free egress and ingress, provided they did not bring English prizes. There were eighteen or nineteen martyrs in the convict galley, who naturally expected to be set at liberty under the jurisdiction of Great Britain. But Jack Hill told them that he had no orders concerning them. By his advice they sent a memorial to the British Secretary of State.* This was reported to the French court, and they were forthwith loaded with chains, and marched off by land to Marseilles. They contrived to forward a second petition to London; but the only immediate effect was the liberation of one of them, on the ground that he was a native of Jersey, and that his release was openly pressed for by the Bishop of London.

Another affecting note of recal to the "inexpressible miseries of the Poor Reformed Protestants in France," was a letter to Queen Anne from the King of Prussia, "signed by order of the King on his death-bed," urging her to defy all difficulties "*at a time*" when "she who bears the glorious title of *Defender of the Faith*, has reason to expect so much from the deference of the Most Christian King." This letter was signed on the 21st of February 1713, and the king died four days afterwards.

The Marquis de Miremont held frequent consultations with the Protestant Plenipotentiaries—but all that could be done was, before the signing of the several treaties with France, to place a memorial in the hands of the Plenipotentiaries of France, desiring them earnestly "to be pleased to make such representations to the king their master, as that all the French Protestants may have the relief granted them which they have so long sighed for, and that they may be established in their rights and privileges in the matter of religion, and so enjoy entire liberty of conscience,—and those of them who are in prisons and galleys, or otherwise confined, may be set at liberty, so that those distressed people may have a share in the peace which Europe, in 'all appearance, is going to enjoy." This memorial was delivered on the 11th of April 1713.

The French court felt that some mark of gratitude was due to Queen Anne for her persistent quarrel with Marlborough, and for her personal encouragement of Bolingbroke in his Bourbon Jacobite counsels. The memorial was therefore acknowledged, by giving hopes that those Protestants in the galleys, whose imprisonment was of older date than the Camisard revolt, would be released, on the ground of her majesty's intercession on their behalf. As this

* This was the official intelligence, published and believed in London. But Marteilhe's account is that Jack Hill promised to write to Queen Anne, and advised the martyrs to wait quietly for a fortnight. During this time, however, he gave secret permission to the French commandant to convey them to Calais, concealed in the hold of a bark, which would not have got out of Dunkirk harbour, but for this written pass:—"Allow this boat, which is going to fish for my household, to leave the harbour.—J. HILL." [Hill was the brother of Lady Masham, and therefore a prominent ally of the French party in England.]

was, at the best, a most inadequate reply to the memorial, Miremont, on the 26th of May following, lodged a protest, which the magistracy of Utrecht engrossed thus :—

“The Declaration in favour of the Reformed Churches of France, delivered to the venerable magistracy of the town of Utrecht by the most high and mighty lord, Armand de Bourbon, Marquis de Miremont, &c., empowered by a commission from Her Britannic Majesty (dated 9th June 1712) to negotiate what concerns the Reformed Religion in France, and to take care of the interests thereof, at the Congress of Utrecht.

“Forasmuch as nothing in this world ought to be more dear than the liberty of serving God according to the dictates of our consciences and the prescription of His word, therefore the Protestants of the Reformed Churches of France never wished for anything with greater ardour than the enjoyment of that sweet liberty, which has been ravished from them for above twenty-seven years, by the artifice of their enemies, who found means to obtain from the king, in October 1685, the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes.

“We could have hoped that his Majesty would have been pleased to entertain more moderate thoughts in regard to us, and would, by reinstating us in our ancient privileges, have caused us to feel in our consciences (the seat of the strongest sensations) the sweetness of the so much desired Peace, which his Majesty is now making with the other Princes and Potentates of Europe. But how just soever these hopes were, we have the unhappiness to see them frustrated. Again, therefore, we most humbly supplicate his Majesty to commiserate the great number of families which, from his justice and royal clemency, solicit the most precious favour they ever can receive on earth. We most humbly supplicate his Majesty, even by the bowels of the Divine mercy, to put us in the same condition as we and our fathers were through the whole extent of his kingdom, that we may there, without molestation, exercise our religion, and give evidence to his Majesty of the strictest fidelity and the sincerest zeal.

“We supplicate his Majesty, with ardour and all imaginable respect, to permit us now humbly to protest, that we will never quit either the desire or the hope of obtaining from the equity and bounty of his Majesty, the re-establishment of all the grants for the exercise of our religion, which have been made to us by the kings, his glorious predecessors, and by his Majesty himself,—that those hopes and pretensions, so just and well-grounded, we shall never let go, and shall neither do such injustice to our consciences and to posterity, as to depart from rights confirmed by so many solemn declarations. And as in time past we have presented the necessary petitions and memorials, so with the profoundest possible respect we here solemnly protest to his Majesty, as before God, that any omissions relating to us and to our lawful interests, which have hitherto been made, or may be made use of in the future, ought not ever to be deemed an abandoning of our just demands, and ought not to prejudice in any manner the goodness of our cause and validity of our right, which shall always continue sacred with us.

“No Potentate having undertaken in this Congress the office of a Mediator, we the underwritten do, according to what is practised on such occasions, require the venerable Magistracy of the Town of Utrecht to receive the Declaration above written, that it may serve for an Evidence.—Utrecht, May 26, 1713. ARMAND DE BOURBON, M. D. MIREMONT.”

“We the Burgo-masters and Councillors of the Town of Utrecht do certify that His Excellency the Marquis de Miremont, in the quality above-mentioned and by virtue of his full power acknowledged and received by the Congress in our city, did put into our hands the declaration, whereof the Deed, carefully compared and found to agree with its duplicate deposited among our archives, is above-written. And whereas the aforesaid Lord desired that the said Deed may be deposited among our archives, to serve for a memorial and perpetual evidence when requisite, We have granted him his demand, and this present Deed under the seal of our town, and signature of our Secretary, Done at Utrecht, May 26th, 1713.”

The Marquis de Rochegude, who had been at Utrecht, returned to England and had an audience of Her Majesty. One day the Queen sent for him, and said, “I pray you, Monsieur

de Rochegude, send word to the poor galley-slaves that they shall be soon set at liberty." This was the royal message according to a letter which he despatched to Marseilles *via* Geneva, and which one of themselves* has recorded. Out of three hundred, whom the order of the King of France seemed to design for liberation, about one hundred and thirty were discharged on the 17th June 1713. Thirty-six of that number went by sea to Villefranche and Nice, and thence by land through Turin and Geneva, to Frankfort. They then sailed to Cologne and Dort, journeyed to Rotterdam, and finally reached Amsterdam in safety. A deputation of twelve, of whom Jean Marteilhe was one, came to London to express the gratitude of the martyrs to the Queen of Great Britain. The Marquises de Miremont and de Rochegude presented them at Court, and the Queen permitted them to kiss her hand. The Marquis de Miremont in their name, returned thanks to Her Majesty, who replied that she was rejoiced to see them at liberty, and that she hoped to procure the pardon of the Protestants still labouring in the galleys of France. In 1714 the remainder of the three hundred were set free. The whole of the sufferers were not liberated until the reign of George I., for it was only gradually that the French government could see how those whom oppression had driven to arms, could be identified with persons arrested as criminals for religious non-conformity. While not refusing to Queen Anne a share of the credit, we must join with Haag in giving the chief praise to LES INFATIGABLES EFFORTS DU GENEREUX ROCHEGUDE.

Miremont passed the rest of his life as a private member of society. On the consolidation of the Hanoverian rule in Ireland, his pension was raised to £1000. Burn says that in 1740, upon the intercession of the Marquises of Miremont and Montandre, and other members, £150 per annum out of the Royal Bounty was settled on the church of *Les Grecs*†—the old Savoy Chapel having fallen into hopeless disrepair, and its congregation having united with *Les Grecs*. This may be substantially correct, but the date is wrong. The Marquis de Miremont died in London at his apartment in Somerset House on the 23d February 1732, in his 77th year.

The right of administration to his property was granted on the 28th inst. to his sister (*præ-nobilis et honoranda femina*, Charlotta de Bourbon, called in the newspapers "the Lady Malauze"); for he left no will. She made up for her brother's omission before her own death, which took place in Somerset House on the 15th of October following. Her last will and testament, translated from the French by Philip Crespigny, notary public, was duly registered, Josias Des Bordes, Esq., being her executor. She bequeathed to her nephew, the Marquis de Malauze, the residue, which she had reserved to herself, of her gift to him of estates in France, and also her rights to more ample estates. She left £20 to the French hospital of London, £100 to the poor, and (conditionally, on the realization of the three years' arrears of her late brother's pension) a sum of £400 to be invested for annual payments to the ministers of the French church of the Savoy. If that church should ever cease to exist, then the £400 were to be spent in removing her own coffin, and the mortal remains of her late uncle, the Earl of Feversham, and of her two brothers, to Westminster Abbey. Her brother, Louis, Marquis de La Case, had been buried in St James's, Westminster—and Miremont in the family vault in the Savoy church. In the same vault she was to be interred, within a leaden coffin, encased in wood, surmounted with a brass plate, "on which shall be engraved my coat-of-arms as on my seal, with the addition of the supporters, which are two angels," and the following inscrip-

* Jean Marteilhe, one of the Martyrs in the galley which was at Dunkirk in 1712, and the author of the well-known book, "Mémoires d'un Protestant condamné aux galères de France pour cause de religion, écrits par lui-même." He was one of those who were set at liberty in 1713. A translation of his book has been published in London by the Religious Tract Society; with the title, "Autobiography of a French Protestant condemned to the galleys for the sake of his religion."

† The Congregation of *Les Grecs* at one time worshipped in Hog's Lane. Hogarth has given a representation of the old Chapel in *Les Grecs* in his picture of "Noon," and the figure coming out of the chapel is said to have been a very good likeness of the Rev. Thomas Hervé, who was their minister from about 1727-1731.—BURN.

tion :—“ Here lyes Charlotta de Bourbon, to whom God has given grace to be born, to live, and to die, in his holy religion. Glory ever be for the same to the holy, blessed, and adorable Trinity, the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost. Amen.” *

II. MAJOR-GENERAL CAVALIER.

MAJOR-GENERAL JOHN CAVALIER is a name that may be seen in the British Army List in the reign of George II. This is no other than the valiant Camisard chief, and renowned self-taught officer.

Jean Cavallier was born in the year 1681 in the village of Ribaute, near Anduze, in Languedoc. His father outwardly conformed to Romanism, but, because his wife refused to abjure Protestantism, had to pay a share of the salary of the Romish Missionary Teacher, on the pain of being sent to prison or having soldiers quartered upon him, and also had to send his sons to the mission school. Jean Cavalier thus became well-versed in their catechisms and doctrinal books, and in due course he was confirmed and went to mass. His mother, however, filled his memory with Bible truth, and with proofs of the errors and follies of Papal Rome. The Romanists themselves, by their barbarities, alienated his heart from the priests and emissaries of their communion. In his early youth his indignation was called forth. One of the congregations in the desert, with which his mother frequently worshipped, was broken up by the soldiery, some of the men then apprehended were hanged, others were sent to the galleys, the women had their heads shaved, and were sent either to convents or to the dreadful Tower of Constance. His agitated mother told him all this; the boy was filled with abhorrence, wished he could take revenge on the persecutors, and thenceforth (though without making an open vow) ceased to attend mass. After this, when he was thirteen of age, he heard Mr Claude Brousson preach, and his convictions on the side of Protestantism grew stronger and more intelligent. A long time passed before any notice was taken of his absence from mass, and when his father was informed and officially admonished as to the grave omission, the son had courage to declare to him that he could go to prison but not to mass. Yet he prudently kept himself retired from observation, and while the great Williamite war lasted, no inquisitorial search was made for him. The Peace of Ryswick gave the authorities more leisure. In 1698 a stringent Edict came out; and (says our young hero), “ my father was one of the first that was fined, because his wife and children did not go to mass, a crown for the first time, and double for every time afterwards; if he did not oblige us to go they threatened to confiscate his land and chattels,† and banish him out of the kingdom.” Young Cavalier went out of the way, and paid a long visit to some relations. In September 1699 he was deeply affected by the martyrdom of Brousson. At the end of that year the lads began to meet and sing psalms in the open air before the parish churches. The priests raised a militia against them. This provoked the boys to destroy crucifixes and images. A party of them took up arms to fight their way into Switzerland and Cavalier joined the party; they (thirty in number) passed the frontier unopposed and arrived safely in Geneva; he thus succeeded in escaping from France.

It is said that he worked as a journeyman baker at Geneva and also at Lausanne; he does not himself say so in his book. When he heard that his parents had been imprisoned because he had gone out of France, he rushed home to organize a party to rescue them. Partly to his joy, and partly to his sorrow, he found that they had procured their own liberty by consenting to go to mass. This was in the end of June 1701. He meant to retrace his steps to Geneva

* A lady, named Catherine De Bourbon, received £36 a-year from the Royal Bounty Fund for French Protestants, till her death on the 23d October 1725.—*Burn's MSS.*

† The French give to any man's possessions (however small) the sounding name of “his estates.” This is Cavalier's phrase as to his father's little property and stock, but in case of mistakes I have translated the phrase into more sober English.

forthwith, but being invited and prevailed on to stay at home till the harvest was over, he became involved in the commotions of the eventful time when the butcheries of the Abbé Du Chaila, *Inspector of Missions* in the Cevennes, provoked armed resistance.

A student, the only pastor left by persecution to the poor people (his name was *Esprit*), led sixty men to rescue from the cells and from the instruments of torture in the Abbé's stronghold, some prisoners, ladies and gentlemen, who had been seized when attempting to fly to a country of refuge. This expedition was successful, and Le Chaila was killed. The authorities burnt *Esprit* alive. The military general, Count Broglio, made with the rest of the assailants a treaty of peace, which he broke by hanging all that he could find at the doors of their own houses. Cavalier was not of this party; he would have thankfully escaped to Geneva, but the frontier was too strictly guarded. He therefore, in self-defence, joined the insurgents, was at once made an officer, and soon had the chief command.

On Christmas-day 1701, being Sunday, five hundred of the outlawed Protestants met for worship near Monteze, upon the river Gardon. They received information that six hundred men, cavalry, and infantry, were on the way to attack them. The unarmed worshippers retired, and Cavalier entrenched the fighting men so well, that their enemies were decisively repulsed; he then led the pursuit, and made the rout complete, nearly a hundred of the enemy being killed. The next day Cavalier was deliberately chosen to take the command.

The following manifesto was issued :—*

“Matters having come to this pass, that we are permitted neither to reside quietly in the kingdom nor freely to quit it, we do no longer regard those as our governors who thus treat us as enemies; hence we resolve to resort to those means of preservation with which nature has furnished us. And hereby we invite all our neighbours to join us in endeavours to cast off the yoke of slavery under which they have so long groaned. With respect to those who refuse to join us, but who remain neutral, doing us no harm, we hereby promise not to molest them, either in their persons, or their goods, or their religion; on the contrary, to protect and defend them of whatever religion they may be. But as for those who have been, or shall be found in arms against us, as we expect no quarter from them, so we are resolved to give none, but to treat them in the same manner they have treated us, or may hereafter treat us.

CAVALLIER.
 ROLAND.
 RAVENAL.
 CONSTANET.
 LA ROSE.
 CATINAT.”

Nearly a quarter of a century afterwards, in his peaceful retreat in Ireland, he published a book, entitled “Memoirs of the Wars in the Cevennes under Colonel Cavalier, in defence of the Protestants persecuted in that country, and of the Peace concluded between him and the Mareschal Duke of Villars. Written in French by Colonel Cavalier, and translated into English” (Dublin, 1726). Dedicated to Lord Carteret, Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland. In 1727 a second edition was published. The main facts are confirmed by documentary evidence. But Huguenot antiquaries complain of many inaccuracies of detail, while they make allowances for an unpractised author writing from memory.

That his pen did not indite romances as to the feats of his sword, we have evidence in a letter from Roland, printed in Mr Hill's Correspondence (p. 123), dated Anduze, ce 22 May, 1704, “Brother Cavalier's battles have always been favourable to us, and it seems (what we have no doubt of) that the Lord fights for us. Brother Cavalier has fought more than thirty battles with wonderful successes. . . . His great victory near Uxes has struck terror into the enemy, who dare not march without 1500 or 1600 men as an escort. Since Marshal Villars

* Baynes's Witnesses in Sackcloth, page 197.

has been here he has continually caused incursions to be made, both into Lower Languedoc and into our Cevennes, without (thank God) having produced any effect, which has obliged him to send us proposals for peace, which appears to us to be suspicious."

Of the devastations and bloodshed which marked this civil war, the persecuted and justly incensed Protestant peasantry cannot bear the chief blame. However, their co-religionists in the more tranquil provinces reproached them, and hence they were distinguished from the northern and midland Huguenots by the name of Camisards. For the etymology of that nickname there cannot be a better authority than Cavalier himself. According to him, "our men commonly carried but two shirts with them, the one on their back, the other in their knapsack; so that when they would pass by their friends' houses, they would leave the dirty, and take the clean, not having time to spare to wash their own linen. Also, when they discovered Romish citizens, they took clean shirts from them, leaving dirty ones in exchange. If a jocosé neighbour heard any of the victims of this system of exchange expressing resentment and rage, he would say, 'you are very lucky that they did not take away your skin instead of your shirt [camise],'"*

Notwithstanding that one Marshal after another came to oppose the insurgents, Cavalier could not be conquered, and the government was reduced to the necessity of treating with him. All his military knowledge had been gained by watching the manœuvres of the town guards of Geneva. His fame was immense; at the age of twenty-two he was more renowned than any commander in the armies of Europe. "Every one," writes Villars, "was surprised to see a man of low origin and without experience in the art of war, behave under the most difficult and delicate circumstances like a great general." The historian Browning says:—"There was nothing in his person to impress beholders. On the contrary, he is represented as small in stature; the head large, and sunk upon the shoulders; with a broad red face, and light hair. His countenance did not bespeak intelligence; but his career proves that he was well endowed."

Cavalier and Marshal Villars, with their military escorts, met to negotiate. The king had no intention to keep faith with the heretic, but took this method of hearing what he had to say. "In that (to borrow the words of an old English pamphleteer) we may see what account is to be had of all promises made to heretics in matters of religion by any prince of the Roman communion, but more particularly by a prince who has put the conduct of his conscience in the hands of a Jesuit." On the 17th May 1704, at Nismes, the following concessions to the Protestants were promised provisionally by the Marshal, and by Lamoignon de Basville:—*First*, Liberty of conscience, and permission to hold religious assemblies in such country places as they think convenient (provided they do not build churches)—but not in cities or walled towns. *Secondly*, all such as are detained in prisons and galleys only on account of religion since the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes, shall be set at liberty in six weeks after this date. *Thirdly*, All who have left the kingdom on account of religion shall have free liberty to return, and be restored to their estates and privileges, on condition they take the oath of allegiance to the king. *Lastly*, A regiment of 2000 shall be raised by Cavalier for the French army in Portugal, and the remainder of the party shall lay down their arms, trusting to the royal toleration.

Cavalier took a journey to Paris, and being admitted to an interview with Louis XIV., he began by saying, "We have not taken up arms against your Majesty, but only in self-defence against those who, contrary to your royal intentions, have oppressed and persecuted us." After

* Cavalier also states that the giving of the name of *barbets* to the Waldenses was the same thing as to call them *dogs*, a barbet being a water-dog. Barbe being a term of endearment applied to an aged uncle or relative, the Waldenses, out of affection, gave the name to their pastors; hence Romish scoffers called them Barbets, and the members of their churches, as well as the pastors, were ultimately so called. I may add as to the name of *Huguenot*, that perhaps it was of Walloon origin, and a synonym for the word *beggar*. Benoit mentions another nickname. In 1559 a monk and inquisitor, named De Mouchi, signalized himself in spying out Protestant congregations, and in giving information that led to the apprehension and punishment of the worshippers; hence informers and spies were called *Mouchards*.

enlarging on their woes, he added that it was with lively regret that his followers had appeared in arms against so good and great a king ; but on receiving the royal clemency, and the ratification of the Marechal de Villars' engagements, they would be ready to shed their blood in his service. The king, with warmth, refused to hear of the treaty with Villars, except to the extent of releasing the prisoners and galley-slaves upon the submission of all the rebels. Being interrogated, Cavalier said that he got no arms from the Duke of Savoy or foreign princes. "Where did you get arms?" asked the king. "Sir," replied Cavalier, "we took care to attack none of your troops but them we were much superior in number to ; and having overcome them, especially in the beginning, it was from them that we supplied ourselves." "How many of my troops did you destroy?" the king inquired. Cavalier answered that he did not know, but that his Majesty's generals could tell. The king then upbraided him at some length for outrages on persons and property. Cavalier in reply exposed the great provocations done by the magistracy and Romish soldiery, and gave some heartrending recitals, which the courtiers in substance confirmed, and which made an evident impression on the king. His majesty brought the audience to a close, by asking if he would become a good Catholic. Cavalier replied, "My life, sir, is in your hands, and I am ready to lay it down in your service, but as for my religion, I am resolved not to change it for any consideration this world can afford." "Well," said the king, "go and be wiser in future, and it will be better for you."

In the antechamber, Cavalier was offered, if he would recant his religious creed, pensions both for himself and his father, and a commission as Brigadier. But he accepted no title but that of "obstinate Huguenot." Thereafter, though treated with apparent kindness, he felt he was under surveillance, and having good information that it was intended to beguile him into a fortress, he escaped into Switzerland.

There have been critical estimates of Cavalier's character, tending to the verdict that his moral and religious character was but low as compared to his bravery. But this has arisen from forgetfulness that the stratagems and severities incident to a civil and unequal war bring out exceptional features of character, and cannot fairly be commented on as the only or the best materials for deciding a question of personal character. A young man, deprived of his spiritual guides, and debarred from stated Scriptural instruction, assailed with insulting orders and threats (and such was Cavalier), must labour under disadvantages which can account for many errors of judgment and of conduct. Some accusations, however, arose from mistaking him for one of the Camisard Prophets, another Jean Cavalier.* Mr John M. Kemble, in his interesting volume of "State Papers" (printed from Leibnitz's correspondence), notes as to the pretended prophets :—"Their pretensions to inspiration, absurd as they were, attracted the attention and excited the alarm of the clergy. With these impostures, or, perhaps, manifestations of unsound mind, Cavalier had nothing to do. We have no doubt, from the evidence before us, that in his earlier days, and while it served his purposes as a leader, he had, like the others, administered the sacraments, and made pretensions to the gift of prophecy ; but in the larger world in which his lot had since been cast, he had naturally learned common sense, and discovered that claims to immediate inspiration were not likely to find much favour in the eyes of practical and thinking men."

It suited the king-craft of Louis XIV. both to deny that he ever had an interview with

* The Rev. Edmund Calamy (tertius), in his "Caveat against New Prophets," page 52, quotes an affidavit from Colonel Cavalier that the pretended prophet, though a namesake, was no relative of his. In Pointer's "Chronological History of England," page 584, it is stated that the French prophets, "by their formal cant and their feigned extatic fits, deluded several of their countrymen in Soho, London, which gave just offence to the soberer part of the French refugees, who looked upon them as impostors, as they really were. They were censured in the French church in the Savoy. . . . One of the said Camisars, and two of their abettors, were indicted and prosecuted at the charge of all the French churches in London as disturbers of the public peace and false prophets. On the 28th November 1707, they received their sentences at the Court of Queen's Bench Bar, to stand twice on a scaffold, with a paper denoting their offence, to pay a fine of 20 marks each, and to give securities for their good behaviour for one year." This affair led to the mistake that the word "Camisard" meant a prophet.

Cavalier, and to enjoin his privy councillors to deny it. Hence some persons have naturally suspected that Cavalier's narration of an audience with the king was a fabrication. The Electress Sophia directed Leibnitz to write some interrogatories to Cavalier as to this audience (as to the fact of which no rational doubt is now entertained), and as to his escape from France. A copy of his answer is preserved, docketted "Copie de la Reponse de M. Cavalier, Sevenois, 1704," and the following is a translation of it by Mr Kemble:—

"With regard to Fraignant he was never with me. The object of my journey to Paris was to demand of the king the ratification of the articles of the treaty which Marshal Villars had made with me, which were:—That all the prisoners and galley-slaves, who had been condemned since the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes, were to be set at liberty; that they were to give us liberty of conscience throughout the whole province of Languedoc; and that all those who had expatriated themselves for the sake of religion should have liberty to return, and to have full enjoyment of their property. After I had made all these demands, the king said to me, That the hearts of all kings were in the hands of God, and that it was not for subjects to meddle with religion; that the ministers had to answer for the salvation of their flocks; that if his religion had not been the good one, God would have let him know it, since He gave him the grace to vanquish his enemies on every spot where he had attacked them. And he asked me where I got my money and ammunition from? I answered him, that we were so often engaged with his troops that they furnished me abundance of all that I was in need of. Upon that he gave me orders to retire, and replaced me in the hands of the Sieur de Chamillard, saying to me that he would do something for me—that I must be steady. Afterwards I was reconducted into Burgundy by the same courier, being forbid, on pain of incurring the king's indignation, to say that I had spoken with him or that I had been to Paris, all of which I observed very exactly until my escape from France.

"Afterwards, having remained six weeks in Burgundy, I received orders to set out for Brissac, under escort of the Maréchaussée of Dijon, which was relieved from place to place till Besançon. When I was two days' journey from Besançon I was lodged in a village where the houses stood very far apart. Seeing myself so near Switzerland, I took the resolution to escape from the hands of my enemies. I gave my orders to all my troop to be ready at such an hour, which they did; and at night I began to file off with a guide in the direction of Switzerland, without any one's asking me whither I was going. Providence conducted me to Neufchatel in Switzerland, where I was well received."

Cavalier was accused by comrades of desertion and treachery. But he was guilty only of a miscalculation of probabilities; when he agreed to negotiate, he did not see that he was virtually laying down his arms. For if his treaty were ratified, the Camisards would gain the blessings of peace and liberty, which would be a good finishing stroke. But if his treaty were not ratified, the circumstance would simply and inevitably make him a prisoner of war.

Mr Kemble brings a mild charge of provincialism and narrow-mindedness against Cavalier on account of one of the articles in his treaty, "Liberty of Conscience through all the Province of Languedoc" (which ought to have been liberty of conscience over the whole kingdom of France). The answer to this is, that there had been no declaration of war, except in Languedoc, and the formal treaty could extend no farther. But that Cavalier's aspirations were confined within one province we can safely deny. I have read, in one of the numbers of the Bulletin of the French Protestant Historical Society, an account of a conversation between him and a Romish priest, who asked him on what terms he and his troops would lay down their arms. Cavalier's reply was, "La liberté de prier Dieu en esprit et en vérité. Le repos de tout le monde. L'elargissement des captifs."

The friendly Swiss in the vicinity of France could shew Cavalier and his men a ready hospitality, but could not venture to consent to their taking up their quarters with them. The exiles, therefore, moved cautiously onward, in separated detachments, till they halted at Lausanne. From this place of safety Cavalier sent a letter offering his services to the Duke of Savoy.—

“ May it please your Royal Highness,—

“ Providence having saved me from the snares the French had laid for me, I am safely arrived in this country. I think I cannot do better than to address myself to so great a prince as you are, and to offer you my most humble services. The honour of serving under your Royal Highness's banner will be to me the greatest felicity I could wish for, looking upon your Royal Highness as the protector of the poor oppressed people in France, and I hope by your valour the neighbouring people of France will be secure from being molested by the most ambitious of monarchs. For my part, I shall embrace all opportunities of shewing your Royal Highness my inviolable attachment for your service. I have about 250 men come out of France along with me, and willing to follow me whithersoever I shall go. As soon as I have received the honour of your Royal Highness's orders, I shall repair to whatsoever place you shall command me. I shall leave officers here to raise recruits, in order speedily to form a regiment, if your Royal Highness thinks proper. I am, with the profoundest respect, &c.

“ Lausanne, August 31st, 1704.”

“ CAVALLIER.

The Right Honourable Richard Hill the British Ambassador to the Duke, and the Duke himself also, had been watching with anxiety and dismay the negotiation between Marshal Villars and Cavalier. Their plan was to foster the war in the Cevennes by sending auxiliary troops by sea, and thus to keep the French monarch so busy at home that he might send no re-inforcements abroad. Mr Hill wrote to the Earl of Nottingham from Turin 12-23 May 1704, “ The two last posts assure us that the Camisards have laid down their arms. We do not want zeal or mettle ; but I am not willing to play off the Queen's ships and 500 good Protestants if the game is already lost.” To Lord Godolphin he wrote on 16-27 May, “ What does affect and mortify me most sensibly is, the loss of our Allies in the Cevennes who have submitted to the tyrant and have laid down their arms.” “ *May 30th.* All our advices from France continue to affirm that Cavallier had accepted the amnesty offered by the Marechal de Villars, and made his peace with the French King ; but the conditions cannot be known till the return of the courier whom the Mareschal sent to Versailles . . . Letters from Nismes of the 17th inst. say that day M. Cavallier came thither to meet the Marechal de Villars with whom he had a long conference ; he had left his troop at Lusary about a league from Nismes, and was conducted into the town by M. de Lande, Lieut.-General, who was sent out to meet him with a small guard. In the evening he returned to his troop very well satisfied with his reception and the civilities he received from the Mareschal. People of all sorts crowded to see Cavallier, and were so well satisfied with his person and his modest behaviour, that some of the most considerable of Nismes accompanied him to his troop. It is impossible to express the joy that country has on this account, in hopes that now they may stir out without being in danger of being murdered. The same letters give an account that Messrs Roland and Castanet, two captains of the Cevennes, had, the very same day on which Cavallier had offered to submit, defeated the battalion of Tiurnon, killed about 200 soldiers, 8 or 10 officers, and the Lieut.-Colonel. This action makes us believe and hope that Roland may still hold out, and not come into the resolutions which Cavallier seems to have taken, and we are still willing to hope that something may break off the negotiation with Cavallier himself.” “ *19-30 June.* I embarked last week at Nice about 450 men, officers, and soldiers, with money, with arms, and ammunition, for the relief of the Camisards.” “ *1st July.* “ They are gone upon a desperate errand, and I am in pain for them ; but it was not reasonable to expect the Cevennois should hold out any longer, if nobody would endeavour at least to come to their relief. The defection of Cavallier, and the negotiations of the rest with the Mareschal de Villars, and the appearances of the entire submission of the whole party, made it impossible for me to embark *mes enfans perdus*, till I had assurances to shew them, from a man whom I had sent on purpose to Languedoc, that Ravenal and a great party held out still.” [This expedition failed.]

With regard to Cavalier at Lausanne, Mr Hill writes to Sir Charles Hedges from Turin, 9th September 1704, “ The last week his Royal Highness received a letter from Cavallier, who

had formerly done so good service in Languedoc. He said he had saved himself from the hands of his enemies, who were leading him to Brisach; that he was come to Lausanne, and that he would come on to offer his services to his Royal Highness if they might be agreeable; that he had 100 of his own men with him who would follow him anywhere. I went to the camp immediately, and desired his Royal Highness to accept the offers of a man who had been so useful and might still be so; that I would answer for the sincerity of his intentions; that if his Royal Highness would take him immediately into his service, and employ him with his troop in the Valleys, I hoped he might augment his number and form a battalion; that the encouragement which was given him might animate the Camisards, and keep their party alive in the Cévennes, and give new zeal and vigour to the levies which the Queen and the States were about to make in England and Holland; that the refusal of Cavallier's good offers would have the contrary effects; and, lastly, that I would write to London, and did not doubt but that I should have such orders from the Queen as would take these people off his Royal Highness's hands, if he found they were not for his purpose. His Royal Highness did consent very generously to receive them, sent a gracious letter to Cavallier to invite him hither, settled a route for him and for all the men he had or could bring with him, and sent him 100 pistoles to bear his expenses over the mountains. I must say that I look upon him at present as his Royal Highness's officer; but I shall receive him here as if he were to be the Queen's officer upon occasion."

The following is the Duke of Savoy's letter:—

“MONSIEUR CAVALLIER,—We have received with pleasure the letter you wrote to us from Lausanne, the 31st of last month. Being well pleased with the testimony of your zeal for our service, we send you money by the courier, in order that you repair with your men to the city of Aosta, where you will apply to the Marquis De Cirie, governor of the province, who will shew you the route you must take to go into the Valleys of Luzerne with your people, which you must endeavour to increase as much as you can with sure and choice men upon whom one may safely depend. We are very glad you have experienced how little foundation there is in the promises of France, which reckons the greatest violences as nothing. Assure yourself that, upon all occasions, we shall willingly contribute to all your advantage; and, in the meanwhile, we pray God to have you in His holy keeping.

V. AMEDE.

“From the Camp at Crescentino,

J. CULLAT.

The 5th of September 1704.”

Cavallier immediately sent off Lieut.-Colonel Billard with a detachment to Aosta, and was lingering to raise recruits, when the alarm of the French cutting off his communication with Piedmont compelled him to set out in a Swiss costume, and with two Swiss gentlemen as fellow-travellers. On his reaching Aosta, the Marquis De Cirie sent him to join the troops at La Tuille, which the French were on the eve of assaulting. Unfortunately, the General, Baron De St Remis, had an army of Swiss recruits and Savoyard militia, very unlike the intrepid Camisards. The entrenchments were strong, and Cavallier, at his post, was expecting a good fight, when, to his surprise, he was almost surrounded by the French, the above-mentioned army having surrendered without fighting. He had to draw off his men precipitately into a wood; soon they sprang out and routed a party that had taken De Cirie and St Remis prisoners and rescued them, but as these chiefs would not fall back on Aosta, Cavallier and his men made with all haste for Turin, and got the start of the French, who would have intercepted his party if he had delayed but an hour.

Mr Hill wrote to the Duke of Marlborough on the 3rd October, “I have got the famous Cavalier to me now, with about sixty-seven of his Camisards, good men and true. I carry him to-day to his Royal Highness in hopes to place him in his service, till the Marquis de Miremont comes.” Again he wrote to Sir Charles Hedges, 8th October:—“Mons. Cavallier came hither last week just before the passages were stopped, and brought about seventy men

with him, officers or soldiers, good men and true. He had an opportunity, as he came through the Val d'Aoust, to show his zeal for the service of his Royal Highness. But at the first sight of La Feuilliade's troops, our new-raised Swiss and our militia abandoned all their posts which had been a-fortifying these six months, and our Camisards came away in the crowd without hearing one musket fired. The Swiss ran up the mountains and their officers with them. M. Cavallier came the better way, and came hither. So soon as he arrived, I carried him to our camp, and his Royal Highness received him very well. He gave him a commission to be Colonel in his service, and he is now to make up a battalion as soon as he can possibly, in which I will give him all the assistance I can possibly."

Cavallier's quarters were in the Valley of Luzerne. "The Vaudois," he writes, "were very glad of having me with them, being a companion in their sufferings for the same cause; for there is no difference betwixt their church and our churches of France, Geneva, and Holland." He had not been many days there before he had a project to communicate to Mr Hill; he wrote from Luzerne, 10th October 1704:—

"Sir,—I do myself the honour of writing to assure you of my most humble respects, and to beg you to continue your favours, and the honour of your protection. I have just found a man who offers to go to the country [Languedoc]. He is one whom I know, and on whom I can rely. He asks no reward, and promises to bring me an answer in a month and a half. If your Excellency thinks proper to give him anything, I beg you will send it to me by the bearer of this. I shall be forgetful of nothing in keeping an eye on matters relating to our country, and to the Divine service. I have heretofore penetrated into Dauphiny a little. I hope to go and make a little excursion there very soon, in order to observe the disposition of the people and the country. I hope God will bless all our enterprizes. I venture to ask of your Excellency to send me word if letters can pass for Switzerland or Geneva. I can assure you that no one can have more pleasure than I have in the honour of subscribing myself, most respectfully, and with respect, &c.,

CAVALLIER.

Luzerne, 10th October 1704.

"There are here, sir, many refugees who would wish to take part with me, but their officer requires an order to that effect. I beg of your Excellency to write to his Royal Highness on the subject. I shall have the honour of obeying his orders; also as to my Turin expenses [de la dépense de Turin]."

MR HILL TO M. CAVALLIER.

"TURIN, *October 12th*, 1704. Sir,—I have received the letter which you did me the honour of writing to me on the 10th, and by the bearer of that letter shall send you this reply. I applaud your zeal and your attachment to the interests of our religion and of our friends, and I pray to God to bless your anxious attentions. I very much approve of your design of sending a trusty man into Languedoc, taking it for granted that you will give him good instructions. He can assure our friends in the Cevennes that they shall never be forsaken, that great efforts will be made to go to them next spring, and that for this object the Marquis de Miremont is levying troops in England and in Holland. Their chiefs may be told that orders have already been given to several persons to put money into their hands; and if they will please to let me know the names of persons in Nismes, Anduze, or in any other town to whom money might be safely given for them, I will cause it to be put in their hands. Your man will on his return bring us their news. I have given 10 louis d'or to Mons de la Feuterie for your man's travelling expenses.

"I will speak to H.R.H. to let you have an order, if he thinks fit, that the refugees who are in the valleys may be able to enrol themselves in your regiment. I shall also make arrangements regarding the expenses incurred at Turin. Letters can no longer go from this either to Switzerland or Geneva by the Val d'Aosta; but if you send me your letters for those places,

I will forward them, via Genoa and Venice. I am very glad that you have already thought of extending your views into Dauphiny. I hope that you will find a path through that province for the establishment of affairs in France."

The siege of Verrue by the French, and its gallant defence by the Duke of Savoy, lasted from the 10th October 1704 to the 19th April 1705. Cavalier was with the Duke's army about six weeks during that time. He continued to hold communication with France, and became very uneasy about difficulties and obstructions cast up in Holland. In October he was at Turin to apply for leave to remove his quarters to Switzerland. From the camp de la Turin, 13th October 1705, he addressed this letter to Mr Hill—

"SIR,—I give myself the honour of writing this, having learnt from a man who came from Languedoc the manner in which things are going on there, and I was unwilling to fail in sending information to your Excellency. I wished to send him to you; but he would not go for fear of being recognised. He assures me that the man named Claris had 200 men with him (this man was one of my troop), and that another named Portefrajeue had as many. As their route is given to all men, great and small, to go to Catalonia, they are always increasing. There even are many Papists who are joining them every day. I hope that your Excellency seeing this will have the goodness to obtain leave of absence for me from His Royal Highness, to go to Switzerland. I am making efforts to find a good number of men to go thither, as the opportunity is so manifestly favourable. I would go to join the Marquis de Guiscard in Holland, as they are disagreeing very much with the Marquis de Miremont. It is known that they will do nothing, and the time will still slip away without any succour being given to the poor people. As for me I have the honour to say to you that at the peril of my blood and of my life I will do all I possibly can to go and join them wherever I may be, whether here or elsewhere. If I see no sign of diligence, I for my part will do all that shall be possible to me, with the help of God, and I hope that I shall not lose my time. I am entirely persuaded that your Excellency will have the goodness to lend a hand and to give your approbation to this, since it is for nothing but the deliverance of poor down-trodden people [*des pauvres catifs*] and for the advancement of the glory of God that I act. I continually demand the honour of your powerful protection, since I for ever am with profound respect, &c. CAVALLIER."

In November the Duke sent him with formal instructions to concert measures in Switzerland for the relief of Montmelian. It appears, however, that his actual orders were different. Mr Hill wrote to Godolphin from Turin 14, 25 Nov.—"Mr Cavallier is gone disguised over the Alps to try if he can find the way once more into the Cevennes. The enemies have few or no troops left in Languedoc, and if he can once more get at the head of an army, he may prove of great use to his friends who are now in Catalonia. I have provided him with 400 louis d'or, half of which I must require from your lordship. We do yet conceal his journey with all the care that is possible." By a devious route he managed to reach Berne, and to report himself to the Duke's Ambassador, but news had just come from Savoy of the surrender of Montmelian. Cavalier had been several times recognized in his route by Frenchmen, and had narrowly escaped being taken prisoner. Instead, therefore, of returning to the Valley of Luzerne, he traversed Germany, and reached his new destination, namely Holland.

The States granted him a regiment of foot, to receive its pay to the extent of two-thirds from Queen Anne, one third being promised by Holland. Cavalier had the naming of the officers and the giving of commissions. The Duke of Marlborough wrote to him from St. James's, "ce 22 Fevrier 1706," "Monsieur, J'ai recu votre lettre du 16 de ce mois et ne puis assez louer votre zèle, en faveur de vos pauvres frères opprimés en France, et pour le bien de la cause commune. La Reine, je vous assure, en est sensible." The Duke felt really glad to have his services, and had already written to Spain to the Prince of Lichtenstein (5th Feb.), "By the next convoy from Holland, we expect a batalion of Cevenols. It will be commanded by Colonel Cavallier, who has so highly distinguished himself in the Cevennes, and who gives us reason to hope that from Catalonia he will always keep up communications with his people, which cannot but occasion a good diversion." Some months, however, were required to com-

plete the enlistments; a large number responded to the Colonel's call in Prussia and Hanover. Mr Howe wrote to Mr Stepney from Hanover, April 4th, 1706, "On the 27th past, about 120 French refugees and others, by the name of Camisards, listed to serve in Cavallier's regiment of foot, came from Berlin to the neighbouring places in this town; and fourteen of these men, with a Swiss sergeant at the head of them came hither, and were quartered by billets. They listed some few men, and set out on the 31st for Minden, the appointed place for their rendezvous, from whence they are to continue their march to Holland." (*Stepney Papers*, quoted by Kemble.)

Cavalier arrived in England the 31st July 1706. Next day he had an interview with the Lord Treasurer (Godolphin), and went to St Helen's. His regiment was among the re-inforcements sent to Spain for the campaign of the following year, and he himself went out with them. His inventive mind had some suggestions to make (though it is not recorded what they were), as appears from a sentence in the letter of instructions from the Earl of Sunderland to General the Earl of Galway:—"I send you a copy of Monsieur Cavalier's Letter to the Queen. If you think what he proposes practicable, and that the circumstances of affairs do allow it, Her Majesty thinks that it would be of great advantage to the common cause. But that must be left to your judgment."

At the battle of Almanza, says Professor Weiss, "Cavalier's regiment, composed entirely of Protestant refugees, found itself opposed to a Catholic regiment which had perhaps shared in the pitiless war of the Cevennes. As soon as the two French corps recognised each other, they charged with their bayonets, disdaining to fire, and slew each other with such fury that, according to Berwick's testimony, not more than three hundred men survived. Cavalier's regiment was but seven hundred strong, and if, as is possible, the Catholic regiment was complete, its almost total destruction was a bloody glorification of Cevenol valour. Marshal Berwick, though familiar with fierce encounters, never spoke of this tragical event without visible emotion." Oldmixon informs us that "Colonel Cavalier gave repeated proofs of that courage by which he had before acquired great reputation in the Cevennes. He received several wounds, and having lain some time among the slain, made his escape by the favour of a horse given him by an English officer. Mr Prat, his lieutenant-colonel, five captains, six lieutenants, and five ensigns of his regiment were killed, and most of the other officers wounded or taken prisoners."

After this, Cavalier was again in the service of the Duke of Savoy, as appears from his letter to the States of Holland, written after his recovery from his wounds received on the field of Almanza* :—

"Genoa, 10th July 1707.

High and Mighty Lords, with the most profound respect, I have to represent the misfortune I have had to lose my regiment at the battle of Almanza. I have had the additional pain of witnessing, on this, the first occasion on which I have had the honour to fight under your standards, that your arms have not had the desired success. The only consolation that remains to me is, that the regiment I had the honour to command never looked back, but sold its life dearly on the field of battle, as Baron Friesheim has probably informed you. I fought as long as a man stood beside me, until numbers overpowered me, losing also an immense quantity of blood, from a dozen wounds which I received. I was looked upon as one of the slain, and as such I was plundered, but Providence gave me sufficient strength to drag myself off from the enemy's hands. When I began to be conscious of recovery, the generals intimated to me that the service of the States required that I should be transferred to the Duke of Savoy's forces.† At once I joyfully closed with the opportunity thus presented to me; and having received my orders from his Excellency, the Comte de Noyelles, I embarked for Leghorn, and thence for Genoa, whence I shall set out to join the army forthwith. I wish some new occa-

* Bulletin, vol. vi., p. 70.

† The Editor of Richard Hill's correspondence (*page* 691) uses the word "desertion" as applicable to Cavalier's going to Holland; but that the Duke of Savoy did not regard him as a deserter is a fair inference from the above intimation.

sion, and a more auspicious one, may happen to enable me to continue giving proofs of my attachment and affection to the service of the States. I cherish the hope, that with the wonted generosity of your Highnesses, you will take measures to enable me to replace my regiment, one-third of the officers having survived, the greater part wounded or made prisoners—also, that my solicitor may receive the arrears of pay due to myself and to my regiment.—I have, &c.,

CAVALLIER."

This is the last record of his campaigning that has come under my notice. Professor De Felice says of Cavalier, that he is the hero of a martial epic, skilful, adventurous, dashing, and the bravest of the brave. Both Roland and Cavalier, like Oliver Cromwell, relied on the authority lent by inspiration. If they must plead guilty to sanguinary reprisals on their persecutors, the spirit whom they consulted instructed them to release prisoners from whom they had received no harm, and punish their own men with extreme severity for wanton murder or robbery. The Camisards, as all admit, were not guilty of swearing, drunkenness, or quarrelling. The accusations of licentiousness were false, and arose from their mothers, wives, and daughters living in their camps to cook their food and to nurse the wounded. Until otherwise informed, I conclude that Cavalier was not again in action after the year 1707.

He was now only in his 27th year, so that probably it was thought impracticable to promote him to be a general officer. He retired on a pension, and took up his residence in England and Ireland. That pension was inadequate to his expenses, and his future life was much embittered by debt. His debts seem to have been his chief faults. The Duke of Marlborough writes to Mr Granville from the Hague, 10th March 1711, "I have been solicited by so many people of note here in behalf of Madame Du Noyer, who all complain of the ill usage she meets with from Colonel Cavallier, that I cannot help troubling you with her petition. I pray you will send for the Colonel and exhort him to compliance with her just request, otherwise I shall be obliged to complain to the Queen, that she may have justice done her out of his pension."

An Edinburgh Reviewer (in 1856) believes that Cavalier married Madame Du Noyer's daughter; and, at the same time, he attaches weight to the attacks which the said Madame made on Cavalier's character. Now Madame fired off her countless poisonous missiles, just because he refused to marry her daughter. It is evident that in that affair Cavalier's error lay in making an engagement, not in breaking it. Mr Kemble says, "Much obscurity rests over this period of his life, which is not much illustrated by the scandalous libels and evidently false accusations of Madame Du Noyer, whose daughter he was engaged to marry but disappointed."

My late lamented correspondent, Sir Erasmus Borrowes, discovered, from original letters in his possession, that Cavalier married the daughter of an aristocratic refugee at Portarlington, Mademoiselle E. Ponthieu, of whose family I am to speak in the chapter on the Rochefoucaulds and the Champagnés. The signatures, "JN. CAVALLIER" and "E. CAVALLIER," are still extant in Portarlington.

To his pecuniary embarrassments we are indebted for his book. A kind-hearted creditor, Major Champagné, took the trouble of collecting payment for copies of his "Memoirs of the Wars in the Cevennes," and gave him credit in his account-book for five books at *five shillings and five pence* each. This model account-book was in the possession of the Major's great-grandson, the late Sir Erasmus Borrowes, through whose great kindness I saw and examined it. A loan of £50 was on one occasion granted to Colonel Cavallier. The debtor and creditor account between the Major and Colonel, extending through several pages, seems pretty nearly balanced at last, as far as cash is concerned; but a memorandum is appended, "The Colonel owes me for a horse which he borrowed from me and never returned, *valew'd* four or five pounds." Perhaps some less patient creditor had arrested the horse on Cavallier's premises and appropriated it.

In 1723 Champagné bought in Holland for Madame Cavallier, "narrow lease (lace?), cam-

bric and Holland.' He lent her money at different dates, "a guyne," "a moydore,"* &c., &c. He paid for grazing Mrs Cavallier's "yong meire," and on one occasion £12 to release her "gould watch."

At last the Colonel was remembered as he deserved. Primate Boulter (Hugh, Archbishop of Armagh, formerly Bishop of Bristol), in whom the British Government placed implicit confidence, recommended him to the Duke of Newcastle :—

"Dublin, Jan. 5, 1726-7.—My Lord, As we talk here that some new regiments will be raised, Colonel Cavallier was with me to-day to desire I would recommend him to be put in commission on this occasion. I told him it was wholly out of my way to recommend to the army, but as he had very much distinguished himself abroad in the last war, I would venture to take the liberty to acquaint your Grace that he is alive, and very willing to serve his Majesty if a war comes on. I am, &c. HU. ARMAGH." Cavallier, alarmed by delays, went up to London in person, bearing a letter of introduction to the Duke from the Archbishop :—

"Dublin, April 29, 1727.—My Lord, The bearer, Colonel Cavalier,† desired I would favour him with a letter to introduce him to your Grace. If there had been occasion to raise any new regiments, he would have been glad to have served his Majesty in this juncture in the new levies. As there has been lately a promotion of general officers, and some of his juniors have been made brigadiers, he comes over to England in hopes that it was purely his being out of the way that made him be forgotten. The figure he made, and the faithfulness and the courage with which he served the Crown in the last war, are the occasion of my recommending him to your Grace's favour and protection in this affair, though it be so much out of my sphere."

Cavalier was promoted to the rank of Brigadier on the 27th October 1735. In 1738 he was made Lieutenant-Governor of Jersey. The following was his commission :—

"GEORGE THE SECOND, by the grace of God King of Great Britain, France, and Ireland, Defender of the Faith, to our trusty and well-beloved John Cavalier, Esq., Brigadier-general of our Forces, greeting : WE, reposing special trust and confidence in your prudence, loyalty, and courage, do, by these presents, constitute and appoint you to be Lieutenant-Governor of our Island of Jersey, and of the ports and garrisons thereunto belonging, whereof our righty trusty and well-beloved cousin and councillor, Richard Viscount Cobham is Governor, in the room of Colonel Peter Bettesworth deceased. You are, therefore, carefully and diligently to discharge the duty of Lieutenant-Governor of our said Island, forts, and garrisons, by doing and performing all and all manner of things thereunto belonging. And all our officers and soldiers, and our loving subjects of our said Island are hereby required to acknowledge and obey you as our Lieutenant-Governor thereof. And you are to observe and follow such orders and directions from time to time as you shall receive from Us, our Governor of our said Island for the time being, or any other your superior officer, according to the rules and discipline of war in pursuance of the trust we hereby repose in you. Given at our Court at St James's, the twenty-fifth day of March 1738, in the eleventh year of our reign.

"By his Majesty's command, "HOLLES NEWCASTLE."

Brigadier Cavalier took the oaths of office at a Session of the Cour Royale in Jersey on the 18th August 1738. At first the Estates were disposed to be disorderly at their sittings, and the Lieutenant-Governor had, by letter, to quell them. This letter was an illustration of the union of French and English in the affairs of the Channel Islands, the letter being written in French, but dated according to what the French called the "English style," viz., 19th January 1738 (instead of 1739). The Estates had to meet, hear the letter read, enter it in a minute, and at once adjourn. The following is a translation :—

* A moirdore (in 1736) was worth *twenty-seven shillings* in England, and *twenty-seven shillings and ninepence* in Ireland—(i.e., thirty old Irish shillings). See Primate Boulter's Letters.

† The Dublin Editor (George Faulkner, 1770), makes this note : "This is that Colonel Cavalier who made so great a figure in the Cevennes against the powerful armies of France ; he was in some respects the Paoli of those days."

“Gentlemen, The Lieutenant Bailly, and Gentlemen of the Estate;—

“I had resolved to be at your meeting to-day if I had not found it inconvenient. It would have been in order to declare to you that, having seen the confusion which reigns in your Assembly, through the conduct of the Procurator of the King, who said to me that he had as much authority to speak as I, I declare to you, gentlemen, that until I have fresh orders from the English Court I shall hold no more Estates. And it is to the King, my master, and to his Council, that I shall give account. I am, gentlemen, your very humble servant,

“J. N. CAVALLIER,

“St Helier, 19 January 1738.

Lieutenant-Gouverneur.”

Tranquillity seems to have been restored. Cavalier was promoted to be Major-Genéral on the 2d July 1739. From the 21st July to the 19th October, six sittings of the Estates took place, at all of which he was present. At one meeting he spoke about the boulevards and platforms round the island.

The *Gentleman's Magazine* announces that he died at Chelsea on the 17th May 1740; he is styled “a brave old officer;” he was about sixty years of age. Professor Weiss says, “The valley of Dublin still retains a cemetery formerly devoted to the refugees. It was there that his remains were interred.” His successor in Jersey (Francis Best, Esq.) took the oaths on the 17th Sept. 1741.

Chapter X.

BARON D'HERVART, RT. HON. JOHN ROBETHON, PETER FALAISEAU, Esq.,
AND ABEL TASSIN D'ALLONNE, Esq.

I. BARON D'HERVART.

THE brothers Hervart (Barthelemy and Jean, natives of Augsburg), having, as bankers in Paris, made an immense fortune, laid it all at the feet of King Louis XIII., at the critical period of the invasion of Alsace. This money enabled the king to retain ten thousand Swedish soldiers in his army, and saved the State. Bartholomew and John Hervart received in return the estates of Landser, and Hart Forest, (which were confiscated at the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes).

Mazarin made Bartholomew Hervart Comptroller-General of the Finances, in defiance of the screaming protests of the Popish clergy. The financial department of the government of France thus became a refuge for Protestants, who had been unrighteously debarred from other government employments. The finances were collected with such unparalleled efficiency and integrity, that Hervart retained office from the year 1657 till his death in 1676. His wife's maiden name was Esther Vimart.

His son was Philibert Hervart, born in 1645, and styled Baron de Huningue by French writers, but Baron of Huningen in some English law-papers;* in common conversation, Monsieur De Hervart or Baron Hervart. He inherited the respect and regard of all the Protestants of France. At the period of the Revocation he was in the prime of bodily and mental vigour. Being a refugee in England, he was selected by King William in 1690 to be his ambassador at Geneva. There was some delay before his actual installation. Luttrell writes —“ 1691, April 13.—Letters from Switzerland say that the city of Geneva had not yet received Monsieur Hervart, King William's Envoy, from fear of the French. Mr Cox, King William's Envoy in Switzerland, had not been able to prevail with the cantons to relinquish the French interest and declare for the confederates, nor to raise 4000 men for His Majesty, as agreed on.” Baron Hervart resided at Geneva; latterly he was ambassador to Switzerland, and resided at Berne, till the close of King William's reign.

Our foreign embassies often combine the acquisition of fame for the ambassador, with the

* Aufreere MSS.

loss of his money, the home-government refusing to refund the cash that he has laid out for his country's good. Baron Hervart seems to have had his share of this experience. Mr Vernon wrote to the Duke of Shrewsbury on 12th October, 1677—"I send your Grace a bill of Monsieur D'Hervart's, if you please to allow it; it exceeds £94 what the yearly allowance is established at, but there are some extraordinary articles that do not come within the common computation. Mr Bowyer, his agent, at first brought a bill of £100 more. I told him that was so far beyond measure, he could never think to get it passed."*

As to fame, the Baron acquitted himself with ability and high reputation. In 1699, when the Prince of Conti attempted to usurp the sovereignty of Neufchatel and to oust the sovereign lady, the Duchess of Nemours, De Hervart was sent by King William to oppose this Bourbon intrigue. The French ambassador, the Marquis de Puisieux, had arrived at Neufchatel before him, and was canvassing the elective body, but without success. The following was our ambassador's memorial to the Prince of Conti:—

"MONSIEUR,—Being ordered hither by the King of Great Britain, my master, my first business is to pay my respects to your Highness, and to assure you of my very humble service. I am satisfied you are not ignorant that his Majesty has a right to the County of Neufchatel and its dependencies, his Ministers at the Treaty of Ryswick having given notice thereof to his most Christian Majesty's plenipotentiaries. In the meanwhile, his Majesty (William III.), who was very willing that the said county should be expressly comprehended in the treaty of peace, was also willing for the better assuring the tranquillity thereof, to defer the justifying of his pretensions, though very well grounded, till the Duchess of Nemours' death, who has been invested in the sovereignty five years.

"But having received intelligence of the motions made here on the subject of your Highness's pretensions, his Majesty thought it his interest to declare expressly, by his ministers at the Court of France, his right to that sovereignty, hoping that his Most Christian Majesty would observe an exact impartiality in this affair, that he might leave the States, who are the true judges of it, to their full liberty, when they shall be called on that account after the Duchess of Nemours' death. And his Majesty thought it reasonable that your Highness should then propose your pretensions as well as others. The assurances which his Most Christian Majesty's ministers did thereupon give of his impartiality are so positive, that the King, my master, thought he might have kept silent, until a convenient time was offered for him to prove the justice of his pretensions.

"But the design formed by your Highness to call a Tribunal at present, during the life of the Duchess of Nemours, obliges me, according to his Majesty's orders, to represent to your Highness that his Majesty cannot look on this Convocation any otherwise than as prejudicial to his right, contrary to the laws and customs of this County, and as a means to destroy its peace and tranquillity.

"I hope your Highness will be pleased seriously to consider what I have the honour to represent to you on his Majesty's behalf; and allow me the liberty to give your Highness assurance of my high consideration and profound respect for your person. D'HERVART."

The Ambassador also presented a Memorial to the Duchess of Nemours, in which he used these expressions:—"Madam,—The interests of His Majesty being conformable to yours, and the King being willing to contribute on his part that your Highness be not troubled in your possession, and that nothing be done contrary to the rights and liberties of the County, I hope that the steps I take by his order will not be displeasing to you."

At first, the French prince was disposed to be somewhat insolent, saying, "I did not think that anyone would have hindered me of my right;" but the Duchess being in possession of the Castle, and not herself only, but the States of Neufchatel having expressed the greatest gratitude

* Philibert Hervart was naturalised in 1698 (List xxiii). This might imply that he was then beginning to amass money. It may be another man.

for King William's intervention, his Highness took his departure, desiring his secretary to give a most respectful answer to our ambassador. The answer was in the following terms :—

“My Lord, the Prince of Conti, knowing nothing of the several transactions mentioned in the Memorial which was delivered to him by Mr. D'Hervart, the English Envoy, on the 21st of the last month (o.s.), is not in a condition to answer the same without further instructions and orders from the French Court. In the meantime, it shall be without prejudice to his right if, out of respect to his Majesty of Great Britain, he desists for some time to go on to justify and make valid his pretensions to the sovereignty of Neufchatel. His Highness, having yesterday by a courier from Court, received his Majesty's orders to attend his person, hath thought meet to answer the Lord Envoy of England, that he cannot believe, if his Britannic Majesty was well informed of the justice of his pretensions that he would oppose himself to the legal pleas he makes for the bringing the same to take effect. . . . As to what remains, his Highness will always receive whatever comes to his hand from the King of England, for whose person he hath a particular respect, in a becoming manner, &c.”

We next meet with the Baron in Switzerland, acting in concert with the Marquis of Puisieux in a negotiation connected with the Second Treaty for the partition of the Spanish dominions. Both France and England wished the Deputies of the Cantons to be the guarantees in this Partition Treaty ; and both the ambassadors made orations to the deputies in the summer of 1700, but in vain. A memorial was then drawn up, containing full explanations in writing. As to the non-success of this, the Baron wrote to the Earl of Manchester :—

Soleurue, Sept. 29, 1700.

“My Lord,—The answer of the Swisses to our memorial is not such as Messrs De Puyseux, Valkenier, and I expected, as you will see. They believed, that by explaining themselves in the manner I gave you an account of by the last Courier, and, as we thought, they might do it, they would enter into an engagement, which at present they have no intention to come to. The best reasons of the Ambassador of France, joined to two hundred thousand livres which he caused to glisten in their eyes, not having been capable to make them change, what could M. Valkenier and I do ?

“Nevertheless, I must tell you, my Lord, that in general all the Deputies, have, by express orders of their sovereigns, spoke to me of his Majesty with so much esteem, respect, and veneration, that I was charmed with it, the very particular expressions they made use of, both coolly, and in their cups, not giving me leave to doubt but that their hearts spoke ; and I have not perceived the same eagerness for his most Christian Majesty, when we dined with his Ambassador. To-day the Deputies of the four Cantons are to dine with me, and on Friday I set out from hence for Berne. I am, with all esteem, &c. D'HERVART.”

The Swiss probably thought that an English Envoy was in very unsuitable company during our hollow peace with the Bourbons. The rupture, which soon took place, brought out a purer style of oratory and composition from Baron Hervart. In 1701 he addressed the Swiss on the “French King's recognition of the Pretended Prince of Wales.” The following passages in his memorial were much admired :—

“It is certain that his Britannic Majesty was unconcerned, and made no complaint at the late King James having, since his abdication, passed at the French Court as King of Great Britain, in regard that his late possession of that crown allowed him in some manner to assume the title thereof during life. But this Prince being now dead, his Majesty could not but highly resent the French king's declaring and owning the pretended Prince of Wales as King of England, Scotland, and Ireland.

“My Lords, you have too much prudence and penetration to be persuaded that this recognition of that pretended prince is consistent or compatible with the Treaty of Ryswick, and with the formal declaration which both kings have made to maintain a perpetual peace, a

sincere mutual friendship, and to do nothing but what may tend to each other's honour and advantage. The Most Christian King stands engaged, by virtue of the Fourth Article of the Treaty of Ryswick, not to trouble or molest his Majesty in the possession of his kingdom, and to give no assistance or countenance, directly or indirectly, to any that shall presume to disturb his Majesty in his present possession. How ridiculous, and what nonsense is it, therefore, to imagine that the French Court should persuade any one who is not strongly prepossessed, that the recognition of this pretended prince for King of Great Britain and Ireland (which high title he never can enjoy nor hope for, neither by the constitution or laws of England, nor by his birth, nor by virtue of the late King James' declaration), was made to contribute to the honour and advantage of his Majesty! How can this faithless proceeding consist with the French king's engagement, not in anywise to favour those who should form any the least design against his Majesty's royal dignity? The French Court seems to have a mean opinion of the generality of mankind by endeavouring to abuse their credulity, and to make them believe so strange a paradox."

The above is all that we know of Baron Hervart's public life, except what concerns the Waldenses. The plan and arrangements for establishing Vaudois Colonies in Germany were devised and carried out by him in 1695. The British Government established an annual grant for the salaries of seven pasteurs and seven schoolmasters, who settled along with those Waldenses at Dirments, Wiertheim, Knitlingen, and Heynsheim in Wurtemberg, at Meerfelden and Rosibach in Darmstadt, and at Homberg. The local treasurer was Mr Isaac Behaghel, banker, at Frankfort-on-the-Main, who charged nothing except his outlay in postages. Mr Hill succeeded Baron Hervart in the superintendence of this Bounty; but both of their Excellencies in their after-lives continued to take some active charge of it. In 1711 Mr Behaghel wrote, "There is no one here or elsewhere who can give you better information on the state of the colonies, since I had the trouble on the part of England, by order of M. d'Hervart, to effect the establishment of them, in conjunction with M. Valkenier on the part of Holland"—and again in 1714, "There is no need of recommending these poor people to me, as I have their interest at heart, having by M. d'Hervart's order distributed the English collection among them. At the time that M. Valkenier was establishing them, they all, great and small, had recourse to me daily." In 1716 King George gave a donation of £1000 "without account" for the Waldenses. A memorandum, as to its distribution, has been preserved in Mr Hill's handwriting, showing that thirteen pastors, and the same number of schoolmasters in the Valleys, and the pastors and schoolmasters in the seven German Colonies,* participated in this grant. Mr Behaghel wrote from Frankfort, 13 Sept. 1716, "I have seen how it was thought proper to dispose of the £1000 sterling, which M. d'Hervart had remitted to the Treasury. The £340, 6s. sterling which you order me to pay to the Vaudois ministers and schoolmasters, also to the school at Offenbach, and to Mr Jordan for the expenses of his journey, shall be punctually paid."*

Glancing back to the reign of Queen Anne, we find that it was expected that, through the favour of Lord Bolingbroke, Baron Hervart would have returned as Ambassador to the Cantons in 1711; this, however, was not realized. At this juncture he renewed his acquaintance with the Robethons, and, at the same time perhaps, was introduced to Mr Aufrere, who was a most serviceable friend to himself and his descendants.

As to his private life, he was married in Switzerland to a lady with a good fortune, named Jedide Azube de Graffenried. In his latter years Southampton, where so many refugees resided and worshipped in the venerable Maison Dieu, became his residence. On the death of the Earl of Galway, in 1720, he became Governor of the French Hospital of London. The death of his son, Frederick, seems to have affected him much, and on that occasion he presented to the hospital, as a donation, the munificent sum of £4000, being the fifth share of his property, which Frederick would have inherited. This was about eight months before his own death, which took place at Cotteville, 30th April 1721. He was 76 years old. He was buried in the Parish Church of Holyrood, in Southampton, his funeral being attended by all

* Right Hon. Richard Hill's Correspondence, page 986.

the ministers of the towns, French and English, and by a large number of the French and English population. From his deathbed he sent £32 to the poor of the Maison Dieu, besides £50 bequeathed to them by will. He also left £12 a year for the pasteur. These particulars are recorded in the register of that church, where a brief biography records his great and constant charity to the poor of the town and concludes :—" Dispersit, dedit pauperibus, justitia ejus manet in sæculum sæculi."

His surviving children were two sons and two daughters. It was not till the 20th June 1724 that the Court of Chancery found that the one-fourth share of his estate, to which each child was entitled, was £4286, 5s. 4d. ; so that the Baron had proved himself to be nearly as accurate, and a much more expeditious judge in his estimate of what the fifth share of the unbroken estate amounted to. His widow returned to Switzerland, and the younger son and daughter accompanied her. The elder son, John Francis Maximilian De Hervart, remained in Southampton, and was married there in 1723, to Margaret Angelique de Vignolles. In the same year, the elder daughter Mariana Ursula was married in London to Colonel John Guise, regimental Major of the Guards, who rose to the rank of Lieutenant-General ; he is styled "The Honourable," according to the courtesy, often in those days accorded to officers of high rank, but he was not connected by birth with the Peerage. The Baroness d'Hervart de Hunninghen died in Switzerland, in May, 1737 ; and we learn from her will* that her younger son, James Philip d'Hervart, was styled Lord of St. Leger, and resided in Vevay, and that the younger daughter, Sabina Frances, was the wife of Sigismund de Cerjat (or de Bressona) Lord of Syens, who lived at Lausanne. The Lord of St. Leger, being voluntarily offered, and having accepted his mother's estate in Switzerland, renounced his share of the Baroness's English property, so that each of his sisters, and his elder brother obtained a share of about £1312, 10s.,—with the addition of a third of a share, or £1750 altogether, which added to their patrimony was a large portion for those days. Mrs Guise died on the 25th May, 1749, leaving an only child and heir, William (born 2d March 1729). We meet with John Francis Maximilian De Hervart, signing himself *Maximilian Hervart*, as a resident in London on the 16th December 1752, on which day his three children, William, Jedidah, and Angelica, declare that they have all attained the age of twenty-one years.

II.—RIGHT HONOURABLE JOHN ROBETHON.

Jean Robethon was a son of Jean Robeton or Robethon, Advocate in the parliament of Paris, by his wife, Anne Groteste, daughter of Jacques Groteste Sieur de la Buffiere, and sister of the Reverend Claude Groteste De la Mothe. As he bore his father's name, so he adhered to his religion, and followed the same professional employment. From his will, deposited in London, we learn that his brother, Jacques Robethon, who remained in France, was in 1722 Attorney-General of the Court of the Mint in Paris. To him the refugee was indebted for the realization and remittance of £3000 from the property in France, which he had forfeited by his flight. His cousins, also mentioned in his will, were Francis Grimandine, "Cousin Catal," residing at Middleburg in Zealand, and James Robethon of Poland Street, St. James's, Westminster, (also an ex-Advocate of Paris).

The Cousins, John and James Robethon seem to have taken refuge in Holland. John Robethon was recommended to the Prince of Orange, who made him his secretary, and highly appreciated his capacity and fidelity. He was continued in the same confidential post when his great master became King of England ; and he frequently accompanied him in his campaigns. Leibnitz wrote to him about a book which he had hunted for successfully in a shop at the Hague, and he wrote his answer in the camp at Gemblour, July 26-16, 1690† :—" Sir, I have received the letter with which you have honoured me, and I wrote off directly to the

* Her Swiss executors were Hercules Daniel de Tavel, Bailiff of Moudon, and John Lewis Crozat de Prelas, judge at Lausanne. Her English executors were the Rev. Israel Anthony Aufreere, and Solomon Penny (attorney).

† Kemble's State Papers.

Hague, to M. de Viquefort, as the Sieur van der Heck has been here for some days. M. de Viquefort has answered me that he had found the book, just as I had seen it at Moektien's, and that he had even kept it back, so that he should not sell it to anybody else. M. van der Heck will be back at the Hague in two or three days, but, as I shall not see him before his departure from this place, the best thing will be for you to have the goodness to write to him what I have told you about the said book, that he may buy it for you; I will also write for him to do so. I think you already know that the Peace with the Turk is looked upon as settled. The envoy of the king writes to him, from Adrianople, that the Grand Vizier had told him that if he had full powers, it should be made in four-and-twenty hours, upon which the envoy despatched his secretary to Vienna to ask for them. The Turks will accept whatever conditions the Emperor chooses to impose upon them, so we expect to see 40,000 Imperials on the Rhine for the next campaign. The raising the siege of Coni rejoices all honest folk here. . . . Denmark has made up its quarrels with Holland and England, and Sweden is on the point of doing the same. They write from Ireland that the army of the king has taken by storm that part of Athlone which is on this side the Shannon. They even go so far as to publish that St. Ruth is taking steps to give up Ireland, and to take with him to France the best soldiers that are left; he has for this purpose kept vessels at Limerick. The two fleets are in sight, and they hope to have their turn at sea; after which—and Ireland reduced—the king can have here more than 30,000 English, and then it will be well to be on good terms with him. Since the French have failed in their design on Liege and Brussels they have had recourse to other practices, having attempted to set Bruges and Brussels on fire, by means of incendiaries; but all has been discovered, and there are more than thirty of them in prison. Here is plenty of good news for you; I do not doubt that you will appreciate them. I am, with much attachment, &c.,

J. ROBETHON."

Robethon was naturalized in England on 15th April 1693 (See List xx). It is not until after the Peace, that we hear more of him as Royal Secretary. Some of his letters are printed in Christian Cole's State-Papers, but the greatest store is contained in the two volumes, entitled, "Original Papers, containing the Secret History of Great Britain from the Restoration to the Accession of the House of Hanover. Edited by James Macpherson, Esq., (London, 1775)."

That there was little cordiality between the kings of England and France after the peace of Ryswick, appears from Robethon's letter, which mentions that Louis XIV had granted a pass to a Frenchman to buy French wines for King William's use, only after some hesitation and as "a great favour." His other letters are occupied with more important affairs than that. The first serious business after the peace is concerning the "Perecation," which he thus defines in a letter to the Earl of Manchester, "The Perecation is a tax laid on the Popish Clergy in the Principality of Orange, which is applied to the maintenance of the ministers. While France enjoyed the principality and kept the ministers in prison, they discharged the Popish Clergy of this tax. And when the Peace was made, France asked that the clergy might not be called upon for what was past; and this was granted." Macpherson informs us, that Robethon conducted his royal master's correspondence with the German princes. There are copies extant in Robethon's handwriting of letters from King William to many of those princes. There is a paper of Robethon's endorsed by himself, "Speeches for the King and Queen of Prussia which I composed for Lord Raby, 1701."

His letter to Lord Manchester, dated "Loo, Sept. 5, 1701," has a melancholy interest:—"The king's health is (God be thanked) every day better. The swelling of his legs is almost entirely gone off by rubbing and fomentations from without; to which they have added some very innocent remedies, which make him void water plentifully. His majesty sleeps, eats, and hunts as well as ever he did. The common opinion is that he will go over to England in six weeks. I hope that affairs will be put then upon a good footing. The Duke of Zell is expected here to-morrow week, with the Elector of Hanover, who will not go for England till some months after the king. The presents which my Lord Macclesfield has had at Zell and Hanover are magnificent, and are above the value of £7000 sterling. I am, &c.,

J. ROBETHON."

Zell and Hanover were virtually one domain, the Electoral Prince of Hanover being the heir of Zell in right of his wife, the Duke's only child. The two potentates were impressed by Robethon's ability and industry; and on King William's death they engaged him to reside at their courts in the capacity of secretary. The letters of congratulation which he received prove him to have been recognised as a useful and influential public servant. The following is from the British ambassador to Denmark:—"Copenhagen, July 29, 1702. . . . You will do me the justice to believe that there is none who interests himself more in what concerns you than I do. The embarrassment of the journey prevented me from congratulating you sooner on the honourable station which you now fill at your courts. I would envy them the advantage of having you if I did not see them in such a strict union with ourselves, as to induce me to consider them as one and the same court. The immense loss which England and all Europe suffered [by the death of King William] hath drawn several others in its train, and among these our country may reckon your quitting its service. (Signed) J. VERNON."

Lord Portland's letter to Robethon shows that that nobleman had not given himself up to rural affairs, as was generally believed. It is dated "Hague, 5th Sept. 1702.—I have received your very agreeable letter, and I rejoice at your good establishment, in which, I assure you, I am deeply interested. I beg of you to assure the Duke of Zell and the Elector that I shall continue all my lifetime in the same sentiments of respect and attachment for their family. I am too old to change, and too deeply impressed with the sentiments of the late King, my master, ever to deviate from them. Besides, I love my religion and hate slavery. I hope my son, who is on his return from Italy, will have the honour of making his court at Hanover, and of being received as the son of a faithful servant to the family. But he must not stay long, for in order to be serviceable I must avoid to be suspected of being too much attached to the family; and for this reason I must desire you to write me under Mr Schutz's cover, and to make use of his cypher."

Sir George Murray correctly says that Robethon "was busily employed in keeping up a friendly correspondence with the leading English statesmen, with the view of making the Hanoverian succession more sure." Macpherson says—"Robethon wrote all the letters which the two Georges and the Princess Caroline, consort of the second, sent to England from the time he entered into their service until the family became our royal family. The first rough drafts of them are still extant in his handwriting, and all the originals that may be in the possession of persons in this and other countries are but copies made from what Robethon wrote for them." Macpherson adds—"The family of Hanover could not have employed a person better qualified for their purpose than Robethon; he seems to have been indefatigable, industrious, and faithful; and though he might not have been a man of striking abilities, he possessed a good deal of address, and a knowledge of this country sufficient to amuse the correspondents of the Electoral family." Robethon was entitled to a more hearty eulogium.

The following important letter was sent from Whitehall, April 5, 1706. To Monsieur Robethon. "Although it is a long time since you heard from me, you must not believe that it proceeds from a forgetfulness of what I owe to my old friends. With regard to what concerns the service of the family I am sure the Elector does me justice. . . . Yesterday the Queen summoned a chapter of the knights of the order [of the Garter], in which the Electoral Prince was chosen. I entreat you to believe that I am always very truly, &c.,—PORTLAND." This proceeding led to Robethon's introduction to the great Addison, who, with Monsieur Falaiseau, accompanied Lord Halifax to invest the Elector with the insignia of the order. Halifax wrote from the Hague, May 7, "I am overjoyed that I shall have again the honour to renew our acquaintance; you needed no recommendation; I put an entire confidence in Monsieur Robethon." After this visit, there were letters regarding the Elector's enrolment in the English peerage as Duke of Cambridge. Lord Halifax writes, "I think now we may be all allowed to boast that nothing was ever better pushed than the establishment of our succession here, since we had a Parliament to promote it. And if you can but take care to hinder

your northern hero from breaking our measures, we will make France own both the Electorate and the succession of the House of Hanover."

In the autumn of 1707, Robethon replied to a letter he had received from the Earl of Manchester. "Hanover, Aug. 15.—My Lord, I have received the letter of the 18th July, which your Excellency has honoured me with. I should have had great pleasure to correspond with your Excellency if I had followed the Elector to the army, whence I might have sent you things worth your curiosity. But as I am not named to go there, I have asked leave to take a journey during that time about my domestic affairs, so that it would be useless to write to me. His Electoral Highness will set out in fifteen days to command the army on the Upper Rhine. The army of the enemy has repassed that river, and posted themselves behind their lines of the Lauter, whence Monsieur de Villars has detached for Provence 15 battalions and 15 squadrons and all the grenadiers of his army. I hope that this re-inforcement wont come till after the taking of Toulon. The success at Naples has been as quick as complete; and I find the affairs of the allies in a good condition, excepting the umbrage which the King of Sweden continues to give. He remains in Saxony, whence he has caused four regiments of horse to enter into Silesia, and by the manner in which they negotiate with Count Wratislaw at Leipsig, we cannot be sure of an accommodation.—I am, &c.,
DE ROBETHON."

The two following extracts from letters to Robethon are selected from a mass:—

"Whitehall, Sept. 30, 1707.—Sir, I have been long in the country this summer for my health, which hindered me from thanking you sooner for the honour of your letter which I received some time ago; but I could not prevail with myself not to take this opportunity of congratulating you on his Electoral Highness's successful beginning on the Rhine. . . . If you will honour me from time to time with your correspondence, you will do me a very great pleasure. I hope you do me the justice to believe that I am with great esteem, &c.,
SUNDERLAND."

"April 26, 1709.—Sir, I am very glad I can congratulate you on a new mark of favour which His Electoral Highness has paid to your great merit. . . . I shall be highly obliged to you to recommend my services to his Electoral Highness, and to let me hear sometimes from you. I am, &c., HALIFAX."

"The honour which Robethon received was the post of *Privy Councillor of Ambassage* (as he calls it in his will). Macpherson speaks of him, in 1713, as Secretary for Embassies, *Secrétaire des Ambassades*. It was not a mere title, but a distinguished and responsible office. An anonymous author calls him Count de Robethon—and his signature might seem to confirm such an appellation, if it were not that in his will, which was written with his own hand, he does not own to any title of nobility.

The change of ministry in England in 1710 caused much uneasiness in Hanover. The Electress Sophia alludes to the Earl of Rivers' embassy on this occasion, in a letter, drafted for her by Robethon. "The good-natured Lord Rivers told me he clearly perceived I was of the Duke of Marlborough's party. I answered that if the Queen had made an ape her general, and he had gained as many battles and towns, I would be equally for him."

An amusing fact as to the Duke of Marlborough is brought to light. He could not write the French language, and his French letters were written by Mr. Cardonnel,* his secretary. Sometimes, to give greater weight to their contents, he transcribed Mr Cardonnel's drafts with his own hand. But this innocent imposition ceased when, during an illness of his secretary, the Duke wrote to Robethon in English, excusing himself for not using the French language

* I am not aware that Mr Cardonnel was a French Protestant. As possibly he was, I dedicate a foot-note to him. Adam Cardonnel, Esq., died on the 22d February, 1719. His only child Mary was married in 1734 to the Hon. William Talbot, who succeeded his father as the second Baron Talbot in 1737, and was raised to the Earldom of Talbot in 1761. The Earl and Countess Talbot left an only child, Lady Cecil Talbot, who succeeded to the Barony of Dynevor in 1782; and this Baroness Dynevor (born 1733, died 1793) assumed in 1787 the surname and arms of DE CARDONNEL.

by saying, "Poore Cardnall is sick." In modernised spelling this note is printed by Sir Henry Ellis thus:—

August 18, 1710.—"Poor Mr Cardonnel being sick, I must ask your pardon for writing in English; but I would not defer any longer returning you my thanks for your obliging letter of the 5th, and assuring you at the same time of the satisfaction I take in the good choice the Elector has made of Monsieur de Bothmer. Our conjuncture in England is so very extraordinary, that it will require not only his diligence, but also his utmost prudence. I pray God everything may end for the best; but our dismal aspect seems rather favourable for France than for ourselves. I am with truth, Sir, your faithful friend and servant, MARLBOROUGH."

Robethon, though of the discarded party, felt it to be his duty to write respectfully to their successors, and sent by Lord Rivers a letter to Secretary St. John (afterwards Viscount Bolingbroke). Baron Hervart was disposed to think favourably of the new ministry, and had frequent interviews with its members. He happened to call upon St. John on the 2nd November, and the question was put to him, "Do you know Monsieur Robethon?" "Perfectly well, sir," replied the Baron, "and you can't address yourself to any one that will tell you more about him than I." "I am happy to hear that," St. John said; "take the trouble of reading that letter; I believe you will find it is written very well." "Sir," said Hervart, "as I was for four years in a regular course of correspondence with him, I know what he can do." St. John proceeded to say, "It is a letter which Lord Rivers brought me from him, and he said a great deal to his advantage. I want to write an answer to him. Will you kindly let me know the titles which should be on the address of his letters? Since you have been so long acquainted with him upon the footing of a perfectly honest man, I shall be very happy to do him a pleasure, when the opportunity offers, and I wish we may be friends." Hervart was charmed with this speech, and asked, "Do you consent, sir, to my letting him know your favourable opinion?" "I shall be much obliged to you," was St. John's answer.

Baron Hervart accordingly wrote to Robethon, and the dialogue quoted above is a part of his letter, which began with a polite hesitation as to Robethon's remembering his name after a cessation of correspondence for ten or twelve years, and expressed real pleasure in resuming it, "no time having been able to make me forget a man whom I always highly esteemed." The Baron also spoke to James Robethon and Monsieur De La Mothe. The latter wrote to his nephew on the 3d November:—"Monsieur De Hervart, whom I do not visit, because I am afraid of new acquaintances, and drop the old, came to see me. At first he spoke to me of you, and of the esteem he had of you. This ended in his telling me that as the Whigs gave you some private advantages, you might hope for the same from the new party (in which he is deeply engaged). I answered that I did not believe the Whigs gave you any such advantages, that if it had been so, I would have perceived something of it, and that you had a master who was alone capable of rewarding your services. *I beg of you, said I, explain a little what you mean, that I may understand you the better.* He said to me, *what is expected of Monsieur De Robethon is that he should act in concert with the new party in favour of the family of Hanover.* I replied that you would always do your best to support the interests of the Elector, and to show that the new party was well thought of at your Court. . . . He told me that he had likewise seen your cousin. They do not choose to disoblige you, as you see."

St. John wrote to Robethon in very flattering terms, and soliciting him to be his correspondent. His rejoinder proves that he was not won over:—

"Hanover, 17th Dec., 1710.

"Sir,—I received, while I was at Gohre (from whence our Court returned three days ago), the obliging letter with which you was pleased to honour me. His Electoral Highness, who read it, has very expressly commanded me to thank you from him for the protestations which it contains, of your zeal for the interests of his family; and to assure you that he is very sensible of this, and has a very great esteem and regard for you, knowing your capacity, which renders you so deserving of the choice and confidence of the Queen.

"His Electoral Highness approves much of my having the honour of writing to you, when Mr Bothmar may be absent from London, and business worthy of your attention shall offer. But during the residence of that minister at her Majesty's Court you will admit, no doubt, that since he has the entire confidence of his Electoral Highness, and is perfectly acquainted with his intentions, my correspondence would be very useless, and would only weary you with the repetition of things which Mr Bothmar will not fail to represent to you verbally, much better than I can write them. I said so to my Lord Rivers, and I must add now that they hope here you will be pleased to give Mr Bothmar some share of your confidence, and will judge him worthy of this when you know him. He has great experience in business, with a great deal of discretion, impartiality, and known probity. I am not afraid of flattering him in allowing him those qualities.

"As to the rest, I am very much surprised, sir, that you should ask my protection for the minister whom her Majesty shall send here. I am not upon such a footing at this Court as to be able to protect any one; and the ministers of so great a Queen have no need of any other protection than their own character. But with regard to the rendering my small services to him who shall come here, and the doing so cheerfully with all imaginable care and sincerity, I can venture to promise this, and I shall perform it with pleasure, as I endeavoured to do to the late Mr Cresset, to my Lord Winchelsea, Mr Poley, and Mr How.

"I received likewise, with respect and gratitude, the polite things which Monsieur D'Herwart wrote to me by your order. I desired him to testify this to you; and I doubt not but he has communicated to you the letter I wrote to him, entreating you to believe, that in all I can do I shall never feel any motive but that of acquiring the honour of your esteem and of being considered by you an honest man, a quality without which I would not venture to take the liberty of calling myself, with great respect, your, &c.
DE ROBETHON."

His old friends, the Whigs, were his most familiar correspondents. One wrote to him to apologise for the phrase, "Parliamentary right to the Crown," which had been used as to the establishment of the Revolution dynasty and of the Protestant succession, but which did not imply the right to disestablish. Sir Rowland Gwynne contributed an epistle on English Church affairs (dated 31st Dec., 1710), to the effect that twelve or fifteen out of nearly 12,000 parsons had raised the cry, *the Church is in danger*, and that the Tory party had encouraged their aspirations after clerical domination, until they had turned out the former ministry—thereupon "the poor ambitious priests" were "left in the lurch," are "limited by law," "in danger of treason or *premunire* upon the least fault"—which result Sir Rowland applauds and justifies, for the Elector's information.

The "new party" did not obtain the confidence of the Elector of Hanover. And when he was solicited to act in concert with that geographically-English government in arranging the peace with France, he replied that he considered himself to be actually one of the Princes of Germany, and would act accordingly, because neither practical wisdom nor good taste would justify him in anticipating a posture of affairs contingent upon the deaths of her Britannic Majesty and of his own mother.

Dean Swift angrily explains that "there was at the Elector's Court a little Frenchman, without merit or consequence, called *Robithan*, who, by the assistance and encouragement of the last ministry, had insinuated himself into some degree of that Prince's favour, which he used in giving his master the worst impressions he was able of those whom the Queen employed in her service, insinuating that the present ministers were not in the interest of his Highness's family, that their views were towards the Pretender, that they were making an insecure and dishonourable peace, that the weight of the nation was against them, and that it was impossible for them to preserve much longer their credit or power." In another place Swift calls Robethon "a very inconsiderable French vagrant," and "the channel through which all the ideas of the dispositions and designs of the Queen, the ministers, and the whole British nation were conveyed" to the Court of Hanover. These quotations are from "Swift's Four last Years of

Queen Anne," which book further asserts that a bribe, remitted in good time, would have changed the tactics of the Right Honourable Jean Robethon. A Huguenot refugee required no bribe to take the side of Marlborough, Stanhope, and Ruvigny. And in his chastened judgment no bribe could remedy the wild confusion and petulant intolerance of a Jacobite or semi-Jacobite regime. I need not suggest to my readers that the Dean betrays his own ill-concealed conviction that Robethon was a man of consequence, if not of merit. The German statesman and general, Count Schulenburg, whose opinions regarding English politics leant strongly to the same side as the Dean's, wrote to Leibnitz in July 1714:—"Robethon is able, but his violent passions and party spirit sometimes make him drive on the wrong side; he is hated and persecuted by the Hanoverian ministry, with the exception of Bernstorff, who supports him."—(Kemble, p. 512.)

Under the year 1712 we find a specimen of his instructions to the Ambassadors of his Court. He writes to Baron De Grote on his way to London in November:—"Monsieur De Bothmar having given some poor lords reason to expect small pensions, our master will never hear of it; therefore your Excellency is in the right not to give a present even of one crown without orders. If the House will enable you to make donations when you judge proper, or obtain the permission of his Electoral Highness, let them do so. For my share, I am a mere cypher, when it is necessary to ask a penny, and I cannot at all meddle in the affair." To the same he writes again, 16th Dec., 1712, "It is proper to take care that the captain of the yacht has not secret orders to delay your departure [from Holland]. When once he has your baggage on board, your passage will depend upon him, and he may lose a fair wind on frivolous pretexts. The paquet would have been less convenient, but more expeditious."

The last alarm of the Court of Hanover was a letter from Monsieur Martines, the Hessian Envoy at Paris, of date 23d March 1714, reporting that the Pretender was going to place himself formally under instruction, with a view to becoming a Protestant. The Electress Sophia died on the 8th June, the Elector succeeding to her rights. On the 30th of July, Mr Craggs was despatched by the Privy Council of England to the Elector, "to acquaint him with the extreme danger the Queen's life was in, and the measures they had taken to secure his peaceable accession; and to desire his Electoral Highness to repair with all speed to Holland, where a squadron of British men-of-war would attend to bring him over, in case the Queen died." Mr Craggs delivered his message, and returned with a letter from King George, to the effect that he was hastening towards Britain. Queen Anne died on the 1st of August. Craggs was surprised to find the Tories converted into Hanoverians, and wrote to Robethon, on August 17th, warning him against such politicians—"three months ago," says Craggs, "they treated us as seditious on account of the zeal which we shewed for the succession. . . . I own I distrust such a sudden change."

The Earl of Stair wrote to Robethon, London, 24th August, thanking him for having designed him for the command of the troops in Scotland. A letter from Addison must be worth quoting:—"St James's, 4th Sept. 1714.—Sir, I have been obliged to so close an attendance on the Lords Justices, and have had so little time at my own disposal during my absence from their Excellencies, that I could not do myself the honour before now to assure you of my respects, and to beg the continuance of that friendship which you honoured me with at Hanover. I cannot but extremely rejoice at the occasion which will give me an opportunity of waiting upon you in England, where you will find a whole nation in the highest joy, and thoroughly sensible of the great blessings which they promise themselves from his Majesty's accession to the throne. I take the liberty to send you enclosed a poem written on this occasion by one of our most eminent hands, which is indeed a masterpiece in its kind, and (though very short) has touched upon all the topics that are most popular among us. I have likewise transmitted to you a copy of the preamble of the Prince of Wales's patent, which was a very grateful task imposed upon me by the Lords Justices. Their Excellencies have ordered that the Lords and others who meet his Majesty be out of mourning that day, as also their coaches, but all servants, except those of the city magistrates, to be in mourning. The shortness of the

time, which would not be sufficient for the making of new liveries, occasioned this last order. The removal of the Lord Bolingbroke has put a seasonable check to an interest that was making in many places for members in the new parliament, and was very much relished by the people, who ascribed to him in a great measure the decay of trade and public credit. You will do me a very great honour if you can find terms submissive enough to make the humble offers of my duty acceptable to his Majesty. May God Almighty preserve his person, and continue him for many years the blessing of these kingdoms. I am, with great esteem and respect, sir, your most obedient and most humble servant, J. ADDISON."

Robethon came with the King to England, and took up his abode in London, having apartments granted to him in St James's Palace. He was accompanied by his family. Madame Robethon survived him, and he mentions in his will one son, George (his only son, and still a boy), and a son-in-law, Captain Maxwell. The continued influence of Robethon is proved by the nickname of "the foreign ministry," given to Bernstorff, Bothmar, and himself. Mr Toland, in one of his publications, expressed an anxiety that some way could be found to reward the public services of "the equally able and indefatigable Monsieur Robethon." This proved the occasion of a paper war on "The impolicy of ennobling foreigners."

We have little insight into his last years, except through some entries in the diary of Mary, the Countess Cowper, wife of the Lord Chancellor, and chief confidante of Caroline, Princess of Wales. The dissensions between the King and Prince, and the perpetual scramble for employment and favour, polluted the atmosphere with personal criminations and recriminations, in the midst of which no reputation could be unsullied. The King retained his confidence in Robethon; and notwithstanding variations arising from the vexatious alarms and anxieties of each passing day, a similar regard was cherished for him by the Prince and Princess. One piece of news, if true, is matter of regret—1714, Dec. 25, "This day Monsieur Robethon procured the grant from the King of Clerk of the Parliament (after Mr Johnston's death) for anybody he would name. He let my brother [Spencer] Cowper have it in reversion after Mr Johnson for his two sons for £1800." Accordingly William and Ashley Cowper held the office from 1716 to 1788, and a Mr Henry Cowper was Deputy-clerk from 1785 to 1825. The following entries are evidently reliable:—

"Feb. 29, 1716. Monsieur and Madame Robethon, Lady W. Paulet, and Madame De Gouvernet dined here. Monsieur Robethon spoke to me to propose to my Lord Cowper to change his place of Chancellor for that of President of the Council. I have spoke to him and he refuses, and says, if they will have him quit, he will do it, but he will not change. I represented to Monsieur Robethon it would be a great difficulty to persuade him to be President of the Council, he not speaking the French tongue. He replied, *Pray, use all your art to get it done, or it will break all their measures, for such is their scheme.*" "April 2, 1716. Monsieur Robethon came to Baron Bernstorff either drunk or so impertinent there is no enduring him; but the Princess always says that Monsieur Robethon is the best man in the world, but unsupportable when he pretends to be witty or pleasant."

An autograph note in the French language from him to Des Maizeaux is extant among the manuscripts of the latter refugee. Its tenor is as follows:—

"London, 21 April 1718. Some days ago, our good friend, you asked at the Café if any one knew of a young Frenchman who could serve an English gentleman in the capacity of valet-de-chambre. The bearer, though of good family, would willingly, for the sake of subsistence, close with the offer, if the place is not yet filled, and should he be thought competent for the duties required. You would much oblige me by trying to get him the situation on the best terms that can be procured. This is the favour which I ask of you, as well as that you would believe me, Sir, your very humble servant, J. ROBETHON."

On the 27th July 1716, there was a report that a pension of £300 a-year had reconciled him to some arrangement of offices which he did not like. No such pension, however, is mentioned in his will, which informs us that he had 800 florins per annum from Holland, and his wife five crowns per week from Hanover. His uncle De La Mothe, on his death in 1713, had

bequeathed him £1200, subject to his aunt's life-rent. His property was much diminished by the failure of the South Sea Company in 1720.

The respect in which he was held by the French Protestant refugees was shown by his election to be Governor of the French Hospital upon the 4th October 1721, on the death of Baron Hervart. He is styled in the list of Governors, *Jean Robethon, Conseillier Privé*; he had been made a Director on the previous 5th of July. He did not long enjoy these tokens of esteem and affection, as he died in the following year.

In the *Historical Register* this obituary notice occurs:—"1722, April 14. Died, John Robethon, Esq., Domestic Secretary and Councillor to his Majesty as Elector of Hanover. He had served King William III. in the office of Secretary of State for the Principality of Orange."

He had made his will on the 19th February (1722), and it was proved on the 22d of April by James Robethon, his cousin and executor, and the guardian of George Robethon, his son. The will expresses laudable care for the comfort of his widow and the education of his boy, and very fully explains his wish that, in the event of either his wife or his son being his last representative, one half of his property should go to his brother in France, whose remittance, already mentioned, was an act of integrity and affection, and whose own property was much deteriorated through the misfortunes of the French nation. The religious phraseology of the will is strongly Trinitarian, and the entire composition and concoction is creditable to the head and heart of John Robethon.

As to James Robethon, he survived his cousin for many years. In 1750 he is mentioned as deceased, and at that date his representatives were two unmarried daughters, Susanna and Elizabeth.* It is probably of one of these ladies that the *Gentleman's Magazine* records:—"1762, July 5. Died, Mrs Robethon, one of the Bedchamber, belonging to the Princess Amelia; she had been forty years in the service of the Royal Family.

III. PETER FALAISEAU, ESQ.

Peter Falaiseau, gentleman, was naturalised in England on the 15th November 1681 (see *List Second*). The next year he removed to Brandenburg. The Court of Berlin appreciated his talents, and the Elector Frederick William took him into his service as a diplomatist. In consequence of this Monsieur De Falaiseau soon returned to London as the ambassador from the Elector to the English Court. The correspondence between the two Courts was conducted in a controversial and animated style, which the Royal Stuarts provoked. The Elector afterwards sent him as his envoy to Sweden, then to Denmark, where he represented the Court of Berlin from 1692 to 1698. His last diplomatic residence was in Spain; but this embassy he resigned on some grounds of personal discontent, and again took up his abode in England, where he died. This is the outline of his life, which it would be foreign to my plan to fill up, except by detailing a very few incidents in its course.

After the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes, a personal friend, though entrusted with a hostile mission, visited Berlin. This was the Seigneur De Rébénac, Francois Du Pas, second son of Isaac Marquis De Feuquières. He was sent by Louis XIV. "to remonstrate with the Elector upon the countenance given in Brandenburg to the expatriated Huguenots." Falaiseau wrote to him confidentially with a view to rescuing some of his French property. The Minister of State in Berlin, with whom Falaiseau as an ambassador officially corresponded, and whose friendship he enjoyed, was Paul von Fuchs. With him Rébénac promised to concert some scheme, as appears from the following letter:—

"Berlin, 12th April, 1686. To Monsieur De Falaiseau: I have seen, sir, by the letter which you do me the honour to write how much confidence you are pleased to place in my friendship. I shall begin by strengthening your evident conviction that you will have no reason to complain of having opened yourself to me, even if a thousand times as much were at

* Aufreze MSS.

stake as you know what. All that remains is, that I should have the means of serving you, and of setting about it in a useful way. Write to me, I beg, all the circumstances of your affairs, without, however, disclosing to me what your effects are or the place where they are, but only their nature, that I may take the proper measures. For some time past the King [Louis XIV.] has shown a wish to do me a favour, and, by his commands, my friends are looking out for an opportunity for it. If your effects are concealed, and are not discovered by the King's officers, I will apply for the confiscation of them for myself, and I will deal with you in the manner that you desire. Besides my word of honour, which I give you upon it, and which, as far as I am concerned, the best assurance, I should be ready to give you others, even if it went as far as furnishing security. I do not offer to ask the confiscation for myself and give it back to you entire; in that case I should be deceiving the King, against whose intentions I should be acting, and I should be doing myself considerable wrong, inasmuch as I should be rendering the goodwill of my master towards myself of no effect. I do not think you will disavow me in this. But I will content myself with what you mention, and, in short, I will deal with the whole matter in a way to satisfy you. I await your answer, sir, in order to take my measures, and I will act in the rest of the affair in concert with M. De Fuchs, to whom you and I shall be obliged to mark our gratitude. I am, sir, with all the esteem and passion imaginable, &c.,

"REBENAC."

Mr Kemble, to whom I am indebted for the above letter, gives specimens of the Falaiseau Correspondence, which prove that the refugee occupied a good and creditable position as an ambassador. As a specimen, De Fuchs says to him, in 1687, "This is only to tell you that your relation of the 16th (26th) March has been received, that your reasoning on the subject of Protestantism is found to be very just, that it is much approved of, and that an answer will not fail to be sent to you by the first ordinary, in expectation of hearing farther from you on the subject."—(Addressed to Monsieur De Falaiseau, Councillor of State to his Electoral Highness of Brandenburg, and his Envoy Extraordinary to the Court of his Majesty the King of Sweden, at Stockholm.)

As an English subject, he had an English heart, as was well known. De La Rosière wrote to him from Elsinore, 12th December 1693, "I should wish Fortune well if she would some day procure me the opportunity of showing how much I esteem and honour you. I entreat you, sir, to be thoroughly persuaded of the sincerity of my feelings. Difference of religion ought not to prevent us from rendering justice to merit. During the whole time that I was at Copenhagen I saw Monsieur Moreau once only, and that was *en passant*. . . . I am assured that he has written lately to people who can be of great service to me, and whom I am obliged to humour, and that he warns them to be extremely on their guard against me, that at heart I am a Huguenot, that I spent days together at Copenhagen in singing the praises of King William. . . . He seems to be one of those people who think one cannot be a good Catholic without calling the Prince of Orange a usurper."

In England his loyalty was much appreciated. Secretary Blathwayt wrote to Mr Greg, in 1692, "I have acquainted his Majesty with Monsieur De Falaiseau's and your endeavours to interrupt the irregular trade of the Danes. For Monsieur Falaiseau, whose acquaintance I had formerly in England, I desire you to present my most humble service to him, and to assure him his Majesty does very much value his zeal for the common cause."

Monsieur De La Foulereuse, a French gentleman, had settled in Denmark, and was secretary to King Christian V. De Falaiseau, on the occasion of his taking a journey to London, gave him letters of introduction to his friends in England. He writes to Falaiseau from London, June 1694:—"I have seen the most of your friends here, to whom I paid my respects, particularly the family of Monsieur Mouginet, which still retains an agreeable remembrance of you. My Lord Montague has been in the country for the last month; I was told yesterday that he was returned, and I shall not fail to go and see him in your name as soon as possible."

It does not appear that Falaiseau was married. In 1695, Count Dohna wrote to him from Berlin, "Tell me, if you please, whether you intend to live for ever a bachelor. I approve of

everything you do except that. . . . It is not one's relations one ought to consult on that question ; they think you rich, and are on the look-out for your inheritance."

As already said, he, at the close of his diplomatic life, returned to England. In 1706, he had the honour to accompany Lord Halifax and Mr Addison on a special errand to Hanover, to invest the Elector with the Order of the Garter. He had a pension of £200 a-year from the Royal Bounty Fund for French Protestants, administered by the *Comité Laïque*.* The date of his death was 19th April 1726.

IV. ABEL TASSIN D'ALLONNE, ESQ.

The surname of this learned civilian was Tassin. Why he was styled Le Sieur D'Allonne is a query for my genealogical readers. His father Tassin married a Dutch lady with the double surname of Silver-Crona. His uncle Tassin resided at Paris, and in 1680 gave Jean Rou a letter of introduction to his nephew at the Hague. D'Allonne at this date was secretary to the Princess of Orange, and when her Royal Highness became our Queen Mary he was retained in this office and removed to the English Court. He was recognised as a Protestant refugee, though no particulars have reached us regarding his departure from France, his object no doubt being to secure his life and livelihood in conjunction with liberty of conscience. He seems to have been an only child, and to have lived unmarried ; and his uncle Tassin also had no heir. But his aunt Elizabeth was the wife of Nicholas Damin, and left three children, Jacob, Elizabeth, and Anne. Jacob Damin and his children settled in Geneva ; Elizabeth was, in 1721, the widow and relict of Charles Brunier, and a refugee at the Hague, having a son, Charles Brunier, who lived in Paris ; Anne married Pierre Joly, and was resident in Paris in 1721, but her daughter, Margaret Joly, was a refugee at the Hague.

On the death of Queen Mary, King William III. continued him in office,† and probably, as a testimony to his fidelity to the deceased Queen, he gave him a reversion of part of the estates of the Duchy of Lancaster held for life by the then Queen Dowager, Catherine of Braganza. In the Patent Rolls there is a grant dated 18th May, 1697, unto Abel Tassin D'Allonne, Esq., "for, and in consideration of, the good and acceptable services unto his said Majesty performed, and also in consideration of the rent and covenants hereinafter contained," of the Castle of Pickering, the Manor or Lordship of Pickering and the Park of Blandesby, the Bailiwick of Soke and Liberty of Pickering, the Manor and Lordship of Scalby, also "those lands or tenements there concealed and lately found out by force of a commission, and then or lately in the tenure or occupation of John Carpenter, gentleman, now deceased," all which premises are called the Honour of Pickering, in the county of York. The rent of this estate and its perquisites amounted to £234, 10s. 2d., but the clear income was only £187, 13s. 10¾d. This was granted to D'Allonne for a yearly rent to his Majesty of £10, for ninety-nine years after the death of the Queen Dowager.

It is probable that he sold this grant. Catherine of Braganza survived till the 21st December 1705. The last notice I find as to D'Allonne is in Macpherson's State Papers, and after the death of his Royal Master. He wrote (2d Sept. 1702) as one who felt his connection with England broken up, congratulating Robethon on his settlement and thanking him for having employed him to make a communication to the Earl of Portland and Secretary Heinsius. His letter is dated from the Hague, where he is expecting to receive employment as an envoy to some foreign court ; he wishes it may be at Hanover, considering how much Holland is connected with that country, and is interested in the Protestant Succession, and for himself how agreeable it would be to be near his friend Robethon. He does not mention, either there or in his will, the Castle of Pickering. He had £200 a-year from the *Comité Laïque*,‡ and the date of his death was 14th October 1723.

I present my readers with a copy of his English will :—

In the Prerogative Court of Canterbury.

In the name of God, Amen. I, ABEL TASSIN D'ALLONNE, of the Hague, in Holland, being

* Burn's MSS. † Mackay (p. viii.) calls him Mr D'Olonne, the king's private secretary. ‡ Burn's MSS.

sensible of the frailty of human life, and uncertain when it shall please God to call me out of this world, and being at present, thanks be to God, of sound and perfect mind, memory and understanding, do make this my last Will and Testament as to the estate which I have in England in the form and manner following, — intending to dispose of what estate and effects I have in Holland by another Will made in the Dutch language, and according to the style and manner used in Holland.

My Will and intention therefore is, that my whole estate, real and personal, which I now have, or may have in England at the time of my decease, be divided into five equal shares or portions. As to the first share or portion, I give and bequeath one-half or moiety of the same unto Elizabeth Damin, the widow and relict of Charles Brunier, daughter of Elizabeth Tassin, my father's sister by her husband Nicholas Damin, for the term of her natural life, she, the said Elizabeth Damin, being now living at the Hague, in Holland, as a refugee. The other moiety or half of the said first share I give and bequeath unto Margaret Joly, the daughter of Pierre Joly by Anne Damin, another daughter of my father's sister Elizabeth Tassin, for the term of her natural life, which said Margaret Joly is now living a refugee at the Hague, in Holland. And in case of the death either of the said Elizabeth Damin, or of the said Margaret Joly, then my Will and intention is, that the whole of the said first share or portion shall go to the longest liver of them two, and after the decease of them both to my aforesaid aunt's son, Jacob Damin, and his children living at Geneva. Unless that my cousin, Elizabeth Damin, *alias* the Widow Brunier, should outlive her niece, the said Margaret Joly, and by means of such survivorship be entitled to the said whole first share or portion, in which case it is my meaning and intention that she, the said Elizabeth Damin, being well satisfied with her son Charles Brunier, now living at Paris, his dutiful behaviour towards her, shall be hereby empowered, in case she thinks fit so to do, to dispose, by testament, codicil, or other appointment under her hand or seal, of one half, or moiety of the said whole first share or portion to her said son Charles Brunier. And in default of such disposition or appointment by the said Elizabeth Damin *alias* Brunier in favour of her said son Charles, then the said whole first share or portion to go after her decease to the aforesaid Jacob Damin and his children as above directed. And in case of the said Elizabeth Damin *alias* Brunier her giving one moiety of the said first share unto her said son Charles, pursuant to the power hereby granted her for that purpose, yet it is my mind and intention that the other half or moiety of the said first share should go to my said cousin, Jacob Damin's family at Geneva. And if likewise it should happen, on the other hand, that my said cousin Margaret Joly should outlive her said aunt Elizabeth Damin *alias* Brunier, and that she, the said Margaret Joly, shall have justice done her by the last Will and Testament of her mother, now living at Paris, and be therein made coheirress, and share equally with her only sister Elizabeth Joly, now also living at Paris, of the estate which her said mother shall be found to be seized or possessed of at the time of her death, it is my will and meaning that, in such case, she, the said Margaret Joly, leaving no issue, shall be hereby empowered to dispose of, by testament, codicil; or other appointment under her hand and seal, of one half or moiety of the said whole first share to her said sister Elizabeth Joly, the other moiety or half of the said first share to go, after the decease of the said Margaret Joly, to my said cousin Jacob Damin, and his children, living at Geneva. And in default of such disposition or appointment by the said Margaret Joly in favour of her sister Elizabeth Joly, then the said whole first share or portion to go, after the death of the said Margaret Joly, to my said cousin Jacob Damin, and his children, living at Geneva, as above stated.

The second share or portion of my said English estate I devise and bequeath unto Sarah Silver Crona, daughter of my mother's brother John Philip Silver Crona, and to the children of the said Sarah by John de Fagett Van Cralingue and Heyneort, living at the Hague in Holland.

As to the third share or portion of my said English estate I devise and bequeath one half or moiety thereof unto Johanna Susanna Willocquauw, daughter of my mother's sister Catherina Bommert Silver Crona, and to the children of the said Johanna Susanna, by Michael Baars. And the other half or moiety of the said third share I give and bequeath unto Johanna Will-

ocquauw, the youngest daughter of my said mother's sister Catherina Bommert Silver Crona by her husband Peter Willocquauw, and to the children of the said Johanna Willocquauw by her husband John Blair of Balthayock.

The fourth share, or portion of my said English estate, I give and bequeath unto the three daughters of my mother's sister, Johanna Maria Bommert Silver Crona, to wit, Catharina, Maria, and Anthonette, by Elias Hamilton de Guickery, the said fourth share to be divided among the said three daughters in three equal portions, and the portion of each daughter to go to their descendants.

Concerning the fifth and last share or portion of my said English estate, it is my will and intention that it be divided into two equal parts. One part thereof to be delivered to the Reverend Doctor Thomas Bray and his associates, that a capital fund or stock may be made thereof together with that little he has received from me before, and that the yearly income or proceed thereof be bestowed and employed in the erecting a school or schools for the thorough instructing in the Christian religion the young children of negro slaves, and such of their parents as show themselves inclinable and desirous to be so instructed, in some one or other part of the English plantations in the West Indies, according to the scheme to be made of it for the fittest execution of it, and the greater success in it. And I do further hereby leave and bequeath to the said Reverend Doctor Thomas Bray and his associates, to the same purposes before expressed, the arrears of pension from his present Majesty (whom God long preserve) that shall be due or owing to me at the time of my death. And as touching the other moiety or half of this fifth share, designing to dispose of it to the same or some suchlike uses by my Dutch will or testament, it is my further will and intention that the same be put into the hands of the executors of my Dutch will, Mr Harrald Johannis Pels, and Robert Pierre Chilton, Esquire, Sieur de la Daviere, a Dutchman and a Frenchman now living at the Hague in Holland, to be by them disposed of in the manner and to the uses I have directed in my said Dutch Will.

And it is likewise my will and intention that the executors of this my English will should use all proper precautions with respect to my relations, the legatees among whom I have distributed the four shares above-mentioned of my English estate, and that they should not pay or deliver unto them or any of them their respective legacies herein bequeathed, until they produce unto my said executors authentic certificates of their being the persons described in my Will, that they may be thereby fully satisfied of their having a right to demand the said legacies. It is my further will and intention that in case any difference or dispute should arise between any of my relations who are legatees in this my Will in relation to any clause or bequest of the said Will, that the same should be determined in an amicable manner by a reference to some friends or impartial honest men chosen for that purpose that they may decide the matter in dispute by plurality of voices. And if any of the contending parties do refuse to make such reference or to submit to the award of arbitrators so chosen, and do peremptorily insist to have the matter decided at law, then I do in such case declare that I do hereby, to all intents and purposes, disinherit him, her, or them, who shall refuse to comply with and submit to this clause and proviso of my Will, of and from all the benefits and advantages that he, she, or they might otherwise have enjoyed under this my English Will or under my Dutch Will. And the share or shares of such person or persons refusing to comply with and submit to this clause and proviso of my Will, shall go to my other relations, to whom I have bequeathed the four shares or portions of my English estate to be equally divided among them. But if it should fall out in such wise that the matter in dispute, being referred to arbitrators named on both sides, their votes should be equal so as that the matter in dispute should thereby rest undetermined, then in such case it is my meaning and Will that an umpire be chosen by the executors of both my Wills to make a final decision of the matter in dispute. And if either of the contending parties do refuse to submit to the award given by the said umpire or appeal from the same, then the said party so refusing shall be hereby debarred from claiming any benefit or advantage whatsoever either under this my English Will or under my Dutch Will: and the legacy which would

have been otherwise due to the said parties shall in such case go to and be equally divided among my other relations, who are the legatees in this Will of the four shares of my English estate.

Finally, being sensible as I ought to be, and truly am, of the many most friendly and undeserved helps and good advices in my concerns, which I have from time to time received from my most worthy friend Henry Temple, Esquire, who has already been at no small trouble, and is yet to undergo more before the full execution of this my last will, I hope His Honor will not find fault with my having left him (only as a bare token of my gratitude) a legacy of two hundred pounds sterling which I hereby bequeath unto him to be bestowed upon a silver toilet to a daughter of his that shall be married first, or otherwise as he shall think fit. And I do hereby constitute and appoint my said most honoured friend Henry Temple, Esquire of East Sheen in the county of Surrey in England, and the said Mr Harrald Johannis Pels and Robert Pierre Chilton, Esquire, Seigneur de la Daviere a Dutchman and a Frenchman now living at the Hague in Holland, joint executors of this my last Will and Testament, hereby revoking all former Wills by me made in relation to my estate I have in England. In witness whereof, &c., &c., at the Hague in Holland, 1st July 1721. AB. T. D'ALLONNE.

Witnesses.—S. Johnson, A. Gilly, B. Lindeman.

Proved by Henry Viscount Palmerston, one of the executors named in the Will. London, 12th December 1723.

Chapter XJ.

FELLOWS OF THE ROYAL SOCIETY:—PAPIN, DE MOIVRE, DURAND, DESAGULIERS, AND DES MAIZEAUX.

I. DENIS PAPIN, F.R.S.

DENIS PAPIN was a native of Blaisois, and one of a family of literati and doctors of medicine. But of him I must say only a few words; because he is not one of our list; he belongs to the Huguenot Refugees in Hesse. His connection with England is, that he resided for some time in London, and was made a Fellow of the Royal Society (F.R.S.) in 1681. In that year, before the Royal Society, his researches on *moteur universel* were produced. In 1690, his invention of the steam engine was announced by himself in the *Actes* (or Scientific Transactions) of Leipsic. He published in 1695 a duodecimo volume, entitled—"Recueil de diverses pièces touchant quelques nouveaux machines, par D. PAPIN, professeur de mathématiques dans l'université de Marbourg et membre de la Societé royale de Londres. Cassel, J. Estienne, libraire de la Cour."

II. ABRAHAM DE MOIVRE, F.R.S.

The father of this able man was a surgeon at Vitry, in the province of Champagne. His surname was Moivre, according to Haag and the French authorities. But the young refugee styled himself *De Moivre*.

Abraham was born at Vitry, May 26th 1667, and there his first school education was superintended by the *Brethren of Christian Doctrine* (les frères de la doctrine chrétienne). At the age of eleven he was sent to the University of Sedan, and was placed under the charge of the Greek Professor Du Rondel. His masters, struck with his precocious talents, aimed at

making him an eminent classical scholar, and were disappointed by observing his strong bent for arithmetic. It was probably Du Rondel who was in the habit of asking "what the little rogue meant to do with those cyphers." He dutifully pursued classical studies; but he deserted his fellow-students in their hours of recreation, shutting himself up with a dumb companion, namely, *Le Gendre's Arithmetic*. He had completed his "humanities" in 1681, when the College of Sedan was tyrannically suppressed. He took his course of philosophy at the University of Saumur. He then came to Paris for Physics. Here his father joined him, having retired from his medical practice at Vitry—probably a forced retirement, as Protestants were, by successive curtailments of the Edict of Nantes, excluded from the liberal professions. Abraham pursued his mathematical studies under a tutor of great reputation, Jacques Ozanam. But the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes found the student firm in Protestant doctrine. The agents of government, accordingly, shut up the young heretic, now in his 19th year, in the Priory of St. Martin, in order that he might discover it to be right or politic to go over to the Roman Catholic religion.

The obstinate boarder gave his ecclesiastical guardians no more satisfaction than the majority of the Huguenot boys and girls gave to the various teachers and masters under whom persecution drove them. There is nothing more interesting in Benoit's History than his account of the steady resistance which mere children offered to ghostly proselytizers. This fortitude, associated with a mutual support of each other's resolution, often resulted in their returning home better instructed in Protestant doctrines than other young persons carefully taught by their parents. Little girls, with nerves shaken by cruelty and false alarms, were unshaken in their faith. The boys wore out the patience of their teachers, or kept them so perseveringly on the defensive that categorical instruction could not be given for want of time. To questions out of the Roman Catholic catechism they replied with answers which they had formerly learned from the Protestant; and a devout audience, invited to hear the proficiency of a class of supposed proselytes, were startled with a loud repetition of such sentiments as that the Pope is Anti-Christ, that Romish worship is idolatrous, and that the so-called Catholic Church is the mystic Babylon, and is spiritually named Egypt. Sometimes the converters tried to humour them in their jocularity, and to insinuate their dogmas upon their memory by stratagem; but they succeeded only in making themselves and their tuition ludicrous. In the house the boys burnt devotional books, broke images, made an uproar at meal-times, and mixed lumps of lard with fast-day fare. In church they talked or sang where the rubric enjoined silence, moved about from seat to seat, turned their backs on the semi-pagan altar, and stood or sat cross-legged when the congregation knelt. Besides which, there were constant escapes, leaping over high walls, and jumping out of windows; and even when re-captured, the young lion-hearts were not conquered.

Whether Abraham De Moivre made as noisy resistance we are not informed; but the result was the same. Being quite resolute, he received his discharge on the 15th April 1688, and was allowed to retire to England. And so he came to London.

At the age of 21 he found himself in the city, where he had immediately to begin a defensive war against starvation. He turned his favourite studies to account, in order to earn a livelihood. He became a teacher of mathematics. He also gave lectures on natural philosophy, which, however, he discontinued, having not acquired any great command of the English language, and being, like many scientific men, inexpert in performing experiments before an assemblage of spectators.

But as an important epoch in the literature of the physical sciences, the date of his arrival in London was a happy one for him. In 1687 Isaac Newton had published the "*Principia*." The fame of this great work soon reached the ears of De Moivre. Being written in Latin, it was no sealed book to him; and his classical and mathematical scholarship was such, that he thoroughly understood it, which few did. This led to his being admitted to the society of Newton and his learned friends. And although the renowned Englishman was his senior by a quarter of a century, he honoured the clever and accomplished refugee with his special regard.

He thus obtained a gratifying position among English philosophers, which his own abilities enabled him to keep. It is said that in 1692 he had gained the friendship of Halley, and his intimacy with Newton began soon after that date.

The article in the "English Cyclopaedia of Biography" states that although De Moivre could appreciate such writings as Isaac Newton's, there is scarcely a trace either of physical or geometrical investigations in his own writings, when his career of authorship began. His power lay in "pure mathematics of the kind now called analytical." His first appearance in print was in the "Philosophical Transactions" for 1695; the subject of his paper was "The use and excellence of Newton's Doctrine of Fluxions for the solution of geometric problems." Another paper appeared in 1697 on the method for finding the root of an infinite equation. In this year, the thirtieth of his age, he was made a Fellow of the Royal Society.

To enumerate all his publications would not be generally interesting. He seems to have increased his reputation in a controversy with a Scottish author, Dr. George Cheyne, who settled in London in 1701. This medical gentleman having adopted a novel doctrine of fluxions, published a treatise in Latin against Newton and his admirers, including De Moivre. This was in 1703, and in the following year De Moivre published "*Animadversiones in Geo. Chencœi Tractatum*," which was tolerably cutting. It drew out a still more cutting rejoinder from Cheyne, "*Adversus Abr. De Moivre*," which being not mathematical, but personal, was left unanswered. The Frenchman had the best of it, which the Scotchman soon admitted with recovered temper, saying as to his own treatise that it was conceived in ambition and brought forth in vanity.

A contention arose between Newton and Leibnitz for the honour of the invention of the method of fluxions. The Royal Society appointed De Moivre to investigate and report upon the rival claims—a flattering tribute to "his abilities, acquirements, and impartiality." The facts are now believed to be these, Newton invented the method in 1667; Leibnitz in 1677 sent his own method to Newton, with a complete system of notation, only in the latter particular excelling Newton, whose notation was then incomplete. But Leibnitz having published his method to the world in 1684, and Newton having delayed publication till 1687, the question as to originality very naturally arose.

De Moivre superintended and revised Clark's translation of Newton's Optics, and is said to have spared neither time nor trouble in the task. According to the style of life in those days, Newton met him every evening at a coffee-house (probably *Slaughters'*) in St Martin's Lane. When they had finished their work, he took De Moivre home with him to spend the evening in philosophical conversation. It is said that when Sir Isaac was asked to explain statements occurring in his own works, he would often say, "Go to De Moivre, he knows better than I do."

It is also recorded that his conversation, except in such a circle as Newton's, was not abstruse or pedantic, but touched on every variety of interesting subjects. His style was forcible and solid, rather than lively and elegant, but it was singularly correct and distinct. A traveller named Jordan, who visited England in 1733, describes him as a man of talent, and very agreeable.

De Moivre is regarded as the father of tables of rates according to which a life is assured, or annuities for the remainder of life are negotiated. His calculations at first seemed trifling, even to himself, as they appeared in a quarto volume which he published in 1718, and dedicated to Newton, entitled "*The Doctrine of Chances, or the method of calculating the probability of events at play*." In his preface, he pleasingly acknowledged the friendship of Monsieur de Monmort, (author of the "*Analyse des jeux de hazard*"), also of the Hon. Francis Robartes, on account of whose desire and encouragement he had about seven years before given "a specimen in the Philosophical Transactions of what I now more largely treat of in this book." The following is the dedication:—To Sir Isaac Newton, Knight, President of the Royal Society, Sir, The greatest help I have received in writing upon this subject having been from your incomparable works, especially your method of series, I think it my duty publicly

to acknowledge that the improvements I have made, in the matter here treated of, are principally derived from yourself. The great benefit, which has accrued to me in this respect, requires my share in the general tribute of thanks due to you from the learned world. But one advantage, which is more particularly my own, is the honour I have frequently had of being admitted to your private conversation, wherein the doubts I have had upon any subject relating to mathematics have been resolved by you with the greatest humanity and condescension. Those marks of your favour are the more valuable to me, because I had no other pretence to them, but the earnest desire of understanding your sublime and universally useful speculations. I should think myself very happy if, having given my readers a method of calculating the effects of chance as they are the result of play, and having thereby fixed certain rules for estimating how far some sort of events may rather be owing to design than chance, I could by this small essay excite in others a desire of prosecuting these studies, and of learning from your philosophy how to collect, by a just calculation, the evidences of exquisite wisdom and design which appear in the phenomena of nature throughout the universe. I am, with the utmost respect, Sir, your most humble and obedient servant,

A. DE MOIVRE."

Investigations as to throwing dice and buying lottery tickets ripened into a useful theorem, by which the values of annuities on single lives might be determined—"By the most simple and elegant formulæ," says Francis Baily, "he pointed out the method of solving all the most common questions relative to the value of annuities on single and joint lives, reversions, and survivorships." This eulogium refers to De Moivre's work on "Annuities and Lives," published in 1724. In 1742 Professor Simpson of Woolwich took up this subject, and his book called up De Moivre in a second edition, criticising this apparent intruder on his own field with some harshness. In a third edition published in 1750 "he omitted the offensive reflections of his former preface." It has been erroneously stated that Simpson had done justice to his predecessor in his Treatise on Life Annuities. Wishing to quote "the well-deserved compliments to De Moivre," I searched Simpson's pages, and found that he recognised no contributions to the study since the publication of Halley's Papers, although the greatest scientific men acknowledge that De Moivre had ably and largely supplemented Halley's speculations and calculations. De Moivre was not mentioned, unless he was alluded to in the statement that "some writers" were neither precise nor consistent (Simpson's exact words I forget). That the venerable mathematician felt indignant with the juvenile author was scarcely to be wondered at.

Mr. John Francis, adopting Baily's high estimate of De Moivre, says that "the subsequent editions of his works prove that he was aware of his errors of details by correcting them. He enlarged the boundaries of the science which he loved, and encouraged others to follow in the same path. Although his hypothesis may not be applicable to all occasions and circumstances, and though later discoveries proved that it could not be always safely adopted, nevertheless it is still of great use in the investigation of many cases connected with the subject, and will ever remain a proof of his superior genius and ability." The Fourth Edition published in 1752 lies before me, and I copy the dedication:—

"To the Right Honourable, George, Earl of Macclesfield, My Lord, I have had the honour of dedicating three editions of this work, the first to your noble father, the other two to your Lordship, who, in a continual endeavour to promote arts and sciences, especially those called mathematical,—in a constant benevolence to all mankind, particularly to those who study the good of society,—and in a regular discharge of all the important duties of life, are truly his successor. I can have no pretence to seek elsewhere for a patron to this fourth edition, which the demand I have met with for the copies, and some typographical errors (heretofore overlooked), have rendered necessary. And therefore I again trespass on your Lordship's indulgence in this address, well knowing that your usual candour and goodness will excuse any imperfections that may still remain in the performance of, My Lord, Your Lordship's most obedient and most humble servant,

A. DE MOIVRE."

His various Papers in the Philosophical Transactions are, says the English Cyclopaedia, "of sterling value on the subjects of which they treat." Their dates range from 1695 to 1744. The same authority states, that his mathematical "writings on analysis abound with consummate contrivance and skill; and one at least of his investigations had the effect of completely changing the whole character of trigonometrical science in its higher department." It was in 1730 that he published his "Miscellanea Analytica de Seriebus et Quadraturis," a work which, we are informed, "contains several very elegant improvements in the known methods of termination of series, as well as some new methods." The author had not the gratification of presenting it to Newton; for the veteran philosopher had died three years before. But on a copy being sent to Berlin, Monsieur Naudé proposed the election of De Moivre as a member of the Academy of Berlin, and he was elected by acclamation.

The honour which he most dearly prized was reserved for the last year of his life. The Academy of Sciences at Paris, overcoming all prejudices against a branded refugee, elected him as one of its Foreign Associates, on the 27th of June 1754. On receiving the news of his death, which took place on the 27th November following,* an Eloge on the far-famed exile was drawn up by Grandjean de Fouchy, and inserted in the "Recueil de l'Academie des Sciences."

De Moivre received honours, but no emoluments. He earned a precarious support by working out calculations on probabilities at play and on contingencies of various kinds, and he took fees from his employers. He was one of the attractions for an evening's lounge in the coffee-house; and without doubt many of the eminent frequenters of this place of literary resort commiserated his straitened circumstances, and were glad to furnish him with work suited to his talents and tastes. It is not necessary therefore to picture him (as Mr Francis does) as reduced "to be at the bidding of gamsters and to consort with men who lived on the town by their wits." It is true that at the age of 87 he was left almost alone in the world, and that he was dependent on the fees above-mentioned. He continued in the possession of his faculties almost to the last. During the last month of his life he lost his sight and hearing, and during a visitation of lethargy, he slept his last sleep; thus he passed away in his 88th year.

If he had made mathematics the god of his idolatry, he would not have been an exile in London. Although his experience had taught him to be tolerant and undogmatical in matters of faith, he was steadfast to religion. To a flippant talker, who thought that he paid the old man a compliment by imputing to him as a man of science a chosen emancipation from Bible religion, he replied, "I shew you that I am a follower of Christ by pardoning your impertinence."

The best monument to Abraham De Moivre is the honourable mention made of him by Sir John Leslie, in his dissertation prefixed to the Encyclopaedia Britannica. The pre-eminent Scottish Mathematician testifies that "De Moivre, a French refugee," was "a man of learning and profound science;" "his analytical discoveries extended his fame, and his good conduct earned him respect."

III.—REV DAVID DURAND, F.R.S.

DAVID DURAND was born at Sommières in 1680. Though only five years of age at the date of the Revocation, he was educated till the age of fifteen under the eye of his reverend father, and he had been five years in the ministry before his mother's death, so that he breathed as Huguenot an atmosphere as any of the refugees.

His father, the Pasteur Jean Durand, was a native of Montpellier. His charge was the congregation of Sommières, from whence he retired to Switzerland, and died at Neufchatel in 1695. His widow, who had managed the arduous deed of transplanting the children, (four in

* "Died 27th Nov. 1754, Mr Abraham de Moivre, well-known for his mathematical writings, F.R.S., and of the Royal Academy of Sciences at Paris."—*Gentleman's Magazine*.

number), out of France, survived till 1707. She died at Les Brenets, of which place her eldest son, Jean Antoine Durand, was pastor. David Henry Durand, the son of Jean Antoine, must be mentioned, partly as a meritorious scion of the family, and partly that he may not be confounded with his uncle David. David Henry (*born 1731, died 1808*) was pastor of the City of London French Church; and his sermons, which were published in 1815, are pronounced to be clear, convincing, and energetic.

Our David Durand was educated for the French Reformed Ministry. His theological studies were carried on at Basle, and at the age of twenty-two, that is, in 1702, he was admitted to the ministry there. Soon afterwards he was appointed Chaplain of a French Refugee corps in Dutch pay, and followed the regiment to Spair. There, when one day he was taking a walk, a band of peasants waylaid him, seized him as a heretic, were on the point of putting him to death, having prepared fiendish tortures. The Duke of Berwick came up and rescued him; but though he gave his life back to him, that Anglo-French Romanist General refused him liberty. Durand was made a prisoner, but managed in course of time to escape from durance, and fled to Geneva. Thence he betook himself to Rotterdam, where the erudite Bayle admitted him to his friendship. In 1711 he came to London, where he spent the remainder of his life. He was minister of the French Church, first in Martin's Lane, and latterly in the Savoy.

A valued associate of learned men, and an industrious and successful author, David Durand was made a Fellow of the Royal Society. He occupied himself much with Pliny's Natural History, editing and annotating selected portions on painting, and on gold and silver, as well as the Preface to that curious and voluminous work, which Pliny addressed to the Emperor Titus. The Philosophical Writings of Cicero were his next study in the classical field, as appears from Haag's list of his publications. He gave to the world an elaborate History of the Sixteenth Century, and two volumes in continuation of Rapin's History of England. He also published biographical works on Mahomet, Lucilio Vanini, and the French Pastor Ostervald. To simplify the acquisition of the French and English languages by learners, was an object to which he devoted much attention; but to give the names of the books which he wrote for that end is unnecessary. He lived to a honourable old age; he died in 1763, aged 83.

To the above particulars, selected from Haag's article, it should be added that Monsieur Durand, after having preached in the Walloon Church of Rotterdam in 1710 for nearly the whole of that year, received an invitation to settle in Amsterdam as pastor of a congregation there. He applied to the consistory for a ministerial certificate; but two ministers appeared, and impugned his doctrine as being tainted with the errors of the sect of the Remonstrants. The Consistory of Rotterdam having heard both sides, referred the case to the Synod of Briel (or La Brille). Durand was advised to print the sermons in question for the use of members of Synod; but before the printer was ready, the Synod met, viz., on the 7th May and following days, 1711. His accusers sent their complaints in writing, and Durand produced his sermons in manuscript, which he attested as being the originals without alteration. Le Synode des Eglises Wallonnes des Provinces Unies honourably acquitted him, as appears by Article XL. of its Acts, a copy of which was granted to him as the best certificate. With this extract he returned to Amsterdam (for in the end of 1710 he had settled there). The printer, having executed his order, now advised him to publish more of his sermons, that a respectable volume might be produced. When the title-page, as the last page in order of execution, came to be printed, he was a Minister at London. This is the reason why I have affixed the date of 1711 to his removal to England, while the Messieurs Haag make it 1714. The Sermons are able and interesting, although the author protests that, considering himself too young to come forward as a theological author, he would not have gone into print except for the reason stated.

IV. JOHN THEOPHILUS DESAGULIERS, F.R.S.

Jean Theophile Desaguliers was brought under the British rule at the age of two years (or perhaps sooner) so that he might be denied his claim to associate with the other admired refugees, as being by education and habits an Englishman. But he cannot be separated from that good genuine refugee, his father, Jean Desaguliers, Pasteur of Aitré in 1681. It was said as to an ancient Presbyterian minister named Erskine, whose celebrity was eclipsed by the fame and writings of his offspring, "Do you ask what works he has given to the world?—look at his sons." The younger Desaguliers owed the essentials of his knowledge and attainments to his faithful and scholarly father.

An old French Bible is extant in which both father and son entered domestic events and names, from which it appears that the father, Jean Desaguliers, was born about the 6th August 1644. He was received into the ministry by the Synod of Marcennes, the 18th October 1674, and (as quoted above from Haag) his pastoral charge was Aitré. He was married at the Church of La Rochelle to Marguerite Thomas La Chapelle, and their elder child Marguerite was born on the 1st (and died on the 7th) January 1678.

The pasteur was serving his flock in troublous times. It was illegal for a Protestant minister to preach on controversial subjects, even to his own congregation. A government that could affect to tolerate Protestants while it forbade them to protest, was not to be relied on to enforce its prohibition accurately, or even plausibly. On a quiet Sabbath-day, Pasteur Desaguliers said in his sermon, "I exhort you to persevere courageously in your faith." At once the emissaries of the government exclaimed, "That is a controversial statement, and actionable in law." The preacher was taken before the magistrates. Their decision was considered a kind one in those days. The accused was dismissed from the bar, on condition that he withdrew from the office of the ministry.

His younger child, and only son, Jean Theophile, was born at La Rochelle on the 12th of March 1683. The Pasteur, on his enforced resignation, was permitted to emigrate to Guernsey. If the tradition be true that the infant boy was brought away from France concealed in a barrel, the reason must have been that the authorities had decided to detain him with a view to his being educated as a Roman Catholic. In the Rev. William Douglas's Album there is the following autograph :—

QUICONQUE ESPERE AU DIEU VIVANT JAMAIS NE
PERIRA.

Pour la continuation de vostre amitié j'ay escrit
cecy Le 20 APRIL 1688.

DESAGULIERS.

In the same Album this memorandum occurs :—

"Je vous supplie très-humblement d'avoir la bonté des^{se} informer de Madem^{le}. Desaguliers, auprès de Mons^{sr}. Troussaye, Marchant à Londres.

LEMBRASIERES,
de ma part."

On the year of his removal to England, he was ordained by the Bishop of London (Dr Henry Compton), receiving from him both deacon's and priest's orders on the same day, the

28th November 1692. He was then offered and accepted the pastorate of the Swallow Street French Church. This he resigned, and founded an academy in London. His object probably included a plan for educating his son publicly, and yet under his own eye.

Of young Desaguliers the English Cyclopædia says, "His early education he owed to the instructions of his father, who appears to have been a very respectable scholar and sound divine." When his school education was completed, he acted as his father's assistant in the academy, which, on the reverend exile's lamented death, was discontinued. This is the statement of the *Biographia Britannica*. But John Theophilus Desaguliers can have discharged the duties of an usher for only a very short time. The family bible says that the father died on the 6th February 1699, aged 54 years and six months. And even if we suppose that, according to the new style, the year was 1700, the son had not then completed his seventeenth year. We now call the young man by his surname, Desaguliers. He matriculated as a student of Christ Church in the University of Oxford, where he took the degree of B.A. His chosen profession was the ministry of the Church of England, and he received deacon's orders from Bishop Compton on June 14th 1710.

There was an ingenious German residing and lecturing in Oxford during and before Desaguliers' university career, of whom the young graduate writes:—"Dr John Keill was the first who publicly taught natural philosophy by experiment in a mathematical manner. He laid down very simple propositions, which he proved by experiments, and from those he deduced others more compound, which he still confirmed by experiments; till he had instructed his auditors in the laws of motion, principles of hydrostatics and optics, and some of the chief propositions of Sir Isaac Newton concerning light and colours. He began these discourses in Oxford about the year 1704 or 1705, and introduced the love of the Newtonian philosophy. There were, indeed, about the same time, experiments shown in London by the late Mr Hauksbee, which were electrical, hydrostatical, and pneumatical. But as they were shown and explained only as so many curious phenomena, and not used as mediums to prove a series of philosophical propositions in a mathematical order, they laid no such foundation for true philosophy as Dr. Keill's experiments, though, perhaps, performed more dexterously, and with a finer apparatus."

Dr. Keill consented to accompany the expatriated Protestants of the Palatinate to their emigration field in New England, and went with them as their treasurer in 1710. Desaguliers removed to Hart Hall (one of the numerous colleges of Oxford), and took Dr. Keill's place. He adopted his predecessor's method, adding mechanics to the course—"which ever since that time I have endeavoured to improve, by the addition of new propositions and experiments, and by altering and changing my machines, as I found things might be made more intelligible to such of my auditors as were not acquainted with mathematics, or more satisfactory to such as were." These lectures were triumphantly successful. In the power of using the English language with force and elegance, and in the other qualifications of a lecturer on Natural Philosophy, he outshone his countryman, De Moivre, who otherwise was an abler man and admitted to greater intimacy with the princes of philosophy.

On the 3d of May 1712, he took the degree of M.A. His fame as a lecturer evoked very pressing invitations from London, which he was the more willing to accept, having on the 14th October 1712 in the Church of Shadwell, been united in marriage to Joanna, daughter of William Pudsey, Esq. He removed to the metropolis in 1713, having his residence and lecture-room in Channel Row, Westminster. On the 29th July 1714, he was elected a Fellow of the Royal Society. Sir Isaac Newton admired his style of performing experiments, and the Royal Society appointed him their Demonstrator with a fixed salary. Newton's theory on light and colours was disputed by Monsieur Marriotte who had unsuccessfully attempted the confirmatory experiments. Desaguliers repeated those experiments with perfect success in 1714 and in 1728, "after which," says Priestley, "no person who chose to give his name to the public, or whose name is worth recording, made any more opposition to it; so that at present no

hypothesis in philosophy stands upon surer ground, or is more generally acquiesced in, than that of the different refrangibility of the rays of light."

A rather amusing anecdote is told regarding a publication suggested by the troubles of housekeeping. In 1716 he published a pamphlet entitled, "Fires Improved; being a new method of building chimneys so as to prevent their smoking." It was a translation from the French. Edmund Curll, as publisher and part-proprietor, puffed it off with gross exaggerations, in order to increase the sale. This offended Desaguliers, who published a letter in Sir Richard Steel's periodical, called "The Town Talk," informing the public, that whenever the writer's name hereafter "was or should be printed, along with that egregious flatterer Mr Curll's, either in an advertisement, or in the title page of a book (except that of Fires Improved), he entirely disowned it."

The Earl of Carnarvon (afterwards Duke of Chandos) a generous friend to Dr. Keill, took Desaguliers under his patronage, made him his chaplain, and gave him the church living of Edgware. In 1717 the king requested him to repeat his course of lectures at Hampton Court, and His Majesty and the royal family were among the auditors, his course being a popular one, addressed to the general public, including the fair sex. The king intended to have rewarded him with valuable ecclesiastical preferment, but Lord Sunderland, having a friend of his own to provide for, stood in the way, and a benefice in Norfolk of £70 per annum was all that was obtained. On the 16th March 1718, he became Doctor of Laws, of Oxford. Here we may glance at his domestic life. His eldest son and namesake was born 7th March 1715 and died 19th August 1716. But the second son, born 18th August 1718, was also named John Theophilus, and grew up to manhood. John Isaac was born 17th October 1719, and was presented for baptism by Sir Isaac Newton, the Marquis of Carnarvon,* and Cassandra Duchess of Chandos. Thomas was born 5th February 1721. Two daughters, Joanna and Sarah Jane died in childhood; the sponsors of the latter were Lord Malpas, the Duchess of Richmond and the Countess of Dalkeith. The widowed mother of Dr. Desaguliers died on March 14th 1722, aged 82.

On the 25th June 1720, a patent was granted to John Theophilus Desaguliers, Daniel Niblett and William Vreem of an invention for making the steam and vapour of boiling liquors useful, for many purposes. A letter from Dr. Desaguliers, preserved in the British Museum, is printed in the Biographia Britannica. To Dr. Scheutzer, from Channel Row, Jan. 15, 1728-9. "Sir, I intended myself the honour to have waited upon the President [of the Royal Society], to have spoken to him concerning what I told you at Slaughter's Coffee House; but last Thursday's work was too much for me in my condition, and caused a relapse, which has confined me to my chamber ever since. I was just free from pain after a long fit of the gout; and standing almost two hours upon my feet that day whilst they were still weak, together with the effect of the cold, gave me a return of pain as well as lameness that very evening. I must beg of you to be my advocate to Sir Hans, to desire him (if there be nothing contrary to form in it), to be so good as to settle my last year's salary [*i.e.*, to pay it] in the next council, which used to be done generally at the meeting of the Society after the vacation, though now the death of the treasurer hindered it. This would be of great service to me at present, because I am entirely out of money, and have pressing occasions for it. What else I told you by word of mouth you will also mention when proper, in doing which you will much oblige, &c.,

J. T. DESAGULIERS."

Besides being F.R.S., Dr Desaguliers was a member of several foreign academies, and Corresponding Member of the Royal Academy of Sciences at Paris.

Paul Dawson, one of his pupils, took the unwarrantable liberty of publishing in 1719 a quarto volume, called, "Desaguliers' System of Experimental Philosophy." The Doctor did

* This godfather was the eldest son of his patron, who on the 30th April 1719, had been created Duke of Chandos and Marquis of Carnarvon.

not take the trouble of disclaiming the authorship till after the lapse of fifteen years, when he himself produced two quarto volumes, entitled, "A Course of Experimental Philosophy." In the preface (dated 1734) he thus speaks of his successful career:—"About the year 1713 I came to settle at London, where I have with great pleasure seen the Newtonian Philosophy so generally received among persons of all ranks and professions, and even the ladies, by the help of experiments. Though several ingenious men have since that time, with great success, taught (and do still teach) experimental philosophy in my (or rather Dr Keill's) manner, I have had as many courses as I could possibly attend to, the present course which I am now engaged in being *the one hundred and twenty-first*, since I began at Hart Hall in Oxford in the year 1710. The satisfaction we enjoy by being, in any way, instrumental to the improvement of others is so great, that I can't help boasting, that—of eleven or twelve persons who perform experimental courses at this time in England and other parts of the world—I have had the honour of having eight of them for my scholars, whose further discoveries become an advantage to myself. For, what would raise envy in any other profession but that of a philosopher, is received as a new acquisition by all lovers of natural knowledge, the profit being shared in common, while the discoverer has only the honour of the invention."

I may here allude to a handsome pamphlet, illustrated in a superior manner, and printed on large quarto paper, entitled, "The Newtonian System of the world the best model of Government, an Allegorical Poem—to which is added Cambria's Complaint against the intercalary day in the Leap Year, by J. T. Desaguliers, LL.D., Chaplain to His Grace the Duke of Chandos, and F.R.S.; Illustrated with engravings; Westminster, 1728." The versification, employed instead of prose with a view to entice young or indolent readers, is on Dryden's model, and (if I remember correctly), this is the first line:

In ancient times, ere bribery did begin.

On the 15th April 1738, he performed some experiments before Frederick, Prince of Wales, at Cliefden House. He also gave his course of Lectures before George II. and the royal family, and was presented by the king to a benefice in Essex, when he resigned his church in Norfolk. When Channel Row was ordered to be taken down, to make way for the new bridge at Westminster, he removed to lodgings over the Great Piazza in Covent Garden, where he continued to lecture until his death. He was repeatedly consulted by the government upon the design of Westminster Bridge, of the construction of which his assistant, Charles Labelye, was overseer. At the request of Parliament, he erected a ventilator in a room over the House of Commons.

We get a peep into the lecture-room by reading a letter to a Berlin correspondent from the Baron de Bielfeld, the Prussian Ambassador, dated London, March 6, 1741:—"I withdraw myself twice-a-week from my labours in order to attend the celebrated Dr. Desaguliers, chaplain to H.R.H. the Prince of Wales, in a course of experimental philosophy; and I have engaged almost all the foreign ministers here to be of the party. The Doctor's apartment has more the appearance of a hall of congress than of the auditory of a professor; and as we pay him generously, he, in return, spares no pains to entertain us, and to discover to us all the hidden springs of nature. Physics (properly so called), mechanics, hydraulics, hydrostatics, optics, astronomy, are all included in his course. You have, I believe, in your valuable library, that work of the Doctor's which is called *A Course of Experimental Philosophy*; it forms the basis of his lectures. Among the great number of his machines, there are none that excites my admiration so much as his famous Planetarium. I had before seen, in the libraries at Leyden, and Berlin, and elsewhere, several spheres made to exhibit to the eye the motions of the heavenly bodies; I have likewise examined that which they call the Orrery, after Lord Orrery, its inventor. But all these machines, though ingenious, have one considerable defect. For, by placing the sun in the centre, and giving it the size of an orange, it is necessary, in order to preserve a due proportion between it and the planets, and to determine the just distances, that such a sphere should be at least an English mile in diameter. Dr. Desaguliers, perceiving this inconvenience,

ruminated for a long time in order to find out some method of perfecting this machine, and at last contrived his Planetarium. He was very efficaciously assisted in this business by Mr. Graham, the most able and the most celebrated watchmaker that ever existed. When the whole machine is complete, you see the sun immovable in the centre, and the earth and moon, and the planets with their satellites, which turn round the sun on their axes. He then begins by turning a winch, and immediately the whole heaven is in its natural motion, each body describing its proper orbit, whether circular or elliptic. The first lecture is given by daylight, that the auditors may clearly observe all the different bodies and their movements. In the next lecture, he places in the centre a small crystal globe, which contains a lamp, and represents the sun. He then shuts the windows, and putting his Planetarium again in motion, he shows in this lecture what parts of the earth, moon, and planets, are illuminated by the sun at every instant. In these two lectures (you will observe) the exact distances must be abstractedly considered, for it is not possible to represent them distinctly in a machine of four feet diameter. But in the succeeding lectures, the Doctor analyses his machine, and presents to his auditors the sun still in the centre, but with only one planet and its satellites at a time. By this method, the distances become more discernible; and in this manner he explains with admirable facility the whole solar system. All these matters are exhibited with so much perspicuity, that I would engage to teach astronomy, by the help of the Planetarium, to any lady who has the least curiosity and attention, in a month's time. But such a machine is not to be had by every one; for that of Dr. Desaguliers has cost him more than one thousand pounds sterling."

The academy of Bourdeaux, at the request of Monsieur Harpez de la Force, offered a medal of the value of three hundred livres (£12) for the best essay on electricity. In 1742, Dr. Desaguliers' "Dissertation on Electricity" won the medal. Priestley, in his "History and Present State of Electricity," remarks, "To Dr. Desaguliers we are indebted for some technical terms which have been extremely useful to all electricians to this day, and which will probably remain in use as long as the subject is studied. He first applied the term CONDUCTOR to that body to which the excited tube conveys its electricity—which term has since been extended to all bodies that are capable of receiving that virtue. And he calls those bodies, in which electricity may be excited by heating or rubbing, *electrics per se*." It was in 1738 that Desaguliers made his first electrical experiments before the Royal Society, which he said he could have done at an earlier date; "but he was unwilling to interfere with the late Mr. Stephen Grey, who had wholly turned his thoughts to electricity, but was of a temper to give it entirely over, if he imagined that anything was done in opposition to him."

The Reverend Doctor printed only one sermon, of which the text was Luke xiii. 5. He was the author of numerous papers in the Philosophical Transactions from the year 1716 to 1742, on prismatic colours, on the atmosphere, on the barometer, on magnetism, on electricity, on statics, on perpetual motion. He also published translations from foreign authors, such as Ozanam, &c.

The Doctor continued to lecture with great reputation till his sixtieth year, the year of his death (1744). He spared no expense in procuring illustrations for his lectures. Like many sedentary men, he had an unnatural appetite for food. So that his mind may have given way during his last months; and he may also have been embarrassed in his pecuniary affairs. But Cawthorn's rhapsody in his "Vanity of Human Enjoyments" must be a tremendous exaggeration:—

"————— permit the weeping muse to tell
How poor, neglected Desaguliers fell;
How he, who taught two gracious kings to view
All Boyle ennobled, and all Bacon knew,
Died in a cell, without a friend to save,
Without a guinea, and without a grave."

Probably he was a widower; and his sons, having homes of their own, may not have been present when he expired, through not getting a timely summons. But that he received a

decent burial, there is much more than probability to confirm. The *Gentleman's Magazine* says, "Died, 29th February 1744, Dr. Desaguliers, a gentleman universally known and esteemed." His eldest son, John Theophilus, published the translation of Gravesande's *Mathematical Elements of Natural Philosophy*, which he had left ready for the press. The second son, the Rev. John Isaac Desaguliers, a beneficed clergyman in Norfolk, survived only till 1751. And the third, Thomas, was Colonel of the Royal Regiment of Artillery from 1762 to 1771; he became a Major-General in the army, 25th May 1772, and Lieutenant-General on the 29th August 1777. He was also an Equerry to King George III.; he died in March 1780, aged 59. This gallant officer's wife was a daughter of a Mr. Blackwood, and on the mother's side a grand-daughter of Sir Cloudesley Shovel. Their daughter, Anne Desaguliers, was married to Robert Shuttleworth, Esq.; and from her the French Bible (printed in 1669), with the entries by the Pasteur and by his son, Dr. Desaguliers, has descended to the family of Shuttleworth of Gawthorpe Hall; to the handsome volumes of the *Chetham Society* on that family, my readers have been indebted for the extracts from the fly-leaves of the Bible. The second son of Robert and Anne was Robert Shuttleworth of Gawthorpe (*born 1784, died 1818*). His heiress, Janet, was married in 1842 to J. P. Kay, Esq., now Sir James Phillips Kay Shuttleworth, Baronet (so created 9th January 1850).

V. PETER DES MAIZEAUX, F.R.S.

Materials for a memoir of Pierre Des Maizeaux are to be found in the ten volumes of manuscripts, entitled, "Letters to Monsieur Des Maizeaux," belonging to the Bibliotheca Birchiana, in the British Museum. The first eight volumes contain his literary and miscellaneous correspondence, autograph letters arranged according to the alphabetical order of the writers' surnames. The tenth volume contains all his loose papers, chiefly notes jotted from books at the time of reading them. In the ninth volume are the letters from his father and mother to him, and certificates and documents of a personal nature.

Pierre Des Maizeaux was born in 1673. His father was Mr Louis Des Maizeaux, Pasteur of Paillat in Auvergne; his mother's maiden name was Madelaine Dumonteil. The family became refugees in Switzerland, the father settling as the pastor of Avenche in the Canton of Berne. Pierre obtained a certificate from Berne on the 9th May 1695, stating that in that town he had been for five years a teacher of youth, and a student of divinity of great promise. This he presented to the Professors at Geneva, under whose tuition he remained for nearly four years, his farewell certificate being dated 3d April 1699.

Peter Des Maizeaux, on removing from Geneva, made his way to London, and there he spent the remainder of his life. He did not proceed to ordination to the ministry, but sought and obtained employment as a tutor. He had several pupils of high rank, of whom the most noted and the most attentive was George Parker, whose father rose to be Lord Chancellor, and Earl of Macclesfield, and who himself succeeded to that Earldom in 1732, and was distinguished as a scholar. Des Maizeaux is chiefly known and remembered as one of those men of letters, some orthodox, some heterodox, who clustered round the Seigneur de St Evremont, and were virtually a literary club. He was thought worthy of the position of a Fellow of the Royal Society. "On his arrival in England," says Weiss, "and admission to the intimacy of St. Evremont, Des Maizeaux persuaded the illustrious old man to revise with him the originals of his works, in order to put an end to the unprincipled use made of his name by authors and publishers. He gathered from his lips sufficient information regarding his writings to be competent to publish an authentic edition."

A club, living by the breath of a nonagenarian, was dispersed soon. The Earl of Shaftesbury wrote to Des Maizeaux, from Rotterdam, 2d November 1703, "I am sorry you were not present with Monsieur St. Evremont at his death; however the mark he has placed on you of his esteem and friendship will, I hope, be of advantage to you in making you known and valued." Another highly educated French refugee united with him in the publication of St.

Evremond's Works, viz., Dr John [or Peter] Sylvestre. I have read all the letters in his Collections which he received from his fellow-exiles, and my readers will find the substance of those speci-mens of his correspondence in my memoirs of the writers. I allude to them here, as proofs that he lived on the most cordial terms with them, and was respected, beloved, and admired by them.

In 1709 he presented a petition to the Government for a pension. "Your petitioner," he said, "hath for many years resided in England, in which kingdom he came as a refugee from the persecution in France, on account of religion." He represented himself as having devoted "ten years to the education of young gentlemen of quality." His claim for relief was failing health; he had impaired his sight; was a sufferer from pains and weaknesses in the eyes and head, partly arising from irregularity as to his meals and a sedentary life. The Lord Treasurer Godolphin obtained for him the Queen's Letter to the Earl of Wharton, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, dated 26th April 1710, for a pension of 3s 6d a-day. This occasioned some correspondence with Mr Addison, one of the letters being from Addison himself, dated Dublin Castle, August 1st, 1710, wishing him joy of his new post (whatever that may have been). Other business letters bear the names of French refugees, as, Theo. Des Brisac; H. Morel; Daniel Gervais, cornet, agent to the French pensioners, William Street, Dublin; and in London, Messieurs Girardot de Sillieux and Lamotte Blagny. On the 18th July 1722, on the recommendation of the Lord Chamberlain (the Duke of Newcastle), Des Maizeaux was made Gentleman of his Majesty's Most Honourable Privy Chamber.

Des Maizeaux's correspondents were of almost all beliefs, sacred or profane; but it was the love of classical literature and *belles lettres* that formed the bond of union. There is one letter from David Hume, which is as follows:—

"Sir,—Whenever you see my name you will readily imagine the subject of my letter. A young author can scarce forbear speaking of his performances to all the world. But when he meets with one that is a good judge, there ought some indulgence to be given him. You were so good as to promise me that if you could find leisure from your other occupations, you would look over my system of philosophy, and at the same time ask the opinion of such of your acquaintance as you thought proper judges. Have you found it sufficiently intelligible? Does it appear true to you? Do the style and language seem tolerable? These three questions comprehend everything, and I beg of you to answer them with the utmost freedom and sincerity. I know 'tis a custom to flatter poets in their performances; but I hope philosophers may be exempted. And the more so that their cases are by no means alike. When we do not approve of anything in a poet, we commonly give him no reason for our dislike but our particular taste, which, not being convincing, we think it better to conceal our sentiments altogether. But every error in philosophy can be distinctly markt and proved to be such; and this is a favour I flatter myself you'll indulge me in, with regard to the performance I put into your hands. I am indeed afraid it would be too great a trouble for you to mark all the errors you have observed. I shall only insist upon being informed of the most material of them, and, you may assure yourself, will consider it as a singular favour. I am, with great esteem, Sir, your most obedient and most humble servant,

DAVID HUME.

April 6th, 1739.

Please direct to me at Ninewells, near Berwick-upon-Tweed."

A letter from an erratic correspondent must be balanced by the mention of one from an undoubtedly orthodox camp. The famous Dr William Warburton, on the 9th September 1732, sends Des Maizeaux an old French coin, one of the League's, struck in 1592, for the old Cardinal of Bourbon with the title of Charles X., the inscription being CHRISTUS REGNAT VINCIT ET IMPERAT.

His pupil the Earl of Macclesfield, whose letters often occur in the collection, writes to him on the 24th April 1743, having heard that he was ill, and sending him £9 14s, as a contribution from some of his friends. A considerable portion of the mass of correspondence is in

Latin, in which language we trace him from the ornatissimus juvenis, to the vir doctissimus, præstantissimus, honoratissimus, amplissimus, nobilissimus. The *Gentleman's Magazine* informs us that Mr. Des Maizeaux, F.R.S., died on the 11th July 1745; thus his age at his death was 72.

Besides St. Evremond, he memorialised in his numerous works and compilations, Boileau Despreaux, Hales, Chillingworth, Locke, Bayle, &c., &c. His life of Chillingworth has been thought worthy of re-publication by the enterprising Tegg, under the editorship of Mr James Nichols. Des Maizeaux's preface is dated London, July 15th 1725, "Some time ago (he writes), I published the life of the ever-memorable Mr Hales as a specimen of a Historical and Critical English Dictionary, in which an account will be given of such persons as have made themselves famous by their writings or other actions in Great Britain and Ireland. But as a work of that nature requires an uncommon labour and diligence, and consequently a considerable time, I have been desired by some persons, who have a particular esteem for Mr Chillingworth, to select out of my materials what concerned that excellent man, and to print it by itself. This hath given me the liberty of enlarging that article beyond the bounds required in a Dictionary." We may thus look on the *Biographia Britannica*, as a monument to Des Maizeaux.

Chapter XXX.

REFUGEE CLERGY—GROUP FIRST:—ABBADIE, BERTHEAU, CAPPEL, DAILLON, DE CHAMBRUN, DE LA MOTHE, GRAVEROL, MENARD, MUSSARD, ROCHEBLAVE.

I. JAMES ABBADIE, D.D.

JACQUÈS ABBADIE was born at Nay, in Bearn, in the kingdom of Navarre, in the year 1654. To the pasteur of that country town, Jean de la Placette, a celebrated moralist, he owed his early education. He completed his studies at Puylaurens, Saumur, and Sedan;—at the last named university he took the degree of Doctor of Divinity at the age of seventeen. He never had a congregation in France; although but for the gloomy prospects of Protestantism in that country, "his own, his native land," he would have refused the offer which enabled him to leave it quietly, and with royal permission. Frederick William, Elector of Brandenburg, had resolved to found a church in Berlin, where public worship should be conducted in the French language. He sent the Count d'Espense to Paris to select a minister, and the Envoy's choice fell on Abbadie, who accepted the appointment. The date of his arrival in the Prussian capital is not preserved. Before reaching France he had earned the reputation of a master in controversial writing. He wrote four letters on Transubstantiation which have been translated and published by John W. Hamersley, A.M., with the title, "The Chemical Change in the Eucharist—in four letters, showing the relations of faith to sense, from the French of Jacques Abbadie." The learned translator gives the history of them:—"The design of Louis XIV. to commit Turenne to the Roman Creed gave the first impulse to the controversy that closed with these caustic letters. Louis, by instinct a bigot and despot, tempted the ambition of the chief captain of the age. The politic Port-Royalists sent the Marshal a thesis, charging the actual presence on the Protestant faith and change of faith to be impossible. Anne De Nompars his wife, an ardent Calvinist, doubting the stability of her husband if he should survive her, induced Claude, the great polemic of France, to expose the fallacies of Port-Royal. The

cordial reception of the Roman laity throughout Europe of Claude's *Critique* (written on a journey from Languedoc to Montauban and circulated only in manuscript) evoked the able work of Arnauld and Nicole, *La Perpétuité de la foi dans l'église catholique sur l'Eucharistie*. Claude replied. Arnauld rejoined; Nouet the Jesuit came to the relief of Arnauld in the *Journal des Sçavans*. Claude answered Nouet in the Provincial Letter that called out two more folios from Arnauld, which Claude met with equal ability and learning. A clique of the Jansenists, secretly plea ed with the confusion of Port-Royal, yet bound in honour to appear in the lists, issued their *Just Prejudices against Calvinism*. Claude reviewed it in his masterly *Defense de la Reformation*. Abbadie's iron pen, ever nibbed with merciless courtesy, now the massive mace of Richard, now wary and keen as the Saracen's cimetar, gave the *coup de grace* to the Papal hero of the clerical tilt."

This list of works—the one occasioning the next to be both written and printed—represents several years. Madame de Turenne died in April 1666, *i.e.*, when Abbadie was twelve years old; and the controversy went on after the perversion to Popery of the unstable widower. It was, however, in marvellously early youth that Abbadie wrote those Letters, concluding thus:—"I may seem bold to enter the lists with such stalwart foes; but while those proud Philistines are defying the armies of the living God, may I not hope, though as feebly armed as the shepherd warrior of Israel, to confound them with a single blow? In my own cause I would despair; but I am fearless in thine, O God, who out of the mouth of babes and sucklings hast perfected praise."

He resided at Berlin, says the *Biographia Britannica*, "for many years with great reputation, and in high favour with the Elector; making now and then a trip to Holland on account of publishing his writings, which were received with great applause." At first his congregation was thin, but after the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes, numbers of French refugees retired into Brandenburg. "They were received with the utmost compassion, so that Dr. Abbadie had a great charge, of whom he took all imaginable care; and, by his interest, he rendered them many services at court." His first book, containing four sermons, was published at Leyden in 1680. Early in the year 1684 he brought out the brilliant essay which established his fame—a panegyric on the Elector of Brandenburg. Bayle spoke of it, "not only with great condescension, but also with such marks of approbation as are not usual with that author;" and it was translated into Italian by Gregorio Leti.

In the Rev. William Douglas's Album there is the following autograph:—

μακάριοι οἱ δεδιωγμένοι ἔνεκεν δικαιοσύνης
ὅτι αὐτῶν ἐστὶν ἡ βασιλεία τῶν οὐρανῶν.

Tu ne cede malis, sed contra audentior esto.

OMNIA fausta atque felicia
animitus apprecatur hujus libelli
possessori reverendissimo Domino
Douglassio addictissimus servus

Dabam

ABBADIE.

Berolini

Oct. 3, 1687.

The death of the Elector in 1688 seems to have spoilt the charm of his adopted home; not that he had anything but happy feelings towards his successor, in whose honour he published "Sermon prononcé à l'occasion du couronnement de l'Electeur de Brandenburg, le 13 de Juin 1688." Though the Elector was a friend, yet the venerable and admirable Schomberg was a dearer one; and at the Marshal's pressing invitation, he accompanied him from Holland

(where perhaps he had been superintending the publication of the coronation sermon) to England.

I cannot do better than quote Professor Weiss's summary of the literary history of Abbadie up to this date:—"It was Count de Beauveau who called him to Berlin, and attached him to the rising church in that city. Frederick William soon had reason to congratulate himself on the choice made by his Master of the Horse; for his panegyric, eloquently written by Abaddie, made the tour of Europe, and gave him, before his death, a renown which powerfully contributed to the success of his later designs. Men were still inquiring the name of the Protestant writer who had composed this discourse, when the author made it known, and almost at the same time ensured it a very great celebrity by his Treatise on the truth of the Christian Religion, published in the same year as the panegyric. Protestants and Catholics received the treatise with unanimous expressions of approbation. *It is long* (wrote Bayle, in his News of the Republic of Letters) *since a book has been written displaying greater vigour and grasp of mind.* Bussy Rabutin, who did not pass for being very orthodox, or even a believer, wrote to Madame Sevigné, *We are reading it now; and we think it the only book in the world worth reading.* This judgment delighted Madame de Sevigné. *It is the most divine of all books* (said she, in her turn); *this estimation of it is general; I do not believe that any one ever spoke of religion like this man.* The Duc de Montausier, speaking of it one day with the Prussian ambassador, said, *The only thing that grieves me is, that the author of the book should be at Berlin and not at Paris.* Some years after the publication of this masterpiece, Abbadie brought out his Treatise on the Divinity of Jesus Christ. Although not so successful, this book was not unworthy of its predecessor. It extorted from Pelisson the essence of the prayer of Polyuctes for Pauline—

[“Seigneur ! de vos bontés il faut que je l’obtienne,
Elle a trop de vertus pour n’être pas Chrétienne”]:—

Lord ! it is not without you that any one combats for you thus powerfully ; deign to enlighten him more and more. [Seigneur, ce n'est pas sans vous qu' on combat pour vous avec tant de force ; daignez l'éclairer de plus en plus.] Pelisson and other eminent minds among the Catholics mistook the real tendencies of this defender of the Christian religion: they thought he had but a step to take to re-enter the pale of their church, and they held out a hand to help him to take that step. With some pride, Abbadie made them feel that they deceived themselves. Instead of returning to France after the death of the great Elector, he embarked for England with Marshal Schomberg, who had conceived the warmest friendship for him."

Dr. Abbadie accompanied the Marshal to Ireland, and did not return to England until after the victory of the Boyne, bereaved of his friend and patron. He served as one of the ministers of the church in the Savoy, where his "mild eloquence" "instilled peace into the souls of the numerous refugees who flocked to hear him." Amidst the noise of the Irish camp, he began to write his book on "The Art of Knowing One-Self," which has been praised as "a book of remarkably vigorous conception," and "the most perfect of his religious treatises;" he finished it in London, and it was published in 1692 under the title, "L'Art de se connaitre soi-même, ou la Recherche des sources de la Morale." A Romanist reprinted it at Lyons in 1693, leaving out all the passages which favour the Protestant religion. An English translation was published in 1694, with this advertisement, "The translator, by the author's advice, retrenched from the former part of this treatise certain obscure and metaphysical passages, which may be seen in the original. In doing which, he has cut off rather superfluous and useless branches than any material or necessary part, and has rendered it more agreeable and fitted for every capacity.—April 29, 1694." (A second edition appeared in 1698.) The translator (T. W., perhaps Rev. Thomas Woodcock) says, as to his own English, "I am pretty well assured that the majesty of the sense will shine through the meanness of my expression." I quote a few sentences as a specimen (p. 122):—"The Gospel affords us an illustrious example of this elevation in the person of Jesus Christ, in whom we discover not only an immortal man, but the Prince of immortality. It is equally surprising and admirable to find in him a God

crawling on the earth and conversing with men, and a man enthroned in the kingdom of heaven and raised above the region of all temporal things. Consider but the simple and plain manner in which his disciples relate the doctrines, actions, and the divers circumstances of his life, and this will persuade you that they had not a design to make a flattering description of their Divine Master. For certainly these poor men were not sufficiently skilled in the sublimity of manner for successfully broaching a fictitious portraiture of him. Yet must it be granted that the history of our Saviour, though compiled without the affectation of study and elegance of art, carries with it such a loftiness and elevation of style, as was never known before his appearance. He is the first that acts and speaks like an immortal man, and teaches us to steer and conduct our lives by the views of eternity. He seeks not for anything that may distract and take him off from the duties of his charge, or divert him from meditating and thinking of himself."

In 1693, Dr. Abbadie published his "Defence of the British Nation," occasioned by an anonymous pamphlet, which Weiss thus describes:—"The Advice to the Refugees on their approaching return to France, which appeared in 1690, and which his enemies attributed to Bayle, although he never admitted himself to be its author, was a cutting pamphlet [his antagonist Jurieu having prophesied the triumphant return of the Protestants to France in 1689]. The author ironically congratulated the exiles. . . . But he charitably warned them not to set foot in the kingdom without having previously undergone a slight quarantine, to purge them of two maladies contracted during their residence abroad, namely, the spirit of satire, and a certain republican spirit which tends to nothing less than to introduce anarchy, that great scourge of society." Abbadie's Reply was equally ironical, and more courteous. Republican spirit and anarchy had been imputed to the refugees, because they approved of the English Revolution of 1688, which had dethroned a king, and had done uncourtly homage to the popular voice. It was thus that a "Defence of the Huguenot Refugees" resolved itself into a "Defense de la Nation Britannique, ou, Les Droits de Dieu, de la Nature et de la Societé clairement établis au sujet de la Revolution d'Angleterre, contre l'Auteur de l'Avis important aux Réfugiés." The neat pocket volume contains four Letters, of which the first three fill only 190 pages altogether, while the fourth occupies the remaining 326. The author begins as one who had endeavoured, without the desired success, to induce the refugees to take the anonymous adviser's advice, and who only repeats what those refugees had said in indignantly spurning it—such as, that the shedding of their brethren's blood by Louis XIV. was a crime to which the mere spilling of ink in gazettes or in satires by refugee authors was no parallel. With regard to withdrawing allegiance from King James, Abbadie used and elaborated the argument which was afterwards more briefly and popularly adopted by Bishop Hoadly in his *Preservative*, namely, that a Popish king—and especially one to whom Louis XIV. dictated—felt himself under a sacred obligation to destroy his people, unless they would obediently become Roman Catholics; and thus had to be removed from power, like any other furious lunatic. On the death of the most excellent Queen (28th Dec. 1694), he had too early an opportunity of returning to the controversy. Professor Weiss, I suppose, had before him Dr. Abbadie's Panegyric in the French language; and the probability is that it was originally addressed to the French church in the Savoy, as a funeral Sermon. I am aware of the existence only of an English oration, entitled "A Panegyric on our late Sovereign Lady, Mary, Queen of England, Scotland, France and Ireland, of glorious and immortal memory. By James Abbadie, D.D., Minister of the Savoy;" and a few passages from it will be interesting to my readers.

"In vain we strive to eternize the memory of heroes . . . if we do not labour to revive the spirit that animated them, and to immortalize their glory by a careful imitation of their actions. Only such an elogy is worthy of Mary, a queen the exemplar of her subjects, a heroine the model of queens, elevated above her rank by her virtues, and even in some measure raised above her virtues by her modesty. . . . She condemned thankfulness to silence, and made this seeming ingratitude the condition of her favours. With one hand she dried the tears of the afflicted, and with the other drew a veil over their misery. . . . But in vain she imposed a silence which sooner or later would certainly be broken. The whole universe,

that was a witness of her virtues—the world that is filled with her charity, which she scattered through all nations and all climates—such an infinite number of persons that felt the consoling influence of her bounty, cry so much the louder after her death as they were forced to be silent during her life. Imprisoned gratitude shakes off its fetters. . . . Death, which puts a period to the glory of others, seems only to begin hers. How vast is the difference between her and the nameless great, those vulgar princes who cease to be known as soon as they cease to live! Her works came out of the grave, when she entered it. Her life hid her from us, and her death exposes her in all her glory to our ravished eyes. . . .

“The merit of our illustrious Mary was great, but it was not greater than her destiny. She stood in need of no less virtue and perfection to fulfil the designs of God and the expectations of men, one who was called by providence to edify a vicious world, to comfort the drooping Church, and to save her sinking country. Men may celebrate the virtues of great princes, but God himself indites the praises of great deliverers. HE calls Cyrus His Anointed. HE proclaims him. HE promises him to the world a hundred years before he came into it, not because he was to be the conqueror of Asia, but because he was designed to be the restorer of the Jewish liberties. Yet how much more glorious had he been if, at the same time that he freed them from slavery, he had also delivered them from superstition! . . . The State demanded our Princess as its sure refuge and the source of all its comforts; and superstition courted her for a support and foundation of its hopes. . . . She believed that she owed herself to God and to the State, and that she could not answer the call of heaven but by devoting herself entirely to her country and her religion. . . . With an unshaken constancy, she reserved herself for that important and necessary marriage, to which the Church and the State, the Parliament and Council, and God and the King, had appointed her. Never was the public joy better grounded than on this occasion. For then it was that Providence laid the foundations of the public liberty; and to this happy marriage we owe the succeeding union of England and Holland, and the general confederacy of their allies. When the Prince went to England, accompanied with the prayers and acclamations of the whole world that was concerned in the success of his voyage, he seemed to ask the Princess, in the name of all those nations that were one day to owe their liberty to this blessed match. And, if I might be allowed to join the present events with the occurrences of those times, I would not scruple to affirm that their contract of marriage was a treaty which God by his Providence negotiated with all the nations of Europe, for their common defence and preservation. . . .

“We may easily remember that time which our latest posterity shall never forget, for they also are concerned in it—a time, in which God set bounds to the oppression of the people, and to the affliction of his Church, in which, by one sudden stroke, he stopped the progress of that Power which threatened to devour all the world—in which he preserved the earth from the overbearing inundations of that raging sea, by writing on the sand, *Hitherto shalt thou come and no further.* We saw, and still have before our eyes that important juncture of affairs, when the all-wise governor of the world, who disposes second causes according to his pleasure, thought fit to chain the preservation of England, and of so many other countries to the resolution of one man—when the laws, rights, liberty, and religion of so many nations were entrusted by Providence to the inconstancy of the waves—when even the tempests served in so admirable a manner to advance the work of our deliverance, when unbloody victories executed the designs of the God of mercy, when the armies of the wicked were subdued by the harmony and union of our minds—when the Deliverer appeared, and the terrors of God seized on our enemies, and when, by the miraculous blessing of God on the noblest and most necessary undertaking of our age, England is still suffered to enjoy her laws, the Church to serve God, and we to live and breathe.”

The Assassination Plot, in which the name of Sir John Fenwick is notorious, was detected in 1696. By the king's command a narrative of the conspiracy was written by Abbadie, and printed in French, Dutch, and English; the Earl of Portland and Secretary Sir William Trumbull furnished the original papers from the Government archives for the author's use.

The air of London disagreed with Dr. Abbadie's health, and he expressed a wish to reside in Ireland. The king accordingly designed for him the Deanery of St. Patrick's, Dublin, as the best preferment, to which, however, he could not be presented, because of his want of facility in speaking English. But the first vacancy of a similar nature was promised to him; and thus he became Dean of Killaloe in 1699. At this secluded Deanery, he spent the remainder of his life, working hard as an author. He, however, allowed himself some holidays, which he spent at Portarlington, for the sake of "the refined society of his countrymen, civil, military, and ecclesiastical, all more or less distinguished;" and as a change from a residence "on the remote banks of Lough Dearg and the wilds of Clare"; in the Portarlington Register, he is styled, "doyen de Cicalou."* He also occasionally had variety, in journeys by sea and by land, for (as the *Biographia Britannica* observes)—"Business, and especially the printing of his books, called him frequently into England and Holland; in both which places he was extremely beloved." Two volumes, entitled "*La Verité de la Religion Reformée*," were issued in 1718. Dr. Henry Lambert, Bishop of Dromore, translated them for the information of the Roman Catholics of his diocese, and to convince them of the truth of the reformed religion. He devoted his attention to the interpretation of the Apocalypse, especially the chapters on the opening of the several Seals—and the result was a remarkable work in four volumes, under the title of "*La Triomphe de la Providence et de la Religion*"—published at Amsterdam, 1723. In 1726, Dr Abbadie resolved to apply for ecclesiastical promotion, as his income could not afford him an amanuensis to render assistance in the manual and mechanical departments of authorship. He addressed himself to Primate Boulter (of Armagh) who at once wrote to Lord Carteret, the Lord Lieutenant:—"Dublin, July 6, 1726.— The present vacancy of the Bishopric of Cloyne, as it occasions (no doubt) very numerous applications to your lordship, so it brings some upon me. Mr. Abbadie, Dean of Killaloo, has been with me to desire my recommendations to Your Excellency, to be thought of for some deanery, which he supposes may happen to be vacant by promotion on this occasion. Your lordship knows him to have the character of a man of learning, and one well affected to His Majesty." This letter not having any practical result, the aged Dean resolved to wait upon the pillars of Church and State in London. The primate gave him a very handsome letter of introduction to Dr. Edmund Gibson, Bishop of London, which I quote entire; (the blanks in the extract from the letter to Lord Carteret contained the information which is detailed in the following communication):—

"Dublin, Sept. 6, 1726.

"My Lord,—The bearer is Mr. Abbadie, Dean of Killaloo, one who for many years has made a figure in the world, by the writings he has published. I find upon inquiry, he was by King William recommended to the government here for somewhat considerable, and would have had the Deanery of St. Patrick's which fell soon after, but that having no knowledge of our language, it was thought improper to place him in the greatest preferment in this city. However, it was then fixed that he should have the next deanery that fell, which happened to be that of Killaloo, which was given him with one or two little things to make him amends for its falling short of the other deanery, and with those helps he had but about half the value of what had been designed him. At first he made about £240 *per ann.* of his preferment, but afterwards, upon a great scarcity of money here, was obliged to let his preferments during his incumbency for about £120 *per ann.*, which I find was a pretty common case at that time with a great many other clergymen. He had afterwards repeated promises of having somewhat farther done for him, but nothing beyond promises. As this is but a small income, and now he grows old, he finds he wants an amanuensis to assist him in his studies, he would gladly have somewhat better either here or in England. He has firmly adhered to His Majesty's interest here in the day of trial, and is every way a worthy man. I shall do my endeavour to serve him here, but as opportunities may not offer here so soon, he desired I would recommend him to your lordship, in hopes somewhat might be done for him in England.

* Ulster Journal of Archæology, Vol. III., p. 222.

“He would hope (if that consideration may be of service to him) that as his preferments are all in the gift of the government, they might easily be obtained for some friend of your lordship’s, if the dean had somewhat given him in England.

“I take the liberty to recommend him to your lordship’s favour and countenance, and if it shall lie in your way to help him to somewhat in England that may be a honourable subsistence to him the small remainder of life he is likely to live, you will do a kindness to a person of merit, and very much oblige, &c. HU. ARMACH.”

The Dean’s visit to England was his adieu to Ireland. In 1727 he issued a prospectus for publishing all his writings in four volumes 4to, containing a complete collection of his printed works, with the addition of several others prepared for the press. “But before he could bring his design to bear he was taken away by death.” He died at Marylebone on the 25th of September 1727, aged 73. “He had,” says Dr Kippis, “great natural abilities, improved by a large stock of solid and useful learning, was a most zealous Protestant, and, without flattery, one of the most eloquent men in the age in which he lived.”

Among the refugees of Portarlinton lived Cornet Daniel D’Abbadie, half-pay of the Earl of Galway’s Horse; his annual pension in 1719, was £27, 7s. 6d.; and in 1723, £36, 10s.

II. THE PASTEURS BERTHEAU, FATHER AND SON.

A refugee family is thus enumerated in one of the lists of naturalizations, René Bertheau (clerk), Martha *his wife*, Charles *their son*, and Martha *their daughter*. The father had been a minister at Montpellier. The date of naturalization was 15th April 1687 (List. xiii.); but they probably came to England sooner, as the venerable refugee was made a Doctor of Divinity in Oxford in 1686. The following is Anthony Wood’s memorandum:—“Nov. 18, 1686. René Bertheau, late minister of the Reformed Church in the University of Montpellier, in France, was created D.D. by virtue of the letters of the Chancellor of the University, who had a little before received letters of recommendation in his behalf from the Lord High Treasurer of England (Laurence Hyde, Earl of Rochester), as “a man of great reputation in his own country, and very eminent both for learning and piety,” &c.

The daughter Martha was married in 1691 to Lieutenant Claude Mercier, and their son became the representative of the family. The high reputation of the son, the Rev. Charles Bertheau, may be inferred from his receiving a place in the *Biographia Britannica*. I copy the article:—“Charles Bertheau, an eminent and ingenious French Protestant divine, long resident in the city of London, was born in the year 1660 at Montpellier, where his father was minister. He studied philosophy and divinity partly in France, and partly in Holland, and was admitted a minister in the Synod held in Vigan in 1681, being then only twenty-one years of age. He was, the next year, chosen pastor to the church at Montpellier; but he did not make any long stay in that city; for he was soon after promoted to be one of the ministers of the church of Paris which met at Charenton. He continued in that station about two years; and though he was yet in very early life, he discharged the pastoral duties, to which he was called, in a manner greatly to his reputation. But when Louis XIV. thought proper, by the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes, to drive his Protestant subjects out of France—an act equally repugnant to justice, humanity, and the dictates of sound policy—Mr. Bertheau found himself obliged to quit his native country. He accordingly came to England in 1685, and the following year was chosen one of the ministers of the Walloon Church, in Threadneedle Street, in the city of London, where he discharged the duties of the pastoral office for about forty-four years, in such a manner as procured very general applause. He died on the 25th December 1732, in the seventy-third year of his age, exceedingly regretted by his congregation, and by all who had the pleasure of being acquainted with him. He possessed considerable abilities, was distinguished for his good sense and sound judgment, and had (we are informed) so retentive a memory that it might be said he never forgot any-

thing of what he saw, read, or heard. He understood ecclesiastical history perfectly well, and might always be consulted upon that subject with safety; for he would at any time name the persons, and even the most minute circumstances of time and place, relating to the events upon which he was consulted. He was a very eloquent preacher, though it is intimated that there was somewhat unfavourable in his appearance. Two volumes of his sermons have been printed in French; the first volume was published in 1712; it was reprinted at Amsterdam in 1730, two sermons being then added to the volume. The second volume was published then also."

The notes to the above memoir contain some telling extracts from Hume and Voltaire regarding the persecutions in France, and the Edict of Revocation, that infamous measure—also a list of the sermons printed in the aforesaid two volumes, and extracts from the discourse, "On Inquiring after news in a Christian manner." The first part shows how men inquire after news from a wrong principle and a bad motive; the second, how the desire after news might be exerted in a Christian manner in favour of the Church—for instance, *first*, with regard to the propagation of Christianity among the infidel nations; he reproached the Protestants with the little zeal they had for the conversion of the heathen, and contrasted their coldness in that respect with the great zeal of the Roman Catholics, closing this head with a prayer for God's blessing upon the Society for propagating the Gospel in foreign parts.

To the above, I add that, in 1735, a third volume of Mr Bertheau's sermons was published, containing Expository Discourses on several detached sections of Calvin's Catechism. All the three volumes abound with solid instruction, imparted with affectionate earnestness, and in a very decided yet candid tone. The *Gentleman's Magazine* announces:—"DIED, 25th Dec., 1732, Rev. Charles Bertheau, a native of Montpellier, and late minister of the French Church in Threadneedle Street, to the poor of which he has left £400, and £1000 to his nephew."

III. REV. JAMES CAPPEL.

The name of Cappel has many monuments in masterly writings on Biblical interpretation and sacred philology, and especially that imposing line of folio tomes, the *CRITICI SACRI*. A prince among the great scholars of his race was Louis Cappel, who is regarded as the father of Protestant sacred criticism. In 1609, being twenty-four years of age, and still thirsting for more knowledge, he commenced a two years' residence in the University of Oxford. He died a Professor of Theology at Saumur. By his wife, Susanne, daughter of Benjamin Launoy, Sieur de Gravier and Pasteur at Chilleurs, he was the father of six children.

James Capel (as we called him), his third son, who was born 13th August 1639, was a refugee in England after the Revocation. His distinguished talents had obtained for him the professorship of Hebrew in the University of Saumur at the age of nineteen. His father's life is in Quick's MS. entitled "*Icones Sacræ Gallicanæ et Anglicanæ*," in Dr Williams' Library. The refugee son is there mentioned as a Professor of the Oriental Languages in London, "a gentleman far above my praises." In 1708, he accepted a Chair in the Dissenters' College, called Hoxton Square Academy, which was vacant by the death of the Rev. John Spademan, where he was associated with the Rev. Joshua Oldfield, D.D., and the Rev. William Lorimer, M.A. There he taught "the oriental languages with the critical application of them in the study of the Sacred Scriptures." The venerable refugee died in 1722, in his 83d year. Mr. Lorimer died in the same year, aged 80. And Dr Oldfield, who was 65, seems to have retired; for the Academy was extinct before his decease. The institution, according to *Bogue and Bennett*, was "in high repute." "Here," says Dr Harris, in a funeral sermon on Dr Oldfield (1729), "many were educated of great worth, and who now make a considerable figure in the world, in the ministry, and other learned professions, both in the Establishment and out of it."

One of the letters in Des Maizeaux's volumes is from Monsieur Cappel, and is one of the

best of the whole correspondence ; there is also a note from his son. From these we learn that the old scholar's wife was alive in 1706, and his son till 1716 ; whether the latter survived, or left descendants, I am not informed.

I append a translation of the former letter :—“ London, 24th Sept. 1706. Sir, as soon as I got hold of the volume which you have had the goodness to procure for me, I selected seven chapters which I read with care ; afterwards I made divers extracts from them. Thus I have seen that the basis upon which I have corrected, in more than a hundred places, the Acts and Scenes of Terence, is sure. I had already written out fairly, and in proper order, all that correction, after a double and careful revision. I have done the same for the catalogue of the persons in each comedy, distinguishing the

Personæ in scenâ loquentes,
Personæ post scenam,
Personæ mutæ.

Never had the requisite care been employed for this object, and, in the last article, the most exact scholars had committed palpable faults of omission and commission. For what remains, when a full hundred trumpets would stun me with the call to march in quick time, I would always go at my own pace. I was born perverse, and I do not move any further than at the time I feel inclined, though I always have a very sincere desire to go forward. This declaration applies to all written composition ; as to giving lessons *viva voce* in Latin, Greek, and Hebrew, I am always ready, and such occupation never fails to give me pleasure. For a whole month this recreation was not offered to me, not until to-day. The three sources of the difficulties which you find in Terence embarrass those who have not read him with accuracy, and with the theory of criticism which long experience has elucidated and corroborated. This author, and Sallust also, not to name several others, have this excellency, that when one has once disentangled the knots which are encountered, every reason for dubiety is removed, and no ground is left for scepticism. This proceeds from the perfect consistency of their writing. Others of an inferior rank are sometimes obscure, and leave matter for hesitation, even in the passages which have been cleared up the most. The greatest obstacle to the progress of classical literature, and to the pleasure it has the power to give, is that those who teach the classics to our youth are deficient in neatly-expressed and well-grounded ideas, in diligence, in preparation, in a lively predilection for teaching. This is to be affirmed only of the majority of masters, for I would be too rash if I passed judgment upon all. I asked yesterday at Lord Sunderland's for what has been written on the *Heautontimoroumenos* by the Abbé Menage and the Abbé D'Aubignac, and also for the latter author's work, ‘*Le Terence Justifié.*’ I should own myself mistaken if his critique had to yield to that of the former author. Madame Dacier arranges very ill the twelve hours within which she, following other writers, truly says that the acts of the above-named play are completed. The programme of the twelve hours is there observed with the utmost precision and with complete demonstration, but a demonstrator may lose his way, and, in aiming at the goal, I have been obliged to apply the measuring-line to things great and small, and to each circumstance in detail. After all, I do not know at all what will become of this plaything of mine, and of others like it, considering that I am the kind of man whose portrait I have drawn in this letter. Keep it, I beg of you, that it may serve as my apology, should I be in need of one. My wife salutes you with respect, and my son will respond in some measure worthy of the honour which you do to him. I ask your permission to pay Mr Vaillant for the book arrived from Paris, and which that gentleman's apprentice brought me. I will make inquiry quietly, and as occasion permits, for what I yesterday applied for at Lord Sunderland's. If I had the use of the books for a single day, that would suffice ; and if they never reach me I will do without them. What consoles me for my slowness and heaviness, or whatever people please to call it, is that assuredly whatever I leave undone is what I am unable to do. I have good projects, but a thousand circumstances rule me and absolutely master me. Happily I am not ashamed of anything in particular, and I love always,

and above all things, the One Thing Needful [le seule chose necessaire]. Let us love that with a singular love, my dear sir. What the world values above it is infinitely beneath it. I cannot understand how my pen compels me to discourse with you so long, but it goes on, beyond its limits, through the ardour of the affection towards you, always to be felt by, Sir, your very humble and very obedient servant,
J. CAPPEL.

“Pour Monsieur Des Maizeaux.”

The son's letter is from Hoxton, 28th Feb. 1716, and is signed D. CAPPEL. He thanks Des Maizeaux for having exerted himself to get him a situation, but prefers to adhere to *la petite fonction à quoi je suis presentement occupé*. He adds, “My father assures you of his very humble civilities. When you see Monsieur Diserote, I beg you will assure him of mine.”

IV. REV. BENJAMIN DAILLON.

The Rev. Benjamin Daillon, or De Daillon, is said to have been a scion of the noble house of Le Lude, which at a subsequent date became a ducal family (see *Anselme*). The Right Hon. James Daillon, Count Du Lude, who has the doubtful honour of having been kept before the eye of posterity by an engraved portrait, was probably the younger brother. This possible brother, or probable cousin espoused the Jacobite side of British politics, and put himself forward in an irritating style when the good Queen Mary was at the head of affairs, and when the fortunes of her absent lord had assumed a rather cloudy aspect. On the 20th August 1693, he preached a sermon in St. Matthew's Church, London, on the text, “My kingdom is not of this world,” which offended the royal and munificent benefactress of the Huguenot refugees, a feeling in which the king seems to have shared. In Anthony Wood's diary, there is this entry,—“1694, Feb. 20, Mr Daillon, a French minister, who had been committed prisoner for preaching treason in St. Matthew's Church in Friday Street, was found by the jury not guilty, and so acquitted.” He had perhaps saved himself by an enigmatical style, and his imprisonment had been a more than sufficient punishment. In 1724, he accomplished the more respectable achievement of completing the ninetieth year of his age, in memory of which his portrait (painted by J. Fry, and engraved by P. Pelham) was published, the substratum of engraved description calling him “a confessor,” which he may have been in France, but in England certainly was not, if he claimed the honour of martyrdom only as one “who was tried for high treason for preaching an orthodox sermon in y^e city of London on y^e 36th verse of the 18th Chap. of St. John's gospel on y^e 20th day of August 1693.” It would appear that James Daillon was born in 1634.

Benjamin De Daillon, escuyer, sieur de la Levrie, was born in 1630. His epitaph seems to point to Brittany as the native province of the noble family from which he sprang. He was pasteur of the Church of La Rochefoucauld in Angoumois. He was also an author. Three small publications of his were printed* (Amsterdam 1687), one of which is a sermon entitled, “La Revolte de la Foi, ou les Doctrines des Demons,” a sermon preached before a Provincial Synod on the 1st September 1668; another is a letter to the Faithful in the provinces of Angoumois, Xaintonge, and Aunis; and the other tractate is an Examination of the principal pretext for oppressing the French Protestants (Examen du principal pretexte de l'Oppression des Reformés en France †). On the last topic, he could speak and write feelingly, because he had been a sufferer from French lawyers and in French prisons.

The Curé and Carmelite Monks of the country town of La Rochefoucauld made several attempts to suppress the Huguenot Temple. At length they appealed to the criminal courts, and produced title-deeds, either forged altogether, or fraudulently interpolated, setting forth that the site of the temple was the property of the monastery. They also swore that the clock

* Baynes's Witnesses in Sackcloth, p. 223.

† Sir Erasmus Borrowes in his papers in the Ulster Journal of Archaeology gives the above as the substance of the title (Vol. III. p. 224), Mr Baynes leaves out the words “du principal pretexte.”

had been taken from their chapel, and that Daillon had placed it above the cross. They also complained that the building was too near them, and occasioned distraction to the Catholic worshippers. Daillon met the charges and refuted them, both by vocal pleading and in a written remonstrance; but in vain. Le Lieutenant Criminel ordered him to discontinue the ministerial office, suppressed the consistory of La Rochefoucauld, and interdicted for ever the exercise of the Pretended Reformed Religion in that town. He commanded that the temple be demolished within one month, by the members of the congregation, or, in case of their failing to give obedience, to be pulled down at their expense. Further, he sentenced Benjamin de Daillon to be banished from the Province of Angoumois for nine years, and fined him and his elders 3000 livres (£120). Being probably unable to pay the fine, or for conscientiously disregarding some other parts of the sentence, Daillon was for a long time shut up in various prisons. In April 1685, he was a prisoner in the Conciergerie of Paris. Before the end of the reign of James II., he, with his wife, *née* Pauline Nicolas, was a refugee in London.

By letters patent under the Great Seal 4 James II. (1688) Benjamin de Daillon, John Louis Malide, Samuel Mettayer, Simon Canole, Henry Gervais, Timothy Baignoux, Charles Peter Souchet, William Bardon, John Forent, and Barthelemy Balaguier, and their successors, ministers of the French congregation of Protestant strangers, were formed into a corporation with permanent succession and liberty to exercise the functions of the ministry according to their manner accustomed, with power to purchase land, to build churches, and, in case of death or removal of any of the ministers, to choose other persons to succeed in the office of ministers. The Anglican Liturgy had formerly been urgently prescribed to refugee ministers. By this Patent, King James gave a royal license to "their manner accustomed," called by Burnet the Charenton system. To *le rite Calviniste*, Daillon conscientiously and firmly adhered.

Only one church, and that in Soho, was built under this Patent, and went by the name of La Patente. After the Revolution, churches sprang up as they were required, without requiring any such legal formality to justify their erection. The thoughts of Daillon, in the course of a very few years, were turned to Ireland. The Nicolas family, to which Madame de Daillon belonged, were high in Lord Galway's favourable estimation. Daillon himself was an able and learned man; and Luttrell's "Historical Relation" points to him (spelling the name, *Dallions*) as designed by the noble chief of the refugees to be the head of a Protestant College at Kilkenny. Lord Galway, as already stated, built and endowed both an English and a French Church at Portarlington—the latter was opened in 1694 according to the Charenton model. The first ministers were Messieurs J. Gillet and Balaguier. In 1698, Daillon was appointed to that charge, and entered upon its duties on the 26th of June. From the old French Church Register, we learn that he had two daughters, Pauline and Anne. Pauline was the wife of Jean Posquet, escuyer, Sieur de la Boissière; the children of this marriage baptized in Portarlington were, Charles (born 4th July 1699), and Susane (born 17th Dec. 1701). Anne was the wife of John Grosvenor (or Grosvenor), cornet in Essex's Dragoons; their son Henry (born 18th January 1699 n.s.), was so named after Lord Galway, godfather by proxy—Lieutenant Jean Nicolas of *Galway's Horse*, acting as sponsor on the 5th February "au nom et comme envoyé expres de Son Excellence mylord Comte de Galway Lt.-General des armées du Roy, un des Gouverneurs d'Irlande, et General des forces de Sa Majesté dans ce Royaume."

The chequered fortunes of that noble Earl influenced Daillon's future career. The Portarlington estates having been resumed by the English Parliament, his Lordship's churches and schools were at the disposal of the Earl of Rochester and the High Church party. One of Lord Galway's faults in their eyes was that he was an unbeliever in the virtue of the episcopal consecration of churches. Believers in that ceremony might have thought the churches sufficiently consecrated by seven years' religious use, and at least might have confined their ritualistic programme to the English Church (St Michael's). What took place is thus recorded by Sir Erasmus Borrowes:—"In the first year of Queen Anne's reign, an Act of Parliament was passed confirming the leases made by Lord Galway, which had been shaken by the Act of Resumption, and vesting the churches, school-houses, and endowments, in the Bishop of Kil-

dare, in trust for the purposes specified by the noble founder. The Bishop issued an address to the French inhabitants of Portarlinton, setting forth his intention of consecrating the two churches, transmitting a copy of the Consecration Service, inviting them to conform to the discipline of Episcopacy, and complaining of Daillon for holding tenaciously to his consistorial authority, being unwilling to part with it on any terms."

As to the French congregation we are told that, soon after, it "acceded to the wishes of the Bishop." But this triumph was obtained at the expense of the union between pastor and people. On the 3d October 1702, the Rev. Antoine Ligonier de Bonneval succeeded Monsieur De Daillon, who, about this time, seems to have removed to Carlow. There Pauline, his wife, died on the 31st December 1709, and he himself followed her, four days after, on the 3d January 1710 (new style), aged 79. Every kind of church register in Carlow, prior to the year 1744, has unfortunately been lost. There is, therefore, no vestige of a French church there. There is, however, sufficient evidence that there was a congregation of French worshippers. In the estimates, then called the "establishment," for Ireland, there was this item:—To a French Minister at CATHERLOGH, £30 *per Annum*.

The curate of Carlow in 1744 was the Rev. David Chaigneau, and his interment is thus entered in the register:—"1747, July 9. Buried, The Rev. Mr. Chaigneau, minister of the French Church and Curate of Carlow." Through the dying out of the French language, the French and Irish congregations were amalgamated. The fact that Monsieur and Madame De Daillon spent their last years in Carlow is preserved by their tombstone. A correspondent, to whom I am largely indebted, informs me that the stone lies in a neglected corner of the Old Parish Churchyard, a slab of black limestone, having the letters of the epitaph incised:—

Hic situs est

Benjaminus Daillon Gallus Britanu generosâ familiâ ortus, ecclesiæ reformatæ presbyter eruditus, diu ob religionem incarceratus et demum relegatus.

Qui post LXXIX annos

studio pietate et labore evangelico magnâ ex parte dimensos quadriduo post obitum Paulinæ uxoris hic inhumatæ animam puram exhalavit.

Accipe, Docte Cinis, musarum pignus amoris,

Accipe, si famam morte perire veteat,

Si Christi castris pugnans captivus et exul

Urbem hanc funeribus condecorare velit.

Cur te gerentur humo simul omnia?—et inclyta virtus,

Et genus, ac artes, et pietate honos?

Immemor urbs fuerit, tamen haud marcescet Olympo,

Clamabitque lapis, vivet hic arte meâ.

OBIT ILLE VIR JAN. III. AN. DOM. MDCCIX.

[Mistakes often occur in the copy given to the mason, and in the mason's own execution, of an epitaph—"et pietate honos," will not scan—it perhaps was "ac pietas et honos;" "cum pietate-que honos," would scan, but not euphoniously.]

Some readers may ask me to translate. The sense is as follows:

Here has been laid Benjamin Daillon, a Frenchman sprung of a noble family of Brittany (or, an Anglo-Frenchman sprung from a noble family?), a learned presbyter of the Reformed Church, long imprisoned on account of religion, and at length discharged; who, after a life of seventy-nine years, occupied for the most part in study, devotion, and evangelistic labour, breathed out his pure spirit four days after the death of Pauline, his wife, buried here. [Then come the elegiac verses.] Accept, O learned dust, a pledge of the love of the Muses; accept this, if they forbid that renown should perish at death, if a prisoner and an exile, fighting in the camp of Christ, be pleased to honour this town as his place of burial. Why should everything be at once covered over by earth?—both illustrious valour and race?—accomplishments

and honour, in union with piety? The town may have been unmindful; in Olympus he shall not wither; and this stone will cry out, it (the latter) shall receive life by my handiwork. The former, the man named above, died 3d January 1709. [According to usage, this must have been intended for 1710, new style].

V. REV. JAMES PINETON DE CHAMBRUN.

This Divine, a nobleman by birth, signed himself DE CHAMBRUN. The oldest families in France preferred to sign with their ancient surnames, rather than with their territorial titles. I would, however, have had no doubt that in this case the surname was Pineton, were it not that in the codicil of this Monsieur De Chambrun's will, registered at Doctors' Commons, he is styled "Master James De Chambrun, Sieur de Pineton."

His grandfather received ordination at the hands of Calvin, and was Pasteur of Nismes from 1562 to 1601. He published, in 1584, a quarto volume, dedicated to King Henry of Navarre, in reply to Jan Hay, a Jesuit's, calumnies on Calvin and the Reformation. It is said of this Jacques Pineton de Chambrun that, representing an ancient and noble family, he renounced the world that he might receive from Calvin the modest but glorious title of a minister of Christ. In 1609, his son, of the same name and title, and the father of the refugee, was ordained to the new charge of fourth Pastor of Nismes, and continued in that town till 1620, when he was translated to Orange, where he served the Reformed Church till his death in 1658.

The refugee Jacques was born at Orange in 1637. His divinity studies were carried on at Saumur, his connection with which is kept in memory in the volume containing the best academic disputations held in that university, where the thesis "De Libertate Christiana" is debated, *respondente* Jacobo Pineton A Chambruno. At the age of 21, he succeeded his father as Pasteur of Orange. He acquired great reputation as a minister, a professor of theology, a controversialist, and an influential gentleman, but amidst continual turmoil and tribulation until the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes. Louis XIV., although not the sovereign of Orange, never scrupled to invade and occupy the little principality, if it pleased him so to do, and scrupled still less, when his persecuted Protestants sought an asylum there. In 1685, worshippers whose churches had been demolished, parents with children for baptism, and fugitives from oppression crowded the streets and the highways, and even the fields and woods of Orange. At length a representation was sent to the Prince of Orange as to the offence given to the French government by this refuge for contumacious French subjects, and also a warning that a military occupation of the principality of Orange on the part of France as a necessary precaution must be expected. The Prince was powerless to prevent the execution of this threat, and concluded a truce, by which eight days were allowed for the strangers to return to their homes. This truce the French broke, and precipitately surrounded the city, and quartered the dragoons and other soldiery upon it. The churches were demolished. Four Protestant ministers were thrown into prison. As for De Chambrun, he had for some time been confined to bed; to his chronic malady, gout, there had been added the pain arising from a fracture of the left thigh, and from a severe strain upon the sinews of the leg, so that, from want of sleep, he was in a state of pitiable debility and emaciation. He was, therefore, put under arrest, two dragoons keeping guard—one at his bedside, and the other at the street door. On the afternoon of his arrival, the Comte de Tessé paid him a visit, admired his elegant mansion and furniture and fine library, recognized him as one of the noblesse, and blandly exhorted him as to religion to obey the king. He replied that his rulers were God and the Prince of Orange. The Count then entrapped him into a brief disputation with his tolerant neighbour, the Bishop of Orange; but the Protestant divine having the best of it, De Tessé asserted that the King of France had set his heart on making him a Catholic, and gave him a *carte blanche* to ask any favour at his Majesty's hands. De Chambrun replied, that his Majesty

could have no such high thoughts about a poor minister, but that he would so far identify himself with the Protestant ministers of France, as to ask, that like them, he might have a passport to retire into Holland. De Tessé answered that it would be politically dangerous to send him to be a councillor of the Prince of Orange. He then dropped his polite tone, and demanded obedience with threats of violence. Upon De Chambrun protesting that he would not dare to maltreat such an invalid and sufferer, the French Count departed in a rage. In less than two hours, the dragoons were quartered on him, who tormented him day and night, until he became so utterly insensible, that he was believed to be dead. De Tessé, alarmed lest the king should reproach and disgrace him for having gone too far, withdrew the dragoons from his house, and ordered a litter to be prepared to carry him to Pierre-Cise. The next day as he was carried off, crowds lined the streets and the road to the distance of half a league; every one expressed the deepest commiseration; and even De Tessé relented so far that he changed his destination to St Esprit, which was a nearer and less dreadful prison than Pierre-Cise. The Governor of St Esprit was a relation of Madame De Chambrun, and a brother of the Marquis de Montanègues. He lodged his prisoner in a private house where he was attended by the companions of his journey, John Convent, his nephew and two valets, and latterly by his noble wife, who before the expiry of twenty days had been allowed to join him. At the expiry of that time he was removed to Valence; and with regard to his suite it must be recorded, in case the favour thus showed him might be over-rated by readers, that De Chambrun had to pay all the expenses of this involuntary journey. On arriving at their second halting-place, the violent attempts for his conversion were renewed, the Bishop of Valence being very vain, and ambitious of the fame of making such a proselyte. His practised attendants were withdrawn, and dragoons and archers were substituted to attend to his bandages and other surgical appliances. Under the excruciating agony which such cruel hands occasioned he felt as if he was going mad, and half unconsciously he cried out, *Then I will re-unite myself*; (Eh bien! je me reunira). This phrase which was in those times employed to mean, "I will become a Roman Catholic," was at once reported to the Bishop. With intense exultation he visited De Chambrun, to whom his own attendants had been restored. The patient, however, protested that nothing but bodily pain had brought the magic words to his lips, and refused to sign a written recantation. Yet an express was sent to Paris announcing the conversion of Monsieur Pineton De Chambrun, and the Bishop received congratulatory letters from the Archbishop of Paris, Father La Chaise, and the Marquis of Louvois. The Bishop could not stultify himself by contradicting his own official report; he had, therefore, to wink at the pertinacity of De Chambrun, whom he removed to Romeyer, near Die, still retaining him within his own diocese. From February to July 1686 the prisoner remained here, till, some symptoms giving a colour to his declaration that he required a surgical operation, he petitioned that he might be conveyed to Lyons. The Bishop said, Receive the sacrament in the first place. De Chambrun having replied, Your lordship will not be much longer annoyed by me as I shall probably die under the surgeon's knife, the bishop exclaimed, "What will the king say to me, if I do not make my reputed convert perform his duties?—Sir, your own ministers at Die have conformed. Would you be the only Huguenot in France." Such eloquence was thrown away, and the bishop could not inflict any open severities without robbing himself of the fame of a converter. The journey was therefore allowed, and on the 6th August De Chambrun had a consultation with a surgeon at Lyons. He saw that the inn was not a favourable starting-point for his projected flight into Switzerland, he therefore removed to a trusty friend's house, and resorted to the artifice of employing the Archbishop of Lyons' physician. Him and the surgeon he kept at bay till the beginning of September, when all was arranged for his escape. A friend cleverly executed his plans. A carriage was bought; two servants were hired in addition to his own two valets, and the four were put into handsome liveries. He himself was to be attired as an officer of state of the first rank, with a richly trimmed suit, a venetian cravat, and a large wig. The carriage, containing himself and his nephew, with the two valets outside, started from his own door on Sunday evening, the 8th September 1686. They mixed with the other vehicles

and equipages, and crossed the Bridge of the Rhone without being recognised, his friend nodding him a farewell, and thus giving the preconcerted signal that it was "all right." They overtook the other two servants, who were on horseback as his escort, and the cortége travelled rapidly forward. One acted as an outrider, to secure immediate changes of horses, and to represent that "his lordship" travelled on pressing business. Innkeepers and postillions, being liberally paid, promoted despatch. At Beauvoisin, the outrider and the innkeeper had an altercation, and the former (when the carriage came up) was heard to exclaim, "My Lord pays handsomely, horses must be had at any price." Hurrying towards the carriage-door, he apologized to "my lord" for the delay, no horses being there. The traveller pretended great indignation against the innkeeper for hindering the service of the king. He was humbly requested to alight and take a little rest in the house but he roughly refused, alleging that he must proceed without loss of time. In fact, he was tightly strapped to the back of his carriage, that his debility might not be noticed. The villagers were now in groups all around, wondering what great personage he might be. It was early in the morning of Monday. He ordered some refreshment, and partook of it in the carriage. Thereafter he desired the landlord to serve wine to the bystanders, that they might drink the king's health. After two hours' delay, horses were obtained. And now the bridge was to be passed, where a dozen dragoons kept guard, but the rumour of "my lord" had reached them, and it being represented by the outrider that his master was a great officer travelling express, he crossed without interruption, the guard filing on each side and saluting.

He had now passed the French frontier; but there was still a guarded post on the great road across the Alps, and which the Duke of Savoy, then in alliance with France, maintained expressly to hinder the retreat of fugitive Protestants. Here the postilion informed him that the guards (seven in number) had placed themselves in a position to stop the way. He ordered him to dash through them. But a musket was pointed to the horses, and a soldier with a drawn sword came up to the carriage-door. To the question, "Why he dared to stop his carriage?" the soldier replied, that he had orders to let no person proceed without a passport. "How, sir?" cried De Chambrun, "do not I carry it upon my countenance? Is it thus that you retard the king's service? When I arrive at Chambéry I will have you put in prison." The soldier saluted and began a cautious apology, which made De Chambrun redouble his threats. He asked the man, "Who and where is your officer?" "His name," replied the soldier, "is Favier, and he is in yonder enclosure, eating grapes." "He deserves," exclaimed De Chambrun, "to be imprisoned for not being at his post. Let him be called, that I may speak to him." He was accordingly summoned, and perhaps informed of the lordly envoy's menace. He contented himself with calling to the guard, "Let my lord pass."

The cavalcade started with renewed speed and reached Chambéry. After waiting to effect a trifling repair on the carriage, they went on safely, and the mountainous part of the journey was accomplished, not without agitating fears on the part of the fugitive that he might yet be overtaken by a government express. Having gained the bridge of the Arve, his heart was relieved, and at six o'clock on Tuesday morning, he drove through one of the gates of Geneva, singing a psalm of love and praise to Zion's God.

As his horses made their final halt in the inn-yard, the carriage broke down. His arrival was soon known; crowds of hospitable people congratulated him, among whom were the great Francis Turretin and the other pastors of Geneva. He met them with joy, but with deep humiliation and many tears, for his verbal recantation pressed heavily on his conscience. For this reason he gave to the book which he published concerning the Bourbon Persecution the title of "Les Larmes de Jacques Pineton de Chambrun," alluding to the bitter tears of the Apostle Peter, whose case he took as the text of a sermon on the same protestant and personal history. The sermon was published with the title, "Le Retablissement de Saint Pierre en son Apostolat."

In Geneva De Chambrun insisted on confessing publicly his alleged abjuration, and on

receiving a consistorial rebuke before partaking of the Lord's Supper; he was also formally restored to the office of the ministry by an assembly of French refugee ministers, solely on account of his own request, the Presbyters assuring him that he had never forfeited either his orders or his membership in the Church.

I have reserved for a continuous paragraph some memoirs of Madame de Chambrun, who is also upon our list of refugees. This lady was Louise, daughter of Monsieur De Chavanon of Orange; she had the additional surname or title of Perrot or De Perote. When the dragoons were molesting and torturing her husband, she continued in charge of his house, in spite of foul language constantly addressed to her, to watch opportunities for succouring him; but on his enforced farewell to Orange, she by his advice fled to her father's house, where she hid herself. She was dragged from her hiding-place, and ordered to wait upon the dragoons in De Chambrun's house. A friendly monk sent a messenger, who told De Tessé that she had done her duty. This was true morally and in words, but it was an imposition upon De Tessé, who interpreted it to mean that she had become a Catholic, the phrase, *Elle a fait son devoir*, having this meaning in the laws of France as to religion. This enabled her to go to her husband at St Esprit, the dragoons being withdrawn, and herself set at liberty. She was with him until his memorable start of Lyons, when she immediately stole away into another house which he had taken for her. While a scheme was being arranged for smuggling her into Switzerland, the fact of her being in Lyons was reported, and an inquisitorial search was made for her, which she eluded by hiding among a pile of firewood. De Chambrun hired and paid some guides, with whom she and three other ladies left Lyons one night; but after a two hours' walk the guides deserted them. Pursued by the military, and haunted by informers, they during nine successive wintry nights continued their walk through mountain-paths, ice, and snow, and found themselves at the gate of Geneva on the 31st December 1686, the ladies ascribing the happy result to the fortitude of Madame De Chambrun, as the sole leader and heroine of the march.

In reply to his letter, reporting himself safe in Geneva, De Chambrun received a passport and a seasonable remittance of money from the Prince of Orange, and the refugee couple arrived at the Hague on the 28th March 1687. He was made the Prince's domestic chaplain; and after the Revolution in England, on the invitation of their Majesties, they settled in their kingdom in 1689. He was at once made a Canon of Windsor, Queen Mary graciously saying as to the appointment, "It is only till a better preferment shall offer." This year, and we need not wonder at it, proved to be his last. He died about six months after his arrival, and at the age of 52.

The following is the substance of a codicil registered at London:—Master James De Chambrun, Sieur de Pineton, His Majesty's Minister of the Holy Gospel, making his codicil, being sick in bed, desired that his last will made at Orange may have its effect, except that the legacies therein named shall not be paid by his dear wife and heiress Madame Perrot et De Chavanon, but after her decease—reduceth Mr John Convenent's legacy to 1000 livres—desires that his wife, by reason that the goods and effects he hath in this country are very inconsiderable, shall take them and dispose thereof at her will. This is his will, as he hath declared it with a loud voice to us his friends, witnesses thereunto required and subscribed, desiring that this his will may not be contested for want of solemnity, and hath signed at London 30th July 1689.

DE CHAMBRUN.

Guiran,

Councillor in the Parliament of Orange.

Lubières.

Proved 8th Feb. 1690 by Louise de Chambrun, *alias* de Perote, *alias* de Chavanon, relict, and legatee of the codicil.

VI. REV. CLAUDE GROTESTE DE LA MOTHE, D.C.L.

This gentleman was of a noble house, being a son of the Sieur De La Buffière. The surname of the family was Groteste. Claude Groteste was born at Orleans in 1647. He studied law in his native city, and took the degree of Doctor of Civil Law in 1664. In 1665 he commenced practice in Paris as an advocate. But he changed law for divinity, and we find him admitted to the pastoral care of Liszy in 1675. According to custom, he assumed one of his father's titles, and was styled Le Sieur De La Mothe. He was translated to the church of Rouen in 1682, and entered upon his charge there; but Liszy continued vacant; and "having compassion on sheep without a shepherd," he returned to his original congregation, sacrificing all personal advantage for their sake.

The importance of his family in general estimation was proved by the loud exultations of the Jesuits on gaining over to the Romish Church his brother Marin Groteste, Sieur Des Mahis. This perversion was announced in 1683. The Jesuits spoke of him as a most important convert, a man of high consideration on account of his birth, piety, and erudition.

Readers may, however, form their own opinion of De La Mothe's family and connections by reading a list of the company who were present at the drawing up of his marriage contract, an old parchment which is still preserved,* and from which I copy the names.

Wednesday afternoon, 23d June 1679.

Claude Groteste, Sieur De La Mothe, Ministre de la Religion Pretenduë Reformé de Lizzy, son of Jacques Groteste and Anne Groteste, his wife, residing at Paris, in the Rue Vinier, parish of St. Eustache.

Mr. Jean Berthe, banker and burgess of Paris, and Suzanne Marchant, his wife, who is authorised by her husband to give effect to these, residing at Paris, Rue des Deux Boules, parish of Saint-Germain, Lauxerois, and contracting for

Miss Marie Berthe, their daughter.

There were present on the part of the said Claude Groteste:—The said Jacques Groteste and Anne Groteste, his wife, *father and mother*. Jacques Groteste, Sieur De la Buffière, gentleman in ordinary of my Lord the Prince; Marin Groteste, Sieur Des Mahis; Abraham Groteste, advocate in the Parliament, *brothers*. Mr. Jean Robeton, advocate in the Parliament, and Anne Groteste, his wife, *sister*. Paul Groteste, Sieur Du Buisson, Lieutenant of the Chasseurs of my Lord the Duke of Orleans, *uncle*. Louise Groteste, widow of the Sieur Naudin, physician, *aunt*. Mr. Daniel Chardon, advocate in the Parliament, for Marie Caillard, his wife; Louise Naudin, wife of Le Sieur Guide, doctor of medicine; Miss Anne Caillard; Mr. ——— Rochebonot, Sieur De Launay, advocate in the Parliament, and Philottée Naudin, his wife; Dame Catherine Le Monon, wife of Monsieur De Monginot, Sieur De la Salle; Cezard Caze, escuyer, *cousins*. Charles Aubeson, Sieur De la Durferie, a friend of the said Sieur De la Mothe.

There were present on the part of the said Miss Marie Berthe:—Jean Auguste Berthe; Jacques Conrart, escuyer, advocate in the Parliament, and Suzanne Berthe, his wife; Anne and Elizabeth Berthe, *brothers and sisters*. Samuel Bedé, escuyer, Sieur De Loisillière; Benjamin Bedé, escuyer, Sieur De Longcourt; Mr. Phillippes Auguste Perraux, procurator in the Parliament; Dame Olimpe Bedé, widow of ——— Hardy, escuyer; Seigneur De la Fosse, *cousins*. Jacques Conrart, escuyer, councillor, secretary of the King, and Dame Susan Regnard, his wife; ——— Conrart, escuyer, Sieur De Roupambert, friends of both families.

Time would fail me to decipher the contents of the contract, but Monsieur and Madame

* Aufrere MSS.

De la Mothe, having become refugees in London on the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes, executed a deed which gives a summary of the settlement. The deed is entitled an "Indenture between Claude Groteste De la Mothe and Mary, his wife, of the one part, and Philip Guide of London, doctor of physic, of the other part," February 1704 (N.S). It represents that, by marriage contract, Madame's fortune was 36,000 livres, whereof 10,000 were common to husband and wife, 2208 to be invested, and the balance to be her separate estate. But the said Claude and Mary having left the kingdom of France and settled in England, it might be questioned whether she can dispose of her estate by will, as the law of France would permit, and as her husband means and intends. Therefore he, in consideration of love and affection, &c., and of the sum of five shillings of lawful money of England to him in hand paid by the said Philip Guide, declares that she shall have the power to dispose of her estate by will. The signatures are, C. G. Lamothe, Marie De la Mothe, Philipp : Guide.

Some property which Monsieur De la Mothe had acquired in France, was confiscated and given to his father. He became a minister of the French Church in Swallow Street ; he officiated at a baptism, King William being a sponsor, of which I have taken notice in the life of the Duke of Schomberg and Leinster. In 1694 he was transferred to the Savoy Church. In 1712 he received the honour of being enrolled as a Member of the Royal Society of Berlin.

His works were numerous and in high reputation, such as—(1) A Treatise on the Inspiration of the New Testament ; (2) On the Fraternal Correspondence of the Church of England with other Reformed Churches ; and (3), Charitas Anglicana. The title-page of the first of these is, "The Inspiration of the New Testament asserted and explained, in answer to some Modern Writers. By C. G. LAMOTHE, Divine. London, Printed by Tho. Bennet, at the Half-Moon, in St. Paul's Church-Yard. 1694," It is full as to topics, but brief and condensed in style, extending to 178 duodecimo pages only. In the Preface he admits that, partly as a controversialist, he approaches his great subject, a book published in Holland by M. N. having attacked the doctrine of Inspiration, and having been already replied to by "Monsieur Witsius of Holland and Mr. Lowth, a divine of Oxford, Father Simon, and Father Le Vassour." His apology for entering the field, notwithstanding the publication of such replies, was that his predecessors' "only design" was "to trace their adversary step by step," and that a didactic statement of the doctrine was a desideratum, without constant grappling with an adversary. De la Mothe published a book entitled "Pratique de l'Humilité" [The Practice of Humility], in 1710 ; it contained 331 pages.

In private life he was a judicious and useful friend. His early education had led him to acquire good business habits ; and he was quite capable of mastering the English laws and customs as to property. The refugees frequently consulted him and thoroughly trusted him. His letter to his nephew, Jean Robethon, has already been given to my readers.

In 1713, he interested himself in the release of the martyrs from the French galleys, and conducted a correspondence that summer to collect subscriptions for their wants. He received the following letter from the Earl of Galway :—

"Straton, 13th July [1713].—Sir,—I am infinitely obliged to you for the trouble you have taken to keep me acquainted with what passes in relation to our Confessors by your letter of the 19th June. I have taken care to send it to Mademoiselle Caillard, as you desired. Since that time I have seen a copy of one which was written from Marseilles on the 17th June, by which I see that, apparently to increase the difficulties of their journey, a party of our poor brethren have been made to set out by sea, also that they hope that the rest will be set at liberty. I see by the same letter, that they believe that these poor Confessors will have great need of succour on arriving at Geneva ; this I never doubted. If you will take charge of remitting to them, I pray you give me timely notice, and say what is needed, and I will order that what you ask shall be given to the extent of a hundred pounds sterling. But it is well that I should be advised as early as possible, that I may have the money ready. We expect Lady Colladon here every day. I will speak to her on this subject, but I shall absolutely depend on what you have the goodness to write to me. I beg you to be persuaded, Sir, that I am always with much esteem and sincerity, your very humble servant,

GALLWAY."

This was the last of good De la Mothe's cares, as he died on the 30th September following, aged 66.* He bequeathed £1200 to Robethon, subject to Madame De la Mothe's liferent. That lady survived her nephew as well as her husband. The following is the learned Divine's entire will, "translated from the French":—In the name of God, I underwritten, Claudius Groteste De la Mothe, living at London, in the parish of St. Martin-in-the-Fields, in the county of Westminster, being, thanks be to God, of a free and disposing mind, I thought I ought to revoke all the wills which I may have heretofore made, and make this.

Imprimis, I commit my soul to God, in whose mercy I put my confidence through the merits of Jesus Christ, my Saviour, blessing Him for having granted me His knowledge, and for having done me the honour to call me to instruct others, which I have done with a great deal of weakness, but with great sincerity.

Then, to dispose of the goods which God hath given me out of France, I give £100 sterling to the poor of the French Church of the Savoy of which I am one of the ministers. More,—to the poor of the Charity House near Soho, £20. More,—to the poor of the parish where I shall die, £10. More,—to the Society for propagating the Gospel, £15, and the like sum to the Society which meets at Mr Shute's, minister, in Bartlet's Buildings. More,—to Mrs Anne Caillard, to Mrs Louisa Guide, my two cousins-german, to Mr Dubuisson my cousin, and to Mdlle. Naudin, daughter of Mr Naudin, my cousin, living in Holland, to each a ring of the value of £25, which I beg them to accept of as a proof of the esteem which I have for them.

I give and bequeath to my dear spouse the overplus of the effects which I have out of France, to enjoy the same during her life, intending that after her decease there be taken out of the said effects the sum of £100, which I give to Mr Claudius Guide, my godson, as also the sum of £500, which I give to my nephew Claudius Groteste, son of Mr De la Buffierre my elder brother, and the heirs of the said legatary, which said sum shall only be paid, as is said, after the decease of my wife. And as my family has advanced to me several sums for which I ought to be accountable to it, I thought it justice to cause part of my effects to return to them to make them amends, hoping that my dear spouse, in case of need, would confirm this present legacy, the equity of which she hath acknowledged, that is to say, that after her decease I give to Mr James Groteste sieur de la Buffierre, my eldest brother, and to his heirs £1200, the like sum to Mr Groteste, advocate of the Parliament, my younger brother, the like sum to Mr John Robethon, Privy Councillor of Embassies of his Electoral Highness of Brunswick, the said sieur representing Mr Robethon, his father. In case Mr Robethon, my nephew, should not be living at the time of the decease of my dear wife; I intend that the sum of £1200, which I have bequeathed to him do pass to the heirs of his blood. I give to my dear wife full power to dispose in property of the surplus of my said effects which shall be found, my aforesaid legacies being paid. And I name her Executrix of this Will, and in default of her Mr John Robethon my nephew.

Done at Chelsea, the third of September 1713. Signed and sealed by me in the presence of the underwritten witnesses for that purpose required.

C. G. LAMOTHE.

John Bardin. Franc Duneau. Cosmo Duneau.

Proved by Mary Groteste de la Mothe, relect and executrix, London, 6th October 1713.

VII. REV. JOHN GRAVEROL.

This family is famous for two noted Protestant members, one a lawyer, the other, a pasteur, both being sons of Pierre Graverol, of Nismes and his wife Catherine Reynaud. The lawyer, Francois Graverol was born in 1636. Besides being a well-qualified advocate, he was a poet

* Therefore he died during the reign of Queen Anne, and had no share in the discussions which took place in the following reign. Another pastor, Rev. Gedeon Delamotte (the surnames have the same sound in pronunciation), then officiated in the West Street French Chapel, St. Giles's and [?] was the author of "The Usefulness and Necessity of Confessions of Faith."

and antiquary of good reputation. He was a strong Protestant, but strove in vain to escape from France. He was seized, condemned, and banished to Carcassonne for six months. Being allowed to return to his native town, he shut himself up in his study, and spent the remainder of his life in bookish retirement. He died at Nismes in 1694.

The Pasteur Jean Graverol was born on the 28th July 1647. He studied theology at Geneva. He began his ministerial career at Pradel in Vivarais in 1671, but the next year was translated to Lyons. He married on the 27th September 1676, Catherine Philibert, daughter of Alexandre Philibert and Anne Fermont. At the period of the Revocation he and his wife took refuge at Amsterdam, but soon removed to London, and became English subjects.

The Rev. John Graverol (as we must now call him), was pastor of the London French Churches of Swallow Street and the Quarry. He was a voluminous author, writing with a characteristic vehemence arising from strong conscientious convictions, and heaven-born affection for good men, and especially for God's slaughtered saints. His first publication, "*De religionum conciliatoribus*," appeared under the anagrammatic pseudonym of Joannes Rolegravius, and denounced those who professedly desired to amalgamate discordant creeds.

Passing over many solid works, we note his sermon preached at Amsterdam in 1686, on Psalm lxxix. 2, "The dead bodies of thy servants have they given to be meat unto the fowls of the heaven, the flesh of thy saints unto the beasts of the earth." Of this sermon he said himself, "I was so powerfully touched by the shameful manner in which the faithful, glorifying God before dying, were treated in France, that I could not help preaching with emotion and with fire on the second verse of Psalm 79. The Papists made a great noise about it. Their remonstrances, equally violent and unjust, obliged me to publish it without changing a syllable. The preface, which accompanied it, made them repent of their clamour."

The Protestants of France had been promised, in the king's Edict of 1685, toleration both of their private worship and of their inward convictions. Instead of this, the priests and magistrates had insisted on their recantation of their faith, and on their profession of Romanism. There was good reason to believe that it was represented to the king that their compliance was a spontaneous deed, and that the non-complying were only a very few. They were styled in public documents *new converts* or *new catholics*—while their brethren at a distance called them apostates and *Protestants Tombés*. Graverol used the milder designation of *Nicodémistes*, as we gather from the title of another of his works first printed at Amsterdam in 1687 (reprinted, 1700):—"Instructions pour les Nicodémistes, ou après avoir convaincu ceux qui sont tombés de la grandeur de leur crime, on fait voir qu' aucune violence ne peut dispenser les hommes de l' obligation de professer la vérité."

He printed a "Dialogue on a Union of Protestants in Great Britain," as to which also we can quote his own remark: "Persons of moderation testified their favourable opinion of this dialogue; but such persons are not in the majority." In a treatise entitled "Moses Vindicated," he proved that the Mosaic account of the creation is strictly a history, and not an allegory; (Amst. 1694). Mr Graverol was one of the prominent ministers of the French churches of London in their communications with British statesmen. In his later years he had to defend the propriety and utility of catechisms and confessions of faith, his opponents being one or two recent converts from Popery whose temptation was to deify mere liberty and to suspect the presence of enslaving intentions in the minds of all composers of creeds or articles of faith. His last Pamphlet was entitled, "A Defence of the Reformed Religion, of its Synods and Pastors, &c." The co-adjutor of Laval, in the preparation of the voluminous History of the Reformed Church of France, was another *Pastor John Graverol*, the son (we presume) of this aged refugee. Our John Graverol died in London in 1718, aged 71.

He had published, in 1703, a historical and topographical manual on the town of Nismes, for the sake of the refugees from his native place. Written probably from memory, this "*Histoire de la ville de Nimes*," is pronounced by Haag to be a failure; but the prefatory epistle to "*Messieurs les Réfugiés de Nimes qui sont établis dans Londres*," is certainly valuable, as we

may judge from its conclusion:—"We who are in a country so remote from our own, only for the word of God and the testimony of Jesus Christ,—let us study to render our confession and our faith glorious by discreet and modest conduct, by an exemplary life, and by entire devotedness to the service of God. Let us always remember that we are the children and the fathers of martyrs. Let us never forget this glory. Let us strive to transmit it to our posterity."

VIII. THE MESSRS MESNARD, FATHER AND SON.

The senior Mesnard (*alias* Mesnart) was, with some of his family, a refugee first in Holland, and then in England. The name is pronounced like the English surname Maynard, and is (according to modern orthography) spelt Ménard. He was one of the pastors of Charenton at the date of the Edict of Revocation, and received a passport for Holland. There he was at once patronised by the Prince of Orange, and accompanied him to England. His Majesty made him a Canon of Windsor on the 11th June 1689; he is styled S. T. P., *i.e.*, Professor of Theology. Anthony Wood informs us:—"1689, June 15. John Mesnard was created Doctor of Divinity, by virtue of the Chancellor's letters, which say, 'that he had been sixteen years minister of the Reformed Church of Paris at Charenton, and afterwards chaplain to his Majesty when he was Prince of Orange, for some years; in which quality he came with him into England; that he has his Majesty's warrant to succeed Dr. Isaac Vossius in his Prebendary of Windsor,' &c. The first names of naturalised subjects from abroad, in the first year of William and Mary, are John Mesnard, clerk, Louisa, *his wife*, Mary, Susan, and Peter, *their children*, 31st January (List XVII.) Dr. Mesnard died on the 26th August 1727, aged eighty-four.

His son, Philippe Ménard, was styled Le Sieur d'Air. He was pasteur of Saintes, and his church, like that of Charenton, was levelled to the ground, he himself being fined 10,000 livres. He took refuge in Denmark; Queen Charlotte Amelia made him her chaplain and pastor of the French Church in Copenhagen, on the 1st December 1685, where he remained till the year 1700. There was a chapel within the precincts of St. James's Palace in Westminster, which had been lent both to the Dutch and to the French Protestants for public worship. It was originally a Roman Catholic chapel, having been erected in connection with a convent by Catherine of Braganza. Misson tells a story about it, combining pleasantness and pleasantry. During the uncontrollable tumults on King James's abdication, the Queen Dowager's chapel was plundered. A French officer found and appropriated a curious little box of relics. The Queen Dowager implored him to restore the prize. "Your Majesty cannot have it for nothing," said the officer; "my brother is a martyr chained in one of the galleys of France, and his religion is his only crime. Do you petition the King of France for his release; restore me my brother, and I will restore your box." She petitioned and secured the brother, and her relics were returned. "If this anecdote be true," says Misson, "these relics may really be said to have wrought a miracle." In 1700, the chapel became the French Chapel Royal of St. James's, and Philippe Ménard was brought over to be its minister. There was no consistory, but Protestant ordinances were administered in it, in the French language, by one or more ministers. In 1727, Mr. Aufrère was associated with Mr. Ménard. The old Dr. Ménard seems to have preferred, in his later years, to put his son forward in public business. It was Philip Ménard who was so influential among the Directors of the French Hospital, and who preached the opening sermon in 1718. He died in the year 1737.

IX. REV. PETER MUSSARD.

Jean Mussard, goldsmith, took refuge in Geneva, flying out of France at or before 1579. By Anne Le Grand, his wife, whom he had married in 1574, he had five sons. The second, named Jean Mussard, married Clermonde Crespe in 1609, and had two daughters and three sons, of which sons both the eldest and the youngest bore the name of Pierre; the latter, who

was born in 1627, was styled *le cadet* (the younger). This was the learned, eloquent, and orthodox Pasteur Pierre Mussard.

Having settled in France as a pasteur, and being of a French family, he is entitled to a place among the Huguenot refugees. The city of Lyons was his home as a French minister; there he was ordained and inducted in 1655. He sat as a representative member in the National Synod of Loudun in 1659-60.

Mussard's learning and talents secured for him a host of admirers, including his dignified neighbour, the Archbishop of Lyons (Cardinal De Villeroi). In 1667 he published anonymously (at Leyden) his famous book, "*Les Conformités des cérémonies modernes avec les anciennes, ou il est prouvé que les cérémonies de L'Eglise Romaine sont empruntées des Paiens.*" It was professedly a sequel to a treatise by another author, published in France some years before, entitled:—"Traité des Anciennes Cérémonies: ou Histoire, contenant leur naissance et accroissement, leur entrée en l'Eglise, et par quels degrez elles ont passé jusques à la Superstition," dedicated to Charles II., King of Great Britain, by Jonas Porre. In 1669 Mussard was President of the Provincial Synod of Burgundy, which met at Is-sur-Thil; its minutes have been preserved, and form an important document in Church History.

Soon afterwards, through a trick of the Jesuits, Mussard had to leave Lyons, and removed to Geneva, having received an invitation from the municipal council of that city. The company of pasteurs, not having been consulted, did not give him the right hand of fellowship. They pressed him to sign their formula, but he preferred to resign his charge in Geneva. It seems that, in 1675, he was enrolled as a pasteur of the French Church of the City of London. He may have officiated there at that time. However, he did not finally pitch his tent in our metropolis till 1678. In 1673 and 1674 he had published two volumes of sermons, and in 1675 a Latin treatise entitled "*Historia deorum fatidicorum cum eorum iconibus, et Dissertatio de divinatione et oraculis.*" Another tractate is also mentioned, "*Jugement de Messieurs de la Propagation de la Foi sur le traité du Purgatoire de Mr. A. Robie.*"

The children of Monsieur Mussard, by his first wife, Clermonde Sermand, were Françoise (Madame Du Teil), a son, Jacques, and another son, Antoine, who, by his wife, Jacqueline Mollet, had a daughter Anne, and a son Louis Benigne Mussard—this grandson had two descendants, Michael-Charles and Theophile.

Returning from great-grandsons to the old pasteur, we chronicle his second marriage to Marguerite Chouet, probably a near relative to Chouet, the librarian of Geneva, at whose request Mussard's Latin treatise was composed. The offspring of this marriage were Anne and Theophilus Mussard; the latter died without issue in 1747. The exact date of the death of the pasteur himself is not known, but it was before 1692, the year of the publication of Quick's Synodicon, for the last page of that work records his death in the service of the French Church of London. All the readable facts in his biography are due to the reverend puritan, John Quick, who says, in the above-quoted page, "He told me" the trick of the Jesuits by which he was outed from the Reformed Church at Lyons. "His modesty made him not put his name to his works, but he himself told me he was the author of them." *Les Conformités* doth speak English, for I have seen the translation in a bookseller's shop." Haag, a copious and invaluable authority (as usual), says that Mussard died before 1686. Two translators, one in 1732, the other about 1745, were of opinion that *Les Conformités* had not been translated into English before. The dedication of the translation published in 1732 is signed James Du Pré, and the title is, "*Roma Antiqua et Recens, or the Conformity of Ancient and Modern Ceremonies, showing from indisputable testimonies that the Ceremonies of the Church of Rome are borrowed from the Pagans.*"

X. REV. HENRI DE ROCHEBLAVE.

De Rocheblave was born in France on the 6th December 1655. At the date of the Revocation he was a student of theology at Schaffhouse, and there he was admitted to the ministry

at the age of twenty-one. France being closed against him, he took refuge in England, and arrived at Greenwich, where the Marchioness of Ruvigny made him her domestic chaplain. In 1692 he was one of the ministers of the French Church of Le Quarré, Little Dean Street, Westminster. He thereafter went to Ireland, having received a parochial benefice. This he resigned in a few years, and in 1703 we find his name on the list of ministers of the French Church of Peter Street, Dublin. The Christian name of his wife was Isabeau, and she had the melancholy duty of superintending the publication of a posthumous volume of his sermons, which she dedicated to the Earl of Galway in 1710. He had died, after a brief illness, in the prime of life, at Dublin on the 14th September 1709 (3d Sept., *old style*). His sermon on the last Sabbath of his ministry, was on Acts xx. 32, being the Apostle Paul's adieux to the elders of Ephesus; he had not time to finish the sermon, and announced that he would finish it on the following Thursday. This was a displacement of his weekly lecture on the Catechism. Some of his congregation suspected that he meditated a translation to another church, which being reported to him, he was much amused. On the Thursday he kept his promise, being apparently in perfect health; he preached with great energy, and this strengthened the conjecture that he was giving a hint of his having accepted another ministerial appointment. The next day he was seized with what proved to be his last illness, but it seemed to be very slight; he, however, from the first, said calmly and decidedly, "I am ready to go wherever Providence leads me. I have not preached the truth, as it is in Jesus, so long, without making a personal application of it. Whatever be the way God may be pleased to dispose of me, I have no other will but His."

Chapter XIII.

THE LA ROCHEFOUCAULDS AND THE CHAMPAGNÉS.

I. FREDERIC CHARLES DE ROYE DE LA ROCHEFOUCAULD, COMTE DE ROYE.

The Comte de Roye was a great grandson of Francis, the third Comte de La Rochefoucauld, who was killed at the St Bartholomew Massacre in Paris in 1572. This comparatively youthful victim of Popish ferocity was in company with Charles IX. late in the evening that ushered in the dreadful night. The king, desirous to save his life, invited him to stay all night in the palace, but the Count replied that his wife expected him at home, and bade his Majesty adieu. When amid thick darkness the murderers burst into his chamber, the unsuspecting youth thought that they were a band of humorists whose errand was some practical joke, and that the king was their ringleader. The martyred count left a son by his first wife, who became the head of the family. But he was married to a second wife, Charlotte, the sister of Eleonore de Roye, Princess of Condé, and the youngest daughter of Charles, Seigneur De Roye and Comte De Roucy. The offspring of this marriage was Charles, Comte De Roucy, who died in Paris in 1605.

His son was Francois, Comte De Roucy, who married in 1627 Julienne Catherine de la Tour, youngest daughter of Henri, Duc de Bouillon, Prince of Sedan and Marshal of France, by Isobel of Nassau and Orange. And their son Frederic Charles was the Huguenot refugee.

The refugee Comte De Roye was born in 1633. He married, 3d June 1656, his cousin, Elisabeth de Durfort, youngest daughter of Guy Aldonce de Durfort, Marquis de Duras by Elisabeth de la Tour de Bouillon. The Count served in the French army with distinction, and was a Lieutenant-General in the year 1676. His Protestantism arrested his further pro-

motion, but he obtained the king's permission to accept an invitation of his Majesty of Denmark in 1683. His family, however, were required to remain in France. He received the chief command of the Danish army with the rank of Grand Marshal, and he was made a Knight of the Order of the Elephant. A letter from him to Pastor Du Bosc is preserved, from Copenhagen, 10th July 1685:—

“Sir,—I have received the letter which you have been so good as to write to me. I am very much concerned that an apprehension as to the very cold climate of this country hinders you from resolving to come to pass your life near a great Queen, according to her intense and expressed desire. Having shewn your letter to the Queen, I am commanded to write to you, and to state that the cold is not so great as people say, and that her hope was, that if you would make up your mind to come, you would have no cause to repent your resolution. That I would experience the deepest joy, you, sir, are well assured; and I can further assure you that so great is your reputation in this country, that the leading members of court, who are all Lutherans, are as anxious to see you as are those of our religion. Accordingly Her Majesty has been pleased to conclude upon nothing until you have sent me another reply, which I vehemently hope will be such as I desire. Be assured, sir, that here you would have accommodations and attentions, such as you would hardly find elsewhere. I can guarantee what I say. Therefore make your reflections upon it, and on quitting your country, come to a kingdom where you are so much desired, and particularly by myself, who am entirely yours, DE ROYE.”

On the Revocation, the Countess de Roye was allowed to join her husband in Denmark, on condition of her leaving some of the children in France. The Count and Countess went to Hamburg in 1686, and the same year she removed to England; he came over in 1687, and spent the remainder of his life with us. She was a sister of General, the Earl of Feversham, and aunt of the Marquis de Miremont. The connection of these relations with the Court of King James perplexed the De Royes; and requiring the royal hospitality, they stood by the King as long as possible, although the refugees generally were not pleased with them on that account. Comte De Roye, however, refused to command King James's army.

As soon as she arrived, the Comtesse was made a Lady-in-Waiting to the Queen; but her title not being British, the question arose whether the queen might kiss her as a female member of our nobility. Henry Savile wrote from Whitehall, April 1686, “The Countess de Roye is come, but it is decided against her that the Queen shall not salute her, which you may suppose is no great affliction to the Lady above-mentioned.” This interesting question could not rest, as we find from the Ellis correspondence; a letter, dated London 23d July 1687, reports, “The reason why the Comte de Roye is made an Irish Baron was, that his lady might, with the less difficulty, it is supposed, wait on the Queen's Majesty, and have the honour to be *saluted* by her, which otherwise she could not have pretended to.” Although no patent of nobility was ever given to Comte de Roye under the Great Seal of Ireland, yet there is evidence for the fact that he received the King's Letter to be the Earl of Lifford, and that he bore that title for life as a courtesy title, as was usual in similar cases when some obstacle prevented the Royal Grant from passing under the Great Seal.

“On the 20th October 1688,” says Oldmixon, “a Proclamation was published giving directions *to watch the coast, and on the appearance of the enemy to drive all horses, oxen and cattle for draught, twenty miles from their place of landing*, which is said to have been done by advice of the Count De Roye, whose conduct at the Revolution has been much condemned.” “The King's journey to Salisbury was hastened by the advice of the Count De Roye, whose officiousness in this business gave great occasion of scandal to the French Protestants. “The King sent the letter for the Earl of Feversham about disbanding the army to the Countess De Roye, the Earl's sister to be conveyed to him, and it was the last order he gave.”

The Count's health declined and he went to Bath “to drink the waters” in the spring of 1690. There he died on the 9th June of that year, aged 57. Du Bosc's biographer speaks of the pasteur as deeply affected at the news of the death of Monsieur le Comte de Roye.

“He was satisfied as to his piety as well as to that of his countess and daughters; and he long regretted that good nobleman, whom he esteemed even more for his probity and candour, than for all the other qualities which caused him to be regarded as one of the worthy captains of the age.”

He was buried in the Cathedral of Bath, and Misson* copied the epitaph on his tombstone before 1698:—

Fredericus de Roye de la Rochefoucault,
Comes de Roye, de Rouci, et Lifford,
Nobilis Ordinis Elephantini Eques,

Natalibus, Opibus, Gloriâ Militari, et (quod majus est) Fide erga Religionem inclytus,
Decessit die 9 Junii 1690, Ætatis 57.

A letter from Johnstone to Leibnitz, dated Berlin June 17-27, 1690, “begins (says Kemble, p. 57), with a discourse which passed between the Elector and Mr Johnstone concerning the Count De Roy, who died at *the Bath*, and so there can be no use of it now.”

His widow survived for about a quarter of a century; she died in London on the 14th January 1715, aged 82. His refugee daughters were his 8th and 9th children, Charlotte and Henrietta. The former was in March 1724 made governess to Prince William [afterwards Duke of Cumberland], and to his sister, Princess Mary. Henrietta became the second wife of the Earl of Strafford. The first Earl who was executed on Tower Hill, left a son, William Wentworth (born 8th June 1626), who lived in obscurity until the restoration of Charles II. He was made a Privy Councillor, and Knight of the Garter, by King Charles, and restored to all his father's honours; his first wife, Henrietta Maria, daughter of Edward, Earl of Derby, and widow of Richard, Lord Molyneux, died childless, 27th Dec. 1685. He married, secondly, Henrietta de Roye de la Rochefoucauld, and left her a widow in 1695, and childless also.

The refugee descendants of the Comte De Roye lived to a great age. The first death was on the 11th November 1732, when Henrietta, Countess-Dowager of Strafford died. They seem to have had a predilection for the ancestral title of De Roucy—which, however, the scribes at Doctors' Commons mis-spelt making it De Roussy, as may be seen in the letters of administration granted to the Countess's brother and sister, who exhibited an inventory of her property in May 1733. The *Gentleman's Magazine* records under 8th January 1743, the death of “Lady Charlotta De Rucy of a noble family in France, near 90; she came over in King William's reign on account of her religion.” On the 24th of that month, her brother was granted letters of administration of “the goods, chattels, and credits of the Right Honorable Lady Charlotte De Roussy De Roy and De la Rochefoucauld.” Of this brother I have next to speak.

II. FREDERICK WILLIAM, COMTE DE MARTON, EARL OF LIFFORD.

Frederick William De Roye De la Rochefoucauld was the fourth son of the refugee Comte De Roye, and was born in 1666. He was originally styled the Comte De Champagne-Mouton, but exchanged that title for that of Comte De *Marthon*, pronounced and afterwards spelt “Marton.” He was a military officer, and served in Denmark under his father. In England he was naturalised, along with his sisters, by letters patent, dated 20th Sept. 1694. It was, however, in 1687 that he came over, and King James gave him a commission as Guidon in the Horse Guards. He was appointed colonel of a refugee infantry regiment (late *Cambon's*) on the 10th August 1693, and continued in the command until the general disbanding of the French regiments after the Peace of Ryswick. Luttrell notes, under date 19th July 1698, “Count Marton, son of the late Count De Roy, and colonel of a regiment of French refugees, will be made Earl of Lifford in Ireland.” Beatson informs us that a king's letter was granted to create him Earl of Lifford, but no patent followed; the Earldom, however, was conceded to him as a courtesy title. According to Beatson, he rose to the rank of

* Misson's Observations, Article *Beth*.

Major-General. The title somewhat perplexed the printers of news, who, knowing that a Huguenot regiment must have a French colonel, made conjectures as to the name of Lifford, and styled his regiment sometimes *Lesford's*, sometimes *Le Fort's*; I find it once mentioned as *Martoon's*. He retired in 1699 on a pension of £500 a-year.

On the declaration of war in the reign of Queen Anne, Lord Galway wrote to Marlborough, recommending Lifford and Montandre for employment. The Duke acknowledged that they were excellent officers. Lord Lifford was named to command a regiment in a brigade of refugees to form part of a force under the Earl of Rivers, who was to make a descent upon France. But when he found that the brigade was to be commanded by the Marquis De Guiscard, late Abbot of Bourlie, Lifford declined to serve under that political adventurer, who was a Papist and a profligate. Guiscard's patron and associate, St. John (afterwards Viscount Bolingbroke), had his well-known murderous fracas with that Marquis some years later, and he might then read, with feelings of deference for Lifford, the following sentence in an old letter from Marlborough "to Mr. St. John," dated "Camp at Rousselaer, 1st July 1706,"—"I think her Majesty has shown a very just resentment of the Lord Lifford's and Comte Paulin's behaviour, and am glad you find on the contrary so much zeal and modesty in the Marquis De Guiscard."

In the "Annals of Queen Anne," we are informed that a deputation, headed by the Earl of Lifford and Messrs Le Coq and St. Leger, introduced by the Earl of Sunderland, 7th April 1707, presented an address to her Majesty, agreed upon at a meeting of which Pastor De la Rivière was president, praying "that her Majesty would graciously vouchsafe to take into her royal care the interests of the poor distressed churches of France, when her thoughts should be employed in settling the great concerns of Europe in a treaty of peace." In 1712 we find Lifford, in the society of Prince Eugene of Savoy, on his visit to England, and embarking with that great commander for Holland on his return home. A committee of the Irish House of Commons, in 1717, engaged in revising pensions, takes notice of £500 per annum granted to "Frederick William, Earl of Lifford—lives in England—a French refugee—had a regiment broke in Ireland after the Peace of Ryswick." The committee considered him to be entitled only to a colonel's half-pay, £223, 11s. 3d. The £500 pension was, however, paid until October 1725, but his name was omitted from the Irish Estimates of Lady Day 1727.

He spent his remaining years in private life, living in London, in the parish of St. George's, Hanover Square. He comes forward to perform the last offices of affection in 1732 and in 1743 for his sisters, who seem to have shared his home. His own death took place on the 24th February 1749, at the age of eighty-two. A marble slab to his memory is in St. James's Church, Jermyn Street, Westminster, with the following epitaph:—

FREDERICK WILLIAM DE LA ROCHEFOUCAULT,

A younger son of Frederick Charles, Comte De Roye and De Roucy; he came into Great Britain with his father in the year 1687, when the Protestants of France were obliged to fly from the cruel persecution that raged against them. At his arrival he was made Guidon of the Horse Guards of King James II. After the Revolution he followed King William into Ireland, attended him in all his enterprises, and was near his person at the famous Battle of the Boyne. He was made colonel of one of the French regiments which the King raised at the beginning of the war. He served at the head of it till the Peace was concluded at Ryswick. He was made Earl of Lifford in Ireland. His merit was acknowledged and rewarded by King William and King William's successors, particularly by his present Majesty. In a military and public life he acquired honour—in a civil and private life he gained the affections of all who knew him. He died on the 24th February 1749, aged four score and two, leaving by his will £4000 in charitable legacies.

As he was esteemed and loved whilst he lived, so he has been regretted since he died.

To do justice to his memory, this Monument has been erected by his grateful friend,
William Elliot.

The codicil of his will was signed at Bath on the 24th May 1748; the body of the will was signed and executed on the 3d November 1746. He bequeathed to St. George's Hospital, near Hyde Park Corner, £500; to the Foundling Hospital, £500; to the minister and churchwardens of St. George's, Hanover Square, for the poor, £1000; to the Bishop of London, to be distributed in donations to public charities, £1000; to Lady Colladon, for poor French Protestant refugees, £500; to the new infirmary at Bath, £500; the residue to William Elliott, Esq., equerry to his Majesty, whom he appointed his executor.

III. FRANCOIS DE LA ROCHEFOUCAULD, MARQUIS DE MONTANDRE.

Genealogical authorities write *Montendre*, but the geographical orthography is Montandre, which was a fortress in Saintonge, and this is the spelling which our Marquis followed. He stood in the relationship of *great-great-grandson* to Louis, Seigneur De Montandre, who was a younger son of Francois, the first Comte De la Rochefoucauld (this Comte died in 1516). The second Seigneur of Montandre (also styled of *Montguyon*) was named Francois, and died in 1600. The third was Isaac. The fourth was Charles, styled Marquis De Montandre; he was the father of Charles Louis, 2d Marquis, and the grandfather of the refugee. The refugee's mother was Madeline Anne Pithou, daughter of Pierre, Seigneur De Luyères. Francois was the second son, but his elder brother, Isaac Charles, died without issue, 15th Aug. 1702, when the refugee assumed the title of Marquis. His next younger brother, Louis, a captain in the French navy, was by French law the head of the family, and the true Marquis, but he died childless. The same tale has to be told of the youngest brother, Paul Auguste Gaston De la Rochefoucauld, who died 19th Dec. 1714, and was styled (in right of his wife) Le Comte De Jarnac. These Montandres were afterwards represented by the posterity of their grand-uncle, Francois, Seigneur De Surgères, Marquises De Surgères.

The Montandre branch had been Protestant, but the apostacy of Isaac, the third baron, made it a Romanist family. The refugee was born in September 1672. He was educated in Popery, and was a Regular Canon in the Abbey of St. Victor at Paris.* But he became a convert to the religion of the open Bible, and fled to England, at what time does not exactly appear. We find him in *Cambon's*, afterwards *Marton's*, regiment, with a commission of Lieutenant-Colonel, dated 15th February 1693; he is called Francois De Montandre. We meet him as Colonel Montandre on October 3-14, 1701, receiving a pension of £200 per annum on the Irish establishment, for life.

Through the interest of the Earl of Galway, he seems to have been enrolled in the British army as a Brigadier in 1704, and he accompanied his patriotic chief to Portugal. When the General had been wounded at Badajoz in 1705, and the French were marching to raise the siege, the annalist states, "Marshal Tesse appeared upon some rising ground with part of his army; but the march of the confederate forces being covered by the Marquis De Montandre, with six battalions and eight squadrons, they drew off in very good order, and without any loss, on the 17th October 1705. The army rendezvoused at Elvas on the 19th, and then went into winter-quarters." "About the beginning of November 1706, the Marquis De Montandre, who was a Major-General in the service of Portugal, and was made a Major-General in the English establishment, in consideration of his faithful and eminent services in Spain, set out in order to embark for that kingdom (from whence he had been sent by the Earl of Galway to represent the state of affairs there); having received a handsome present from her Majesty." He was specially instructed to urge upon Lord Galway to continue in his high command in Spain. Lord Galway having been abandoned to defeat by the wayward King Charles, and having secured Catalonia for the ungrateful monarch, resumed the command in Portugal, and was

* Mr. Smiles believes that he was a Protestant, and only a prisoner in the Abbey, with a view to his conversion to Romanism. Neither in the Romanist nor in the Protestant authoritative books of reference have I observed any such statement, which, however, I would very much like to believe.

accompanied by Montandre, who had been further rewarded with the colonelcy of a British regiment (the late Lord Dugannon's). He never, however, had the honour of leading this regiment into action. On its way from Alicant, where its colonel had just died, to Lord Galway's camp, early in the year 1707, the whole corps was lost to us. "A Person of Honour" (1740), in some gossiping reminiscences which he called "A true and genuine history of the two last wars against France and Spain," has narrated the misadventure. "The regiment set out under the command of their Lieutenant-Colonel Bateman, reputedly a good officer. On his march he was so negligent (though he knew himself in a country surrounded with enemies, and that he was to march through a wood, and where they every day made their appearance in great numbers), that his soldiers marched with their muskets slung at their backs, and went one after another, himself at the head of them in his chaise, riding a considerable way before. A captain from the Duke of Berwick's army had been detached, with threescore dragoons, to intercept some cash ordered to be sent to Lord Galway's army from Alicant. This detachment, missing that intended prize, was returning disconsolately, when the captain observing the disorderly march of the English regiment, resolved to attack it in the wood. He secreted his party behind a barn, and as soon as they were half passed by, he, with his dragoons, fell upon them from the centre, cutting and slashing at such a violent rate, that he soon dispersed the whole regiment, leaving many dead and wounded on the spot. The three colours were taken; the Lieutenant-Colonel was taken out of his chaise, and carried away prisoner with many others. An ensign, so bold as to do his duty, was killed. The lieutenant who commanded the grenadiers, drew his men into a house, where he bravely defended himself for a long time, but he being killed, the rest immediately surrendered."

At the battle of La Caya in 1709, the Portuguese brought on an action against the Spaniards against Lord Galway's advice, and their cavalry of the right wing fled, abandoning their cannon to the enemy. Supported by the Portuguese cavalry on the left, Lord Galway brought up a British brigade and retook the cannon; but meanwhile his supports had run away, so that several regiments were made prisoners of war. The retreat of the Portuguese foot had thus been covered, while they repulsed their antagonists three times with great vigour and resolution. "The rest of the British infantry, commanded by the Marquis de Montandre, received the enemy's fire on both flanks as well as in front, but made such bold stands and charges, that they secured the retreat of the Portuguese foot, and retired themselves in very good order, with the loss of about 150 men." Langallerie says, "they performed wonders." A journal printed at the Hague observes, "The Earl of Galway behaved himself with his usual prudence and bravery, but had the same fate as at Almanza, that is, to be abandoned by the Portuguese, which I hope will deter him or any other general in future to venture upon any battle in so wretched a company." On Thursday, 29th Sept. 1709, Montandre arrived in London to give the Queen a report of affairs in Portugal, and did not return to the camp, the Portuguese government having apparently resolved to limit military operations to the mere defence of the frontier. He was promoted to the rank of lieutenant-general, 1st January 1710.

This auspicious year was the year of his marriage. His bride was Mary Ann Spanheim, only daughter of Ezekiel, Baron de Spanheim, Ambassador Extraordinary from the King of Prussia, and grand-daughter to the elder Frederick Spanheim, Divinity Professor, latterly at Leyden, but, at the date of Ezekiel's birth, at Geneva. There the said Ezekiel (born in 1629) was brought up under the best French Protestant influences, his mother being Charlotte Du Port, daughter of a gentleman of Poitou. His diplomatic life began under the Elector Palatine. In 1679 he entered the service of Prussia, and was Ambassador at Paris from 1680 to 1689. "After the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes he did several good offices to many French Protestants, who, being afraid of appearing in public, retired into his house till they could get out of France; he did not do it without running some hazard, but, being very zealous for his religion, he rather chose to run some hazard than to refuse his assistance to many honest people who knew not where to hide themselves." A postscript to a letter to the learned Le Clerc from the venerable Baron, dated London, May 16, 1710, announced his daughter's

marriage thus :—“ I believed you would suffer me rather to dictate this letter than to write it with my own hand, that it might be more legible ; and to add, that the Almighty has been so gracious to me as to dispose of my daughter in a very honourable marriage (the only child He left me) this day fortnight. Her husband is the Marquis de Montandre, a chief of a branch of the House of Rochefoucauld in France, and who is a Lieutenant-General in the Queen's service, and a man of confessed merit in other respects.”

Le Clerc completed his account of the life of Baron de Spanheim, from which I have quoted,* by saying, “ He was so happy as to see, before he died, his only daughter married to the Marquis de Montandre, a lord of great merit, and the worthy spouse of a lady who has been highly esteemed everywhere and particularly at the Court of England.”

The marriage was solemnized on the 21st April (old style), and the Baron's lamented death took place on the 14th of the following November. The Marquise de Montandre received from the Queen the present of 1000 guineas usually given to a Foreign Ambassador on his bidding farewell to the British court. The Baron De Spanheim, as a most distinguished scholar and statesman was buried in Westminster Abbey; he had been a widower since 5th January 1707, when Lady Spanheim died at Chelsea. Notwithstanding the many displacements which followed a change of ministry, the Marquis de Montandre retained his regiment, which (according to the enumeration at that date) was the 52d foot ; it was placed on the Irish Establishment.

In the reign of George I., the Marchioness's German birth and mother tongue, combined with her accomplishments and excellencies, secured for her the gracious notice of the king. This appears from Lady Cowper's diary, which has the following entries :—Dec. 6, 1714, In the evening went out to sup at Madame Montandre's to wait upon the king. April 27, 1720, At St. James's with Madame de Montandre.

George II. was Montandre's chief royal benefactor. On the 16th January 1728, and in the first year of his reign, His Majesty appointed him Master (or Master-General) of the Ordnance in Ireland. This office he seems to have discharged principally by deputy. His residence continued to be in London, and he held the Irish office for life. His seal is still preserved ; I saw it in the possession of the late Sir Erasmus Borrowes, who had obtained it from the Des Vœux family. His arms as a Marquis of the family of La Rochefoucauld are erected upon a ground-work, embellished with the ordnance insignia. The arms exactly correspond to the old heraldic description :—*Barelle de dix pièces d'argent et d'azur, et surtout trois chevrons de gueules. Supports, deux sauvages.* In 1735 (Oct. 27) he became a general in the army. In 1738 he was appointed “ Captain, Keeper, and Governor of the Island of Guernzey, and Castle of Cornet, with the appurtenants, and of the islands and places of Serke, Ermon, and Southow, otherwise Gitton.” On the 2nd July 1739 he was made a Field-Marshal.

Field-Marshal the Marquis de Montandre died in his house in Great Brook Street, Grosvenor Square, London on August 8th, 1739, at 4 P.M., aged 66 years and 11 months. His will was in favour of his widow,—“ in the name of God, eternal and Almighty, my Creator, and my judge, in whom I put all my trust and all my hope,”—dated London, 4th March 1736-7, proved 10th August 1739. He was buried in Westminster Abbey. The governors of Guernsey, with a salary of £1500 a-year, were not only permitted, but were commanded, to be non-resident. Montandre having enjoyed the revenue for so short a time, the Marchioness was left in possession for another year, and during that part of her widowhood, she was a subscriber to the fund for erecting new Government Buildings in the island.

She lived to a great age. In English society the Countesses did not demean themselves who allowed her to have precedence as a Marchioness. But in any company where the hostess felt that strict rule must be observed, our noble Marquise had a plan to maintain her exalted position. Let the reader suppose that tea has been brought in. Before the groom of the chamber can offer it to the English Peeresses, she says to him in a loud tone of voice, “ I

* *Memoirs of Literature* ; vol. ii., art. 80 ; 2d Edit., 1722. [For Spanheim's Letter see “an Account of the Life and Writings of Mr John Le Clerc,” London, 1712.]

would not have tea." Then when the most of the company have been served, she calls out "I have bethought myself; I think I will have one cup." So writes Walpole to Miss Berry.

The Marchioness is mentioned in Mrs. Delany's diary. 4th Feb. 1758. "Went to my brother's [Mr. Granville]. . . . He had made a tour of visits in the morning; among the rest was admitted to Madame de Montandre's toilette, who was attended by her filles-de-chambre. Her hair is so long that when she sits it reaches below the seat of the chair, and is very thick, and only grey next her face, which is very extraordinary for a woman turned of fourscore. When she had frizzed and set the fore part, her two damsels divided the hind hair, and in the same instant braided it up, which she twisted round her head before she put on her cap. I asked him 'if he did not say some fine thing on the occasion;' but he had only silently admired." [Her age at that date was not fourscore, but threescore and fifteen.]

The chambermaids became persons of some importance when the sad duty of proving her ladyship's will had to be attended to. Her last will and testament, dated in March 1769, was proved on the 21st February 1772 on the testimony of Jane Fowler and Eulalia Carter, who each received a legacy of £200 and an annuity for life of £30. In the "Annual Register" the following notice appeared:—"Died in January 1772, the Marchioness de Montandre, in Lower Brook Street." Her age was 89. She was buried in Westminster Abbey, beside her parents and her husband.* She had intended Miss Henrietta Louvigni to be her heiress and executrix. This lady was the only daughter of a widow lady and refugee, Madame Jane De Louvigny of London, formerly of the Hague, Henrietta having administered to her personal property on the 3d June 1720.† But Miss Louvigny died before her benefactress; and according to the provisions of the will (the only deductions being for the domestic servants' benefit, £600 cash and £167 per annum in annuities), the heir and sole executor of the Marchioness de Montandre was Samuel Pechell, Esq.

IV. THE CHEVALIER DE CHAMPAGNÉ, AND MARIE, HIS WIFE (née De La Rochefoucauld).

The noble family of DE ROBILLARD, which traces its pedigree back to the eleventh century, held the estate of *Champagné*, in the Province of Saintonge. Their title of nobility was Seigneur de Champagné. The refugees of this family were Josias de Robillard, Chevalier de Champagné, and his household; and (as was usual) they adopted their territorial designation as a surname. The Chevalier's "chère et illustre" wife was Marie de La Rochefoucauld, daughter of Casimir, Seigneur Des Touches, who was the second son of Charles de La Rochefoucauld, Seigneur de la Rénaudie.

The daughters of the family (four in number) and three sons took refuge in England in 1687, under the charge of Madame de Champagné. Her narrative in manuscript is in the possession of Sir Erasmus Borrowes, her lineal descendant, and the following is a translation of her account of the emigration of her family in two detachments:—

"On the 10th of April 1687, my four daughters and my two youngest boys, with my cousin Mademoiselle de Maseriée, left La Rochelle. It was night. The head of a wine cask was knocked out; the wine was emptied into the sea, and they were put inside the cask. The vessel in which they sailed was only eighteen tons burthen. They paid twelve hundred francs for the passage." [The other detachment consisted of Madame herself, her eldest son, and a maid-servant; they escaped on the 3d of July; they had to walk several leagues to a secluded beach, and a boat rowed them three leagues to the friendly vessel. The lady proceeds:—] "We were put down into the hold upon a quantity of salt, and for eight days we remained there well concealed, the ship being at anchor. The vessel was searched without our being

* Colonel Chester's MSS., to which I am indebted for all the Montandre domestic chronology.

† Aufrère MSS.

discovered. We set sail, and arrived at Falmouth eight days after, not without trepidation and much risk."

In the same year the Chevalier de Champagné took refuge in Holland. The prospect of receiving orders from so bigotted a Papist as King James II. gave his sons a distaste for the British army, in which they might then have been enrolled. The family accordingly removed to Holland, and joined the Chevalier there. The projected descent of the Prince of Orange made another change in their plans, as the Chevalier volunteered to take part in the expedition. We again borrow his noble wife's words:—

"My dear husband was appointed a captain, and incorporated with the troops of Monsieur de Scravemoer, a Dutch gentleman in high favour with the Prince. After being some time in England, and being present at the coronation of the King, the Duke of Schomberg went to Ireland, and with him my good husband. . . . The officers had to supply themselves with scarlet cloaks, and black velvet doublets trimmed with silver lace. He bought for himself three horses and hired two men-servants, and provided everything that was necessary for this service. Some days before the departure of the troops, he was deputed by his corps to proceed to the Court to ask for means to enable a number of officers to join the army. He obtained a grant of money, which won for him the esteem and gratitude of these poor refugees, but I fear this honour cost him a great deal of fatigue. He had to travel post in order to join the regiment, and then to embark at Chester. He fell ill at Belfast. The chaplain who attended him declares that he was never present at so touching a deathbed, nor heard more edifying things than my dear dying husband said to him. The death of my beloved husband was announced to me on the 28th of October [1689]. I never could have expected, my dear children; to have survived after such a blow, but God has supported me in a surprising manner; apparently it is that I may take care of you."

Madame de Champagné died at Portarlington, February 14th, 1730. One of her daughters, Susanne de Robillard, married the Baron Tonnay Boutonne, who left France with the Chevalier de Champagné. Their son was General the Baron de La Motte Fouqué, whom Frederick the Great admitted to his friendship, grandfather of the great German romancist and poet, who inherited and adorned the title of La Motte Fouqué.

The Chevalier's elder surviving son was Francis Casimir de Champagné, who was born 23d December 1671.

Josias de Champagné, youngest son of the Chevalier, was born at "la maison noble de Champagné," 13th March 1673, and in 1689 was enrolled as an ensign in La Melonière's regiment of French refugee infantry. He was present at the battle of the Boyne. In crossing the river he narrowly escaped a watery grave, but was taken safely to the opposite bank by a tall dragoon. His valour attracted general remark, and as a reward for conspicuous bravery, he was made an aide-de-camp to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland. It is said that the Earl of Granard forthwith gave his consent to the marriage of his daughter with the young ensign, which he had previously interdicted. It is unnecessary to pronounce a decision on this romantic suggestion, it being enough to be able to say that he did marry Lady Jane Forbes, daughter of Arthur, second Earl of Granard. On the disbanding of the French regiments, he was admitted into the regular line, and became a major in the 14th Foot, called *Tidcomb's*, after its colonel.

On retiring from the service, Major Champagné settled at Portarlington. His life was spent in doing good. He was beloved by his family, and a bountiful friend of his refugee neighbours, many of whom were his neighbours or connections. His account-book has already been quoted from, to tell his generosity to Madame Cavalier and her gallant husband. Here is another specimen of his dealings. He lends Mesdemoiselles de Champloriers two guineas, and supplies them with "eight car-loads of hay at 2s 6d per load;" he makes this note, "Mlles. Champloriers pd. me two guineas against my will, but accepted of the hay."* As the

* *The Champagné MSS.* in the possession of Sir Erasmus Borrowes, Bart., and the Papers in the "Ulster Journal," by the late Sir Erasmus, who, if his life had been prolonged, would have printed the above-named MSS., with their valuable information concerning the families of Champagné, La Rochefoucauld, &c.

late Sir Erasmus Borrowes testifies, "a system of mutual aid most gracefully adorned the character of the refugees." Major de Champagné owed money to the late husband of Madame D'Arrabin, for which she had a bond. The account-book says, "Delivered to Mrs D'Arrabin some time in August 1715 a large burned china pounce Boull, valeded att tenn pounds, on account of what I owed to her late husband. October the 3d, 1722, she allowed me six pounds more for ye above said boull, which perfected the full interest to that day." In 1724 she reduced the interest on the bond by £11 12s 6d, "whether I would or not." He died on the 2d May 1737, aged 64. Lady Jane Champagné, "relict of Major Champagné, sister of the Earl of Granard," survived till October 11th 1760.

Major Champagné's son was the Very Rev. Arthur Champagné, Dean of Clonmacnois (February 1761), and Chaplain of the English Church of Portarlington. He was born in 1714, and dying on the 20th August 1800, was interred in the cemetery of that town. His wife was Marianne, daughter of Colonel Isaac Hamon, and their family consisted of three sons and three daughters.

Of the sons, Lieutenant-General Forbes Champagné was born 2d July 1754—he rose to that rank in the army 25th July 1810, and died in October 1816, aged 62. General Sir Josias Champagné, G.C.H., was born 26th September 1755, he became a full general 19th July 1821, and died in January 1840 in his 85th year. The other son was Rev. George Champagné, Rector of Twickenham, and Canon of Windsor. The two generals appear side by side during an important period of their career. The two lieutenant-colonels of the 60th Foot in 1793 were, Forbes Champagné 18th December, and Josias Champagné 19th December, and they were both made Major-Generals on the same day (25th Sept. 1803). Forbes held military commands in Ireland at Armagh, Enniskillen, and Athlone. Josias became eminent as an Indian officer. The Governor of Ceylon in 1799, Frederick North (afterwards Earl of Guilford), describes him as "a man of acknowledged probity, of tried good sense, an enemy to jobs, intrigues, and disputes, who is accustomed to the business of India, and of this particular part of it, and who has not caught the epidemic love for gold."—(See a letter to the Earl of Mornington in the British Museum MSS. No. 13, 865).

Of Dean Champagné's daughters, Henrietta de Robillard married in 1783 Sir Erasmus Dixon Borrowes, sixth Baronet of Gilltown. Jane, married in 1767 Henry, third Earl of Uxbridge, and was the mother of General the Marquis of Anglesey, K.G., G.C.B., G.C.H., etc., Jane Countess of Galloway, Charlotte Countess of Enniskillen, Lady Louisa Murray, and Mary, Baroness Graves. Marianne Champagné married in 1778 Sir Charles Des Vœux, first baronet of Indiaville, son of the Rev. Anthony Vinchon Des Vœux.

The elder Des Vœux was a Protestant Exile from France, second son of Monsieur De Bacquencourt, President of the Parliament of Rouen. He was a Roman Catholic of the Jansenist party, but the miracles at the tomb of the Abbé Paris justly incensed him, and finding Jansenism untenable he embraced Protestantism, and fled from France. His publication against the pretended miracles is said to be the best refutation of the Jansenist imposture. He was a French minister in Dublin in 1735 (in which year he published "A Defence of the Reformed Religion"), and afterwards of Portarlington. He was appointed on 2d November 1742, chaplain of the Carabineers or Third Horse, at that time *Sackville's* regiment, afterwards *Dejean's*, and this chaplaincy also he held for life. The Rev. John Peter Droz, another French refugee, had founded in Dublin "A Literary Journal," on the model of La Roche's "Memoirs of Literature." Des Vœux became his coadjutor, and afterwards commenced a new series, entitled "The Compendious Library." His great work is, "A Philosophical and Critical Essay on Ecclesiastes," (London, 1760), which was a labour of more than ten years. It had been planned thirty years before the publication of the goodly quarto. The English diction is exceedingly creditable to a born Frenchman. The exposition arose from the use which is made in the Protestant controversy of Ecclesiastes ix. 5, to prove the unreasonableness of praying to dead saints. Desmahis, the apostate brother of De la Mothe, had denied the propriety of that inference. Des Vœux considered that Desmahis could not be thoroughly

answered without an elucidation of the true design of Ecclesiastes, the method pursued by the author, and the thread of his argument. It may interest the reader to know what this industrious commentator makes of the above-mentioned formidable text, "the dead know not anything, neither have they any more a reward; for the memory of them is forgotten. Also their love and their hatred and their envy is now perished; neither have they any more a portion for ever in anything that is done under the sun." His paraphrase is, "The dead have no sort of knowledge of what passes in this world. Their merits with respect to it are buried with them, and their is neither reward for them, nor even remembrance of them. No regard is paid to what they loved, or hated, or envied. The influence of their passions and affections over human affairs is at an end." The following is Dr Lindsay Alexander's estimate of the commentary (Kitto's *Cyclopedia of Biblical Literature, third edition*), "This work is an elaborate and learned production, and contains much that is worthy of consideration. But the author sacrifices too much to his preconceived theory of the philosophical design of the book, and is too apt to force meanings on the sacred writer by critical emendation and ingenious speculation. The want of due arrangement also stands in the way of the student reaping full advantage from his farrago of notes. . . . It was translated into German by Bamberger, 4to. Halle, 1764."

Des Vœux was married to Charlotte, daughter of James Dessidin, and spent his last years in Portarlington.

5. RELATIVES OF THE LA ROCHEFOUCAULDS.

The surname of DE PONTHEIU is worthy to be associated with the most noble names. Messire Charles De Ponthieu, a refugee officer, was married to Marguerite de La Rochefoucauld in London at the Church of Les Grecs, 7th Oct. 1691. She had a brother, a resident in Portarlington, named Reuben de La Rochefoucauld. To that town De Ponthieu retired on a captain's half-pay. The children of Captain and Madame de Ponthieu were Henry and Josias, and a daughter, Mademoiselle E. de Ponthieu, who was married to Major-General Cavalier. Josias was named after Major de Champagné, who was his godfather.* The fact of Madame Cavallier being a relative of Madame Champagné, accounts for the interest which the distinguished Major took in her, and for his great liberality to her and her husband in money matters.

Chapter XXII.

CROMMELIN, PORTAL, COURTAULD, AND THE INDUSTRIAL REFUGEES.

I.—CROMMELIN.

"HISTORY and chronology," says an eloquent Irish writer, "more frequently record those events that tend to the glory rather than to the prosperity of nations. Thus in the various tables of remarkable occurrences, the establishment of our great staple, the Linen Manufacture, is omitted. . . . The individual who, in establishing the Linen Manufacture in Ireland, contributed so much to its prosperity, deserves to be memorized amongst our most illustrious countrymen, whether statesmen, legislators, or warriors. The name of this person, now so little known, was Louis Crommelin."

* Sir E. Borrowes' MSS.

The Crommelins were a Protestant family in the Province of Picardy. Their residence, and the seat of their manufactures which brought them great wealth, was Armandcourt, near St. Quentin. They became refugees in Holland. There Jacob Crommelin, having attained the age of threescore and ten, wrote a genealogy of the family, complete to the year 1712. This has been printed in the *Bulletin* (vol. vii. p. 478),* and I extract from it all that concerns the refugees who ultimately settled in Britain. Their founder was Armand Crommelin, who lived in Flanders in the reign of Charles V., and from whom descended Crommelin of Courtray, the father of five sons, Peter of Cambray (*died* 1609), Joshua of Haarlem (whose six sons left no male descendants), Adrien of Rouen (whose last male representative was a grandson Francis, son of James), Martin (who died in England, unmarried), and another Martin, the ancestor of the British refugees. He not only kept up the family name, but also brought the blood of the noblesse into the family, by his marriage. He married on the 17th Dec. 1595 Marie, daughter of Jacques de Semery, Seigneur de Camas; the Princess Catharine of France was present at the marriage, and the royal castle of Follembroy was granted for the ceremony. Martin Crommelin had fifteen children, of whom two daughters and three sons survived. The daughters were Mary, wife of Peter Lombard of London, and Catherine, wife of Abraham Desdeuxvilles of London. The sons were Peter, John, and Adrien. Peter Crommelin (*born* 1596, *died* about 1680) married Marie Desormeaux of Cambray, and left seven children, one of whom Samuel by his wife Madelaine Testart had twenty-two or twenty-three children, the eldest daughter among these being named Anne. John Crommelin (*born* 19th March 1603) was the direct ancestor of our refugees. We pass from him in the meantime, to mention his younger brother Adrien, who married at Charenton, on the 11th Aug. 1641, Susanne Doublet; he had two daughters, Marie and Jeanne, the former was married (in 1667 or 1668) to Jean Pigou of Amiens, she with her husband and family lived in that town till the Revocation, when they took refuge in England; Anselm Frederick Pigou, their son, married in 1709 his cousin Catherine, daughter of John Cain; Jeanne Crommelin was married at Paris, about 1669, to Francis Amonnet, this couple escaped into England with great wealth in 1681; the husband died, and their wealth was dissipated partly through the speculative mania of her second husband, James Dufay. We now return to John Crommelin,

John Crommelin married in 1623 Rachel, daughter of Guillaume Tacquelet of Castalet, and had fifteen children, of whom I now mention only Anne, and Louis, the eldest son. Anne (*born* 1636) was married to Isaac Cousin of Meaux; both became refugees at Lisburn. Louis (*born* 1625, *died* 1669) married Marie, daughter of Jean Mettayer, one of the pasteurs of Haucourt, and their son was the great Louis Crommelin, the refugee, of whom at present we note only the fact, that he married his cousin, already named as one of twenty-two or twenty-three brothers and sisters, Anne Crommelin of Haarlem.

Other children of John Crommelin and Rachel Tacquelet are worthy of some notice. WILLIAM (*born* 25th April 1645) settled in Ireland. JACOB (*born* 26th May 1642) married Elizabeth Testart in 1663; he had a daughter Marianne (who married James Courtonne of Alencon, refugee in London), and a son, Daniel, who in 1693 became a tutor in England to Mr Vernon's son, and having remained with him for three or four years, settled in Ireland without a profession. DANIEL (*born* 28th Dec. 1647) who married Anne Testart in 1674, was a refugee, first in England, finally in New York. MARY (*born* 5th March 1627) seems to have been married to a Daniel Crommelin (de la Chambre de Haarlem), from whom descended John, refugee in London, the husband of a Miss Lamert. CATHERINE (*born* 20th June 1632) was married to Francis De Coninck of Antwerp; her daughter Catherine was the wife of John Cain of Rouen, and the mother of Captain Cain in the British army, and of Mrs Anselm Pigou (above-mentioned); her son Frederick Coninck married in England Mary Cain, daughter of Louis Cain of Abbeville. RACHEL (*born* 21st July 1534) became in 1656 the second wife of Pierre Testard, merchant in Saint-Quentin; her daughter Susan was married in 1686 to Daniel

* Except this article in the *Bulletin*, my almost sole authority is Dr Purdon, in articles contributed by him to the *Ulster Journal of Archæology*, vol. i.

Robethon, a French Refugee. [P. Testard married a third wife, Anne Baulier, and her daughter Marianne was married *first* to Francois Ribot (drowned in the passage from London to Rotterdam), *secondly*, to Monsieur de Rapin.]

Louis Crommelin, the distinguished refugee, had two sisters Mary and Jane. Mary was married *first* to Isaac Testard of Blois, a refugee in London, and *secondly*, to Major de la Cherois. Jane was married to Abraham Gillot of Alencon; this couple at the Revocation took refuge in Amsterdam, and ultimately settled at Lisburn. The brother of Louis was Samuel Louis Crommelin; he with Judith Truffet his wife resided at Saint-Quentin till the Revocation, when they retired to Amsterdam. He being left a widower came to Lisburn with his sons, and there married a second wife, Miss Belcastel, daughter of Major-General Belcastel. The eldest son of Samuel-Louis married his first cousin, daughter of the above-named Abraham Gillot, and the second son, Daniel, married also a first cousin, daughter of the above-named Isaac Testard.

The date of the death of Jean Crommelin, the refugee's father, is not mentioned, but it is known that he left his sons £10,000 each. Besides Louis and Samuel-Louis, the *Ulster Journal* names two other sons, Alexander and William (I do not observe their names in the *Bulletin Genealogy*), who also brought their money to Ireland, and invested it in the grand industrial enterprise.

In my memoir of the Earl of Galway, I have narrated the establishment of the linen-trade in Ireland by Act of Parliament, under his Excellency's government. The next step was to appoint a competent national manager and overseer. King William III. invited from Holland Louis Crommelin, and the Royal invitation was accepted; this was in the year 1698. Crommelin's children were a daughter and a son. His son, also named Louis, was at this date only fifteen years of age, but evidently was well endowed with hereditary ability. The father and son came over to Ireland to select a place of settlement, and he chose as his headquarters the small town in the county of Antrim, then called Lisnagarvey, but afterwards Lisburn. He obtained a Royal patent, dated 14th Feb. 1699 (*i.e.* 1700 *new style*), as to which a Report was presented to the English House of Commons by the Commissioners of Trade, 26th May 1700:—"His Majesty having referred to our consideration some proposals made by Mr. Crommelin, a French refugee, long experienced in the linen manufacture, for the more effectual establishment and improvement of that manufacture in Ireland, we humbly offered our opinion that his Majesty would be pleased to allow £800 per annum for ten years, to pay the interest at eight per cent. of £10,000 advanced by said Crommelin and his friends for the setting on foot of that manufacture; the said £800 to be received and issued out by trustees appointed by his Majesty to inspect the employing of the said £10,000. And his Majesty having been pleased to give directions accordingly, the said Crommelin is lately gone to Ireland in order to put his proposals into execution." From the Patent it appears that in addition to the £800 per centage, there was a pension of £200 a-year to Crommelin, £40 annually to each of three assistants, and a salary of £60 for a French minister. A linen-factory was built at Lisburn, at the foot of a bridge which crossed the river Laggan; the water-course remained till the beginning of this century, and the French church is now the court-house of Lisburn. Crommelin "brought from Holland 1000 looms and spinning-wheels of an improved construction, and invited a number of families (in general Huguenot refugees, like himself), who gladly complied, and soon founded quite a colony among themselves." While Crommelin did his part, King William's Patent being not formally completed at that Sovereign's untimely death, was, after two years and a quarter, held to be non-existent. Queen Anne's government issued a new Patent, which did indeed retain the same grand total of £1180 per annum, but redistributed it so that it might provide the premiums for workmen, enacted in Lord Galway's Act. By this arrangement, Crommelin's personal share was reduced to £400 per annum, and the limitation of ten years was extended to the total £1180.

Besides his personal venture, Crommelin also had to devote himself to the National office of Overseer of the Royal Linen Manufacture of Ireland. His formal appointment took place in the end of 1703, after a representation as to his claims by the Irish Parliament. His private

affairs he entrusted entirely to his son, that he himself might (to use his own words) "mind the public," and "continue his care in promoting the good of the kingdom." That his office under Government gave him a variety of occupation may be gathered from the contents of a book which he published in 1705, "An Essay towards the Improving of the Hempen and Flaxen Manufactures in the Kingdom of Ireland." This book contained six chapters: I. Preparing ground, sowing, weeding, pulling, watering, and grassing flax. II. Dressing flax. III. Hemp. IV. Spinning and spinning-wheels. V. Preparing yarn and looms. VI. Bleaching utensils and bleaching. In these departments he found prevailing ignorance, and a want of patience, anxiety, and zeal, combined with industry, among the Irish employés. He had to direct the selection or reclamation of soil for the crop; to instruct them in the choice of seed, and in pulling flax and watering it in season and with judgment; to prevent their drying flax by fire-heat; to watch the reeling of yarn, so that an honest article, both as to quantity and quality, might be supplied to the dealers, &c. He had built a bleachery at Hilden, near Lisburn, so that, after describing to his readers his machinery and processes, he says, "They who are disposed to erect one of these bleacheries, may, with much greater satisfaction, come and view one small bleachery at Lisburn, which may serve as a model." Crommelin was highly eulogised in the Parliament of Ireland in 1707 and 1709.

In the year 1711 he had to consider that his Patent was about to expire. His thoughts had also a more affecting and disconsolate element in them, arising from the death of his son. Louis Crommelin, jun., died on the 1st July 1711, as we learn from his tombstone in the wall of Lisburn churchyard:

Six foot opposite lyes the body of Louis Crommelin, born at
St. Quentin in France, only son to Louis Crommelin and Anne Crommelin,
Director of the Linen Manufactory, who died beloved of all,
aged 28 years, 1 July 1711.
Luge, Viator!
et, ut ille dum vita manebat,
suspice cœlum, despice mundum, respice finem.

Crommelin was obliged to rouse himself from his grief, and to memorialise the Lord-Lieutenant, the Duke of Ormond. He represented the necessity for renewing the Patent. He also petitioned for a pension of £500 a-year to enable him to retain his office of Overseer, because, "having lost his only son, who managed all his affairs," he could not afford to employ another manager of his business, unless he was thus securely provided for. Whether Crommelin's petition succeeded to its full extent, we are not informed. But one result of it was that, on the 13th October 1711, the Duke of Ormond constituted a Government Board for the Linen Manufacture, and this Board reported favourably as to Crommelin's public projects. When, in 1716, Lord Galway was again the acting-Viceroy, *Warburton, Whitelaw, and Walsh's History of Dublin* informs us, that his Lordship gave all the encouragement in his power to the Trustees of the Linen and Hempen Manufacture, and empowered them to use his name with the Lord Mayor that their hemp and flax seed, lying in the Custom-house, might be deposited in the House of Industry. Lord Galway also gave the Trustees an apartment in Dublin Castle for the transaction of their business. In 1717 a petition was presented to the House of Commons from Louis Crommelin, gentleman, "proposing, upon a suitable encouragement, to set up and carry on the hempen manufacture of sail-cloth, in such part of the kingdom as the House thinks proper." Nothing more is recorded of Louis Crommelin, except the fact of his death in 1727. His daughter Magdalen, Madame de Bernières, survived him.

The male line of the Crommelins was kept up by his brother Samuel-Louis, of whose descendants my Chapter on Families will speak. The *Ulster Journal* mentions a third brother,

Alexander, who married a Mademoiselle de Lavalade, but his son Charles died unmarried ; his daughter Madeline was the wife of Archdeacon Hutchinson. The fourth brother, William Crommelin, had the linen manufactory at Kilkenny, where he married Miss Butler, "one of the Ormond family," but his son and heir, Louis, also died unmarried ; his other child was a daughter Marianne. Besides the three brothers and two sisters already named, a third sister of the refugee Crommelin is mentioned, Madeline, wife of Captain Paul Mangin, and this Captain writes, in a letter thus addressed :—

By Portpatrick.

To Doctor JOSHUA PILOT,
In the Honble. Colonel Batareau's Regt.,
Inverness,
Scotland.

"DUBLIN, 28th of June 1746.—I have a nephew named Alexander Crommelin, who served his apprenticeship to a surgeon in Lisburn, in the North of Ireland, and since has been at Edinburgh two years, attending the colleges and hospitals ; he arrived from Scotland about four days ago, and was there all the time of the troubles, and attended the wounded. He is a sober youth, and has taken much pains to perfect himself as to surgery and physic. As he designs to enter as a surgeon in the army in time, he would fain begin by being surgeon's-mate, which he would immediately purchase. I am thinking that he could not be better off than with you, if you wanted such, and would be glad if he was to serve under you ; if he can't have that happiness, I shall be much obliged to you to inquire for one in some other regiment, and to acquaint me how much is desired for it ; the price of it is ready to be paid at sight. He was offered one when in Edinburgh, in Brigadier Bleith's [Blyth's?] Regt., when the college was sitting, but at that time would not accept of it, till the college was up."

II.—PORTAL.

This very honourable family is both Albigenian and Huguenot. It is memorialised in an interesting volume entitled "Les descendants des Albigeois et des Huguenots, ou Mémoires de la Famille de Portal," (Paris 1860). The city of Toulouse was French in its politics ; but it had its own legislature and magistracy, independent of the King of France. It was governed by Capitouls—a corporation of civic dignitaries elected annually, the members of the retiring corporation being excluded from re-election for several years. On the 14th June 1204, a treaty between the city and the lord of a neighbouring castle is signed "Oldric de Portal, *capitoull*." From 1204 to 1423 twenty-one elections to the Capitoulate were in favour of the De Portal family. After the latter date the Inquisition was set up in Toulouse. In 1238 Raymond de Portal had removed to Nismes. But most of the Portals resided in Toulouse until 1463, when, in consequence of a great fire, many of them were dispersed. Jean de Portal is found established at Bagnols, in Lower Languedoc, at the end of that century. His elder son, Jehan, was sent by King Henry II. to the cradle of his race, as Viguier of Toulouse, in 1555. His kinsman, Berenger de Portal, chevalier, Sieur de la Pradelle, was then resident at Toulouse as Treasurer-General of Languedoc. Jehan fell a victim to a fanatical riot ; his younger brother, Francis de Portal, is the ancestor of the modern branches of the family.

Of Berenger, Sieur de la Pradelle, it is recorded that he was commonly called General Portal, because Treasurer-General to the King. In 1573, although the desolations of the St. Bartholomew massacre seemed to have extinguished Protestantism, he died confidently persuaded that there would again be a Reformed Church in Paris. And he left a tangible proof of his conviction by bequeathing a sum of money for the benefit and maintenance of the Protestant Church of Paris (pour le bien et soutien de l'Eglise de Paris). In 1591 Du Moulin, having accepted the title of Pasteur of Paris, claimed and received his salary out of this Portal Bequest.*

* Bulletin, Vol. VIII., page 2.

At the time of the Revocation of the edict of Nantes the chief of the Portals died a martyr's death; he was the fifteenth in the direct line of descent from Oldric de Portal. His name and title was Louis (or Jean Francois?) de Portal, Sieur de la Portalière; he with his wife (*née* Jeanne de la Porte) and a numerous family were living peacefully and patriarchally at the chateau of La Portalière, near St. Hippolyte, in the Cevennes. In October, Monsieur Saint-Ruth, at the head of regiments of dragoons, made a descent upon the defenceless neighbourhood, set fire to the chateau, and razed it to the ground. In their retreat, Portal, his wife, and their youngest child, were massacred. The fifth son, Pierre, fainted at the door of a baker's shop, at Montauban, and being succoured by the benevolent shopkeeper, he lived to found a family in France, which, amidst gross oppression, remained true to Protestantism.* The eldest son, and one daughter, found their way to Brandenburg. Two other sons, Henry and William, and a daughter, reached Bordeaux. The captain of a merchant vessel admitted them on board, hid them in empty hogsheads, and brought them safe to Holland. It is said that they, in point of time, narrowly escaped death by suffocation. For the French Government enraged at the habit of stowing away fugitive Protestants in cargoes, soon afterwards gave orders to fumigate departing vessels with a deadly gas. "On se servait d'une composition qui, lorsqu'on y mettait le feu, developpait une odeur mortelle dans tous les recoins du navire, de sorte que, en le respirant, ceux qui s'étaient cachés trouvaient une morte certaine."† Henry and William landed in England with the Prince of Orange in 1688.

The motto of the De Portals, "Armet nos ultio regum," was granted to Raymond de Portal in 1336 by Charles V. of France, in honour of his having been one of the four hundred knights of Toulouse who volunteered to accompany Bertrand du Guesclin, on his expedition into Spain to avenge the death of the sister of the Queen of France, Blanche of Bourbon, Queen of Castile. Had this family desired to resent the ingratitude of the Bourbon kings to themselves and the other loyal Huguenots, they might have assumed, as a new motto, a naive aphorism which introduces one of the Chapters of the Portal Memoirs, "Le système d'intimidation eut peu de succès sur la famille de Portal."

It may be asked, how can such a family be associated with the industrial class?—The reply is this, they cheerfully became poor for conscience' sake, and resorted to industry to earn a livelihood. Henry Portal devoted himself to manufactures, and having invented a peculiar fabric of paper, he obtained the privilege of making the Notes of the Bank of England, which his descendants inherited; he died 30th Sept. 1745, leaving four daughters and one son, Joseph (*born 1719, died 1792*), the founder of an honourable family.

Henry Portal's paper-mill was in Hampshire, the mill was at Laverstoke; his residence was Freefolk Priors. Mr Smiles says of him, "He carried on his business with great spirit, gathering round him the best French and Dutch workmen; and he shortly brought his work to so high a degree of perfection, that the Bank of England gave him the privilege, which a descendant of the family still enjoys, of supplying them with the paper for bank-notes. He had resolved to rebuild the fortunes of his house, though on English ground; and nobly he did it by his skill, his integrity, and his industry." The wheel of his mill was turned by the river Itchen, on which Cobbett (in his "Rural Rides") waxes eloquent, as "that stream which turns the mill of Squire Portal, which mill makes the Bank of England note-paper. Talk of the Thames and the Hudson with their forests of masts; talk of the Nile and the Delawar bearing the food of millions on their bosoms; talk of the Rio de la Plata and the other rivers, their beds pebbled with silver and gold and diamonds; what, as to their effect on the condition of mankind—as to the virtues, the vices, the enjoyments, and the sufferings of

* The celebrated Pierre Barthelemy de Portal, (born in 1765) the French Minister of State, Chevalier and Grand Officer of the Legion of Honour, and Baron de Portal (from 1815) was the grandson of the little boy who owed his life to the baker. His eldest son, Pierre Paul Frederic, 2d Baron de Portal (*born 1804*), is the head of the French family.

† Royer, *La Colonie Francaise en Prusse*, p. 153—quoted by Smiles.

had recently arrived in England. He is described as of the Province of St Onge, and his men—what are all these rivers put together, compared with the river at Whitchurch, which a man of three-score may jump across dryshod?"

III.—COURTAULD.

THE Courtauld family was cradled in the Province of Saintonge. Its early members, settled in England, are described as merchants, goldsmiths, and jewellers. But ultimately the family became eminent in the silk-manufacture, and introduced *silk-throwing* into the county of Essex, where they built throwing-mills. The sites of their mills were Pebmarsh and Braintree; the latter "is now one of the largest establishments in England for the manufacture of silk crape." (Smiles).

A literary friend has kindly furnished me with a memoir of this family, composed from original materials collected by means of great personal research. The following details are extracted from it.*

Various documents, signed by the Courtaulds, indicate the superior position and culture of their family. Clerks, notaries, and official persons, took great liberties with their surname, spelling it in every imaginable way, Cortald, Cortauld, Courtald, Courtaud, Courtault, Courtaut, Courtaux, Courteau, Courteauld, Courteault, Courthould, Courfauld, Courtland. "But whenever the actual signatures of the Courtaulds themselves have been obtained, the orthography has been, without a single exception, COURTAULD, and the handwriting is invariably and remarkably excellent."

Augustine Courtauld made his Will on the 5th Sept. 1706; it was written in French, and an English translation was made for the Probate Court. He is described as "Mr Augustine Courtauld, born in St. Peter in the Isle of Oleron in France, and then residing in the parish of St. Anne in Soho in the Liberty of Westminster." He made a formal declaration that he had been twice married, *first* to Julia Giron, by whom he had one son Augustine; and that by his second wife Esther (still living) [she survived him until May 1732] he had also one son, Peter. His Will directs that his wife and two sons shall each have one-third of his "inheritance," his wife to be executrix for Peter; while for the elder son Augustine the testator's brother Pierre Courtauld was to be executor. He also mentions his estate in France; "for the estate in France, he giveth it to his two children for to share them by equal parts and portions."

That he was a French Protestant refugee is proved by the ascertained facts that he was born in the Isle d'Oleron, one of the two islands protecting the harbour of La Rochelle, that he declared that he had an estate in France, that his church-connection in England was with the French Protestants, with the members of whose churches he lived on terms of intimacy, using their language as his native tongue. In addition to these facts there are very distinct family traditions, narrating the great difficulties experienced by the refugee in escaping from France, and declaring that his younger brother remained in France as a New Catholic, and by royal permission appropriated the above-mentioned estate, which was considerable. The refugee's Will requiring Pierre's consent to marriages, contracted before the age of 25 by his nephews the testator's sons, it is maintained that Pierre died before 1709, the year in which young Peter married with the consent of his mother only. It is certain that young Augustine never got his French estate; at his death in 1751 he left mourning rings "to his cousins Peter and Augustine Courtauld," who are unknown to the registers in England, but were, of course, Pierre's descendants, and probably denizens of France, conformists to Romanism.

The first evidence of the residence in England of Augustine Courtauld, senior, is the record of his second marriage, which took place on the 10th March 1688-9, in the Glasshouse Street French Church, London. The circumstance that he often appears in the registers after this date, either as a godfather or as a witness, but never before it, implies that he

* Colonel Chester's MSS.

wife is called Esther Potier of La Rochelle. On the 19th January 1689-90 was baptised Peter, son of Augustine Courtauld of the Isle d'Oleron in St Onge, merchant, and Esther Potier. Peter left no note-worthy descendants, though he had many children by his wife, Judith Pantin, whom he married in the Church of *Le Tabernacle*, 5th Feb. 1708-9, the marriage allegation being made by Isaiah Pantin, of the parish of St James's, Westminster, goldsmith.

The Courtaulds, as a prominent family in their adopted kingdom, descend from Augustine, the son of Augustine by Julia Giron, the refugee's first wife, who died in France. The refugee himself died, aged about 45 only, in London, and was buried at St Anne's, Soho, on the 20th Sept. 1706; his Will was proved in the Archdeaconry Court of Middlesex on the 5th Oct., by his widow and by his brother, who paid a visit to this country for that purpose. As to Augustine, the second, it is probable that the Isle d'Oleron was the place of his birth, and that he was brought over as a refugee infant; the date of his birth was 1686. He married Anne Bardin* of Chelsea, but, as the registers of the Chelsea French Church have been lost, the memory of this and several other domestic dates has been lost also. He had eight children, and in taking the legal steps for the marriage of one of his daughters he declared himself to be 43 years of age on the 21st May 1729. He died in 1751, aged 65; his wife and himself died in the same year, she being buried on the 26th March, and he on the 14th April, both in the parish churchyard of Chelsea. He was a goldsmith, and he left behind him a lucrative trade, £2000 in portions of £400 each to his surviving children, small bequests to other persons including his late brother's children, mourning rings to relatives and friends, including a Mr Peter Roubelleau [or, Riboleau], and £10 for the poor of the French Church in Orange Street, commonly called Leicester-Fields Church. This was his place of worship during the greater part of his married life, his house being in the parish of St Martin's-in-the-Fields. His surviving children were Anne, wife of John Jacob, Esther, wife of Stephen Goujon, Judith (unmarried), Augustine (born 1718), and Samuel (born 10th Sept. 1720.)

Augustine Courtauld, the third, was baptised on the 24th July 1718, his sponsors being Jacob de Milon and Jane Riboleau. He married on 19th March 1748-9, a cousin, Jane Bardin, daughter of John Bardin, by Renée Aveline his wife. His children were two daughters, and the male line was continued by his brother Samuel.

Samuel Courtauld was baptised on the 13th Sept. 1720; his sponsors were Samuel Aveline and Catherine Blanchard. On 31st Aug. 1749 he married a daughter of Peter Ogier, silk-weaver, formerly of Poitou, by his wife, Catherine Rabaud, Louisa Perina Ogier, who like her eight brothers and sisters inherited £250 on her father's death in 1740. After his father's death Samuel Courtauld removed to the parish of St Michael's, Cornhill, and to the French Church of Threadneedle Street; he died in 1765. In his Will he describes himself as a jeweller. His eldest son, Augustine, died in infancy. The second, Samuel (born 1752, died 1821), became a prosperous merchant in the state of Delaware in America. Several other children died either young or unmarried, of whom the youngest was Sophia (born 1763, died 1850). Catherine, the sixth child and third daughter (born 1760, died 1826), had as sponsors Mr Giles Godin and Mrs Francis Catherine Merzeau (née Ogier), and was the wife of William Taylor, Esq. The fourth son was George, who continued the direct line of the Courtaulds.

George was born 19th Sept. 1761, he acted as Secretary of the Eglise de La Patente till 1785, when he emigrated to America, and died at Pittsburg, 13th Aug. 1823. George Courtauld, "after a life of most varied enterprise in America and in England, invested what property he finally found himself possessed of in the purchase of lands in the Western States, and died as he was about to introduce the growth and manufacture of silk into the State of Ohio. He was a man of great power of character, and of great philanthropy, and it is said of him that in all his path through life he left a track of light behind him." By his wife Ruth, daughter of Stephen Minton of Cork (whom he married in America, and who died in England, aged 92), he had eight children; his eldest surviving child is Louisa Perina (born 1791),

* Perhaps the Bardins also were refugees from Saintonge. Among the graduates at Edinburgh University, 29th July 1600, were Joachimus Dubouchet, *Gallus*—Theodorus du Bouchet, *Gallus*—Joannes Bardin, *Xanctoniensis*.

widow of Abraham Clemens of America, now residing in Edinburgh; his daughter Catherine (*born 1795*) is the wife of her first cousin, Peter Alfred Taylor, Esq.

The eldest surviving son, the present head of the family, George Courtauld, Esq. of Gosfield Hall, Essex, was born in the City of Albany in the State of New York, 1st June 1793. He married in 1822 his first cousin, Ellen, daughter of William Taylor, Esq. Mr Courtauld "was for many years at the head of the extensive silk manufacturing firm of Samuel Courtauld & Co. of London and Essex, from active participation in the business of which he has retired, and is now enjoying his *otium cum dignitate* at the historical mansion of Gosfield Hall, which he purchased a few years since, and which he has had the happy taste to restore and improve without destroying."

IV.—VARIOUS PERSONS AND MEMORABILIA.

From much more ancient times than the era of the dragonnades and the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes, English manufactures had been immensely indebted to foreign Protestant immigrants and refugees. The comparative toleration which the Huguenots reaped from the Edict of Nantes, they repaid to France by their skill, industry, and inventive powers, so that the beautiful, industrial products and manufactures of France were mainly the work of Protestant hands. These goods brought annually a great flow of money into the kingdom, especially from England. Both the money and the manufactories were to a great extent lost to France, when the masters and workmen had to fly by tens of thousands from fanatical persecution. The benefit was largely transferred to Britain.

As Mr Durrant Cooper, the editor of "The Savile Correspondence," observes, to Henry Savile "belongs the honour of suggesting that wise course which turned the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes to such an advantage for the future prospects of England." He wrote to Secretary Jenkins from Paris, 21st Oct. 1681, "I send this in favour of a Protestant linen-draper who with all his substance has resolved to retire into England, in order to which he has packed up his shop and sent it in specie to Dunkirk, having paid all the duties and customs on this side for exportation; but, being now told that his religion will not hinder the confiscation of his goods, he goes first to London himself before he will hazard his effects." The postscript adds, "Here is a Protestant haberdasher in the same trouble about carrying his effects. Pray instruct me what to say to such people upon the like occasions. I assure you it is worth a serious consideration, for if you refuse to take substantial tradesmen with their ware, they will go into Holland; so that they will get the rich merchants, and we only the poor ones." In my Historical Introduction it has been recorded that leave was granted to refugees to come "with their ware." The linen-draper was Bonhomme, of whom Savile said, "This man will be able also to give you some lights into the method of bringing the manufacture of sayle cloathe into England." Professor Weiss informs us, "In 1681 the company of elders and deacons of the French Church in Threadneedle Street [London] supplied funds for the establishment of a linen-manufactory at Ipswich, where Charles II. had permitted a great number of refugees to found a colony. Bonhomme, one of the most skillful manufacturers of linen cloth in Paris, spread its manufacture in England, and at the same time taught the English to make sail-cloth." The whole of Weiss's chapter entitled "Of the principal manufactures with which *the Refuge* endowed England," is worthy of perusal. I extract the following statement as a specimen:—"Hat-making became one of the most important manufactures taken into England by the refugees. In France it had been almost entirely in the hands of the Protestants. They alone possessed the secret of the liquid composition which serves to prepare rabbit, hare, and beaver skins, and they alone supplied the trade with the fine Caudebec hats. After the Revocation most of them went to London, taking with them the secret of their art, which was lost to France for more than forty years. . . . The French nobility, and all persons making pretensions to elegance in dress, wore none but Eng-

lish hats during those years; and the Roman cardinals themselves got their hats from the celebrated manufactory at Wandsworth established by the refugees."

The refugees also improved our paper,* especially printers' and writing paper. Ours had been "a brownish and very coarse paper." Mr Smiles informs us that "the first manufactory for fine paper was established by the refugees in London in 1685;" he quotes the terms of a patent for making writing and printing paper granted in 1686 to "M. Dupin, A. de Cardonels, C. R. M. de Crouchy, J. de May, and R. Shales," they having "lately brought out of France excellent workmen, and already set up several new-invented mills and engines for making thereof, not heretofore used in England." Nicolas De Champ and his daughter Marguerite are remembered as refugee paper-makers in Scotland. They came from Normandy in 1679. De Champ began business at Colinton, near Edinburgh, but soon joined a firm at Woodside, near Glasgow. "Nicolas De Champs, Paper-maker in Glasgow," was a subscriber of £100 sterling to the Darien Company. He afterwards built a mill for himself in the parish of Cathcart, on a site beside a fall of the river Cart; "the place was called Newlands, and retains the appellation of Paper Mill to this day."† In 1726 his grandson, John Hall, was in occupation of this paper-mill. James Hall, De Champ's apprentice, had married his master's daughter. The following entry is extracted from the Register of Marriages for the Parish of Cathcart:—

"James Hall and Margrat Deshan both in this paroch gave up their names to be proclaimed in order to marriage March 25 who also married yrafter on Aprile 19, 1695."

There is no record of baptisms older than June 1701, so that their son and successor, John, is not registered; but later baptisms of children of James Hall "in paper mill" and Margerat Deshan are preserved, namely, Bethia (1703), Robert (1706), James (1709), David (1711), Mary (1712), Anne (1715), and Robert (1718).

I find some indications of the inventive talent of the refugees in the English Patent-Rolls:—

2 Aug. 1681. John Joachin Becher—his invention for winding of silk.

19 Aug. 1681 John Joachin Becher and Henry Serles—new way of making pitch and tarre.

28 April 1682. John Joachin Becher—floating mills.

29 July 1682. Francis Ammonet, Claude Hayes, and Daniel du Thais—their invention of the manufacture of draped stockings.

10 Aug. 1682. George Hager—making paper.

31 July 1682. John Duson—making salt and draining brine-pits and mines.

1 Aug. 1684. James Delabadie—an engine very useful for the beautifying of cloathes, freezes, and other woollen manufactures, in napping the same.

WILLIAM AND MARY, by the grace of God, to all to whom these presents shall come, greeting. Whereas Anthony Du Vivier, Esquire, hath by his humble petition represented unto us, that he hath by his industry found out and invented a way to make a ship go against wind and tide by a very easie and not costly machine, and yet knowne by noe others, which will be of great use and service to our subjects, &c. Westminster, 29th Feb. 4, W. & M. (1692.)

2 Sept. 1698. Francis Pousset—an invention for making black and white silk crape.

12 Dec. 1701. Richard Laurence De Manoir and Lewis Anne St Marie—an engine for the making of large rough-looking glass plates and chimney-pieces.

19 Nov. 1715. Peter Dubison—printing, dying, or staining of callicoes.

5 Feb. 1719. James Christopher Le Blon—multiplying pictures and draughts by a natural colloris with impression.

25 June 1720. John Theophilus Desaguliers and others—making the steam and vapour of boiling liquors useful for many purposes.

* Fourdrinier, the most eminent Huguenot name belonging to paper-making, was not connected with Britain till more modern times.

† Brown's History of Glasgow (1795), vol. ii. p. 211.

12 Aug. 1721. Isaac De la Chaumette—a canon or piece of ordnance, also a machine to cure smoky chimneys, and several other new inventions.

20th April 1723. Nehemiah Champion—invention for making a much greater quantity of brass from the copper and calamy, and of nealing the plates and kettles with pit coal.

1st June 1727. James Christopher Le Blon—making or weaving tapistry in the loom.

One of the most celebrated of the Huguenot colonies still survives in London, namely, in Spitalfields and Bethnal Green. I have already quoted from the present vicar's valuable Paper on this colony; he (Rev. Isaac Taylor) remarks as to the flight of this people's ancestors from France, "whole villages were depopulated. At Tours, of 8000 silk looms only 100 remained. Of 40,000 persons employed in the silk trade in that city, only 4000 were left. Of the 12,000 silk-weavers of Lyons, 9000 fled. It was the same throughout the manufacturing districts of France. The more skilful and intelligent of the artisans were those who had thought for themselves on religious questions, and had embraced the principles of the Reformation. The more cultured of the nobles and the more thoughtful members of the professional class had been the natural leaders of the Huguenot democracy. Hence it was that almost all of the manual skill, as well as of the brain, the intellect, the wealth and the thrift of France found itself proscribed. The unknown terrors of exile and the difficulties of flight once more morally winnowed the chaff from the wheat. The man of weak character conformed, outwardly at least; the grave, earnest men, men of powerful convictions, strong will, and dauntless courage, resolved to run the terrible risks of flight, and to endure the ruinous worldly losses which it involved. Hence, by a process of *natural selection*, the very cream of the manhood of France was lost to her for ever. Her chief industries were destroyed, or rather, transplanted to flourish more vigorously in rival lands."

I may here insert a compendious statement compiled for the *first edition* of this work from printed books and periodicals:—Thousands of the Huguenot refugees made their way to London, and settled in fields near London called Spitalfields, belonging to St. Austin's Spital, (or Hospital). For a century they preserved their French habits, both social and religious, and they had mathematical, historical, and floricultural societies; Simpson and Edwards, the Woolwich mathematical professors, came to their chairs from the silk looms of Spitalfields. Huguenot weavers also went to Manchester. Dr Aikin reckoned that before 1690, the manufacturers in Manchester earned no more than their livelihood. But "the second epoch extended from 1690 to 1730, where, from the time of their reception of the French emigrants they began to acquire little fortunes, but still worked as hard as before, and lived as plainly; the modern brick houses beginning, however, to take the place of those of wood and plaster." The French refugees introduced "the art of calico-printing and wax-bleaching, the weaving of velvet, silk stockings, crapes, bombazines, gauzes, damask table linen, cambric, &c. They brought with them improved ways of manufacturing ribbons, tapestry, baize, sail-cloth, and sacking; new modes of dyeing, and of making hats, pins, needles, watches, lace, and looking-glasses. The first person who contrived a machine moved by steam in England was Savary, the best maker of telescopes was Dollond, and the most famous biscuit-baker was Le Mann, near the Royal Exchange, London." In 1845 a Christian Society of Operative Silk-Weavers in Spitalfields erected a Tablet, "as a public declaration of their faith, that of late the sufferings of the Silk-Weavers have been greatly aggravated through a departure from those principles of piety which enabled their forefathers, the French Refugees, who planted the silk trade in Spitalfields, to endure the loss of all things; also to record their intention to erect a House of God.—HAGGAI i. 7, 8, 9." The last French minister was Rev. G. Huelins; he became a clergyman of the Church of England, but continued to care for his old flock.

"During the fifty years which immediately succeeded the Revocation," says Mr Taylor, "the English silk manufactures increased no less than twenty-fold." As a specimen of the prosperity to which the weavers in those times attained, I refer to the will of John Blondell, weaver of the parish of St Mary Matfelle, *alias* Whitechappell, Middlesex, 5th March 1698 (N.S.). His heirs are several cousins of the name of Boudrie, to whom he leaves grounds in

Coleman Street, and freeholds in Bishopgate Street—£500 to each of three cousins named Delfosse—to my brother-in-law Peter Petit, £100; to Rachel, wife of John Michie, £50; to Mary Blondell of Canterbury, widow, £40; to the poor of the French church, Threadneedle Street, £40; to the poor of the Walloon Church, Canterbury, £40; unto my good friend Major Peter Le Keux, my copyhold estate in the parish of Stepney, *alias* Stebonheath, commonly known by the name of the ANGELL and TRUMPET—unto my said very good friend, my six messuages or tenements in Gravel Lane, Houndsditch; to my god-son James Le Keux, £20.

Mr. Taylor picturesquely describes the weavers and weaving processes, as now existent. He informs us that a silk-weaver, requiring a broad and full light, must live in the upper portion of a house, and have a window extending across the whole breadth of his room; such houses, having their upper stories with long rows of broad weavers' windows glazed with small diamond panes, may be seen in street after street in Spitalfields and Bethnal Green. Enter one of these houses, climb to the upper storey, knock at a door and enter the weaver's dwelling. "The room is airy, light, and scrupulously clean, (for no master weaver would suffer costly and delicate fabrics to be made in a room reeking with abominations); with the exception of the ponderous looms, there is little furniture, two or three unsteady chairs, a deal table, a bed-stead that folds up against the wall, a few cheap framed prints, a struggling fuchsia or nettle-plant on the window sill, and on the chimney-piece the family heir-looms, those inevitable china ornaments." "The refugees had no English settlement, and consequently no claim upon the poor-rate. Self-reliant by nature, they started friendly and provident societies to provide for the necessities of sickness and old age. One of the earliest of these, the *Norman Society* of Bethnal Green, survived till within the last five years (1869). From this germ arose the English Friendly Societies." "The weavers have two hereditary hobbies, gentle tastes brought with them from the sunny south, the love of birds and the love of flowers." The roofs of the older houses are frequently covered with wooden stages for pigeon-cotes. The songs of canaries, finches, larks, and linnets enliven the weavers at their weary work. Many of their windows are a perfect flower show. The first refugees were often skilful gardeners. They introduced their craft at Rye and Sandwich, and there it still survives. The Rye flower-shows are in high repute in Kent and Sussex. One of the earliest flower-shows ever held in England was the annual weavers' show in Spitalfields. Twenty or thirty carefully trained plants may sometimes be seen in a single room, and their flower-shows are now being re-organized.* The *History of Dublin* states that the resident Huguenot refugees founded the Dublin Florists' Club in the reign of George I.; annual meetings were held in the Rose Tavern in Drum-coudra Lane (now Dorset Street); before that era, the cultivation of flowers was little attended to, and exotics were scarcely known.

One very remarkable inventor is rather a descendant of a refugee than a refugee—I mean Lewis Paul. His father, a refugee druggist and medical practitioner, left him a competency, his guardians being the Earl of Shaftesbury and Hon. Maurice Ashley Cooper. But not till he had squandered away his property did his genius appear. Mr Smiles describes his invention for spinning wool and cotton by rollers, of which Sir Richard Arkwright's spinning machines were practical improvements, or adaptations on a gigantic scale. The *Edinburgh Review* (April 1865), discussing the law of patents, says, "Upon the principle of the Patent-Law, Arkwright ought never to have had a patent; his spinning-frame was not new, having actually been patented before by Lewis Paul in 1738." Paul died at Brook Green, Kensington, April 1759.

The surname of Du Pre was introduced by the refugees. A Belfast family is descended from Mark Henry Du Pre, a reed maker, whom Crommelin induced to settle in Lisburn, in order to improve the manufacture, or rather the preparation, of reeds for the looms. The Waldensian Pasteur, Jean Rodolphe Peyran (b. 1752, d. 1823), in a controversial letter,

* Rev. Isaac Taylor's Paper in "Golden Hours," for 1869, pp. 258, &c.

twitted the Roman Catholic clergy with *La Mission Dragonne* of the days of Louis XIV. His English editor (Rev. Thomas Sims) makes the following note on that phrase:—*

“The persecution that followed the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes was attended with many cruelties to compel the Protestants to renounce their faith; amongst others, the dragoons of Louis XIV. were quartered upon the inhabitants, and permitted to harass them. It is due to the character of the excellent Fenelon that, when he went as a missionary to persuade the Protestants to become Roman Catholics, he refused to allow the presence of dragoons where he exercised his mission. Ambitious as Louis XIV. was in early, and superstitious, in later life, there is reason to conclude, from original State Papers, which have been since brought to light, that the cruelties of the persecution must be chiefly laid to the charge, not only of the Jesuit La Chaise, the King’s confessor, but of the Ministers of State, who instigated the commission of atrocities, of the existence of which, to the full extent, the King himself was not aware. . . . The persecution has been followed by events that should instruct all rulers in Church and State to cherish sentiments of moderation towards their fellow-Christians—for, *first*, the immediate loss to the French nation at the emigration of those industrious Protestants who fled to England, and other Protestant kingdoms, with skill in their manufactures, was immensely great. For proofs of the losses then sustained by the French nation, see *État de la France, extrait par M. le Comte de Boulainvilliers des memoires dressées par les Intendans du royaume par l’ordre du roi Louis XIV., à la sollicitation du Duc de Bourgogne*, a work published in 1727. *Secondly*, the intolerance that marked the conduct of the Church of Rome at that period, and in the following century, was a subject of which Deists of the school of Voltaire and D’Alembert availed themselves to diffuse the principles of infidelity, and hatred not only to the Church of Rome but to Christianity itself—a circumstance that combined with several other causes to promote the terrific event of the French Revolution.”

Chapter Xf.

REFUGEE LITERATI: BOUHEREAU, BOYER, BRUNIER, CHARDIN, CORNARD DE LA CROZE, FLOURNOYS, HERMITAGE, JUSTEL, LA ROCHE, MAITTAIRE, MISSON, MOTTEUX, RAPIN DE THOYRAS, AND SOULIGNE; with a note as to the Earl of Galway.

BOUHEREAU.

Elie Bouhéreau, was born at La Rochelle, where his father Elie Bouhéreau, was pasteur, in 1642. He was M.D. of the University of Orange, 29th Aug. 1667, and after taking his degree, he travelled in Italy with his cousin, Elie Richard Bouhéreau. He settled in La Rochelle, and practised medicine, at the same time acting as an elder in his church, and studying various departments of literature. As persecution thickened, he was banished by *Lettre de Cachet* to Poitiers. Continuing stedfast in the faith, he was debarred from the practice of medicine, but was permitted to reside in Paris. Not many months had elapsed, when an order was served upon him to remove to the extreme confines of Languedoc. He, however, betook himself secretly to La Rochelle, where his wife and children were, and from that famous port, they all set sail and arrived safely in England. His father, it is said, came over with him. In the Naturalizations, dated 15th April 1687 (see List xiii), we find the family, Elias Bouhéreau, Margaret *wife*, Elias, Richard, Amator, John, Margaret, Claude, and Magdalen *children*.

* Historical Defence of the Waldenses, by Peyran, edited by Sims (London, 1826), page 437.

Elie Bouhéreau was a scholar of no mean reputation. He was an intimate friend of the scholarly secretary of the French Academy, Valentine Conrart (*born 1603, died 1675*), who may be said to have been the most accomplished and the most universally popular Huguenot of his own or any generation. When the erudite Monsieur Rou sent presentation copies of his *Chronological Tables* to the marked men of his time, Bouhéreau was on the list of recipients; this was in 1672. In acknowledgment of the gift Rou received the following letter:—"Sir, After the approbation which the king, the dauphin, the Duc de Montausier, Mr Conrart, and the great and illustrious in Paris, have given to your *Tables Chronologiques*, thanks from a mere provincial may seem of mighty little consequence. Possibly they may be indifferent to you; still, Sir, they must dutifully be rendered. It is not for me to speculate regarding your sentiments, but I must have respect to gratitude which inspires my own. That I cannot imprison within my breast, and if its testimony impresses you as being beneath you, you must take the blame of having dispensed your benefits to too low a level. When I hardly believed I had the honour of being yet in your memory, you made me see that there I am in almost the same rank as the crowned heads and sovereign arbiters in polite literature, by regaling me with the same present which you offered to them, and which they have received so well. As yet I have been able only to run over your beautiful tables; but I have already been so much charmed with the distinctness both of the printing and of the matter, that when the binder has put them into shape, they will prove a most agreeable and constant recreation for my eyes and my mind. I shall often employ them in my most serious study, learning more by a glance of the eye than I could by turning over the leaves of many ponderous volumes. And what, when you have retouched your work, as they assure me you intend to do? After that, it will be easy to take a course of study from all the ancient historians, and then from all the modern, when you are pleased further to favour us. I would wish that Monsieur Tessereau, who is greatly interested in your work, and who would be best possible co-adjutor if such were needed, could persuade you to continue it down to our own time. Meanwhile, I am under particular obligations to him for having revived in your heart those favourable sentiments towards myself which I might have feared that the lapse of time had effaced."

(Signed) BOUHEREAU.

Dated at La Rochelle, 7th April 1672.

Rou was highly gratified by this letter, and in his answer to it, he assured Bouhéreau that the offer of his friendship was to him more precious and substantial than the best reception at court, and the most potent incense of the Academy, that he is honoured by his eulogium, though he cannot feel worthy of it, as coming from one, who is confessedly a sovereign arbiter as well as a labourer in the belles lettres, and has been authoritatively selected as an organ for diffusing the eloquence of the first Fathers of the Church.

Rou's allusion is to Conrart's appreciation of Bouhéreau's powers. This leading member of the Academy took delight in committing important literary tasks to his many friends, selecting for each what he was likely to perform best. The task which he assigned to Bouhéreau was the translation of Origen's Treatise in reply to Celsus, and the task was accepted. The work would have been done with great expedition, but Conrart's death removed the motive to complete it. However, during leisure moments it was completed, and it was among the author's manuscripts when himself, his family, and his baggage were landed in England.

The first notice of him by Englishmen is in the latin language, Bouhéreau being latinized into Boherellus. Anthony Wood was thus led into the mistake, when translating the Oxford University Fasti, of naming him *Boherel*. "1687. In a Convocation held 15th Dec. letters were read from the Chancellor of the University in favour of one *Elias Boherel* (born at Rochelle, partly bred under his father an eminent physician, and two years or more in the University of Saumur), to be created Bachelor of the Civil Law; but whether he was created or admitted, it appears not. He and his father were French Protestants and were lately come

into England, to enjoy the liberty of their religion which they could not do in France, because of their expulsion thence by the king of that country." [Wood, I believe, was mistaken in saying that the father was a physician.]

With regard to Bouhéreau's refugee life few particulars are known. His abilities found a discerning patron in the Earl of Galway, who during his government of Ireland employed him as his secretary, *i.e.*, from 1697 to 1701. In the Portarlington register, he is entered as god-father (by proxy), 11th July 1700, and is styled, "Monsieur Bouhéreau, Secrétaire de Son Excellence Mylord Comte de Gallway, l'un des Lords Justice d'Irlande." During this time he received information that a French translation of *Origen against Celsus* was announced for publication. This reminded him of his manuscript, and he forthwith gave it to the public in the shape of a handsome quarto volume, "Traité d'Origène contre Celse, ou Défence de la Religion Chrétienne contre les accusations des Païens. Traduit du Grec par Elie Bouhéreau. Amsterdam 1700." Its dedicatory epistle to Lord Galway has already been given to my readers. In the Preface he ascribes his undertaking to the order laid upon him by Conrart, "the arbiter of the Belles lettres, and the father of all lovers of literature in France;" he alludes to his deceased friend Claude's fear, that the publication of Origen's work in the vulgar tongue might infect some readers with the errors which that father mingled with Bible truth; but refers to Baron Spanheim and Professor Fabricius as having assured him that Origen's heresies had been so well discussed, that they bore within the very statement of them their own refutation.

Mr Bouhéreau remained in Dublin after the departure of his patron. He became pasteur of one of the French congregations in Dublin, was episcopally ordained, was Chantor of St Patrick's Cathedral from 1708 to 1719, and Doctor of Divinity. He was keeper of the library of that cathedral (known as Archbishop Marsh's Library), and custodier of a large collection of Huguenot documents in print and in manuscript, partly amassed by himself, and which are now the property of the Consistory of La Rochelle. He had a son, John Bouhéreau, who obtained a scholarship in Trinity College, and was a beneficed clergyman of the Irish Church. The family became an Irish family of high rank, and the surname Bouhéreau became Borough.

BOYER.

ABEL BOYER, to whose annals historians and biographers are so much indebted, was descended from an influential burgess family in Castres. He was born in 1664, and was a student in Puylaurens; but the Revocation prevented him from completing his college education in France. He then went as a senior student to Geneva, and again removed to Franeker. He came to England in 1689, and resided forty years, wielding his pen with diligence and success. He died at Chelsea, 16th Nov. 1729, aged 65. To the public his "Royal Dictionary, French and English," is the only memento of his name, except perhaps his "History of Queen Anne," in one volume folio. With a declared view to the service of posterity he had constantly compiled pamphlets and volumes (anonymous, but usually well-known to be his), containing documents and news concerning public men and measures, the memory of which might have otherwise perished, at least as to minute details. The "Account of the Earl of Galway's Conduct in Portugal and Spain," was (I think) compiled by Boyer. His Folio "*Queen Anne*" grew out of his annual volumes, which would have been called Annual Registers, but which he named "The Annals of Queen Anne." He also brought out "Annals of King George." To suit readers who preferred greater brevity, he founded, and during his life edited, the periodical chronicle named "The Political State of Great Britain;" which lived from 1711 to 1739. His last work was "The Great Theatre of Honour and Nobility, 1729."

Boyer had been French master to William, Duke of Gloucester, who died 24th July 1700, aged ten years and five days. In Boyer's *Life of William III.* (vol. iii., p. 457) there is a good portrait of that Prince, and this description of him:—"The Duke of Gloucester was a prince, whose tender constitution bended under the weight of his manly soul. . . . He was

scarce seven years old when he understood the terms of fortification and navigation, knew all the different parts of a strong place and a ship of war, and could marshal a company of boys who had voluntarily listed themselves to attend him. He had early sucked in his mother's piety and was always attentive to prayers; but he had a particular aversion to dancing and all womanish exercises. . . . In a word, he was too forward to arrive at maturity." It was this connection with the heir-presumptive to the throne that gave rise to the title of "Boyer's Royal Dictionary." The first edition was published in 1699; and the standard edition in 1729, the latter being superintended by Zach. Loquet (probably a refugee). This was the first good dictionary ever published—being not only a vocabulary for purposes of translation, but also an interpreting dictionary of both languages, French and English. We have all heard of the foreigner who was perplexed with the multifarious use of the word "box;" but if he had consulted Boyer's quarto, he would have understood all about it:—

BOX, *a sort of wood*, Bouïs. *Box-tree*, Bouïs.

BOX, *to put things in*, Caisse, Boite, Layette.

Dressing-Box, un Carre. *A Poor-Box*, Tronc [dans une eglise]. *A Dust-Box*, un Poudrier. *Christmas-Box*, Tire-Lire; *Christmas-Box*, Les Etreennes, [qu'on donne aux domestiques à Noël]. *Dice-Box*, un Cornet. *The Box* [of a screw], l'Écrou d'une vis. *A Juggler's Box*, Goblet de joueur de passe-passe. *The Coach Box*, Le siège du carosse. *A Box* in a play-house, Une Loge. *A Box* in a public-house, un trou, un petit réduit à boire. *A Box* on the ear, un soufflet. *A Box* [in a printing-house], Casetin. *A country-Box*, *a little snug country house*, Une petite maison de campagne, une guinguette. *To be in the wrong box*, se tromper, s'abuser, donner à gauche, se belouser. In the same method an Englishman's perplexities with French words are removed, for instance as to the word "montre":—

MONTRE, *portion de quelque chose que l'on montre*, a Sample.

MONTRE, *horloge en petit volume*, a Watch.

MONTRE, *platine qui indique les heures dans une horloge*, the Dial of a Clock.

MONTRE, *en termes de guerre*, a Muster, [Muster-Roll], Review.

MONTRE, *d'orfèvre, de coutelier, &c.*, a Glass-Box, [or case to shew goods].

MONTRE, *apparence*, shew, appearance (as, a good show of corn).

MONTRE, *ostentation, parade*, Show, Ostentation, Parade.

MONTRE, *d'Orgues*, the outside of an Organ.

BRUNIER.

ABEL BRUNIER.—The refugee of this name was descended from a noble Protestant family in the Cevennes. His grandfather was Abel Brunier, one of the fathers of modern botany, court physician to Henri IV. and Louis XIII., whose son was also named "Abel." The second Abel was famous for his ornithological paintings, and, like his father, was keeper of the unique collection of medals formed and augmented at the expense of Gaston, Duke of Orleans. On the Duke's death, his Protestantism drove him into retirement, and at his country house near Blois he spent his time in the education of his children, and in discharging all the duties of an elder of the church. He died 19th January 1685, leaving five sons, of whom the youngest, aged 10, remained in France; three others took refuge under the sway of the Prince of Orange, and of these two died at the victory of the Boyne, and one was wounded at Landen. The eldest, Abel, made a feigned recantation, which imposed upon no one. The Roman Catholics endeavoured to make him a real convert to their creed. Bertier, Bishop of Blois, was the last and the greatest of the baffled missionary fraternity. The Bishop then resorted to a more impressive mode of address, and obtained a *lettre de cachet* for his apprehension and imprisonment. Brunier received timely information, and fled to Holland; this was in 1699. He removed to England soon after, and was naturalized there. His joy, however, was bitterly alloyed. He heard of the death of his wife (a daughter of Jean Laugier, M.D.)

about a year after his flight; she had been forcibly detained in France, and died of grief and vexation. A daughter, whom he had conveyed to Holland, became the wife of a pastor; but the rest of his children were placed in convents, and were brought up as Roman Catholics. The eldest son was educated in the college of the Oratorians at Vendosme, and received a gift of his father's estate, which has been inherited by his lineal descendants.

The families of *Brunier* and *Chamier* were intimate during six generations, so that Abel Brunier was not without friends in England (their two founders had been advocates in Avignon, and had renounced Popery together). He became tutor to Henry, Viscount Boston, and his pupil's early death, which took place 19th June 1718, is supposed to have hastened his own.

Monsieur de Petigny of Blois has written the family history entitled, "*Les trois Brunyer.*" As to the refugee he mentions that the Duke of Marlborough's influence obtained him the tutorship in the Earl of Grantham's family—also that Abel Brunier's descendants in France possess an autograph letter proving that he actively interested himself in procuring the release, by an exchange of prisoners, of some French officers who had been taken at the Battle of Hochstet;—and this he did, notwithstanding the rigour with which the French Government prevented all correspondence between him and his family.

CHARDIN.

The great and learned traveller Jean Chardin was born at Paris 26th Nov. 1643. His father was a rich jeweller, who by Caron was named along with a Monsieur Raisin, and both were described as *très-honnêtes gens et marchands très-experimentés*.* The son left Paris and began his career of foreign travel in 1664; he did not return home till the summer of 1670. He printed a 12mo volume, entitled "An Account of the Coronation of Solyman III., Schah of Persia." Seeing how dark the temporal prospects of the Protestants were, he resolved to quit his native country; accordingly on the 17th August 1671 he set out on his return to Persia, where he remained till 1677, when he turned his steps to India, and did not see Europe again till 1680.

He says as to himself that his great desire to know the Empire of Persia and to publish a faithful account of it, moved him to study for several years the language of the country and the customs and manners of its inhabitants. His celebrated volumes of travel do not detail his first or 'prentice wanderings, but begin with 1671; his route to Persia then was "by the way of the Black Sea, through the countries of Circassia, Mingrelia, the country of the Abcas, Georgia, Armenia and Media." Before this, however, he had lingered in Italy and Constantinople for several months,—from the latter city his departure was hurried by a quarrel between the Grand Vizier and the French Ambassador which gave rise to a report that as a Frenchman Chardin would be arrested, and that "his goods, which were very rich and very considerable in quantity, would be seized." Judging from the abstracts of Chardin's Travels, which I have read (in Harris's Collection of Voyages, vol. ii., and De la Roche's Memoirs of Literature, vol. iii.), I would say that he does not, except as to his voyage from Paris to Ispahan, give us materials for following his steps day after day, but he presents us with digested information, as to people, places, and phenomena, as the results of the enquiries and observations of many years.

In 1680 his pilgrimages ended. Haag says that he arrived in London on 14th Aug. 1681, that ten days after he received the honour of knighthood from King Charles II., and that on the same day he married a lady from Rome. Her maiden surname is not known, but her Christian name was Esther. But Haag's date must refer to Chardin's final settlement in England. For he came to this country a year before, as we learn from Evelyn's Diary which contains this entry:—

"1680. 30th August. I went to visit a French gentlemen, one Monsieur Chardin, who

* Haag, tom. vi., p. 118.

having been thrice in Persia, the East Indies, and other remote countries, came hither in our return ships from those parts; and it being reported that he was a very curious and knowing man, I was desired by the Royal Society to salute him in their name, and to invite him to honour them with his company. Sir Joseph Hoskins and Sir Christopher Wren accompanied me. We found him at his lodgings in his Eastern habit, a very handsome person, extremely affable, a modest well-bred man, not inclined to talk wonders. He spake Latin, and understood Greek, Arabic, and Persian, from eleven years' travels in those parts, whither he went in search of jewels, and was become very rich. He seemed about thirty-six years of age. After the usual civilities, we asked some account of the extraordinary things he must have seen in travelling over land to these places where few (if any) northern Europeans used to go, as the Black and Caspian Sea, Mingrelia, Bagdat, Nineveh, Persepolis, &c. He told us that the things most worthy of our sight would be the draughts he had caused to be made of some noble ruins, &c.; for that, besides his own little talent that way, he had carried two good painters with him, to draw landscapes, measure and design the remains of the palace which Alexander burnt in his frolic at Persepolis, with divers temples, columns, relievos and statues yet extant, which he affirmed to be sculpture far exceeding anything he had observed either at Rome, in Greece, or in any other part of the world where magnificence was in estimation. He said there was an inscription in letters not intelligible though entire. He was sorry he could not gratify the curiosity of the Society at present, his things not being yet out of the ship, but would wait on them with them on his return from Paris, whither he was going the next day, but with intention to return suddenly and stay longer here, the persecution in France not suffering Protestants (and he was one) to be quiet."

Mr Chardin's stay in Paris was longer than he intended. On 28th March 1681 Henry Savile gave him a letter of introduction to his brother, the Earl of Halifax. But, as we have already quoted from Haag, it was in August 1681 that he arrived; we may also accept the fact of his being both knighted and married on the same day, 24th August 1681. Two months after he presented his letters to Lord Halifax, who wrote to his brother from London, Oct. 24th—Nov. 3d, 1681, "I had this morning two of yours brought to me by Sir John Chardin; one of them of so long a date, viz., March 28th, that I think it will not be necessary to make any answer to it. . . . I think such men as Sir John Chardin should be encouraged, and I shall be ready to do my part." He was naturalized at Westminster, 8th March 1682; the grant is to Job¹ Chardin, mil.; (*i.e.*, John Chardin, knight); Esther Chardin was naturalised on the 16th June 1682. In this year he was elected a Fellow of the Royal Society. Our king (says the English Cyclopaedia) employed him diplomatically on an important mission to Holland; and in 1683 he was at the Hague and Amsterdam as agent for the English East India Company. But the statement, which I have seen somewhere, that he resided thirty years in Holland as Ambassador and East India Agent is a mistake. His home was in England, and his chief occupation was preparing his volumes of Travels for the press.

In Evelyn's Diary we frequently meet him. In 1683, 18th Oct., he is conducted through the apartments of Montague House, along with Evelyn and Lady Scroope; and on 27th Dec. (says Evelyn) "I went to visit Sir John Chardin, who had made many curious researches in his travels, of which he is now setting forth a relation." 1684, 23d Feb.:—"I went to Sir John Chardin, who desired my assistance for the engraving the plates, the translation, and printing his story of that wonderful Persian Monument near Persepolis, and other rare antiquities, which he had caused to be drawn from the originals in his second journey into Persia;" 15th March, "I dined at the Lord Keeper's, and brought him to Sir John Chardin, who showed him his accurate draughts of his travels in Persia."

In the year 1686 he published his first volume of Travels; his residence was now in Greenwich; Evelyn writes, 18th July 1686, "I went to see Sir John Chardin at Greenwich." The volume was a folio, profusely illustrated, entitled, "Voyage de Monsieur le Chevalier Chardin de Paris à Ispahan, Capitale de l'Empire de Perse." It was dedicated to King James. It was speedily translated into English, Dutch, and German.

In the year 1687 his son and heir was born. On 6th October Evelyn writes, "I was godfather to Sir John Chardin's son, christened at Greenwich Church, named John; the Earl of Bath and the Countess of Carlisle were the other sponsors." Another son was born in 1691, as appears from the register of St Martin's-in-the-Fields, which contains the baptism of George Chardin, son of John and Esther, 11th October 1691.*

As a Protestant exile, he was a known friend of the persecuted Protestants. In a State Paper, Her Majesty Queen Anne declares,† "By our warrant, bearing date the 30th Sept. 1704, we did direct (amongst other things) that the following yearly sums should be paid to our trusty and well-beloved Sir John Chardin for the uses following, that is to say,

To be remitted by him for the use of the Vaudois Ministers, per annum,	£425	0	0
To be remitted as our bounty to a school at Offenbach,	30	0	0
And for the use of [Henri] Arnaud, per annum,	100	0	0
	<hr/>		
	£555	0	0

"The said yearly sums have been satisfied and paid to the said Sir John Chardin to Michaelmas 1709."

After that date, the payments fell into arrear, and the Vaudois pastors in 1711, when calling Mr Hill's attention to this, and also to new channels for remitting the money, observe, "The Chevalier Chardin has heretofore been the channel through which this maintenance has reached us, but his age and infirmities (as he has often assured us) prevent him from being so for the future." (Hill, pp. 834, 978.)

He devoted his best energies to the task of composing and revising his works as a traveller, in which public and philanthropic labour he was most painstaking and conscientious. He had established himself in a residence suitable to his fortune. Evelyn writes on the 18th May 1705, "I went to see Sir John Chardin at Turnham-Green, the gardens being very fine and exceeding well planted with fruit." In 1711 his *Travels* appeared in three volumes, the first being the fifth edition of his previous work, and the other two being new. He recommends himself to his readers, as one who knows Ispahan better than London, who speaks the Persian language as easily as English, and understands it almost as well as French. He gives many specimens of the moral sentences of the Persians, for instance,

If the ass on which Christ rode should go to Mecca, he would come back from thence as much an ass as before.

Never take a house in a part of the town where the common people are both ignorant and devout.

A man deserves to be accounted wise, whilst he seeks wisdom; but as soon as he thinks that he has acquired it, he is a fool.

A learned man knows an ignorant man, because he has been ignorant; but an ignorant man does not know a learned man, because he never was learned.

Such aphorisms the Persians often exhibit on the walls of buildings, both public and private; from the front of a mosque, built in a solitary place, Chardin copied this inscription:

The Church does not consist in a multitude of people.
Whoever has truth with him is the Congregation of the faithful,
though he be alone.

Sir John Chardin's *Travels*, as they were the first really good accounts of foreign countries and nations, so they long retained their hold on public attention. In 1735 they were reprinted

* Colonel Chester's MSS.

† Right Hon. Richard Hill's Correspondence, p. 824.

at Amsterdam, in 4 vols. 4to ; and again they were brought out in 10 vols. 8vo., annotated by Langlés and published at Paris, 1811. He died in his own house on Christmas day 1712, having not long before entered his seventieth year. Turnham-Green was in the parish of Chiswick, and thus in the Chiswick register (according to Lysons) there is this entry, "Sir John Chardin, buried Dec. 29, 1712." On the same day his Will was proved by one of the executors, Charles Parry, Esq., power being reserved to the other two, viz., Henry, Earl of Galway, and Dr John Wickart, Dean of Winchester. The Will, dated 20th Sept. 1711, contains, among other charitable bequests, the following :—For the benefit of poor Protestant Refugees, £500. For the propagation of Gospel in foreign parts, £1000. A monument was erected in Westminster Abbey to the memory of Sir John Chardin ; it is surmounted by a terrestrial globe over which is marked the course of the deceased's travels, and below his name is the inscription, "Nomen sibi fecit eundo." Sir John Chardin left two sons and several daughters (one was named Elizabeth). His eldest son, John, passed as a barrister and was of the Inner Temple, London. He purchased from Grantham Andrews, Esq. of Sunbury, a country seat in Middlesex, near Hampton Court, called Kempton Park ; he was made a Baronet on the 28th May 1720. Here he lived unmarried, but in 1746 presented the estate to his nephew Sir Philip Musgrave. Sir John Chardin, Baronet, died 26th April 1755, in his 68th year, when the title became extinct. On the 10th May he was buried in Westminster Abbey, in the eastern aisle, near his father's monument.

Julia, a daughter of Sir John Chardin, Knight of Turnham-Green, married in 1711, during her father's life-time, Sir Christopher Musgrave, fifth baronet of Hartley Castle in Westmoreland, M.P. for Carlisle, and had four sons and seven daughters—two of the sons had some fame in the learned world, Rev. Christopher Musgrave, Fellow of All-Souls' College, Oxford, Rector of Barking, and Rev. Chardin Musgrave, Provost of Oriel College, Oxford. Her eldest son Sir Philip, M.P. for Westmoreland, succeeded to the baronetcy in 1735, and was succeeded in 1795 by his eldest son, Sir John Chardin Musgrave, seventh baronet, whose three elder sons have, in their turn, succeeded to the baronetcy, the present or tenth baronet being by birth the third son, and styled Sir George Musgrave, Bart. of Edenhall, near Penrith. Sir John Chardin Musgrave, who died in 1806, sold the Chardin estate, Kempton Park. But at Edenhall there are memorials of the illustrious refugee, in the shape of two portraits and some pieces of plate. There are also some manuscript volumes which I shall now describe.

In his printed Works, Sir John announced that he intended to publish a distinct treatise containing explanations of passages in the Holy Scriptures, suggested by the existing customs and manners of eastern nations ; but he died before he could prepare this anxiously expected book. The subject was taken up about the year 1760 by the Rev. Thomas Harmer, who compiled notes from the narratives of oriental travellers on the principle, "Make every kind of study pay its contribution to the oracles of God." He brought out a volume of "Observations on divers passages of Scripture placing many of them in a light altogether new by means of circumstances mentioned in books of voyages and travels in the East." In 1775 Harmer brought out a second edition, enlarged into two volumes ; an extract from its preface will best serve my present purpose. "The greatest advantage to this edition are those additions which have been furnished by some MS. Papers of the late Sir John Chardin, who resided long in the East, was a very curious observer, and paid a particular attention to such matters as might serve to illustrate passages of holy writ, which led him to make many observations very much resembling those that were heretofore published in this work. There are six small MS. volumes of Sir John which are still in being, and which I have perused on this occasion. . . . His observations sometimes give a new turn to the passages of Scripture which he is endeavouring to elucidate ; but oftener farther illustrate and confirm the explanations that are to be met with in other writers, and not unfrequently those formerly published in this work. I have selected those that seemed at all suited to the intention of this collection of mine, and I hope these additions will give a considerable degree of pleasure to my readers. If they should, the public ought to be informed that they are indebted for such instruction and pleasure to Sir Philip Musgrave,

Baronet, a descendant of this eminent traveller, and the proprietor of these MSS., to whom I sometime ago returned them. And I beg leave in this public manner to return my thanks to that gentleman for granting me the liberty of perusing these Papers, and for the permission he gave me of publishing any part of them that I should select as proper to be introduced into this work." [In 1787, Harmer published the third and fourth volume of his "Observations," and said in the Preface, "Sir Philip Musgrave most obligingly sent me, after the two first volumes of my Observations appeared, the three tomes of Sir John Chardin's Travels printed in French, at Amsterdam, 1711, which have furnished me with considerable additions." Many years after Harmer's death (which happened in 1788), Dr Adam Clarke brought out the standard edition (the fourth).]

DE LA CROZE.

JOHN CORNAND DE LA CROZE was another of the refugees literati. He was author, along with Le Clerc, of the *Bibliothèque Universelle*, in eleven volumes. He wrote a book against Molinos the Quietist and his disciples; also, three letters on Italy (1688); "The Works of the Learned," and "The History of Learning" (both in 1691); and "Memoirs for the Ingenious, containing Observations in Philosophy, Physic, Philology, and other Arts and Sciences for the year 1693."

FLOURNOYS.

The family of Flournois, or Flournoys, were early sufferers for their Scriptural faith. After the massacre at Vassy in 1562, Laurent Flournois took refuge in Geneva, and two families were founded by his sons Gideon and Jean—descendants of the offspring of both sons are believed still to exist in America. The second son of Gideon was Jacques, and the latter had four sons, one of whom named Pierre, settled in England.

It is probable that the parents of the refugee had again settled in the land of their fathers. In the stream of French refugees from the dragonnades Peter Flournoys came to England, and he was naturalized on the 28th June 1682 (see List VI.) Although we have found no indication of his occupations for more than thirty years after the above date, yet he had evidently proved himself to be an able and accomplished man, and had obtained the approbation and esteem of the Earl of Sunderland. This led to his appointment by King George I. as tutor to his lordship's nephews. In the Patent Rolls, under date 17th March 1715, His Majesty declares, "We are graciously pleased to allow for and towards the maintenance of the late Countess of Clancarty's children and for their education in the Protestant religion, the annuity or yearly pension of £1000, and the same shall be paid to the hand of our trusty and well-beloved Peter Flournois, Esq., as from last Christmas, during pleasure." At a later date he received the office of Clerk of the Robes and Wardrobes to His Majesty. He died in 1719. In his will he remembers his pupils "Lord Muskerry and his brother Mr Justin Maccarty." He leaves books and pictures to his dear friend, Lord Spenser; and we infer that they must have been of some value, when proposed to form part of the treasures of the *Œdes Althorpiænæ*. He mentions his brother Anthony Flournoys with two sons and one daughter, an unmarried brother James, and a sister Elizabeth, wife of Monsieur Veillier with two sons (Gaspard and John James) and three daughters. He leaves £50 to poor-boxes in Geneva, £50 to French Protestant Refugees in England, £10 to the poor of St. James's, Westminster, and £100 to the French Hospital of the Pest-House. The will was sworn to by Rev. Nicholas Clagett in Dec. 1719, but probate was delayed till July 1720, for the evidence of John Walker, ironmonger, and Philip De Noyer, bookseller. A witness to the signature was Isaac Garnier. The Executors were René de la Combe de Clusell and Rev. Philip Mesuard.

DE L'HERMITAGE.

DE L'HERMITAGE was a literary man in Saint-Evremond's circle, and said by Weiss to be "nearly related to Gourville," and a French Protestant Refugee. A Monsieur de l'Hermitage appears as an English secretary in Robethon's correspondence. He was probably the same as St. Evremond's friend, and as the pensioner on the Irish establishment of 1715, as to whom there is the following entry:—"Renusus de Saumier d'Hermitage, residing in England, £500."

JUSTEL.

HENRI DE JUSTEL was (says the *Biographia Britannica*) born at Paris in 1620. He was Secretary and Councillor to Louis XIV. and had a high place in the confidence of that king. As a great scholar and man of letters he was of the same reputation as his father, Christophe Justel (who died in 1649). He was the chieftain of Protestant controversialists, though his position at court compelled him to shelter among the anonymous. His "Answer to the Bishop of Condom's [Bossuet] Book, entitled, An Exposition of the Doctrine of the Catholick Church upon matters of controversie," was translated and printed at Dublin in 1676. It was licensed for the Press by Dr. Edward Wettenhall with this observation, "If any one should think that in this book he finds anything not quite in conformity with the doctrine and offices of the Anglican Church, let him set that to the account of the peculiar constitution of the Reformed Churches in France. Assuredly I judge the body of the Reply to be truly worth its weight in gold, and worthy of this *imprimatur*." Justel's Dedicatory Epistle is "To Monsieur CONRART. Since it is you, sir, who inspired me with the thought of undertaking the defence of our common cause against a Prelate of the reputation of the Bishop of Condom, be pleased also to become responsible to the public for the manner in which I have acquitted myself herein. I am persuaded a man could not set here a better name than yours, to do no wrong to himself, or to give more weight to the Answer he had made. It is notorious that you are known through all parts where desert is known. You are equally loved and esteemed by all worthy persons both of one and the other communion, and by the Bishop of Condom himself. And as all the world agrees, that none can wear a spirit or an heart more upright than that which you own, so it will easily be presumed that those sentiments which you shall have approved are no less sincere than faithful. Nor can any say that this is an anonymous work, in that they see not my name here, if that you will be pleased it be known that he who writ it has the honour to be one of the friends of Monsieur Conrart."

Justel's house in Paris was much visited by distinguished Englishmen, among these John Locke and Rev. Dr. Hickes are specially mentioned; and to them should be added Wake, who in his publications against Bossuet got many hints from the above-named compendious volume and its author. Dr. Hickes returned from France to England in 1674, and by him Justel sent to the University of Oxford the manuscript of *Canones Ecclesie Universalis* in Greek, which his father had printed. How the University acknowledged this gift, Anthony Wood has recorded in the *Fasti*;—"1675, June 23. Henry Justell, Secretary and Councillor to the Most Christian King was diplomated Doctor of the Civil Law; he was a most noted and learned man, and, as the public register said, *non modò omni scientiarum et virtutum genere per se excelluit, verùm etiam parentis optimi et eruditissimi Christoph. Justelli doctrinam et merita, ornando et excolendo, sua fecit*. He had given several choice MSS. to the public library, and had sent by Mr George Hicks of Lincoln College (who became acquainted with him at Paris) the original MS. in Greek of the *Canones Ecclesie Universalis*, put out by his father Christopher, which is at this time in the Public Library. What this eminent author Henry Justell hath written and published, the printed catalogue belonging to that library, commonly called the Oxford Catalogue, will tell you."

Hickes, in conversation with Justel in Paris, remarked on the frequent demolition of the Protestant temples, notwithstanding the Edict of Nantes. Justel replied, "As I am wont to talk in confidence with you, I will tell you a secret which almost none of us know besides myself. Our extirpation is decreed; we must all be banished our country or turn Papists. I tell it you because I intend to come into England where I have many friends, and that when you see me in your country you may remember that I told you."

In 1676 Henri Justel married his cousin Charlotte de Lorme. Their daughter was buried on March 17, 1681, the eve of their departure from France. Weiss informs us:—"Justel, who was secretary to Louis XIV., early penetrated that monarch's designs. Resolutely making up his mind, he sold his rich library several years before the Revocation, and went to England. This was great joy to Bayle. 'I hope,' he said in his *Nouvelles de la République des Lettres*, March 1684, 'Monsieur Justel, who now resides in London, and who is so inquiring, so learned, so well-informed in all that concerns the Republic of letters, and so well disposed to contribute his information, will tell us many things that will do much honour to this Journal.' Scarcely had Justel arrived in London when he was named librarian to the King of England. Such was his reputation as a learned man, that he was more than once chosen to arbitrate in erudite quarrels. His rich and copious conversation attracted St Evremond, who loved those *talking libraries* (ces bibliothèques parlantes)."

On his arrival in 1681, Justel called on Hickes at his house on Tower-Hill, and reminded him of his prediction. The office which he obtained was Keeper of the King's library at St James's; the annual salary was £200. One of his hospitable friends was John Evelyn. We meet him in Evelyn's diary during the severe frost of January and February 1684, when the ice on the Thames was covered with streets of booths where all sorts of shopping could be executed, meat was roasted, carriages, carts, and horses driven along; there was a printing press where the people had their names printed on cards for sixpence per name; and Justel's card is still preserved by a collector.

Mons^r et Madme. Justel.
Printed on the river Thames being frozen.
In the 36th year of King Charles the II.,
February the 5th, 1683.

Justel added with a pen V.S. (for *vieux style*), to indicate that the true date was 1684. On the 8th February Evelyn writes: "I went this evening to visit that great and knowing virtuoso, Monsieur Justell. The weather was set in to an absolute thaw and rain; but the Thames still frozen;" "3d Dec. I carried Mr Justell and Mr Slingsby, Master of the Mint, to see Mr Sheldon's collection of medals." The last entry is dated, 13 March 1691: "I went to visit Monsieur Justell and the library at St James's, in which that learned man had put the MSS. (which were in good number) into excellent order, they having lain neglected for many years; divers medals had been stolen and embezzled." Mr Justell died in September 1693, and was buried at Eton. It is said that he left a son named Christopher. In *List XX.* of Naturalizations there is a *Henry Justel*, 15th April 1693. [Another Henry Justel was naturalized in 1687; see list XIII.; perhaps he was our author.]

LA ROCHE.

MICHEL DE LA ROCHE, editor of "Memoirs of Literature," and "A Literary Journal," has, by his volumes, filled up a gap in literary history. In volume 3 of the "Literary Journal," page 290, he writes—"I was very young when I took refuge in England, so that most of the little learning I have got is of an English growth. I might compare myself to a foreign

plant early removed into the English soil, where it would have improved more than it has done, under a benign influence. As I had imbibed no prejudices in France against the Church of England and Episcopacy, I immediately joined with that excellent church, and have been a hearty member of it ever since. I was not frightened in the least, neither by a surplice, nor by church music, nor by the litany, nor by anything else. I did not cry out, *This is popery*. I cannot say that I have learned in England to be a moderate man in matters of religion, for I never approved any sort of persecution one moment of my life. But 'tis in this country that I have learned to have a right notion of religion—an advantage that can never be too much valued. Being a studious man, it was very natural for me to write some books, which I have done, partly in English and partly in French, for the space of twenty years. The only advantage I have got by them is that they have not been unacceptable, and I hope I have done no dishonour to the English nation by those French books printed beyond sea, in which I undertook to make our English learning better known to foreigners than it was before. I have said just now that I took refuge in England. When I consider the continual fear I was in, for a whole year, of being discovered and imprisoned to force me to abjure the Protestant religion, and the great difficulties I met with to make my escape, I wonder I have not been a stupid man ever since." (Dated April, May, June 1731).

De la Roche felt such a revulsion against cruel and unreasoning Popery, that he yielded to the temptation of disparaging every doctrinal system, however scriptural, confining himself to the watchword, "Honesty is Religion." We must admit that Christianity (or acquaintance with Christ) promotes godliness, and that godliness promotes honesty, and that the advancement of honesty is one of the grand and intentional effects of implanting Christian faith in a human soul; but under the plausible motto, "Honesty is religion," the scriptural partnership of "wisdom, righteousness, sanctification, and redemption," might be renounced, in defiance of the warning contained in the Thirteenth Article of the Reformed Churches of France, "*Nous croyons qu' en celui Jesus Christ tout ce qui etoit requis à notre salut nous a été offert et communiqué. LEQUEL, nous étant donné à salut, nous a été quant à quant fait sapience, justice, sanctification, et redemption, en sort qu'en declinant de LUI on renonce à la misericorde du Père, ou il nous convient avoir notre refuge unique.*" A descendant of the Calvinist Des Bouveries uttered words fitted to warn those French Protestants whose anti-Popery degenerates in the direction of anti-Trinitarianism, "Socinianism, being one of the most inconsistent of all religionisms, can maintain no long hold upon the human mind. It must go downwards towards Deism even while it continues to call itself Christian, or to acknowledge some unreal Christ of its own invention."

The society which De la Roche frequented was unfriendly to Bible religion. He tells us,* "Mr Bayle was a friend of mine; I was personally acquainted with him; he was not a positive Atheist. A person of great probity told me that he died an Atheist; I had rather say at most that he died with doubts about the existence of God. And I own that 'tis a deplorable thing to have doubts about such an important article. Once I spoke to him of the phenomena of nature, whereupon he told me that it was impossible for an Atheist to answer the arguments for the existence of God, taken from those phenomena. From whence, then, proceeded his doubts?—He could not apprehend that a Being infinitely just and holy should permit all the disorders, all the crimes and wickedness, that have prevailed at all times among men. Political wars, and persecutions on account of religion which have been so frequent, appeared to him to be insurmountable objections. It does not appear to me that the disorders of mankind can elude the argument for the existence of God, which the phenomena of nature afford us. Yet it must be owned that those disorders have chiefly contributed to Atheism. And therefore preachers (and also men in power) should use their utmost endeavours in all countries to make virtue and honesty more universal than they are."

* Literary Journal (1731), vol. iii. p. 116. I have taken the liberty to abridge this article.

Another of his unstable companions* was Dr. Samuel Clarke, on whom he wrote a panegyric in the Literary Journal (vol. iii. art. 13), concluding thus:—"What I have said of Dr. Clarke does not proceed from any great favours received or expected from him. And what can a layman expect from a clergyman, especially considering that I knew well enough that Dr. Clarke would die rector of St. James's, because he followed the doctrine of the primitive Fathers, for whom we have a due veneration? I never was of Dr. Clarke's opinion about the Trinity, and I told him so, more than once. He never was displeased with it in the least. Let us bear with one another in theological matters, and always remember that *Honesty is Religion.*"

In withholding his attachment from evangelical doctrines, and yet boasting of membership in the Established Church, he reminds us of the mass of the ministers of the Church of Scotland in the last century who were avowed sceptics, as to the dogmata which they signed as the Confession of their own Faith, and who might have adopted as their motto a sentence by De la Roche: "By the word *Calvinism* I mean some wrong notions in the religion of the Reformed (otherwise named Calvinists,) and a want of *moderation.*" At the same time our author expresses his disapprobation of signing, without believing, doctrinal articles, in the following allusion to Vossius: "A clergyman, well acquainted with Isaac Vossius, told me that one day he asked that Preliminary of Windsor, what was become of a certain person; *he has taken Orders*, replied Vossius; *he has got a living in the country, sacrificulus decipit populum.* Did Vossius take holy orders for no other reason but to live an easy life? Is it not a deplorable thing that a man, who believes nothing, should subscribe Thirty-nine Articles of Faith?"

De la Roche compiled several chapters in his Memoirs of Literature by culling from the Minutes of the French Synods all the decisions that might provoke a smile, and also by digging up anecdotes of scenes in those assemblies of the Church of his fathers which were not for edification. But the suggestion that deliberative Church-courts should be abolished for such reasons implies a similar suggestion as to free parliaments, business associations, and benevolent committees, and even as to juries, from whose proceedings many ridiculous passages might be extracted. He himself refers to his printed extracts thus: "A friend of the late Dr. Samuel Clarke told me that when that Divine read my fair and impartial account of the French Protestant Synods in the first Memoirs of Literature, he was like to split his sides with laughing. When I published that account, a French minister asked me this question, 'How do you read our French Synods?' 'Sir, (said I), how come you to put such a question to me?' 'Because (replied he) Lord —— told me, your ministers were a poor sort of men; there is nothing but fooleries in your synods.' That minister laughed all the while he spoke those words; he knew very well that I was an impartial writer, and that I acknowledged that there were in those times men of merit among the Protestant Divines of France."

It is only fair to add, that De la Roche shews sympathy with the French Protestants. For instance, he makes this observation: "Christ ordered his disciples to celebrate the memory of his death by eating some bread and drinking some wine. Who in the Apostolical age would have thought that such a plain ceremony would in time be transformed into a mass, and that thousands of people would be burnt alive on account of that bread and of that wine?" He gives this useful extract from the French Synods (which, and indeed everything valuable, had already been given to English readers in Quick's Synodicon), "1612. The Deputies-General are enjoined most humbly to beseech their Majesties to free them from the necessity imposed upon them (with greater severity than has been done heretofore, and even against the liberty

* I may here copy a biographic fragment from Professor Weiss; it evidently requires some sifting research, and I do not endorse its accuracy: "No very zealous Protestant was Colomiés, son of a physician of La Rochelle; he passed in England as one of the pillars of Socinianism. Violently attacked by Jurieu, he went over to the Presbyterian Church and became Librarian to the Archbishop of Canterbury. St. Evremond, who was amused by his mental eccentricities, described him as an unbeliever, who in his books, strove to prove that the version of the Seventy is divinely inspired, while by his discourse he shewed that he did not believe in Divine Inspiration."

of conscience granted them) call themselves of the *pretended Reformed Religion*, rather choosing to undergo the greatest punishments than to condemn their religion with their own mouth." He relates the following interesting anecdote: "In the time of the persecution of the French Protestants a friend of mine was apprehended in a maritime province, when he was ready to take shipping for England. The famous Abbé Flechier who happened to be there (he was afterwards Bishop of Nismes) sent for him and discoursed with him in a very polite manner to persuade him to turn Catholic. The young gentleman told him, "*Sir, you have expressly declared in your History of the Emperor Theodosius the Great that no violence ought to be used for the conversion of heretics.*" The Abbé being sensible of the consequence of such an observation, especially at such a time, turned immediately the discourse another way, and spoke of something else to a gentleman who sat by him." He also introduces to his readers a Huguenot book, reviewing it favourably and heartily thus:—

"*Lettres à un Protestant François touchant la Declaration du Roi concernant la Religion, donné à Versailles le 14 Mai 1724.* A Londres, chez Thomas l'Etonné, 1725. [Letters to a French Protestant about the King's Declaration concerning Religion, given at Versailles 24th May 1724. London, 1725, 2 tomes in 12mo., pp. 246 and 221.]

This work contains eleven letters with these titles: I. General Reflections. II. and III. Pretended mitigations in the Declaration. IV. Proofs of Severity from the preface. V. The Severity of the Articles of the Declaration taken from the old Edicts, and reflections upon forced communions [one of the most valuable parts of this book]. VI. Articles of the Declaration more severe than the former Arrêts. VII. Persecution gives no right to take up arms against the Sovereign. VIII. Dissimulation is a crime in point of religion. IX. The necessity of running away in the time of persecution. X. and XI. Reasons for running away taken from the Declaration. One may boldly challenge the most violent Divines of the Church of France, and even all the Jesuits and Dominicans of that kingdom, to confute what the Author says against the persecution of the French Protestants. Nothing can be more deplorable than the state of Christianity in the Church of Rome. Men are taught to believe such things as are most inconsistent with reason, and to act against natural humanity."

In addition to what I formerly quoted, he says with regard to his own literary labours:—"Unnecessary abridgements are a public nuisance in the commonwealth of learning. I never printed any Abridgement but that of Gerard Brandt's History of the Reformation in the Low Countries; and I hope nobody will say that it was unnecessary," [it is in two octavo volumes.]

De La Roche's Autograph may be seen in the British Museum in the collection of letters to Des Maizeaux, to whom he writes:—"London, 19th Oct. 1717. I pray you very humbly not to mention in your performance that it was I who translated the controversy between Mr Clark and Monsieur Leibnitz." The following is an exact account of his periodical publications. The 1st volume of his *Memoirs of Literature* was in folio, 1710-11. Vols. 2, 3, and 4 followed at various intervals from 1712 to September 1614, and these were quartos. He then transferred his publications to Holland, where he issued from 1714 to 1725, the *Bibliothèque Angloise ou Histoire Litteraire de la Grande Bretagne*, in 5 vols. 12mo, and a continuation entitled *Memoires Litteraire de la Grande Bretagne*, in 8 vols. 12mo. He published by subscription in 1722 at London, a second edition of his former *Memoirs of Literature*, 350 copies, in 8 vols. octavo; to the new preface he signed his name, MICHAEL DE LA ROCHE; the only apparent Huguenot names among the subscribers are Isaac Diserote, Rev. Dr. La Croze, Bernard, Liutot, Charles de Maxwel, Esq., and James Rondeau. Next he brought out "*New Memoirs of Literature*," from 1725 to 1727 in 6 volumes. And finally, "*A Literary Journal, or a Continuation of the Memoirs of Literature by the same author*,"—this lasted during 1730 and 1731, and extended to three volumes. The third volume (which is the most interesting and contains the author's own miscellaneous observations) begins in January, 1731, in the opening advertisement he says, "If my readers knew the history of this Journal and what crosses and disappointments it has met with, they would pity me." The concluding advertisement, June 1731, is in these words:—"My readers know that I print this

Literary Journal upon my own account. I give them notice that it will be discontinued, till I have sold a certain number of my copies ; and then I shall go on with it."

MAITTAIRE.

MICHEL MAITTAIRE was born in France in 1668 of Huguenot parents. His father brought him to England at the time of the flight of the Protestants from the dragonnades. Among the naturalizations of 8th March 1682 are "Michael Metaire and Michael, his son," (see vol. i., page 41.) Young Michael was sent to Westminster School, where he was a pupil of Dr Busby ; thence he proceeded to Oxford, where he took his degrees, being admitted M.A. in 1696. He became one of the masters of Westminster School ; but (says the English Cyclopædia) "in 1699 he resigned that appointment, and devoted the remainder of his life to literary pursuits."

He devoted himself principally to bibliographical and philological researches, and to the editing of the classics with notes and indexes (among others, the Greek Text of Anacreon, with translations into Latin verse and prose). He published elaborate works upon typography. His native country was proud of his fame, and gave him a passport to prosecute his researches in Paris. For this favour he was deeply grateful, having, like most of the refugees, a warm affection for France and the French. He corresponded with all the *savans* of Europe, by whom he was respected, not only for his erudition, but also for his character, especially for his excellent temper and love of truth. In 1711 the heresies of Mr. Whiston drew out from him no less than three pamphlets, proving him to be a learned theologian,* and an ardent Christian. (1.) "The Present Case of Mr. William Whiston, humbly represented in a Letter to the Reverend the Clergy now assembled in Convocation." (2.) "Remarks on Mr. Whiston's Account of the Convocation's Proceedings with relation to himself, in a Letter to the Bishop of Bath and Wells" (Hooper). (3.) "An Essay against Arianism and some other heresies, or a Reply to Mr. Whiston's Historical Preface and Appendix to his *Primitive Christianity Revived*. The English Cyclopædia enumerates as the "most important" of his works, the following :—*De Græcæ Linguæ Dialectis*, Lond. 1706-1742 (reprinted at Leipsic 1807, edited by Sturz) ; *Stephanorum Historia, vitas ipsorum et libros complectens*, Lond. 1709 ; *Historia Typographorum aliquot Parisienum*, Lond. 1717 ; *Annales Typographici*, 9 vols. quarto, Amst. and Lond. 1719-1741 ; *Marmoræ Oxoniensis*, Lond. 1732. In the Chapter-Book of Westminster Abbey, there is a vote dated 25th Dec. 1730, "Mr Mattaire to have twenty-five guineas for the pains he has taken to regulate the public library."

In 1712 was published "The English Grammar, or an Essay on the Art of Grammar, applied to and exemplified in the English Tongue, by Michael Maittaire." It was written under the conviction of the hardship of youths being "hurried into Latin before they are well able to read English ;" "the ignorance of English can never be a good foundation or ingredient towards disposing of youth for the learned languages ; the knowledge of it must serve as an introduction to them." Accordingly for comparative grammar he makes English the familiar one, and the basis of observation as to differences and variations in the grammatical rules of languages. With this view he attempts to modify the English practice as to the first personal pronoun, suggesting to us that there is a want of modesty in the Englishman's peculiarity of assuming the capital *I*. To give an idea how the change would look, I quote Maittaire's prefatory note as to Elocution (p. 238), where after recommending Quinilian, Book xi., Chapter Third, "which to translate would be worth some learned man's while, who were an exact master of English and Latin," he adds, "I am indeed too sensible of my want of ability to

* A foot-note will suffice for all that I know about another refugee, an author on controversy. The refugee, Mark Antony de la Bastide, born at Milhau, one of the elders of the Reformed Church at Charenton, was the author of some esteemed controversial works.—*Weiss*, Book iii. chap. 4.

undertake that task ; and therefore i have only gathered some few general notions and rules, that i may not wholly be silent upon so necessary a part of a grammarian, orator and poet. In the perusal of it i found it very difficult to choose what to take and what to leave. I beg the learned reader to excuse my choice if it has failed in judgment ; for i frankly own i have omitted somethings which i wished to have inserted here, had i been able to give them that turn in English which they have in the Latin Original."

In Des Maizeaux's collected correspondence all the refugees write in French, except Maittaire, who always uses colloqui il English. On the 7th Aug. 1734 he writes, with regard to two of his manuscripts, which a printer had lost, and which Des Maizeaux had unsuccessfully endeavoured to recover, "Good Sir, I am obliged to you for the trouble you have been at I own I had taken some pains in both these pieces, and when or whether I can ever take the same pains again I know not. 'Tis a nauseous thing (as the proverb has it) *cramben recoquere*. But vexing myself mendeth not the matter, though I am no Stoick. I am, Dear Sir, wishing you your health and never to have the same ill luck with me, &c., *M. Maittaire*." Another letter begins, "Worthy Sir, and my very kind friend," and seems to indicate that a Mr Humber was editor of *Annales Typographici*, and that Maittaire contributed some of the volumes only ; one volume by him was just out, as to which he writes, "Many gentlemen who have already bought the foregoing volumes complain that Mr. Humber would oblige them to buy over again these volumes, or else they could not have this lately published." Maittaire alludes to a criticizing article in a journal entitled, *Pour et Contre*.—"The gentleman is pleased to make himself very merry in ridiculing me ; as his mirth can do me no harm, so it gives me no pain." In the *Gentleman's Magazine* there is this entry, *Died* in 1747, "Sept. 7, Michael Mattaire, Esq., author of *Annales Typographi* and publisher of many classics with approbation, aged seventy-nine.

MISSON.

To Maximilian Misson (see CHAPTER VI.) I return, in order to extract a few remarks on him and his volumes of Travels from Harris's Collection. "There are very few volumes of Travels that have maintained their credit so well." The years 1687, 1688, apply to the whole thread of the work, though additions and corrections, belonging to later dates, have been interwoven. In the author's lifetime his observations as to Italy were attacked by several writers, "against whom he defended himself with equal spirit and success ; and whenever he found himself in the wrong, he took care immediately to correct it." The principal critics, however, were Romanists, who complained that he looked at things with less of an observing than of a Protestant eye. "In the reign of James II., when the Papists thought themselves secure of reviving their religion in England, it is no wonder at all that men, firmly attached to the Protestant cause, should likewise shew their zeal ; and it was still the more excusable in Mr Misson, as he had been very lately banished out of his native country on the score of religion." But even his chief opponent, Father Labat, admits that the greater part of Misson's book is worthy of special approbation. Once "he had the misfortune to be taken by a French Privateer and carried to Dunkirk, where he suffered a severe imprisonment, chiefly on the score of his being a Protestant. But his friends having applied themselves to the King of France on his behalf, he was immediately set at liberty, which contributed not a little to confirm that high spirit of loyalty with which he had been possessed, and of which he has left abundant testimonies in his Works, by defending (as much as in his power lay) the character of Louis XIV., for though he could not prevail upon himself to be a good Catholic, yet a better Frenchman, or a better Subject that great monarch had not in all his dominions—which is a plain proof that Louis XIV, with all his policy, served the priests much more than himself or his family in driving so many thousands of Protestants out of his territories."

MOTTEUX.

Pierre Antoine Motteux, though not one of those whose piety or morality did honour to his religious profession, was a credit to Huguenot education and example, in the qualities of industry, energy, perseverance, and vivacity. Many men approve of Bible religion who yet fail to comply with its demands. So Sir James Mackintosh, anticipating his readers' surprise at the constancy of many Protestants in spite of the perverting tuition and temptations of King James II., thus expresses himself: "So much constancy in religious opinion may seem singular among courtiers and soldiers; but the inconsistency of men's actions with their opinions is more often due to infirmity than to insincerity, and the members of the Protestant party were restrained from deserting it by principles of honour." Peter Anthony Motteux died unhappily on his fifty-eighth birthday, 19th February 1718, and was buried in the Church of St Mary Axe, London.

He was born at Rouen in 1660, says the *Imperial Dictionary of Biography*; "a Huguenot, he migrated to London after the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes, became the prosperous owner of a large East India warehouse in Leadenhall Street, and, from his knowledge of languages, received an appointment in connection with the foreign department of the post-office. Sir Walter Scott (Works of Dryden) adds, that he was also a bookseller. Motteux amused himself with literature, edited the *Gentlemen's Journal*, wrote some twenty plays in English (many of them well received), and a good deal of English poetry, and took a place among the London wits of the time. Dryden dedicates his fourteenth Epistle, *To my friend Mr Motteux on his tragedy called Beauty in Distress*, published in 1698, and apostrophizes him thus:

But whence art thou inspir'd, and thou alone,
To flourish in an idiom not thine own?"

Tytler (Lord Woodhouselee), in his Essay on Translation, decides that Motteux "has no great abilities as an original writer," but "has upon the whole, a very high degree of merit as a translator." But it must be remembered that it was Tytler's opinion that "the art of translation is of more dignity and importance than has been generally imagined. Excellence in this art is neither an easy attainment, nor what lies at all within the reach of ordinary abilities. It not only demands those acquired endowments which are the fruit of much labour and study, but requires a larger portion of native talents and of genuine taste than are necessary for excelling in many departments of original composition." (Preface to *Third Edition*, Edin. 1813.)

Tytler considers "one of the most perfect specimens of the art of translation" to be the English version of Rabelais, combining the able workmanship of Sir Thomas Urquhart, Mr Motteux and Mr Ozell. Urquhart translated the first three books, these Motteux republished, translating the remaining three books, and annotating the whole; lastly, Ozell re-edited Motteux. The translation of Don Quixote by Motteux receives great commendation from Tytler, who proves that it is a very just and easy translation of the original Spanish, so much so that Motteux can never have seen a French version to translate from. Tytler prefers Motteux's translation to Smollett's. "To contend with Motteux, Smollett found it necessary to assume the armour of Jarvis [an English translator of Cervantes]. Jarvis had purposely avoided the smallest coincidence of expression with Motteux, whom, with equal presumption and injustice, he accuses of having taken his version wholly from the French. . . . In the adoption of corresponding idioms, Motteux had been eminently fortunate, and had in general pre-occupied the appropriate phrases, so that a succeeding translator, who proceeded on the rule of invariably rejecting his phraseology must have, in general, altered for the worse;" this rule through the whole of their undertaking, was followed by Jarvis, and by his copyist and improver, Smollett. One of many instances that might be quoted is the attempt of Sancho Panza to name "Cato the censor;" of course, a clown like him had never heard of a censor, and so he comes out with the Spanish

word that sounds most like it, namely, Zonzorini, and calls the sage, *Cato, the Roman stupid!* [Caton Zonzorino Romano]. Motteux, as a translator into English, had to search for an English blunder of corresponding sound, and very happily hit upon the expression, *Cato, the Roman tonsor*. Smollett, refusing to adopt Motteux's joke, ignores the jocose intention of the Spanish author, and makes Sancho say with scholarly accuracy, "Cato, the censor of Rome." Lockhart published an English edition of Don Quixote, and prefixed to it an Essay on Cervantes; it was Motteux's translation that our great critic then selected for republication.

RAPIN DE THOYRAS.

The cradle of the ancient family of Rapin* was the diocese of La Maurienne in Valloires in Savoy. The city of St. Jean de la Maurienne was so called on account of a relic of the bones of St. John the Baptist deposited there by a female pilgrim, Sainte-Thècle, who according to tradition was by birth a Rapin. The Rapins were for some centuries Seigneurs de la Chandane. In 1250 Humbert Rapin de Valloires, styled *noble homme*, inhabited the Chateau de la Chandane and was a vassal of the Bishop of Maurienne. In the fifteenth century Antoine Rapin de Valloires is met with, and two of his sons are mentioned, Messiere Guillaume Rapin, as Canon of the Cathedral, and Noble Pierre Rapin de la Chandane, ecuyer, as doing homage to the kings of France in 1536 and 1552. Whether the family early espoused Protestantism, or whether a mere worldly quarrel with the Bishop took place, does not appear; but there must have been some reason, for an inscription cut in the stone wall of one of the halls of the Episcopal Palace—an inscription which almost survived the seventeenth century:

Caveant Successores Nostri a Familia Rapinorum.

On 16th December 1577 we meet with Pierre Rapin, Seigneur de la Chandane as Civil Judge (*juge correur*) of the city of Maurienne, and his titles were proclaimed in a Latin epitaph, translated thus:

Here reposes Noble Seigneur Pierre Rapin de la Chandane
de Valloires, Corrier and Judge of that town and of the territory of the Commune,
Gone the way of all flesh, 8 November 1579.

This Pierre Rapin was the head of the family, and his heirs continued the line in Savoy. Guillaume, the syndic, his eldest son, was represented till 1776 when his great-great-grandson Claude Francois Rapin died!; Jacques, Pierre's second son, was succeeded by his son Claude Ferdinand Rapin, whose death dispersed his estate among heiresses in the year 1672. The last-named Rapin wrote a letter to a kinsman in France dated 3 November 1666, and signed Claude Ferdinand de Rapin, Juge de la cité de Saint Jean de la Maurienne, in which he said, "We have records to prove our nobility during more than four hundred and fifty years."

The French Rapins were the younger brothers of Pierre Rapin whose death in 1579 and whose epitaph have just been given. Their names were Jacques, Antoine, and Philibert. Jacques, a Romish ecclesiastic, was induced to go to the French Court as Almoner to Queen Catherine de Medicis in 1561. His two brothers came forward as Protestants among those who enrolled under the standard of Condé after the massacre of Vassy. They first appear at Toulouse in 1562, sharing the woes of the Protestant inhabitants. The Huguenots, becoming

* See a splendid volume entitled, *Rapin Thoyras, Sa famille, sa vie et ses œuvres*. Par Rasul de Cazenove. Paris, 1866.

masters of the town, had given quarter and protection to the Catholics by a formal treaty. The Catholics in breach of the treaty obtained reinforcements from the royal army, imprisoned the Capitouls, and during three days kept up a murderous civil war. The Protestants who held the Hotel-de-Ville under Antoine de Rapin, then capitulated; laid down their arms, and on the next day, quitted Toulouse, relying upon the articles of truce. Unarmed the larger number were foully attacked and slain. Throughout the country much sanguinary fighting followed, the Huguenots seeking to avenge the slaughter of their Toulouse comrades. Rapin reached Montauban in safety, and that town was put into so good a posture of defence that the enemy under Montluc retired. Antoine continued to do good service in Castres, in Montpellier and in the field till the peace, known as the Edict of Amboise, concluded in March 1763. On the return of war in 1567 he again hastened to the standard of Condé; on the 6th January 1568 he was with the advance guard when the battle of Gannat was brought on, and the brilliant charge with which he opened the battle was the prelude of victory. He continued to serve with distinction, chiefly as Governor of Montauban, till 1570. Many of the written orders which he received from Henry of Navarre and Henry Prince of Condé are preserved, all praising the confidence placed in him. The date of his death is not known, but in 1571 he is called the late noble Antoine; by his wife Cecilé de Doux d' Ondas he left one son, who died young.

Jacques, the clerical brother, had died in 1567. The French Rapins thus descend from the youngest brother Philibert, (born about 1530). He was a page to the Duke of Savoy; when he removed to France, he became the steward of the Duchesse of Enghien, the Prince of Condé's sister; thence his courage, his conscience, and his consciousness of capacity naturally led him to serve under Condé himself. He was the mediator of the capitulation at Toulouse in 1562. In 1568 when a Peace, dated 20th March, between the Romanists and the Huguenots, had been signed at Longjumeau Philibert de Rapin was sent with the safe-conduct of a royal envoy to deliver the treaty to the Parliament of Toulouse. With the perfidy of a Guise, the Cardinal de Lorraine had written to the parliament, interpreting a secret mark which might occasionally be found upon royal letters, and which was intended virtually to cancel their contents. When Rapin's communication was examined, the fatal mark was found. He was reposing in his country house at Grenade, when parliamentary officers arrested him and loaded him with chains; some accusation of old date was revived, he was tried and sentenced, and on the 13th April (1768) was beheaded. De Thou characterizes him as *Homo bellis superioribus strenuus—clarus—ob id que ipsis senatoribus Tolosanis invisus*. Rapin's death was avenged by the repudiation of the treaty and the continuance of war. And in January 1570 Coligny's soldiers burnt the senators' houses at Toulouse, and upon the ruins they wrote with hot charcoal, VENGEANCE DE RAPIN. He had married in 1556 Jeanne du Verger, an heiress, through whom he obtained the house of Grenade near Toulouse, and a landed estate which conveyed to him the title of Baron de Mauvers. He left two sons, of whom one died young; the other was Pierre de Rapin, Seigneur et Baron de Mauvers, who served in the Netherland in 1583 under the Duke of Anjou, and returned to serve on the staff of Henri of Navarre. He served with the Huguenots all his life. He contracted on paper on 8th Oct. 1589 his marriage (which was solemnized 26th March 1691) with his first wife Olympe de Cavagnes, daughter of Arnaud de Cavagnes, formerly a Capitoul of Toulouse; the only child of this marriage died young. His second wife, whom he married on the 26th Nov. 1602, was Perside, daughter of Jean de Lupé, Seigneur de Maravat. On his death in 1647, aged eighty-nine, he was succeeded in the Barony of Mauvers by his son, Jean, who was the eldest son of a family of twenty-two children, and who continued the senior branch of the Rapins. Jacques de Rapin, Seigneur of Thoyras near Grenade, a younger son of the octagenarian Baron, founded a junior branch, to which our literary refugee Rapin de Thoyras belonged. This celebrated refugee must not be confounded with his less known refugee kinsmen, who were the sons of Jean, Baron de Mauvers; that baron's sons, by his wife Maria de Richard, were Paul (Baron de Mauvers), Daniel, Francois, and Jean—the last three being refugees. Colonel Daniel Rapin (*born 1649, died*

1729) was the first French officer of the refugees who offered his sword to Holland, he served King William in Ireland as a captain, and became a colonel in the British army in 1700; in 1709, owing to some misunderstanding, he finally emigrated to Utrecht. Captain Francis Rapin was killed before the Castle of Charlemont in 1690, in which year his brother Major John Rapin of *Belcastle's* regiment was also slain in fight.

The Seigneur de Thoyras (father of the literary refugee) was born in Mas-Garnier, of which his father was Governor, in December 1613. His warrior father desired all his sons to join the army, but the mother, perceiving Jacques' talents obtained an exception to the rule on his behalf. He was educated at Montauban, and was called to the bar. He became the leading Protestant Advocate in the Chamber of the Edict for Languedoc attached to the parliament of Toulouse. The proper seat of this Chamber was the town of Castres, though the caprice of Romanist rule often compelled the court to shift its quarters. In 1654 he married Jeanne de Pelisson a great-grand-daughter of the celebrated President Raymond Pelisson; her grandfather was that son of this Romanist family who became a convert to Protestantism, and adhered to it to the last; her grandmother was Jeanne Du Bourg, daughter of the Chancellor; her father was Jean Jacques Pelisson, and her mother the eminently beautiful and pious Jeanne de Fontanier. The latter Pelissons lived at Castres, and were members of the literary Academy of that town of which Rapin, Seigneur de Thoyras, was one of the founders; the brothers of Rapin's wife had been his fellow-students at Montauban. The Seigneur died amidst the thickening troubles of the Church two months before the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes 18th August 1685. His devoted and intrepid widow (*née* Jeanne de Pelisson) urged her two sons rather to fly than to apostatize, and when she had the satisfaction of seeing them on their way to England, she hid herself in a farm-house. She was at last tracked out by her persecutors and imprisoned in the Convent of Lavaur, and when after long years she was set at liberty, and had found her way to Geneva, she rapidly sank under her bodily and mental sufferings, and died 13th February 1706.

The two sons who found a refuge in England were Paul and Salomon. The learned Paul was born at Castres, 25th March 1661; his birth is thus formally recorded:—"En 1661 et le 25 mars, Paul de Rapin, écuyer, seigneur de Thoyras, naquit à Castres en Albigeois." He received his education at the colleges of Puylaurens and Saumur. Eager he became a soldier, he yielded to his father's wish and studied for the bar. But in 1679 the Chamber of the Edict at Castres was suppressed, and the whole family removed to Toulouse. The old seigneur began a private practice, and his son assisted him; but these six years young Rapin chiefly spent in study. His studies were various, law (from a sense of duty), mathematics, music, and military fortification (from inclination), also the Latin, Greek, and French classics.

When Rapin de Thoyras found himself a refugee in England in March 1686, he was twenty-five years of age. He was not only the first cousin of the Baron de Mauvers but also his brother-in-law, that Baron having married Cecile de Rapin Thoyras (this lady in her widowhood was a refugee in Utrecht, her husband who had outwardly confirmed to Romanism having died in 1704). Our refugee was also, through his mother, nephew to the notorious renegade and pervertor, the Abbé de Pelisson. Owing to the latter relationship, he was exposed to controversial attacks from his uncle, which, being seconded by other French Papists in London, drove him to Holland, where he enlisted in a company of the French volunteers of Utrecht, under the command of Captain de Rapin, his cousin-germain. Here the Abbé sent him his new book, entitled "Reflections on Religious Differences;" and Rapin returned for answer a number of criticisms, sufficiently full and sharp to convince the Abbé that he might let the young Huguenot alone.

A letter from Rapin to Mounseur Le Duchat, dated May 1722, gives fuller particulars. From it, it appears that his uncle Pelisson abjured Protestantism after a four years' imprisonment in the Bastille as a friend and follower of Fouquet. At the same time he declared himself to be quite convinced how odious is a professed conversion, where mercenary ends are studied; but concerning himself he always was forward to assert that his conversion to

Romanism was genuine. Among the other rewards of his change of religion were two ecclesiastical benefices; one of these was the Priory of Saint-Orens d'Auch, which he would have handed over to young Rapin, if he would have gone over to Romanism. Between the dates of his perversion and the Edict of Revocation, he did not disturb any of his Protestant relatives in their creed and worship. But thereafter he made a tremendous onset upon them. And (as already said) he attacked young Rapin, enforcing his arguments and entreaties by compelling him to receive visits from the Ambassador, the Marquis de Saissac, Monsieur de Bourepans, and the Abbé de Denbeck (nephew of the Bishop of Tournay). Pelisson urged his own example, but Rapin replied, You went over when you were convinced, how does that apply to my case who am unconvinced? He sent him a book of which he himself was the author entitled, "Reflexions sur les différends de religion," in which there was much about the tolerance which characterized the true church and the uselessness of violence. Rapin replied that such mild sentiments though excellent in themselves, came with a very bad grace from Frenchmen in authority who practised so different a system, and reminded him of Sganarelle crying out to his wife, "My dear heart! I'll thrash you. Gentle light of my eyes! I'll annihilate you." After that, the uncle gradually ceased his proselytizing efforts.

Thoyras Rapin (this was his signature) returned to England with the Prince of Orange, and served in Ireland in 1689 as an Ensign in the Earl of Kingston's regiment. For his gallantry before Carrickfergus he was promoted to the rank of lieutenant. He served under a new colonel, Lieutenant-General Douglas, at the battle of the Boyne, and then accompanied Douglas's expedition to Athlone, in the capacity of Quarter-Master General. In the same year (1690) he was severely wounded before Limerick, and was left behind; but was promoted to be captain. He was to have been Douglas's aide-de-camp in Flanders, but his wound being not sufficiently recovered he remained in Ireland, and took part at the capture of Ballymore and Athlone in 1691—in the latter town he was left with the garrison, and garrison duty fell to his lot during almost two years. In 1693 he joined his regiment, at Kilkenny, where he received a summary order to leave his regiment, and start for England. No reason was formally assigned; but a private letter from Colonel Belcastel informed him that he was to be tutor to the Earl of Portland's son, Viscount Woodstock. He was recommended by his countryman, Lord Galway. He had to leave the army, and by special favour he was allowed to hand over his company to his brother Solomon, afterwards known as a lieutenant-colonel of dragoons, who had also been wounded at Limerick in 1690, and who died in 1719. He accompanied his pupil to all countries and courts both before and after his own marriage.

Along with his pupil he was in the suite of the Earl of Portland in 1698 on his Embassy to Paris. He took the opportunity of investigating the truth of the report that his Uncle Pelisson had died a Huguenot. He ascertained the fact that he had refused the last Sacraments of the Romish Church. Some persons said that he had merely postponed the rite, alleging that he never communicated without deliberate preparation; and it was added, that though he died without communicating, yet he had arranged a day for the ceremony with the Bishop of Meaux. This may have been a fabrication, invented to explain away his actual refusal. So Rapin suspected, and his suspicion was revived when one of Pelisson's valets, on being questioned, answered with a reserve that seemed to shew he had something to conceal. And, to crown all, the king confiscated Pelisson's property.

At the Hague in 1699 Thoyras Rapin married Marie Anne Testart, a refugee from Saint Quentin, and a small heiress. Jean Rou describes her, "a help-meet for him, young, beautiful, rich, and withal virtuous, and of the most pleasing and gentle temper in the world." Her property however was not so ample, but that some additional income was desirable, and King William granted him from the revenues of Holland an annual pension of 1100 florins, for life, or until better provided. This pension was paid during the king's life, but afterwards was cancelled, but with a promise, not fulfilled, of providing for him otherwise.

On being relieved of his tutorship, he settled in Holland. He became a resident at the Hague, and founded a successful literary club there. In 1707 he removed to Wezel, in the

Duchy of Cleves. There a good number of French refugees, most of them military officers of noble birth, along with many other government officials and other native gentlemen, were agreeable society. There also he wrote his History of England, founded on Rymer's *Fœdera*; it was the first comprehensive and scrupulously accurate history of the country, written after laborious and conscientious research, in which his knowledge of English, Dutch, German, Italian, Spanish, Latin, and Greek, was fully enlisted. He did not live to add the annals of his own era, or to publish an English version of his history, which he composed in French. His learned friends aided him in his researches. Among these is named Monsieur d'Allonne, Secretary of the late Queen Mary, and thereafter Secretary of War in Holland, a gentleman full of merit and learning, who managed to despatch to him, from the Hague, a number of rare and curious books on English history. The first two volumes appeared in Nov. 1723, six more were published in 1724, and brought the narrative down to the death of Charles I. Vols. ix. and x. in manuscript, ending with the coronation of William and Mary at Westminster, were left by the author ready for press. The work was received with great applause by the learned world, and Rapin was pronounced to be a master in historical style. His success artistically cannot be judged by the mere English reader. The English translation by the Rev. Mr Tindal brought the work within the ken of the general public, who read it with interest. The translation, however, did not satisfy the leading critics, among whom were William Duncombe, Esq., and Archbishop Herring. The former published a Pamphlet of "Remarks," concluding that a better translation was wanted—his last words being, "Mr Dryden's elegant version of Maimbourg's History of the League is, with regard to style and language, a much better model, for any one who will oblige the public with an accurate translation of M. Rapin de Thoyras's History, than Sir Roger L'Estrange's translation of Josephus or of Quevedo's Visions." Dr Herring concurs; writing to Duncombe on 16th Sept. 1728, he pronounces his criticisms upon Tindal to be, "exceedingly just and necessary;" "the inaccuracies of style and looseness of expression, and the many omissions of this translation are prodigiously offensive. The history of Rapin Thoyras is so much debased and mangled by them, that one would think the translator had a design upon his character, and intended to make him appear ridiculous, by putting him into an awkward English dress; for really, if Mr Tindal does not take a little more pains, Rapin Thoyras will become of the same class with the rest of our English historians."

With regard to the close of Rapin's life, all we can say is, that he ruined his health by hard study, and three years before his death he felt altogether spent. In spite of remonstrances, he struggled on with book or pen in hand, till a violent fever, attended with some oppression on the lungs, carried him off on the 25th May 1725. Thus he died at Wezel, at the age of 64, leaving a widow, six daughters, and one son. A good officer, a good scholar, and a good man, he was generally respected, though his manners, being those of a very studious and rather absent man, made him unpopular with casual acquaintances. He was no stranger to wit and humour, and often amused his friends with his effusions in prose and verse on light and ludicrous subjects.

DE SOULIGNÉ.

MONSIEUR DE SOULIGNÉ, who styled himself grandson to Du Plessis Mornay, is known by his writings. "I published a Treatise," he says, "for the service of the nation, upon the present state of France, entitled, *The Desolation of France Demonstrated*." He followed out his theory in a second work, published in 1698, entitled, "The Political Mischiefs of Popery." He represents in his dedication to the House of Commons, that, "even as to temporals, the kingdom of England reaps unspeakable advantages by the Reformation." "The tender care and great charity which you have manifested towards the poor refugees, who suffer for the said religion; but above all, the courage and zeal you have discovered in this last war, by sparing nothing that was necessary for the preservation of the Protestant interest, have made it glori-

ously appear to all the nations of the earth that you value neither your treasures nor your blood, when there is a necessity of spending them in defence of pure religion, and liberty of opinions. That it would please God that you, by your generous example and sage resolves, may transmit to all succeeding parliaments that same prudence, magnanimity, and zeal for the maintenance of the Protestant religion and your public liberties, against all attempts of Popery, is and shall be the constant prayer of him who is, &c. &c.

DE SOULIGNÉ,
Grandson to Monsieur Du Plessis Mornay.”

THE EARL OF GALWAY.

Although Lord GALWAY was well-informed and studious, and a worthy associate and discriminating patron of learned men, and though his official letters and papers display remarkable ability and distinctness, I would not have placed him among the refugee literati, if it had not been for the following passage from Harris's *Collection of Voyages and Travels*, which I take this opportunity of presenting to my readers :—*

In the year 1709, the King of Portugal perceived that the vast quantities of gold that came from Brazil did but just touch at Lisbon. His Council reported that the English and Dutch ran away with all the gold, in consequence of their furnishing the goods and manufactures that were sent to Brazil ; and they proposed that the using these goods, and the wearing these manufactures, should be prohibited in that colony, and that the people should be content with what could be sent them from Portugal. This, as a great stroke of policy, was on the very point of being put in execution, when it was prevented by the following method.

The famous Lord Galway was then there on behalf of this nation, and had the confidence of the king, of whom he demanded a particular audience upon this occasion, upon which he delivered himself in the following manner :—

“Your Majesty cannot be sufficiently commended for that steady attention which you have always shown to the affairs of your government, and the pains you have lately bestowed in examining into the Balance of Trade is a new proof of that merit which would entitle you to the crown, had it not descended to you from a long and glorious line of royal ancestors. But permit me, Sire, to observe that there is a greater King, one by whom all kings reign, and whose Providence is over all his works. According to his distribution of things, riches belong to some nations and industry to others ; and by this means the liberality of Heaven is made equal to all. Vain, Sire, are all human counsels when opposed to His wisdom, and feeble are the efforts, even of royal power, when directed to cross His will. You have forbid gold to be exported from your dominions, and you would willingly enforce this prohibition ; but the thing is impracticable. You may restrain your subjects (it is true) but you cannot set bounds to their necessities. But say that this was possible ; suppose you could set bounds to the industry of the northern nations, what would be the consequence ? Their husbandmen, graziers, weavers, and all that infinite train of manufacturers that now labour quietly at home to clothe and feed your subjects, would then turn soldiers ; and instead of seeing their Merchantmen in the river of Lisbon, you would hear of their Fleets conveying them to Brazil, to fetch much more of that gold than you now fetch for them. Besides, Sire, if they are gainers by your trade, they became thereby the natural guarantees of your dominions. It is not their treaties only, but their interests that bind them to your service. You have potent enemies and you require powerful friends. The ambition of France knows no bounds ; the

* Narcissus Luttrell's *Historical Relation* is incorrect in saying that Lord Galway's Irish estate had belonged to Lord Clanrickard, and that he had an intention of bequeathing it back to the family. I alter the paragraph, and the following statement is now correct :—“4 Nov. 1699. The Earl of Galway, one of the Lords Justices of Ireland, has sent over two Popish youths (grandsons to the Earl of Clanrickard whose estate was forfeited and given to the Earl of Portland) to Eton School to be brought up in the Protestant religion ; and as soon as they come to age, if they embrace that religion, my Lord Portland will resign their grandfather's estate to them, and will in the meantime provide for them according to their quality.”

pride of Spain will teach her to keep up a perpetual claim to your territories and crown. To frustrate the views and defeat the endeavours of those potentates, you can have no recourse but to the maritime Powers; and therefore let me beseech your Majesty to consider that every project to distress them is, in effect, a scheme to destroy yourself."

This speech had the desired effect; the intended prohibition was laid aside, and the English nation has reaped the benefit of this Trade ever since. I came to the knowledge of this fact by an accident. It is very imperfectly related by a French author. And I thought it my duty, and a piece of justice owing to his lordship's memory, to relate it fully and fairly as I have done. (HARRIS, Vol. ii., Book i. Chapter iii., Section 16, pp. 188-9.)

Chapter XXI.

MEMBERS OF NOBLE FAMILIES.—CASTELFRANC, PYNLOT DE LA LARGERE, DE LA CHEROIS, DE LAVAL, AURIOL, MONTOLIEU DE SAINT-HIPPOLITE, PUISSAR, DU QUESNE, DE GASTINE, DE GASTIGNY, DUFOUR.

CASTELFRANC.

THE estate of this old Huguenot family was not far from La Rochelle. Their patronymic was De Nautonnier, and they were Seigneurs of Castelfranc. There was among the scions of the house a distinguished astronomer and mathematician, J. de Nautonnier, Protestant minister of Vènes in Quercy, author of *Mécographie* (or, *Mécométrie*) *du Guide-Aimant*, a method for ascertaining Longitudes; he is praised by Casaubon in a latin epistle addressed to the younger Scaliger; a letter from himself to the latter savant is preserved, dated from Castelfranc in the year 1606.

In 1619, the head of the family, Philippe de Nautonnier Sieur de Castelfranc, pasteur at Montredon in Le Castrais, married Marguerite daughter of the great Chamier and of his wife who was a lady of the Portal family. The eldest son of this marriage was the refugee nobleman, and Quick gives us information as to both father and son.

As to the father, "The Lord of Castelfranc was a noble gentleman of a fair estate, who yet did not think it beneath himself to be a minister of the gospel. When the city of Rochelle was besieged, the Chateau of Castelfranc, which lay in Poitou, was ordered by the king to be demolished, his estate and lordship was confiscated, and he was condemned for high treason. Though God knows he was most innocent; his greatest and only crime being this, that he was a protestant minister, and preached the everlasting gospel in its power and purity unto his tenants and vassals, and charged his whole church to persevere in their holy religion, whatever it might cost them, unto the last. For this capital offence he ran the risk of his life, estate, and all. But the Lord hid him; and upon the conclusion of the peace, which the Duke of Rohan made for the churches, he was reinstated in all his rights."

Quick informs us that "this noble minister had two sons." The younger son, Jacques de Nautonnier de Castelfranc (so he signed himself in 1659, when witnessing a deed) was a minister, "a man highly esteemed for his great learning and exemplary godliness; he was

* Our knowledge of this family is derived from a paragraph or two in Quick's MS. Life of the Great Chamier, printed in Read's *Daniel Chamier*, pp. 102, &c., and from the notes in the Appendix to Mr Read's work, p. 395, in which the information afforded by Quick and others is revised and corrected. In the printed Chamier Pedigree the title is erroneously entered as "Castlenau."

pastor of the church at Angers, the capital city of the Province of Anjou, but he was murdered, as he was riding on the highway, by a crew of robbers."

The elder son (says Quick) "inherited the lands of Castelfranc, and was the father of a numerous family, who, together with their father, did all then glorify God in a most exemplary manner by their faith, love, and zeal for the truth, patience, and constancy in this last and most dreadful persecution. I had a particular acquaintance with this *Sieur de Castelfranc*, who lived for sometime in the house just against me on *Bunhill*, London. As this gentleman and his wife, with their nine or ten children, were getting out of France, they were arrested and cast into prison. His three sons and six daughters were brought before that infamous, inhuman, and bloody butcher of God's saints, *Rapine*, who could never by any of his cruelties and torments (for which his name and memory will rot and be had in perpetual execration) prevail with so much as one of them to prevaricate in the least in their holy profession. Whereupon the three sons and three of their sisters were transported into America, and made slaves there in the *Caribbee Islands*. The father, by some means or other, got out of the hands of *Rapine*, and came over into England. His three other daughters were detained by *Rapine*, but sustained all their sufferings with a masculine and heroic courage, till such time as the Lord, having tried their patience and found them faithful, did even wonderfully, beyond their hopes and expectations, work out their deliverance. For the French king issued out an order that they should be set at liberty and conducted in safety unto *Geneva*. And those six who had been carried to America were taken by the English, who, compassionating their many and heavy trials, did free them of their bonds and sufferings, and brought them over unto London. Two of *Monsieur Castelfranc's* sons were slain in the wars of *Flanders*, in the service of King *William*. The third is yet alive. Their poor afflicted father, passing from London into *Holland*, was taken captive by a ship of *Algiers*, where he finished his life as became a most sincere Christian in that miserable slavery."

The noble and venerable refugee had two sisters, daughter of his reverend father by *Marguerite Chamier*. Of these, one was married to a *Monsieur Testas*; their son *Aaron Testas* was a reformed pastor of *Poitiers*, and afterwards a minister of the *City of London French Church*. The other was married to a *Monsieur Boudet*, and was the mother of the *Rev. Mr Boudet*, minister of *New Rochelle*, in *New England*, a pastor concerning whom *Quick* writes thus: "This gentleman preacheth in three languages unto three several nations, English, French, and Indians; he espoused a most virtuous lady of a ducal family in France."

The surviving son of the Lord of *Castelfranc*, was *Le Sieur Gedeon de Castelfranc*. He was a *Cornet* in *Miremont's Dragoons*, and, like his brothers, served in *Flanders*. He retired on half-pay and settled at *Portarlington*. His name appears in the register of the French church of that town.

PYNIOT DE LA LARGERE.

The Lord de la *Largère* executed his last will and testament in London on the 11th April 1699, signed "Samuel Pynoytt De la *Largère*" before three witnesses, *Lewis Barrand De la Noue*, *Lewis Poyrand*, and *Lewis Duplessis*. The will was proved on the 28th June following, by *Renatus Poyrand*, *Sieur Desclouseaux*, the executor. The testator styles himself "a gentleman of *Poitou*, refugeeed for the cause of the gospel." His directions are addressed to his wife, *Mary Henrietta Chataygner* (or, *Chatagner*), *Lady de la Largère*. "First, I pray her, after God hath taken my soul to Him, to cause my body to be interred, without any funeral pomp, which I prohibit and forbid, but with the most ordinary manner that may be such as 'tis convenient for a Christian refugeeed for the cause of the Gospel, which I always professed through the grace of God." "She shall take care like a good mother of my three children which are here now, and give them share of my property, equally as much as she can, as well for their subsistence, as of the principal that may be remaining to her at the time of her

decease. And in case God should grant grace to my children who are in France, or to one of them, to depart from thence to come in these countries for to give glory to God, and not otherwise, my will and mind is that whatsoever they may bring be joined to what may remain to my wife, for to be shared by equal portion between all my children who shall be found refuged for the cause of the Gospel." (This, like the larger number of the refugees' wills, is translated from the French by John James Benard, N.P.)

A grandson (probably) of this refugee was named after his countryman, the Earl of Galway, and he is thus noticed in the Earl's Will in 1720:—"I give and bequeath to Monsieur Henry Pyniot de la Largère the sum of £20 per annum, to be paid him, till he shall arrive at the age of twenty-five years, and no longer, by four equal quarterly payments, on the feasts aforesaid, the first payment to begin and be made on such of the said feasts as shall first happen next after my decease, if he, the said Pyniot de la Largère, shall not then have attained the said age of twenty and five years as aforesaid."

There was also this bequest:—"I give to Monsieur Cramahé of Dublin, in Ireland, the sum of £1000, to be paid him within one year after my decease."

From an article in *La France Protestante* I conjecture that the Cramahé and De la Largère families were related; and that the Lord de la Largère's sons, instead of giving glory to God by forsaking their property, apostatized and got possession of more by claiming the lands which their exemplary relatives forsook. The following is the Messieurs Haag's account, condensed into small space:—"Cramahé was the surname of a noble Protestant family of La Rochelle. In 1685, there were three brothers, Cramahé, De l'Isle, and Des Roches. The first reached England in 1685, and the second soon after. The third was apprehended in France, was imprisoned for twenty-seven months, and then banished. In 1743, the Cramahé estate was possessed by Pinyot de la Largère."

DE LA CHEROIS.

The noble family of De la Cherois were for several centuries the Seigneurs of Chery, or Cheroy, or La Cheroye, in the Province of Champagne; this seigneurie was in the neighbourhood of Sens, the ancient capital of the Sennones. Their title is preserved in the surname of the good Irish family of De la Cherois, which we pronounce *Delúshery*. And at Carrowdore Castle in County Down, many interesting documents illustrative of their genealogy are preserved, from which it appears that their patronymic was De Choiseul, and their title was De la Cheroy; the surname, however, came into the family in the fifteenth century through an heiress Catherine de Choiseul, who became the wife of Seigneur Jean, and was the mother of Seigneur Claude. Towards the end of that century Claude de Choiseul, Seigneur de Chery, and Maitre des Requêtes, married Marie de Beauvais des Ormes. In the sixteenth century we meet with Jean, Seigneur de Chery, whose son flourished in 1616, and was styled, Robert, Seigneur de Chery, de Beauchamp (en Bourgogne), et de la Chapelle.

The refugees were descended from the Languedoc branch of this family, founded by Samuel de la Cheroy, a captain in the French army, who married an heiress in that Province. His captain's commission from Louis XIII., dated in 1641, was extant until recently. The *Ulster Journal* gives us some hints as to the sufferings of his family for their Protestant faith. "The first of this family (the writer informs us) who settled in Ireland felt so deeply the utter ruin of his fortunes and his banishment from his country, that, in his anxiety to spare his children unavailing regret, he always evaded entering into the particulars of his history. . . . After the general flight, only two members of the family were known to have remained in France—two deaf and dumb co-heiresses, who had been placed for education in a convent; immediately on the departure of their rightful guardians they were forcibly detained, and their property was confiscated for the use of the convent." The refugees, the five children of "Le Capitaine Samuel" were Daniel, Nicholas, and Bourjonval, and their sisters Judith and Louise.

The eldest son, Daniel de la Cherois, intended to have spent his life as a country gentleman; but persecution drove him into Holland, where his military brothers had gone before him. There, in his zeal for William of Orange, he volunteered into his army, joined the expedition into England, and served during the campaigns in Ireland. In 1693 he left the army, and received from the king the Dutch appointment of governor of Pondicherry in the East Indies. At the peace of Ryswick, Pondicherry was restored to France, to which it had belonged before the war; but Mr de la Cherois remained there for several years more, and realised a large fortune. "He seems," says the *Ulster Journal*, "never to have given up the hope of recovering some of his former possessions in France, and is said to have gone over there himself secretly, several times, with this fruitless expectation." He married Madeline Crommelin, a cousin of the overseer of the Royal Linen Manufacture. At his death, he left an only child and heiress, Marie Angélique Madeline, who was married first to Mr Gruebar of Feversham Park, Kent, and secondly, to the Hon. Thomas Montgomery, afterwards the fifth Earl of Mount Alexander. At his death, without issue, she became the heiress of the Mount Alexander estates in the County of Down.

The second refugee brother was Nicholas, born about 1651; he and the youngest, named Bourjonval, were officers in the army, and their commissions are among the family papers. Nicholas was enrolled as a lieutenant of fusileers on the 12th April 1675, and was promoted to the command of a company on the 16th Nov. 1677, the latter commission is addressed, "Pour le Sr. de la Cherois." In 1686 he received leave of absence for two months. In August he was given the command of a recruiting party, and the "route" given to him is preserved. He undertook to get recruits at Liege, and a passport was granted to him dated at Strasbourg, 22d Oct. 1686, which describes him as "about thirty-five years of age, with chestnut-coloured hair, wearing a perruque, captain of the king's regiment of fusileers, going to Liege to enlist recruits for his regiment and for his company. It is supposed that this employment afforded him an opportunity to quit France altogether, as we next find him on the 17th July 1687, receiving a Dutch commission, in which he is styled Nicholas de la Cherois, late captain in the service of the King of France. He received a similar commission in the English service in 1689. He, with his brothers, served in Ireland under King William, whom he followed to Flanders, continuing in active service until the peace of Ryswick. He was promoted to the rank of Major, 1st August 1694, and took the sacrament and the oaths on the 3d of February following. The commission from William and Mary to Nicholas de la Cherois, Esq., appoints him "to be Major of our regiment of foot commanded by our trusty and well-beloved, the Comte de Marton, and likewise to be captain of a company in the same." The *Ulster Journal* thus narrates the remainder of his career. "After King William's death, he served under Marlborough and distinguished himself on several occasions. Tradition records that one of his promotions was received in consequence of his having made 1500 men lay down their arms, with only a subaltern's guard; and that he also received a reward of 1500 crowns. His commission as Lieut.-Colonel was drawn out, but not gazetted, when he unfortunately lost his life about the year 1706, through the carelessness of an apothecary who sent him poison in place of medicine." He had married Mary, sister of the great Crommelin, and left a daughter and a son. The daughter Madelaine was married to Daniel Crommelin, second son of Samuel Louis Crommelin, and she is represented by the family of De la Cherois-Crommelin of Carradmore Castle. The son Samuel is the ancestor of the senior line of De la Cherois of Donaghadee.

Bourjonval De la Cherois, the youngest military refugee, held a French commission dated 1677, and an English one dated 1689. He rose to the rank of lieutenant. He fought gallantly at the battle of the Boyne. In the same year (1690) he was at the head of a small party of men near Dungannon, when he was overpowered by superior numbers who attacked him unexpectedly; he made a brave resistance, but was killed in the skirmish. He was a favourite brother and unmarried.

The two maiden sisters took refuge first at Bois-le-Duc, and then at Leyden, where they

were disposed to settle for life ; but at last they yielded to the pressing invitation of their family, and came to Ireland. According to Presbyterian custom, they brought a certificate from the consistory, to the following effect :—“ We, the undersigned, being pastors and elders of the Walloon Church of Leyden, certify that Mesdemoiselles Judith and Louise de la Cherois, natives of the town of Ham in Picardy, after having given up their all in France for the sake of the Church, and having spent some years at Bois-le-Duc, from whence they brought a favourable certificate, retired to Leyden where they have resided these four years, during which period they have conducted themselves in a most Christian and edifying manner, giving proof of their piety and zeal by assiduously frequenting our sacred assemblies, participating in the sacrament of the Lord’s supper on all the occasions of its celebration, and exhibiting on all occasions such wisdom, humility and modesty as have won for them the esteem of every one.” This certificate is signed by two *pasteurs* and three *anciens*; dated 5th July 1693. Louise did not long survive this change of residence. But Judith lived to the age of 113, and two or three days before her death, she proved the remarkable possession of her faculties by teaching a child to repeat the Lord’s Prayer. She never acquired the English language, having been discouraged in some early attempts to speak English by the unrestrained ridicule of Irish listeners. [See the *Ulster Journal of Archæology*, vol. i. pp. 216, 217, 219, 220 ; vol. ii., pp. 180, 181.]

DE LAVAL.

Henri Robert D’Ully, Vicomte de Laval claimed descent from Henri IV. He had large estates in Picardy ; his residence was the Chateau of Gourlencour. A picture of that mansion is still preserved, and many spacious white-washed residences in Portarlinton are formed upon the model of that and of similar French chateaux. His wife was Magdeleine de Schelandre. The emissaries of persecution broke up this honoured and happy family in August 1688. He was imprisoned in Verneuil, and the Vicomtesse in Sedan. Several years were spent in vicissitudes between liberty and duance. Two of the children of this noble pair were born in French prisons. Sir Erasmus Borrowes possesses a manuscript address from the Vicomte to his children, dated from a prison, “ De Guize, le 2 Avril 1689 ;” it is partly a narrative, and partly an affectionate religious exhortation. His eldest son (afterwards an officer in the British army) was kept in the dungeons of Laon, the old capital of France, from 1688 to 1705. A letter is extant which he addressed to his parents on his liberation, dated Fontaine, 4th March 1705.

The parents had made an earlier escape ; the father’s imprisonment having terminated in the end of September 1689. They settled in Portarlinton in 1695. Daniel David, son of the Vicomte de Laval, was born there, 25th Oct. 1695 ; his sponsors were Captain David De Proisy, Chevalier et Seigneur de Chastelain d’Epe, and Anne de Vinegoy, wife of Lieut.-Col. Daniel Le Grand, Seigneur du Petit Bosc. In the reign of Queen Anne five of the Vicomte de Laval’s sons were in the British army ; three of these gallant youths were killed in action. One of the younger sons, Louis, assumed the title of Sieur de Fontaine from one of the family estates. Other two were named Joseph and David. The former lost his life in the battle at sea between a British transport and a French ship-of-war, of which the venerable Pasteur Fontaine speaks when thanking God that his son, contrary to his own wish, did not embark in that transport. Louis and David de Laval were on that occasion taken prisoners and conveyed to France. The incidents of this mournful casualty are detailed in the following letter from Louis to one of his sisters :—

“ May 26, 1709,

Living at Mademoiselle de Grange’s, at
Dinan in Bretagne.

“ My dear Sister,—Since I saw you last I have endured great hardships. Having sailed for two days after our embarkation at Cork, on the third day we encountered a large man-of-

war with fifty guns and a mortar ; and although we had but 36 cannons, we fought the French for some time, until we lost a considerable number of men, and among the killed was my poor brother Joseph ; he was shot with a cannon-ball, and poor Monsieur De Bette (from Portarlington), with a great many more besides. And when the French boarded us, they took from us all we had, and brought us into their own ship, and put the officers and us into a large room, where we lay on deck for three or four nights before we came to land. They disembarked us at Brest, where we remained two days ; and while we were there Captain Nicola (from Portarlington) gave David and me an English half-crown, and bid us to be as economical as possible, as he had only two for himself and his son ; and we were allowed by the king only fivepence a day. They then sent us from Brest to Dinan, which is forty leagues distant ; we performed most of the journey on foot, every league is three long miles. We were five days and a half on the journey, and David and I have walked twenty-one miles in a day. Had it not been for some gentlemen that were with us, we should never have been able to make the journey ; for our officer was not with us, and did not know we were gone until after our departure. When we arrived at Dinan they put us into the castle, and there we lay on the ground on straw. The next day they allowed us to go into the town, where they gave us a lodging for fourpence a night, and agreed to dress our food. Excuse me to my father and mother, for I was unwilling to inform them of this bad news ; and pray, dear sister, give my brother's and my duty to my father and mother, and assure them that we are both well and wish to be with them :—and give our regards to my sisters and to all who enquire for us, whom it would be too long to name. Your loving brother till death,

LOUIS FONTAINE.”

The Vicomte de Laval was not represented in the male line in the present century. Sir Erasmus Borrowes (in the *Ulster Journal*, Vol. III. p. 226) mentions Mrs. Willis of Portarlington, the refugee's great-granddaughter, then in possession of the family heirlooms, such as, the picture of the Chateau, a wooden token representing the profile of Louis XIV., and the manuscript written in Guize prison and already described. I had permission to copy the French original (but time did not permit) ; I therefore reproduce and re-edit the translation by Sir Erasmus Borrowes of the most interesting portion of the manuscript :—

“ 1689. My dear children, when I spoke to you at the commencement of this letter of my captivity, I told you that it continued still with great inconveniences really insupportable, to the extent that I had lost all hope of ever seeing you again (of which my persecutors wished to convince me) unless I made you return to prison, assuring me that this was the only means to restore myself to liberty. But God was so merciful to me (notwithstanding the torments they inflicted on me) as to enable me to refuse compliance with a condition so cruel, and so prejudicial to your eternal salvation. You were too happy in leaving such a sink of vice that I should consent to plunge you into it again, by a cowardice unworthy of the name and profession of a Christian, and of a Christian enlightened by the Divine mercy through the holy Gospel. You know that I was arrested by the police of Soissons on the 17th of August, and conducted into the prisons of Verneuil ; and this was for being accused, as formerly was St. Paul, for the hope of Israel,—that is to say, for holding the name of God in the purity and the simplicity that it pleased him to reveal to us in his word, a crime which in France at present is esteemed the most fearful, and visited with punishment the most severe. This was the reason that I was so strictly guarded in a place most disagreeable and incommodious, in which I was nearly smothered by different kinds of animals, and where there was not even room to arrange a bed. I was not there long before I fell ill, and I beheld myself abandoned by the whole world. I *heard* from my friends, for it was not permitted to them to *see* me. But persons, who presented themselves for the purpose of annoying me, had all license for doing so, and of such people there were only too many to be found. Even your poor mother saw me but rarely and with the greatest difficulty, which obliged her, though very inconvenient from the approach of her accouchement, to make a journey to Soissons in order to try and obtain from our Intendant

the favour that she should be allowed to take care of me in my illness and that some kind of liberty should be afforded to me. Fearing that I could not survive for any length of time in such a miserable place, she offered to remain in prison herself in my place for some time ; but they were inexorable to her prayers, and she returned without having obtained anything.

“ You can imagine what was her sorrow and grief : however, the good God, who always paternally chastises his children, and who never strikes them with one hand but to raise them up with the other, bestowed on me strength and vigour to vanquish that illness, notwithstanding the hardships I had to bear. Thus, at the end of twelve days I found myself a little better, which made your mother resolve to take a secret journey into her country in order to receive some arrears that her father-in-law owed us, the term of payment being past ; and this is what has been partly the cause of all my sufferings, and of our having so long deferred following you. He wished for nothing so much as that some obstacle should present itself to prevent him from paying this money ; accordingly he decided that the authority which I had given to your mother to receive that sum was not sufficient, because it had been drawn up in prison, and that a man, in the situation in which I was, could not legally negotiate or authorise it. Thus she found she had made a useless journey ; and, to fill up the measure of her misfortunes, she found on her return that, because it was not yet bad enough with me, they had transferred me from the prisons of Verneuil to those of Guise.

“ On the 27th Sept. [1688] the police of Laon had orders to come and remove me, and to conduct me to Guise. I was not quite recovered from illness ; however I had to travel, and they tied me with many cords on a horse. The officer who commanded the escort was an upright man, and had formerly conducted me to the prison of Sedan for the same cause of my religion. He said that he was touched at my condition, and assured me that they only transferred me that I might be better ; but I well experienced the contrary. He excused himself for the cruel and inhuman manner in which they treated me, making me understand how express his orders were, and to what an extent he was forced to obey them ; and as for me he esteemed me only too happy to be suffering for the profession of the truth. All the population of the town came out into the streets to see me ; they had, indeed, seen me many times in a similar condition, but not tied and bound with cords, as I now was. I was visited by many melancholy thoughts during the journey ; but never had anything so much afflicted me as, on arriving at Guise, to see a mob excited against me (who could do me no evil, because they were prevented) and heaping on me a thousand atrocious insults. I remembered that the Saviour of the world replied not to such outrages, and I had the honour to imitate him in that respect ; nevertheless this heart, little regenerated, was with difficulty prevented from showing its resentment. How often did I ardently ask God to support me with patient self-possession under this insult. And then the words of the prophet David in Psalm Sixty-nine came to my mind, where he says, *For they persecute him whom thou hast smitten, and they talk to the grief of those whom thou hast wounded* ; this passage of Scripture for a long time occupied my thoughts, finding that it exactly suited my case.

“ They lodged me in the most frightful part of the tower, so far removed from the business of the world that I neither saw nor heard anything but the gaoler, who came a moment each day to see what I was doing. I was two days and two nights without knowing if I was dead or alive, and consequently without dreaming of taking any nourishment. So much was I penetrated with grief and agony, and so extraordinary was my depression, that I could not even address God or invoke him, except by interrupted and unconnected prayers. The end of Psalm Seventy was continually on my lips, saying with the author, *But I am poor and needy. Make haste to me, O God ! Thou art my help, my deliverer. O Lord, make no tarrying.* Reflecting upon these words, I pictured to myself, that my trials were similar to those of the prophet when he pronounced them, which gave me some consolation. But when I reflected that instead of lodging me better than when at Verneuil—as the officer who conducted me had made me hope—they now treated me with such rigour and inhumanity, it came into my head that they wished to make me a terrible example to the Reformed Christians in the Province.

“The image of death continually presented itself before me, which made me exclaim with the same prophet, as in Psalm Seventy-seven. It was from what I said in that hour that God came to my assistance, or I should have died. I knew my weakness then, and how little I was disposed to be a martyr. On this subject I earnestly implored divine assistance to aid me, entreating that he would be pleased to accord me strength and courage to do nothing unworthy of the profession of a reformed Christian, of which I had the honour to experience the light. But God had not reserved me for so glorious a part as to seal His truth with my blood; of which I became aware seven or eight days after, by the arrival at Guise of the Intendant, who I knew was favourable to me.

“Your mother, the day after her return to Verneuil, set out again to see me. God willed that her journey was so *à propos* that she preceded the Intendant two or three hours only, during which she could see me but for a moment (notwithstanding any intercession she could make for that purpose), and only in the presence of a sergeant and four soldiers of the garrison, who attended her like her shadow. She had a number of particulars to relate to me respecting the journey she had just made in her country, but as it was impossible for her to impart them to me, I could draw nothing from her except sighs and tears, which she poured forth in abundance. Her escort dragged her away against her will, for the poor creature would have taken it as a great favour if they had detained her as a prisoner along with myself. This visit affected me much more deeply than any former one, so that I should have wished very much not to have seen her. Yet when the Intendant arrived, she besought him with so much determination, that he was compelled to yield to her importunity, so much so, that he permitted her not only to see me, but even to remain with me, and that too in a place a little less dreadful than that in which I had been, which they made me leave at once.

“This change so unexpected, and so agreeable to me that I regarded it as an interposition of Heaven, was (I believe) rather the effect of necessity than the result of any kind disposition they might have felt towards me. When I found myself in her society, and out of that detestable place, I seemed to have entered another world. All my unhappiness now was for my poor wife, who every moment expected her accouchment; she would willingly have been a captive for my sake, courageously despising all the inconveniences which she would meet with in a place where she would have nothing but solitude. This was one great cause of sorrow; although this was not the first time that by divine permission she was placed in a similar position, though more inconvenient. In fact you know that two years ago her accouchment took place in the prison of Sedan, she having been dragged from her bed (which from illness she had not left for six months) to be brought there. By the goodness of God she now, at the end of three weeks, notwithstanding all these miseries and calamities, brought into the world another fine boy, by whom the number of your brothers is again augmented.

“After I had been in prison seven months, they thought themselves obliged to bring my trial on, and for that purpose, on the last of January [1689]; the police of Soissons brought me to the prison of Laon, to which place the Intendant arranged that the witnesses, along with the President should go. With all these forms it was on the 27th of March that I was confronted with the witnesses, who had not much to say against me. I was kept before the bar for more than two hours to render an account of my faith and of what I was accused of, and particularly your flight, which they positively wished me to remedy by your return, although I had always borne witness that it was not in my power to do so. They exhibited an Order of Council which commanded the Intendant to treat me with all the rigour of the law. God gave me grace to reply to all their questions according to the promptings of my conscience, and boldly to confess the truth which we at one time so feebly defended. It now pleased Him to shew His strength in my weakness, for in myself and in my flesh I recognize nothing but weakness. Sentence was pronounced that, as an expiation of my pretended crimes, I was still to remain in prison for six months—a sentence which was considered very favourable, and which I attribute to prayer to God on that and on ordinary occasions. I am

much indebted to Mons. and Madlle. de Lussi who were most kind to me, and whom I shall remember with gratitude all my life. At present I have more license for writing than ever. May it please God to preserve us to the end of this persecution, to shield us from the storm and the tempest, and to conduct us by his goodness to the haven of salvation."

The De Lussi family were cousins of the Laval. Some of the ladies underwent what they call "a wretched imprisonment" in the convent of Soissons. Vicomte de Laval was an elder in Portarlington French Church; his signature "LAVAL, *ancien*" may be seen in the Register. As a prominent member of the aristocratic colony, he lived in some grandeur. He was in the habit of wearing a cloak of scarlet cloth lined with ermine, a sword-buckle, knee-buckles, shoe-buckles, and a stock-buckle, all of silver, set with diamonds; and he always carried his hat under his arm."

AURIOL.

The Auriol family is French, though its remote ancestry was Spanish. Its seat was in the province of Languedoc. It holds a conspicuous place among the noblesse, and boasts inter-marriages with the most noble families. Members of the house have held the first offices of state—others have served with distinction in the army. Pierre Auriol in the year 1477 was Lord High Chancellor of France under Louis XI. In the reign of Louis XIV. they possessed the title of Baron de Toutens; and being Protestants, several of the name at the time of the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes became refugees in England. One of the family, though he remained behind, continued a Protestant, and had a son Elisha born at Castres in 1691 or 2, who married in 1733 or 4 Marguerite, daughter of the Marquis de Fesquet (or Féquette), a Protestant scion of the royal Bourbons. Of this Elisha, the young refugees James and Peter were brothers. These brothers, like many expatriated members of noble families, were merchants, and acquired wealth.

James Auriol removed from London to Lisbon (perhaps to join the mercantile house of "Mr Orriole, the eminent Lisbon merchant," who died 26th Nov. 1739, "aged about 70"). At Lisbon he married Miss Russell, an English lady. He was there during the memorable earthquake, by which he lost much property. He had a daughter, Amelia, and three sons, who were educated in England. The eldest son was James Peter Auriol, who, as well as his brothers, obtained appointments in India. The second, named Charles, became a General in our king's service. James Peter Auriol, Esq., was the father of the Rev. Edward Auriol, M.A., Rector of St Dunstan's in the West, in London, and Prebendary of St Paul's, a venerated clergyman, ready for every good work—a worthy successor of his dignified predecessors, the prebendaries John Rogers and John Bradford.

Peter Auriol, a successful London merchant, is remembered as the father of Henrietta Auriol, the ancestress of the Earls of Kinnoull, whose marriage was thus recorded in the *Gentleman's Magazine*:—"Married, 31st Jan. 1749, the Right Rev. Robert Drummond, Bishop of St Asaph, to the eldest daughter of Mr Auriol, merchant in Coleman Street, £30,000." This prelate was by birth the Hon. Robert Hay, second son of George Henry, 7th Earl of Kinnoull. He assumed the name of Drummond in 1739, on succeeding to the estates (not to the title) of the first Viscount of Strathallan, his maternal great-grandfather. He rapidly rose in the Church, becoming a Prebendary of Westminster in 1743, Bishop of St Asaph in 1748, Bishop of Salisbury in 1761, and in the same year Archbishop of York. He was born 10th Nov. 1711, and died 10th Dec. 1776. He was a very distinguished man; but this memoir principally concerns his wife and her children by him. There were six sons, and the father (says a family manuscript) "chose to have all his children christened with the name of Auriol, well aware of the rank of the Auriol family as certainly no disparagement to his own." "It is remarkable," says the editor of the *Scottish Nation*, "that three of the six sons of this eminent prelate came to untimely deaths. Peter Auriol Hay Drummond, the third son, Lieut.-Colonel of the 5th Regiment of West York Militia, died in 1799 (aged 45), in consequence of a fall down the

staircase of his house. John Auriol Hay Drummond, the fourth son, Commander R.N., was lost in the *Beaver* (prize) off St Lucia in a hurricane in 1780, aged 24; and the youngest son, aged 46, Rev. George William Auriol Hay Drummond, editor of his father's sermons, was drowned while on a voyage from Bideford (in Devonshire) to Greenock, the ship having been cast away in a storm on the night of 6th Dec. 1807." Besides these, in 1766, the Hon. Mrs Drummond lost her eldest child, Abigail, a beautiful girl, aged 16, for whom Mason wrote the following epitaph, which, slightly abridged, is printed in that poet's works :—

“ Hence, stoic apathy! to breast of stone.
 A Christian sage with dignity can weep:
 See mitred Drummond heave the heartfelt groan,
 Where cold the ashes of his daughter sleep,
 Where sleeps what once was beauty, once was grace,
 Grace that, with tenderness and sense, combined
 To form that harmony of soul and face
 Where beauty shines, the mirror of the mind.
 Such was the maid that, in the morn of youth,
 In virgin innocence, in nature's pride,
 Blest with each art that owes its charm to truth,
 Sank in her father's fond embrace, and died.
 He weeps; oh! venerate the holy tear.
 Faith lends her aid to ease affliction's load;
 The parent mourns his child upon the bier;
 The Christian yields an angel to his God.”

The eldest son became the 9th Earl of Kinnoull, Lord Lyon King-of-Arms of Scotland, and President of the Society in Scotland for Propagating Christian Knowledge (*born 1751, succeeded 1787, died 1804*). The second son, Thomas, died in 1773, aged 21, and, like the third and fourth sons, left no descendants. The fifth son, Edward (of whom hereafter), had many children. The youngest, already noticed, had a son, Robert William, Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies, who died in 1861, aged 75. Besides editing in 1803 the Archbishop's Sermons, the Rev. George Auriol Hay Drummond wrote a prefatory memoir, and published in 1802 a volume of “Verses, Social and Domestic.” In the former he tells us that his mother “died in 1773, and her Lord never recovered her loss.” In the latter he tells us of his parents' country seat, Brodsworth, near Doncaster, to which he indites a farewell elegy, containing these verses :—

“ Sad memory, recal the place
 Where most maternal love appeared.
 Ah, me! impossible to trace!
 Such love has every haunt endeared.
 Yet can I e'er forget the tree
 Beneath whose shade she loved to lie?
 Where now, even now, methinks I see
 Her sainted form pass fleeting by.”

In the same volume he reproduces the dutiful lines he wrote for her monument, concluding thus :—

“ Her widowed Lord in vain essayed to heal
 His wounded heart—then hailed a hasty grave;
 Bereft of her, their offspring ne'er can feel
 That social joy her cheerful presence gave.
 Yet, in her bright example ever blest,
 Their duteous gratitude shall homage pay;
 And by her precepts may they gain that rest
 To which, alas! how soon she led the way.”

From Dame Henrietta Auriol or Drummond (as Scotch law would designate her), descended three principal families :—

1st. The Earls of Kinnoull, through her eldest son Robert Auriol, the 9th Earl.

2nd. The inheritors of the estates of Cromlix and Innerpeffray, destined for the second sons of the Earls of Kinnoull, who assume the name, style, and arms of *Drummond of Cromlix*.

3d. The descendants of the Archbishop's fourth son, the Rev. Edward Auriol Hay Drummond, D.D. (*born 1758, died 1829*), Dean of Bocking, Prebendary of York and Southwell, Rector of Hadleigh, and chaplain to the King. By his marriages he extended his connection with the Huguenot Refugees, his first wife being Elizabeth, daughter of William, Count De Vismes, and his second wife being his mother's cousin Amelia, daughter of James Auriol and aunt of the Rev. Edward Auriol. By his second wife Dean Drummond left two daughters: Amelia Auriol married in 1812 to Rev. George Wilkins, D.D., and Charlotte Auriol, wife of the Rev. Thomas Jones. His daughter, by his first wife, was Henrietta Auriol, who was married in 1831 to the Rev. Morgan Watkins, and died in 1832. His son was a military officer; the Strathallan estates having passed to a younger generation, he returned to the surname of Hay; his name was Edward William Auriol Drummond Hay (*born 1785, died 1845*); he was Consul-General for Morocco, and left six sons and four daughters—the youngest daughter, Henrietta Auriol Drummond Hay, was married in 1851 to Henry Chandos Pole, Esq. The sons are (1), Sir Edward Hay Drummond Hay, K.C.B., formerly Governor of St Helena; (2), Sir John Hay Drummond Hay, K.C.B., Her Majesty's Chargé D'Affaires at the Court of Morocco; (3), Lieut.-Colonel Thomas Robert Hay Drummond Hay, late in command of the 78th Highlanders; (4), George William Drummond Hay, Esq.; (5), Francis Ringler Drummond Hay, Esq., Consul-General at Tripoli; (6), James De Vismes Drummond Hay, Esq., C.B., Vice-Consul at Pará.

MONTOLIEU DE SAINT-HIPPOLITE.

The family of Montolieu de Saint-Hippolite was a branch of the Barons de Montolieu of Marseilles (see Moreri). Illustrious as it was in the world, it is more distinguished as having contributed many soldiers and martyrs to the Huguenot cause. Guillaume de Montolieu, Seigneur de Saint-Hippolite was killed at the Battle of Dreux in 1562. Of his four sons, three were killed in action, Jacques at St Denis in 1567, and Francois and Hippolite at Montcontour in 1569. Antoine was severely wounded at the siege of Rouen in 1592, but lived till 1615. The latter married Susanne Dupuy, and was the father of Jean, killed at the siege of Montpellier in 1622, and of Claude, who married Catherine de Saurin, whose son Pierre, the father of the refugees, was married to Jeanne de Froment, daughter of Nicolas de Froment and Marie Du Roure. The refugees were Louis (who retired to Brandenburg), and David, Sieur de Saint-Hippolite, who came to England with the Prince of Orange. David Montolieu, who was born in 1668, was in several actions in Flanders under King William III. In the reign of Queen Anne he was ordered to Piedmont, where he assisted in the intrepid and brilliant defence of Verrue against the French besiegers, by which the Duke of Savoy and Marshal Staremberg obtained such renown. Verrue fell on the 9th April 1705, "with great decency and with immortal honour to those brave men who had defended it almost six months;" so writes the Right Hon. Richard Hill (page 529). Next came the siege of Chivas, which little fortress held out till the 29th July, having been besieged for six weeks, when it surrendered "with great honour." This expenditure of time saved Turin. I find the name of Monsieur de Saint-Hippolite, in print, associated with the Waldenses, whom the French had unsuccessfully solicited to be neutral. On the 20th June 1704, the French made a successful raid into the valleys of St Martin and St Germans. The inhabitants of the latter valley however rallied, Monsieur de Saint-Hippolite taking the command on the 30th June, and on the next day defeating the French at Angrogna, and expelling them from all the valleys except St Martin, which capitulated. Altogether his valour and good conduct were conspicuous, and Monsieur Staremberg recommended him to the Emperor Joseph. The Emperor satisfied himself of the antiquity and nobility of the family of the Sieur de Saint-

Hippolite, and gave him a patent of nobility as Baron of Saint-Hippolite, in the German Empire, dated at Vienna, 14th Feb. 1706.

Two of his commissions from the Duke of Savoy (Vittorio Amedeo) lie before me. The first dated at Turin, 3d May 1709, states that the "Sr. David Montolieu di St. Ippolite," had been Lieutenant-Colonel in the Regiment of Meyrol and Adjutant-General of the camp near his Royal Highness' person, and was now promoted to the rank of Colonel. The second dated at Nizza 30th Nov. 1713, signed by the same Prince as King of Sicily, commends the conduct of the Sigr. David Montolieu di St. Hippolite as Adjutant-General and Colonel of infantry during the late war, specifying his services at the sieges of *Verrua*, *Civasso*, and *Torino*, and concludes by promoting him to the rank of *Generale di Battaglia*. [I may here observe that his title is variously spelt; in English legal documents it is Saint-Hippolite; he himself, in military phonographic style, made one word of it, "Saintipolite."]

Of the same year, though of earlier date, is Mr Hill's certificate, which (I believe) was never printed before:—

This is to certifie that in the year 1703 I was comanded by the Queen to carry into Piedmont as many french protestant officers as I could find in Hollande or in germany, because at that time the enemyes had seized and made prisoners allmost all ye D. of Savoye's troops.

In obedience to these comands I carried allmost a 100 good officers into the service of his R.H. upon the promises and assurances wch I gave them by her Majtys. expres comands, signified to me by a Secretaire of State, that all ye services wch should be performed by them dureing ye war in Piedmont should be accounted for to them by ye Queen at ye time of a peace, as if they had been performed more imediately to her majesty in her own troops.

Amongst these officers Monsr. David de Montolieu de St Hippolyte had ye honour and good fortune to distinguish himself very much, being made adjutant Generall at the first, by his dilligence and activity, by his courage and capacity, he acquired the esteem and confidence of his R.H. who employed and trusted him in a particular manner dureing ye famous seiges of Verrue, Chivas, and Turin in both which Monsr. de St Hippolite acquired a great and a just reputation.

To the truth of this I have set my hand and seal at London 7bre 5th 1713.

RICHD. HILL. (*Seal.*)

The gallant Baron spent the rest of his life in England, where (says the *Scots Magazine*) "he with tranquillity attained a great age under the shade of the laurels he gathered in his youth." It was, however, at the age of 45 that he left Piedmont, and came back among us, being recognised as a colonel in our army. He had, after the Peace of Ryswick, what is called "a pension," probably a lieutenant-colonel's half-pay, and which was continued, as appears from a letter to Mr Hill from Mr Edward Southwell, dated Dublin, 3d March 1704-5:—"We drink his Royal Highness's health every day; we extol his great and noble defence of Verrue, and wish him succours due to such zeal for the common cause. As to your friend, Monsieur St. Hippolyte, you may let him know that all his clearings of his pension are paid to Midsummer last, and, for particular favour, the two-thirds thereof for subsistence to the first of last month." His pension now rose to the amount of a colonel's half-pay, £223, 1rs. 3d. In 1714, within St. Martin's Lane French Church, in the City of London, he married Mary, daughter of Sir Anthony Molenier, and one son, Louis Charles (born 1719), and a daughter, Elizabeth, were born to him. He became a Brigadier 22d April 1727, Major-General 13th Nov. 1735, and Lieutenant-General 2d July 1739. In 1744 he wrote a letter on behalf of the King to the City of London French Church, desiring to ascertain "the number of French Protestants willing to take up arms in case His Majesty required their services at this conjuncture." I have found the minute of the General Assembly of the French Churches of London.* The Assembly met on the 7th March 1844, Rev. J. J. Majendie being in the moderator's chair. The Baron de Saint Hippolite's letter was read and engrossed in the minutes. A

* Burn's MSS.

committee was appointed to ascertain the number of volunteers that the French refugees could muster for military service, and to collect their names. The committee-men were Monsieur Dalbiac, Captain de Merargues, and Mr Pravan (formerly a captain of militia), for the City and Spitalfields; and Messrs de St. Maurice, De Foissac, and Soulegre, for Westminster. On the 13th of April, they reported that more than 800 names had been received in Spitalfields, and about the same number for Westminster; the latter list including a number of officers and housekeepers. An autograph note, preserved in the British Museum, shows that the Baron had submitted to a literary friend for revision his Memorial to the French Churches. The note is addressed "A Monsieur, Monsieur Des Maizeaux à Marie-la-Bonne." "Monsieur, Je vous remercie de la bonté que vous avez eu de corriger le mémoire que je vous avois donné. Agréez, Monsieur, que je vous prie de boire à ma santé avec la demy Guinée çï-include, étant avec une parfaite estime, Monsieur, Votre très humble et très obéissant serviteur,

"LE B. DE SAINTIPOLITE.

"Albemarle Street, le 23 Janvier 1743-4."

The Baron was promoted to the rank of General of Foot on the 9th of March, in the last year of his life. He died 9th June 1761, "at his house in Surrey," aged 93, and was buried in the Wandsworth Cemetery, which is still called "the French burial ground." In his Will, he left "the house in Albemarle Street" to his widow; £100 to the French Hospital, of which he had been a director from its establishment in 1718; he directed that the allowance which he had regularly given to his youngest brother, Aimard Montolieu, residing at Berlin, should be continued [this brother's name is mentioned by *Moreri*, who styles him "Aymard de Montolieu, Conseiller de Cour et d'Ambassade de S. M. Prussienne."] The Baron also left £1500 to his only daughter, Elizabeth, wife of "the Reverend and Honourable" Gideon Murray, D.D., Prebendary of Durham (third son of Alexander, 4th Lord Elibank), to whom she had been married in 1746. In 1778 Prebendary Murray died, leaving two sons, Alexander and David; the former had married, 20th April 1776, his first cousin, Mary Clara Montolieu, daughter of Colonel Louis Charles Montolieu.

The Baron's son, Louis Charles, entered the army. By his marriage, he allied himself with the family of Leheup, of which four members appear in the journals as public servants, named Isaac, Michael, Matthew, and Peter; of these, Isaac twice represented boroughs in Cornwall in Parliament, and was Minister-Plenipotentiary to the Diet of Ratisbon in 1726. On the 26th June 1750, Captain Montolieu, only son of Lieut.-General Baron St. Hippolite, married a daughter of Peter Leheup, Esq. of St. James's Place (London). He died on the 13th February 1776, when he was styled Colonel Louis Charles Montolieu of the Horse Guards; he was in his 57th year. He left several daughters. Mary Clara (already named), wife of Alexander Murray, who in 1785 succeeded to the Peerage as the 7th Lord Elibank; she died on the 10th January 1802, leaving three sons and two daughters. The eldest son, Alexander, 8th Lord Elibank (*born* 1780, *died* 1830), had six sons and seven daughters; the third son being the Hon. Thomas Montolieu Murray (*born* 1811, *died* 1852), and the eldest son, Alexander Oliphant Murray, the present Lord Elibank, whose heir-apparent is the Hon. Montolieu Fox Murray, Master of Elibank. The two latter represent both the son and daughter of the old Baron de Saint Hippolite; the daughter being further represented by the branch of the family founded by her younger son, David Murray, Esq. (*died* 1794), father of the Rev. David Murray, Rector of Brampton-Brian, who married in 1828 Frances, daughter of John Portal, Esq. of Freefolk.

Colonel Montolieu had other daughters. On 16th Dec. 1780, Ann, his third daughter, was married to Sir James Bland Burges, Bart.; she died on 25th Oct. 1810; her eldest son was Sir Charles Montolieu Lamb, Bart., (*born* 1785, *died* 1860), who, by his marriage with the Dowager Lady Montgomerie, became step-father to the 13th Earl of Eglinton: hence *Montolieu* was introduced among the Christian names of the Earl's descendants.

On 27th May 1783, another daughter of Colonel Montolieu was married to Wriothsley Digby, Esq. (*born* 1749, *died* 1827), son of the Hon. Wriothsley Digby, LL.D., and grandson of William, 5th Lord Digby.

In 1826 another daughter, Julia (being the widow of Captain William Wilbraham, R.N.), was married to Lieut.-General Sir Henry Edward Bouverie, G.C.B., Governor of Malta (*born* 1783, *died* 1852); she had a daughter, Henrietta, wife of Hugh Montolieu Hammersley, and a son, Captain Henry Montolieu Bouverie of the Coldstream Guards, who was killed at the battle of Inkermann.

The brother of the old Baron, Louis Montolieu, being a refugee in Brandenburg, is memorialised in the seventh and ninth volumes of *Erman and Reclam*. In 1693 he was a Captain in the regiment of the Marquis de Varennes. He also was created a Baron in 1706, and became *General de Bataille* in the kingdom of Sicily; he became Major-General in Prussia, and received pensions from Prussia, Sardinia, and Great Britain; he died in Berlin; his eldest daughter was married to Lieut.-Colonel Beville (father of Lieut.-General Beville); the second daughter was married to Lieut.-General de Forçade; his eldest son, after spending his active life in Wurtemberg, retired to Lausanne. This son is mentioned in the diary of James Hutton, in connection with the visit of that zealous Christian layman to Lausanne in 1756; he is styled "Baron de Montaulieu, of the House of St. Hippolyte, in France, who speaks English, and has a pension and *ordre* from Wurtemberg, and also a pension from Prussia, and is *beau-frère* of the Prussian General Forçade." At that time France was supplied with Protestant pastors by the "Languedoc Theological Seminary," established at Lausanne. Hutton was there on a visit to urge the Professors to promote evangelic doctrines. The substance of his representation to them was, that the French Reformed Church was a martyr church, whose members had suffered the flames, the galls, the sword, the dagger, the hatchet, the rack, precipitation from rocks, and drowning, &c., for forty years before they took up arms; and on this account he honoured her, but felt anxious that she should not permit herself to be led aside, by merely moral sermons, from the profitable and thankful contemplation of the sufferings of Christ for sinners.

PUISSAR.

The Marquis de Puissar was an officer in the French army, and came over to England a little before the Revocation Edict. His surname (according to my well-informed correspondent, Colonel Chester), was Le Vasson. On the 20th July 1685, James Louis, Marquis de Puissar, in the kingdom of France, was married in King Henry VII.'s Chapel, in Westminster Abbey, to Catherine, second daughter of Sir Edward Villiers, Knt., and sister of Edward Villiers (afterwards created Earl of Jersey), of the Countess of Portland, and of the Countess of Breadalbane. According to the army lists, Louis James, Marquis de Puissar, was in 1695 appointed Colonel of the 24th regiment, which thereafter served in Flanders. On 25th Sept. 1697 the king granted several forfeited estates, yielding £607 per annum, to "James Puissar, Esq., commonly called Marquis de Puissar." And the said Louis James Puissar empowered Lieutenant-Colonel William Tatton "to set by leases of lives renewable for ever all his lands in Ireland, as also to receive all his rents." In 1699 he resigned "Terence Coghlan's estate," and got other lands in exchange. He died in 1701. His widow married her cousin, Colonel the Hon. William Villiers, second son of George, 3d Viscount Grandison. In the Irish Establishment for 1702 there is a pension of £200 to Mrs Catherine Puissar, now married to Colonel Villiers. Because he was a Frenchman, his regiment is sometimes named conjecturally as a French regiment, and called *Pisar's* or *Pizar's*—but it was the 24th foot, which was *Marlborough's* from 1702 to 1704, and was then given to Lieutenant-Colonel Tatton.

DU QUESNE.

The Du Quesnes were a Norman family, renowned through one of its sons, the greatest naval hero of France. The father of the historic Du Quesne was Abraham Du Quesne, an earnest Protestant, born at Blangy in the Comté d'Eu, but by residence a citizen of Dieppe; he died

in 1635, having the rank in the French Navy of Chef d'Escadre. His merits having been recognised by Gustavus Adolphus, he for a time had quitted the French for the Swedish service; perhaps it is a memento of his wandering life that has been found in the City of London French Church register, which records the baptism of Etienne, fils de Abraham du Quesne and Marthe De Caul. Louis XIII. recalled him from Sweden with honour, and gave him employment and promotion.

Abraham Du Quesne, surnamed "Le Grand," was born in 1610. He was thus seventy-five years of age when the Edict of Revocation came out. On being urged by Louis XIV. to change his religion, if he would escape banishment, he nobly pleaded that, having for three-score years rendered to Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's, he should be unmolested in his old age in continuing to render to God the things that are God's. The king granted him this toleration; he died at Paris on the 2d Feb. 1688. Monsieur Perrault says of him, "He was born and died a Huguenot. 'Tis not to be doubted, had it not been for this obstacle to his fortune, but that the king would have rewarded him in a more conspicuous manner than he did during the whole course of his life, though he gave him a very illustrious mark of his favour—namely, a grant of 300,000 livres to purchase an estate, which was named Bouchet (near Estampes), but which his Majesty erected into a marquisate under the name of Du Quesne, to make his name immortal, as it deserves to be."

The French family descends from his brother. The admiral's sons were refugees.

The eldest son, Henri, Marquis Du Quesne, was born in 1652. He spent his refugee life in Holland, in Switzerland, and in England. When his father died, he petitioned that his body should be given up to him, he having bought the estate of Aubonne in Switzerland chiefly for his burial. The king refused the petition; and having secured that the interment should take place in France, he also refused to erect a monument. The Marquis succeeded in possessing himself of the heart of his father, which he buried within the temple of Aubonne in the Canton de Vaud: the epitaph is in gilded letters on a black marble tablet:—

Siste gradum, Viator!
 Hic conditur cor invicti herois,
 Nobilissimi ac illustrissimi Abraham Du Quesne
 Marchionis, Baronis, Dominique du Quesne, de Walgrand,
 de Quervicard, d'Indrette, &c.
 Classium Gallicorum Præfecti—
 Cujus anima in cœlis,
 Corpus nondum ullibi sepultum,
 Nec unquam sepelientur præclara gesta.
 Si a te ignorari queant tanti viri
 Incorrupta erga principem fides,
 Imperterritus in præliis animus,
 Singularis in consiliis sapientia,
 Generosum et excelsum pectus,
 Ardens pro verâ religione Zelus,
 Interroga aulam, exercitum, ecclesiam,
 Imò Europam, Asiam, Africam, utrumque pelagus.
 Verùm si quæras
 Cur fortissimo Ruitero superbum erectum sit mausoleum,
 Ruiteri Victori nullum,
 Respondere vetat latè Regnantis reverentia.
 Hoc sui luctûs ac pietatis erga patrem triste monumentum mæs-
 tus et lacrymans posuit Henricus ejus primogenitus,
 hujusce toparchiæ Dynasta et ecclesiæ Patronus.

Anno 1700.

In 1718, Henry, Marquis Du Quesne, was Lieutenant and Lieut.-Colonel of the first troop of Horse Grenadier Guards, commanded by Colonel Fane. He died at Geneva in 1722.

The second son of the French Admiral was Abraham Du Quesne, Capitaine de Vaisseau, who died in England, a Protestant refugee. Gabriel Du Quesne, his son, probably a military officer, was in 1725-6 Commissioner of Fortifications in the English service at Port-Royal, Jamaica; he defended his conduct in a pamphlet published in 1728. He was living in 1735 in Old Bond Street, London. He married Elizabeth, daughter of Sir Roger Bradshaugh, Bart., of Haigh, Lancashire, and was the father of the Rev. Thomas Roger Du Quesne (*born 1717, died 1793*), Prebendary of Ely and Vicar of East Tuddenham, Norfolk. This reverend gentleman lived a bachelor, and left the bulk of his fortune to the Hon. Charles Townshend.

Another refugee son of the great Du Quesne was styled Le Comte Du Quesne; he died at St Domingo.

DE GASTINE.

De Gastine was a territorial title, the family surname being Hullin. Matthew Hullin, Sieur de Gastine, was a refugee in England; a brother, also a refugee, was the Sieur d'Orval, and styled in England Anthony Hullin D'Orval, Esq. On the 20th Dec. 1714, Matthew Hullin de Gastine, Esq. of Sunbury (Middlesex), died; he had married, 1st, Mary Huguetan, and 2dly, Mary Anna Le Cordier. His only son, James Mark Hullin (*born 1701*), was the issue of the first marriage; he inherited £3666, 7s. 9d. The only daughter, named Susanna, was his child by his second wife.

One of the clan, Major De Gastine, was a refugee in Holland, and his daughter, Marianne, was married in 1728 to Rev. Israel Anthony Aufrère, jun. (All the above particulars are from the Aufrère MSS.)

GASTIGNY.

Monsieur Jacques Gastigny was a Huguenot military refugee in Holland, and Master of the Buck Hounds to the Prince of Orange. He attended the king in his campaigns, and took part in the battle of the Boyne. In that campaign, Dumont de Bostaquet, desiring a favour from the king, entrusted his petition to "Monsieur de Gatigny, son Grand Veneur." He appears in the Patent Rolls as James Gastigny, Esq., receiving an English pension of £500 *per annum*, dating from 27th Feb. 1700. He died in 1708. He is worthy of all honour as the founder of the French Hospital of London. The street named Gastigny Place, near Bath Street, the site of the first Hospital buildings, is a memorial of him. A perusal of his Will shews how much the Hospital scheme owes to the many wise councillors who followed up his idea. A royal charter was granted in 1718; it is printed at the beginning of the Book of Regulations, and the faulty spelling of proper names would lead to the conclusion that they are erroneously spelt in the grant. However that may be, the Index to the Patent Rolls has a nearly accurate entry:—"4 Geo. I., 24th July. Incorporates Henry de Massue, Marquis De Rouvigny, Earl of Galway, and divers others, by the name of Governor and Directors of the Hospital for poor French Protestants, &c., and grants them divers liberties, &c." The following is the Will:—

"In the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Ghost, I underwritten, James Gastigny, being sound in body and mind, and considering the certainty of death and the uncertainty of the hour thereof, have made here my testament and declaration of my last will. First, I render thanks to God, with all my heart, that through his mercy he has called me to the knowledge of the truth of his holy gospel, having given me to make a public and constant profession, and that he hath led me during all the course of my life, having preserved me from many dangers wherein I have been exposed. I beseech him that he will extend more and more his mercy upon me, forgiving me all my sins through Jesus Christ, and doing me the

grace to end my life in his fear and in his love, and to die in his grace, to be received in his eternal glory. When it shall please God to take me out of this world, I order that my body be interred in the nearest churchyard where I shall die, desiring that my burial shall not cost above £20. As to the goods which God hath given me, and of what shall be found at the time of my death to belong unto me, I dispose thereof as followeth:—

“First, I give £500 to the Pest-house, for to build there some apartments, there to lodge some poor, infirm, or sick French Protestants above the age of fifty years, and the woman or maiden the same. My will is that there should be lodgings for twelve poor at least. Moreover, I give the fund of £500 which shall be placed to get thereout the annual revenue, which revenue shall be employed to furnish beds, linen, and clothes, and other necessities of the said poor French Protestants who shall be in the said place; and the said two £500, making in all £1000, shall be put in the hands of the committee settled for the distribution of the Queen’s charity and of the nation, which French Committee shall employ the said sums as it is here above mentioned, and shall give an account thereof to the Messieurs the English Commissaries who are, or shall be, settled to receive the other accounts of the said French Committee. And the Executor of this my testament shall take care that the whole be executed according to my intention, as I will explain it. I give to the two houses of charity, each £100; to that of Westminster the one £100 to Madame Temple, who takes care of the kitchen, and the other £100 shall be given to Mr Reneu, father-in-law of Mr Dutry, who takes care thereof. Moreover, I give to the French Committee, to distribute to the poor of the nation, two hundred pieces or pounds sterling.

“Moreover, I give to Messieurs Mesnard £120, which they shall share between them by half; to Mrs Gilbert, £30; to Mrs Assere, sister of Mr De Marmaude, £100; to Mrs de Hogerie, £100, and to Madame, his sister, who is at the Hague, lodged at Mr Dumars’s, £100; to Mrs de Hogerie, cousin of the above, lodged at Mrs Dangeon at the Hague, £100; to Mrs Treufont, whose name is now Pousse, being married, £50; to Mr de Gachon, my friend, £200, to help his nieces and his cousins, to maintain them or to distribute unto them as he shall think good; to Mr de Richosse, £100, for the friendship which he always showed me, being Master of the Horse of the deceased king, my master. I give to Cæsar, my valet-de-chambre, to Susanna, and to his little daughter, £200, and all my clothes and all my shirts and other small linen, and the three silver mugs and six spoons and six forks, which are in the ancient mode; to my coachman, whose name is John, £30; to Hesperance, £20, his wages and those of the others being paid the first of the year. I desire that all my servants be clothed in mourning who are here above named, and Kate and her daughter.

“I name for executor and administrator of this my present testament Philippe Mesnard, minister of the Word of God, whom I desire that he will execute it punctually, and I do declare that this is my last will, and that no other testament which I might hereafter make shall have any force or virtue unless it be found that it begins with these words, ‘Our days do pass as a shadow,’ declaring that every testament which I might heretofore have made shall be null and of no force unless it begins with the above said words. Willing that this shall have its full and whole effect, therefore I have signed and sealed this present writing in presence of the witnesses who have signed with me at London. Besides the dispositions here above contained, I give to the Society settled in England for the Propagation of the Holy Gospel the sum of £100, for to be employed by the said society to such pious uses as they shall think good, according to their institution. I give to Jacob, son of Hesperance’s wife, who was named for me in baptism, £50. Moreover, I pray Mr Philip Mesnard that he will cause [to be distributed] £200, which I give for twenty ministers who may have need of it, at the choice of the said Mr Mesnard, executor of my will. Moreover, I bequeath and give to Mr Philip Mesnard all the goods which may belong unto me after the payments here above mentioned of my last will.—Done at London, the tenth August 1708.

“JAMES DE GASTIGNY.

“Witnesses—F. Mariette. Paul Dufour.

“Proved by the Executor, Philip Mesnard, at London, 1st Dec. 1708.”

DUFOUR, AND OTHERS.

In the *Gentleman's Magazine* a death is recorded, 23d Nov. 1739—"Paul Dufour, Esq., Treasurer of the French Hospital, to which he left £10,000." By reference to his Will, he seems to have been a man of rank and wealth, and to have lived to a good old age, as his marriage took place in 1681; but that the Hospital received £10,000 is more than doubtful. He bequeathed "to the corporation of the Hospital of the French Protestants £300, in order to pay them what is coming to them by the marriage-contract passed with my wife at Paris, the 24th Sept. 1681, by Soyer, a royal notary." He left to his cousin, James Dupin, an annuity of £56, and the residue of his estate after the payment of legacies; to his cousin, Dina Dufour, £1000, and an annuity of £49; to his cousin, Margaret Guichery, wife of Mr Henry, the silversmith, £1000, and an annuity of £49; to Mr James Triquet, £16 per annum; to the widow Charlotta Bleteau, his servant, £10 per annum, which annuity shall, after her death, be paid "to the little Thomas Dufour, son of Captain Thomas Eaton;" to the widow Claude La Cana, £500; to Captain Thomas Eaton, £500; to Mr Stephen Guyon, £500; to Mr Peter Le Maistre, £500; to Mr Cæsar Le Maistre, £500; to Captain Amand Lallone Duperron, £500; to his consin, Abraham Guichery, living at Loudun, in France, £500; to his cousin, Martha Dupin, £500; to his cousin, Mary Anne Dupin, of Loudun, £500; to Paul Aubrey, the younger, of Loudun, £100; to Renauchon Aubrey, £100; to his cousin, the widow Des Illes Morteault, of London, £500; to the two daughters of the late Mr Malherbe, who died at the French Hospital in London, living at Spitalfields, £200; to Captain James Philip Moreau, £100; to the two daughters of the late Mr Francis Mariette, of Spitalfields, £100 each; to the two children of his late cousin, Paul Dupin, Sieur de la Mothe, of Loudun, named Paul and James Dupin, £50 per annum; to Madame Desclouseaux, widow, £100; to Captain Alexander Desclouseaux, £100; to Dr George Cantier, £100; to Dr Bernard, £100; to Mr Cauderc, minister, £50; to Mr Laval, minister, £50; to Mr Peter Mariette, £50; to the widow Beurepere, £50; to Mrs Le Maistre, widow of Mr Nicholas Rousselet, of Amsterdam, £200; to Mary Roussel, now at Amsterdam, £100; to Martha Dufour, of Loudun, wife of Mr Dovalle, £500; to his maidservants, £150, to be equally divided; to the widow Charlotta Bleteau, "one room furnished, and a silver cup with two handles, which my wife formerly used." To his nephew, Lewis Gervaise, £100; to Elizabeth Gervaise, £100; to Mrs Amiot, widow of Isaac Gervaise, £100; to Michael, Anne, and Peter La Caux, children of Madam La Caux, £50 each; to Mrs Louisa Mariette, £50; to Mr Francis Mariette, £50.—Dated 21st Sept. 1739. Proved at London, 4th Dec. 1739 by the executors, Captain Thomas Eaton, Captain Amand Lallone Duperron, and Mr Cæsar Le Maistre.

The Le Maistre family were very decided Huguenots. *Haag* informs us that Pierre Le Maistre, who probably came from Orleans, married at Canterbury in 1691, Marie, daughter of Mr Ambrose Minet, French Pasteur of Dover; also, that Francoise Le Maistre was married at London, in 1695, to David Pouget, and that a lady in France, of the same name (perhaps the same person), having fled, a description of her was sent to all the civil authorities, and she was arrested at Valenciennes in May 1685, and was shut up in the Bastile till 1688, when she was banished.

Among the Directors of the French Hospital was Guy dé Vicouse, Baron de la Court, Governor from 1722 to 1728. He was a subscriber to the first edition of Rapin's History; and Rapin's biographer states that his French title was Baron Viçose de la Cour, and that he was a descendant of Raymond de Viçose, Councillor and Secretary of State to Henri IV., who fought so bravely at the Battle of Ivry, that the king gave him his famous white plume, now represented in the family armorial bearings. This name often re-appeared in the persons of spiritual heroes who were rewarded for their attachment to the Protestant faith by imprisonment and exile. Another Guy Vicouse, probably the Baron's son, became a Director of the French Hospital, 5th July 1732.

Chapter XXII.

THE FRENCH REGIMENTS.

THE French Refugee officers and soldiers enlisted with all their hearts in the army of William and Mary; several effective regiments were formed. Some accounts, however, exaggerate the number. There was one regiment of cavalry, also one of dragoons, and three infantry regiments. These were disbanded at the Peace of Ryswick. They were re-organised in 1706-7 under different Colonels; and, as in those days each regiment was named after its Colonel, the mistake arose that these re-formed regiments were new and additional regiments. I begin by giving an account of the regiments as originally raised.*

I. SCHOMBERG'S HORSE—AFTERWARDS RUVIGNY'S (EARL OF GALWAY'S.)

FREDERICK, 1st Duke of Schomberg, raised this regiment in England. Dumont de Bostaquet gives a list of its officers, as raised in July 1689 (he omits their Christian names.) The Colonel-in-chief was the Duke. The field-officers next to him were Colonel de Romagnac, Colonel de Louvigny, Major de la Bastide, Major le Chevalier de Sainte-Hermine. Each company had four officers in permanent full-pay, a captain, lieutenant, cornet, and quartermaster. (The full-pay officers in the *Compagnie Colonelle* were Captain d'Avène, Lieutenant Dallons, Cornet le Comte de Paulin, and Quartermaster Vilmisson). The other officers were styled *officiers incorporés*; they seem to have received a good sum of money as bounty (*un gratification*) on being enrolled, but not to have drawn any pay except when on active duty. The names of the captains having the command of companies were D'Avène (or D'Avesnes), De Casaubon, De Belcastel, De la Fontan, De Moliens, De Cussy, De Tugny, and De Varenques. De Bostaquet was an older captain; but having come to us from the Dutch service, he was passed over in the distribution of commands. He says as to the above-named captains, "The officers coming direct from the service of France have been preferred to others, who had quitted her service at an earlier date. This occasions some jealousies and murmurs; but I try to rise above such vexations, as I left my country in quest, not of my fortune, but of liberty of conscience." The other captains were regimental subalterns with the rank of captain in the army. They were Captains Darènes, Bernaste, Montault, La Roche, La Millière, De Maricourt, Brasselaye, Des Loires, La Coudrierè, Valsery, De Hubac, La Fabreque, Vesian, Boncour (sen.), Vesancé, Petit, Des Moulins, Louvigny (jun.), Dolon, Questebrune, D'Antragues, Montargis, Bostaquet, La Grangerie, Saint-Tenac, De Passy, Hautcharmois, La Roquière, Bondou, Champaigné, De Saint-Cyr Soumain, De L'Isle, Monpas, Deppe, Jonquière, D'Escury, Vivens, Baron de Neufville, and Brugières.

The names of the lieutenants, cornets, and quartermasters on permanent full-pay were *Lieutenants* Dallons, Mezères, De Salles, Coulombierès, Le Cailletière (sen.), Maisonneuve, Braglet, and La Lande. *Cornets*, Le Comte de Paulin, Maleragues, D'Hours, Le Marquis de la Barre, Vervillon, Couterne, Bancelin, and Dumay. *Quartermasters*, Vilmisson, Thomas, Verny, Pineau, Samson, Ricard, La Roque, and Chapelle.

The other officers were *Lieutenants* Maillerays, Clervaux, Rochemont, Blanzac, Boudinot, Londigny, Des Ouches, La Bouchetière, De L'Isle, Le Blanc, Tessonnière, Lentillac, Duvivier, Pinsun, Dumarest, La Casterie, Boisribeau, Liverne, Mercier, Fontane, Rumigny, Pascal, La Bessède, Chabrières, Pineau, Ferment, La Cloche, Moncornet, La Boissonnade, Du Buy,

* I have already mentioned that *Puisar's* regiment was an English infantry regiment. I may add, that what Dumont de Bostaquet calls "Le regiment de l'Anié," must have been the English regiment of cavalry commanded by Sir John Lanier.

Deserre, Liscour, Boncour (jun.), Cailletière (jun.), Dalby, Gourdonnel, Bernard, Sisolles, La Batie, Fontanie, Boismolet, Eschelberghe, Augeard, Rouse, Beraud du Pont, La Boulaye, Deschamps, La Brosse-Fortin, Cassel, Dornan, Tournier, La Serre, Chateaneuf, La Malquière, Guiraud, Rouvière, Lavit, Rozet du Causse, Solègre, and Tobie-Rossat. *Cornets*, Boisragon, Rochemont (sen.), Père de Fontenelles, Blanzac (jun.), Lizardière, Moncal, D'Ericq, Rivery, Lacour, Laserre, Gaubert, Duchesne, La Bastide Barbu, La Rouvière, La Coste, Dolon (jun.), Lubières, Dupuy, Loulin, Boncour (jun.), Lassau, Constantin (sen.), Féron, Constantin (jun.), La Basoche, Soumain de Vallière, La Loubière, De Lamy, Grenier, Arabin de Barcelle, Le Roux, Duval, Duchessoy, Lameryes, Théron, La Roque, Beaujeu, Fongrave, Laume, Cambes, Du Lac, and La Balanderie.

Schomberg's Regiment of Horse arrived in Ireland after the surrender of Carrickfergus, and proved itself to be an admirable corps. Some of the officers were victims of the sickly season at Dundalk. Captain De Brugière and Cornet Baenclin died in the camp. The Chevalier De Sainte-Hermine obtained sick leave, and went homeward, but did not get beyond Chester, where he died. Captain Brasselaye also sailed from the same cause, and died at Windsor. Lieutenant Maillerays was killed in a skirmish with King James's outposts. Colonel De Louvigny died in winter-quarters, as also did Captain La Grangerie, who served in De Moliens' company along with Dumont de Bostaquet.

At the Boyne Lieutenant-Colonel De Belcastel, who at the time of the enrolment of the regiment had the military rank of major, and had been made captain of a company, commanded a squadron of cavalry; he made a brilliant charge, in which he was severely wounded; and he afterwards died of his wounds. Captain Montargis, of De Moliens' company, was with Schomberg, and warned him against exposing himself so much. Captains D'Avène and Montault and Cornet Vervillon were killed. Captain (Brevet Lt.-Col.) De Casaubon, Captains De Varenques, Hubac, Bernaste, Montault, and Des Loires, and other officers, were wounded.

At the Royal review on the 9th July (*o.s.*), the strength of the regiment was reported to be 395 men. They were next employed in the first siege of Limerick. A redoubt which was a troublesome outwork was taken with the co-operation of a detachment of the regiment, but almost every man was either killed or wounded, or his horse instead of him. Captains La Roche, Hautcharmois et La Roquière, were killed; Cornet Couterne, a very handsome man, was disabled by a wound, and his wounded horse having rolled over him, and having died, he lay for three days and three nights on the ground; when he was relieved he could not rally, but died on the night of his removal to the camp.

The Marquis De Ruvigny, who was made Colonel of this regiment on the death of Schomberg, joined it in Ireland in the campaign of 1691. The Marquis commanded a division of the army as a Major-General, and we have already seen how at the battle of Aughrim he contributed to the great and decisive victory. *Ruvigny's* Regiment here began to earn its celebrity; it was commanded at Aughrim by Lieutenant-Colonel De Casaubon, who did his duty nobly. It was in Lieutenant-General De Schravemor's division. Victory was gained at the cost to *Ruvigny's* of two captains, nine lieutenants, nine cornets, forty troopers, and twenty-six horses killed; and the following were wounded: two captains, one lieutenant, one cornet, and forty-five horses. At the battle of Landen, in 1693, *Lord Galway's* (as it was then called) was led by King William in person, and also by Galway himself.

The *Earl of Galway's* Horse was disbanded in 1699. Its senior half-pay officers in 1719 were Colonel Daubussargues and Lieutenant-Colonel Verangle. Its half-pay in 1719 amounted to £2263, and in 1722 to £2294.

Some of the officers came into notice in the reign of Queen Anne, viz., the Comte De Paulin, Messieurs Montargis, La Bouchetière, &c. De Bostaquet says that Cornet Du Teron became an *audit lord*; probably he held a responsible post in the Exchequer or Audit Office of Ireland. Lieutenant La Boulay became a proprietor in Carlow parish of ten acres, which in parochial assessments were called Captain Labully's fields—granted by the Trustees of Forfeited Estates on June 17th, 1703, to "Charles La Bouleey, of Carlow, gent." The surviving

half-pay officers of this and the other French registers are named in the Pamphlet entitled "Hiberniæ Notitia," published in 1723; but the names are so incorrectly spelt, that I have not ventured to make much use of those lists.

2 LA MELONNIERE'S (OR LAMELLONIER'S) FOOT.

Isaac De Monceau, Sieur De La Melonnière, was Lieutenant-Colonel of the Regiment of Anjou. He married in 1679 Anne Addée, daughter of Louis, Sieur De Petit Val et Grand Champ. As a Huguenot he was under the surveillance of the police at the period of the Revocation, and was officially reported to be "an old and meritorious officer and a handsome man, but of the pretended reformed religion, and extremely opinionative" (*ancien officier de mérite et bien fait, mais de la R. P. R. et fort opinionâtre*).

In attempting to emigrate he had reached the frontier, but was apprehended and made a prisoner. To avoid the galleys he professed to be ready to receive instruction. The priests who took him in hand were pleased with their veteran catechumen, and regarded him as a zealous pupil. Whether he pretended to be a convert is not known. Happily he soon made a more successful attempt at flight. He found his way to Holland, through the help of God. William, Prince of Orange, gave him the rank of Colonel in his army, and made him his aide-de-camp. At that date he had three children—Louis Issac, born in 1680; Susan Anne, born in 1683; Marianne, born in 1685.

Colonel De La Melonnière enrolled the Huguenot infantry, both officers and privates, who presented themselves at the Hague to join in the Prince of Orange's descent upon England, Colonel D'Estang doing the same duty for the cavalry. In 1689 Lamellonière, or Lamellonier (such are the English forms of his name) was colonel of one of the foot regiments raised by Schomberg and Ruvigny. The former he accompanied to Ireland, and during the Irish campaigns he held the local rank of Brigadier; he was inserted as such in a list given to King William 18th June 1690; Story calls him La Millionière. On the day of the victory at the Boyne, Lamelonière was sent by King William with 1000 horse and some foot to summon the town of Drogheda. The governor, having a good store of ammunition and provisions, and a garrison of 1300, received the summons with contempt. The King, however, sent him word that if he should be forced to bring cannon before the town, no quarter would be given. The summons was then obeyed, and the garrison marched out. On the 20th September, La Melonnière accompanied the Duke of Wirtemberg, with 4000 men, to reinforce the Earl of Marlborough for the siege of Cork. He had charge of some Dutch and French infantry, and arrived before Cork, Sept. 26; the town capitulated on the 28th. "Wirtemberg and Marlborough being both lieutenant-generals, a warm dispute arose between them about the chief command, each claiming it in right of his rank. Marlborough was the senior officer, and led the troops of his own nation, whereas Wirtemberg was only at the head of foreign auxiliaries. Lamelonière interposed, and persuaded Marlborough to share the command with Wirtemberg, lest the King's service should be retarded by their disagreement. Accordingly the Earl commanded on the first day, and gave the word 'Wirtemberg;' and the Duke commanded the next day, and gave the word 'Marlborough.'"

It was resolved to open the campaign of 1691 with the siege of Athlone, and the troops rendezvoused at Mullingar on May 31st. The sudden attack and storming of Athlone on the 1st of July is notorious; Lamelonière took part in the perilous fording of the Shannon, under Major-General Mackay, and was honourably mentioned; one of his captains, the Sieur de Blachon, was killed. He received the substantive rank of Brigadier in July 1692. He afterwards served in Flanders, and rose to be a Major-General. In July 1697 he was tried by court-martial in Flanders, being accused by several officers of illegal practices in his regiment; he was honourably acquitted. The senior officers in 1719 were Colonel Solomon de Loche, and Brigadier and Colonel Josias Vimare (or Veymar). Its half-pay in 1719 amounted to £1925,

and in 1722 to £2182. Its most celebrated officer was Captain St Sauveur, of the grenadier company. In 1689 Colonel Russel, with some cavalry, Colonel Lloyd, with the Enniskilleners, and the refugee captain, were in Sligo. The two former drew off on the approach of General Sarsfield; but St. Sauveur carried some provisions into a fort, and held out. The nights being dark, he dipped some fir deals in tar, and by the light these gave when set on fire, he perceived the enemy advancing towards the fort with an engine called by the Irish a *sow*. This engine was rendered proof against musket-balls by a fourfold covering of hides and sheepskins; it consisted of strong timbers bound together with iron hoops, enclosing a hollow space. The back part was left open for besiegers to go in; the machine was fixed on an iron axle-tree, and was forced under the wall; then the men within opened a door in front. Captain St. Sauveur, by killing the engineer and one or two more, obliged the rest to retreat, and then he burned the sow. At break of day he forced the Irish to quit a small field-piece which they had planted in the street, and immediately afterwards sallied out and killed many of them. But his provisions were consumed, and there was no water in the fort. He therefore surrendered on honourable terms. As the intrepid Huguenots marched over the bridge, Sarsfield stood with a purse of gold in his hand, and offered every man of them who would engage in King James' service five guineas, with a horse and arms. They all, however, except one, replied that they would never fight for Papists; and that one, deserting next day, with his gold, his arms, and his horse, got safely to Schomberg's head-quarters. Captain St Sauveur died of fever in Lisburn.

As to Major-General Lamelonière, his pension on the Irish establishment was £303, 15s. per annum, and he died probably in 1715. Anne de la Melonière, residing in London, had an Irish pension of £91, 5s.; Captain Florence La Melonière had in 1719, as half-pay, £91, 5s., and in 1723, £155, 2s. 6d. Anthony Lamelonière was Major in the Grenadier Guards in 1736. In July 1737, a Lieutenant-Colonel Lamelonière was promoted, and in 1745 was wounded at the battle of Fontenoy. There died in London, 13th Nov. 1761, Lieutenant-Colonel Lamelonière of the first troop of Horse Guards.

3. CAMBON'S FOOT—AFTERWARDS MARTON'S (EARL OF LIFFORD'S).

Colonel Cambon, or Du Cambon, received the colonelcy of one of the Huguenot foot regiments in 1689. He was also an Engineer; but in Ireland he was indisposed to do duty in that department, and displayed ill-temper and insubordination when the Duke of Schomberg projected some military engineering employment for him. The Duke then intimated to him that he had power to dispense with his services as Colonel of Infantry also. Goulon, reputed to be a great engineer, did not conduct himself well in Ireland; and he and Du Cambon were perpetually quarrelling. Schomberg privately reported to the King this distracting feud, as well as Du Cambon's insubordination; but, if Dalrymple's translation were right, Cambon would have been petrified on the spot on being dubbed with the ugly and incomprehensible designation, "a mathematical chicaner!" I believe the expression which Schomberg used meant only "a wrangler over his mathematics"—(*chicanier sur ses mathématiques*).* Cambon profited by Schomberg's hint and promptly returned to subordination and decorum: so that the very next day he was made Quarter-Master-General.† At a later date Schomberg defended him from the injurious accusation that his regiment had not 150 men. "I can assure your Majesty," wrote Schomberg, 10th February 1690, "that though, since they came into winter quarters, many of Cambon's regiment have died, yet 468 healthy men have survived, and a good recruit of 70 men, who were levied in Switzerland, arrived within these eight days."‡ One of the officers who died was Le Sieur de Maisonrouge, a captain. At the blockade of Charlemont this regiment and La Caillemotte's did their duty well; and at the Battle of the Boyne both regiments were much exposed and fought with conspicuous bravery. Mr Story gives us a specimen of Cambon's temper, though he seems to have overlooked the fact that the Colonel was also

* Despatch, No. 2.

† Despatch, No. 3.

‡ Despatch No. 17.

Quarter-Master-General. The time of the anecdote is the day after the victory of the Boyne, when the regiments were forming into a camp. "Monsieur Cambon had almost set his own and my Lord Drogheda's regiment by the ears, by ordering a detachment of his men to take away by force the grass from the rear of the other regiment. The matter came so high that both regiments were charging their pieces. But my Lord Drogheda ordered his men to their tents, and Lieut.-General Douglas ordered Monsieur Cambon to desist from his pretensions. This might have been of dangerous consequence; and yet my Lord was so kind to Monsieur Cambon as not to acquaint the King with it." In 1691 Cambon is mentioned among the officers who advised the storming of Athlone. Samuel de Boisrond was appointed Lieutenant-Colonel of Cambon's 12th September 1690 (he was at the head of the half-pay list in 1719 and 1722, with a pension of £219). At Aughrim this regiment lost one captain, one lieutenant, one ensign, and ten soldiers; the wounded consisted of four captains, four lieutenants, four ensigns, and thirty-five soldiers. Luttrell has an entry, headed Deal, Feb. 1693—"Colonel Cambon was petitioned against by his inferior officers for mismanagement, and stopping their pay, and the King has discharged him." Poor Cambon seems to have been seized with fatal illness upon this sad catastrophe, and, as a mark of sympathy, the formal appointment of a successor was postponed during the remaining months of his life. This we infer from observing that Colonel Cambon died on August 9th, and that the date of the commission of the Comte de Marton as his successor, is August 10th, 1693. The Roll of this Regiment, as at 4th February 1698, is preserved at Carrowdore Castle; the officers' names were the following:—

<i>Colonel</i> Frederick Guilhaume, Comte de Marton,	10th Aug. 1693.
<i>Lieutenant-Colonel</i> Samuel de Boisrond,	12th Sept. 1690.
<i>Lieutenant-Colonel</i> Francois de Montandre (acting),	15th Feb. 1693.
<i>Major</i> Nicollas de La Cherois,	1st Aug. 1694.
<i>Aide-Major</i> Jean Pepin,	22d Nov. 1696.
<i>Chaplain</i> Jean Jeard,	1st Aug. 1689.
<i>Surgeon-Major</i> André Dupont,	1st May 1693.
<i>Captains</i> Jeremie Bancons, Paul de Gualy, Louis de Pelissier, Jacques La Rinbiliere, Constantin de Magny, Francois Cabrol, Gabriel de Malbois, — Marchais, Cosme de Miuret, — La Merze,	1st Apr. 1689.
<i>Captains</i> Theophile La Cour Desbrisay, — Aubin, Isaac de L'Aigle, 1st July 1689.	
<i>Captain</i> Pierre de Brusse,	1st Apr. 1690.
<i>Captains</i> Daniel de Virasel, Thomas de St Leger, Alexandre du Loral, Joseph St Gruy (or, St Puy?), Paul de Jages, Jean Pepin, Jacob de Graveron, Jacques de Melher,	25th June 1690.
<i>Captains</i> Delandes (9th Sept. 1690), André de Moncal (7th Oct. 1691), Guilhame de Poncet (1st Aug. 1694), Jacob de Graveron (29th June 1696).	
<i>Lieutenant</i> Daniel de Calvairac,	18th Feb. 1689.
<i>Lieutenants</i> Jean Pepin, Jean La Bussade, Pierre de Combebrune, Isaac La Salle, Jean Vestien, Alcide de Menandue, Jean Charles de Tarrot, Girard de St Pean,	1st Apr. 1689.
<i>Lieutenant</i> Jacques Foissac,	1st Apr. 1690.
<i>Lieutenants</i> Louis de Rivals, Pierre de St Felice, Daniel La Cherois, Joseph Durban, Louis de Passy,	15th June 1690.
<i>Lieutenants</i> Isaac de Bancons (1st July 1691), Ephraim De Falaize (15th Aug. 1691), Dalbis (do.), Noel des Claux (1st Feb. 1693), Gabriel de la Motte (27th Apr. 1693), Jean de Faryon (31st May 1693), Renè de Lestablère (1st Oct. 1693), Dumas (1693-4?), Louis de la Viverie (1st Apr. 1694), Paul de la Billiere (20th Apr. 1696), Simon de Chabert (14th Aug. 1696).	
<i>Ensigns</i> Louis de Gineste, Francois Maury Desperon, Louis de Vigneul, Jean Francois de Chamard, Louis Royer de Paris, Jacques de la Misegle, Jean de la Galle, Estienne de Riols,	1st Apr. 1689.
<i>Ensigns</i> Jean Louis Nauranne (18th Aug. 1689), Jean de Boissobre (25th June	

1690), Gibert de Pages (4th Feb. 1691), Jacques du Crozat (7th July 1691), Samuel de Prades (20th July 1691), Daniel Joly de Aernac (25th Oct. 1693), Isaac De Prat (3d May 1693), Jean de Joye (1st Apr. 1694), Henri Domerque (Apr. 1694), Pierre La Pilliere (15th April 1695), Granday.

The Colonel, Comte de Marton, became Earl of Lifford in 1698—and his regiment has since been known as *Lifford's*. The half-pay of its officers amounted in 1719 to £1483, and in 1722 to £1925.

4. LA CAILLEMOTTE'S FOOT—AFTERWARDS BELCASTEL'S.

La Caillemotte, younger son of the old Marquis de Ruvigny, was the first colonel of this regiment; and his valiant services in Ireland were done at its head. Of its officers Major De Lavard was killed in 1690 in a skirmish before Charlemont. Captain Dumont, brother of the Sieur Desmahis, De Bostaquet's relation, died *avec une très grand resignation* at Lurgan; "Le Squire Bromelay," described as the lord of the soil, granted him a grave, on the payment of eight shillings for the minister and the poor of the parish. The Colonel (as my readers know) was killed at the Boyne. His successor was Pierre Belcastel, a brave soldier and an able officer. The family of Belcastel (of Montvaillant, Castanet, and Pradelles) was a noble one, according to genealogy, and was also eminent for zeal and courage in the Protestant cause. It is believed that the refugee Belcastel belonged to it, though the connection is not authenticated. Belcastel took a prominent part in the Irish campaign, and was wounded. He opened the siege at Limerick in 1690. "About two in the afternoon of the 20th August, the attack began by 120 grenadiers, commanded by four captains, who advanced from the trenches to the fort, nearly 150 paces, and received the enemy's fire from the counterscarp and fort, still reserving their own till they came near enough to make it take place with greater certainty and effect. Colonel Belcastel put himself at the head of these men by the time they had advanced to the outside of the fort, and rearing a ladder against it, he immediately got up and was followed by the grenadiers, who leaped in after him, and killed sixty of the defenders of it, making one of the captains that commanded there, prisoner." In 1691 his regiment lost at Athlone Captains Duprey de Grassy and Monnier, and Lieutenants Madaillon and La Ville Dieu; and at Aughrim its wounded consisted of the colonel, the lieutenant-colonel, 9 captains, 6 lieutenants, 5 ensigns, and 54 privates, while 1 lieutenant and 21 privates were killed. Luttrell notes:—"18th Dec. 1694, Colonel Belcastel, a French refugee with his family, went sometime since in a Danish ship, the captain pretending to be bound for Ostend, but instead of that, carried them to Dunkirk, where they were made prisoners." "London, 20th June 1695, Colonel Belcastel and his lady are arrived here from Dunkirk." At Flanders, in June 1696, His Majesty made Belcastel a Brigadier. On the Irish Establishment, there was a "Grant to Brigadier Peter Belcastell and his assigns of £500 per annum for twenty-one years," dated 8th January 1701. (The half-pay of his regiment in 1719 amounted to £857, and in 1722 to £999.

The French regiments being disbanded, Belcastel turned his eyes towards Holland. To serve in that country did not involve the quitting of King William's service. Luttrell says, April 17, 1701:—"His Majesty has given a commission to the Marquis Belcastel to raise a foot regiment of French refugees here for the service of the States-General"—and again, 1st Nov. 1701, "Holland letters say that the king has given Colonel Belcastel a regiment of French refugees." On the death of King William, Belcastel formally quitted the English service: he was made a Major-General in the Dutch army, his commission bearing date, "The Hague, 28th April 1704." He was appointed to command the allied troops collected for the invasion of France and the succour of the Cevenols. But that expedition being nipped in the bud by untoward events, he obtained the command of the Dutch contingent in the Duke of Savoy's forces. Marlborough says of him, "He is a very good officer, and I am glad he stands so well with the Duke of Savoy." In 1709 he was with his men in Spain; he earned his share in the glory of the victory at Saragossa, but was killed at the battle of Villa Viciosa, 10th Dec. 1710.

According to Court, he was a meritorious officer, combining rigorous integrity with much prudence and bravery.

5. MIREMONT'S DRAGOONS.

There is reason to believe that this was not originally a French regiment, but that refugee officers and men were gradually incorporated into it. The name of Captain Addée occurs in 1695. At the time of its disbandment it was altogether Huguenot. Its senior officer on half-pay in 1719 was Lieut.-Colonel John de Savary. Its half-pay in that year amounted to £605, and in 1722 to £597.

These five regiments represent the bulk of the French military refugees. They were disbanded in 1699; but in the wars of Queen Anne they reappeared under new Colonels, reinforced by subalterns of a younger generation. From an old pamphlet I extract a tabular view of the strength of each regiment in 1698:

	No. of Companies.	Non-Commissioned		Privates.	Total.
		Officers.	Officers.		
Galway's Horse,.....	9	113	45	531	689
Miremont's Dragoons,	8	74	144	480	698
Marton's Foot,	13	83	104	780	967
La Melonière's do.,	13	83	104	780	967
Belcastel's do.,	13	83	104	780	967
		<hr/> 436	<hr/> 501	<hr/> 3351	<hr/> 4288

An English list spells the names of the regiments thus:—

Lord Galloway's, Mermon's, Martoon's, Lamellioneer's, and Belcastle's.

Hiberniæ Notitia calls them Galloway's, Moliniere's, Lifford's, Belcastle's and Miremont's.

6. OFFICERS WHO SERVED IN PIEDMONT.

RUVIGNY, Earl of Galway (then Viscount Galway) had from 1693 to 1696 a regiment, known as *Lord Galway's Regiment in Piedmont*. Jacques Saurin (*born* Jan. 1677, *died* Dec. 1730), the celebrated pulpit orator, was a student in Geneva about the time of Galway's appointment to his command in Piedmont. The young refugee scholar, though he had dedicated his life to the use of the spiritual sword, was determined to have one rap at the French dragoons with carnal weapons. He accordingly served as a subaltern in the above-named regiment, and when the peace had been arranged, he returned to his studies.

Cornet Vilas, of Galway's regiment, son of a medical practitioner in Saint Hypolite, was a prominent agent in a plot to surprise Nismes and Montpellier, and to carry off, to the Anglo-Dutch fleet, Basville, the Duke of Berwick, and other officers of the highest rank, along with the judges and bishops of the two towns—Basville to be executed, the rest to be detained as hostages. The conspiracy failed. Vilas was broken on the wheel, and died with the greatest fortitude, 23d April 1705. A storm that dispersed the fleet was the immediate occasion of the failure. Two French refugee officers, who were shipwrecked, fell into the hands of their great enemy; Pierre Martin, captain in the English service, was hanged, and Charles de Goulaine, holding a Dutch commission, was beheaded.

In 1740 Captain Lacan, late of Lord Galway's regiment of foot in Piedmont, gave information of some Jacobite plots prepared in Holland by Sir George Maxwell, Captain Levingston, and others.

Officers from Piedmont, whose names a committee had struck out of the Irish Establishment, were reinstated in their half-pay to the amount of £1012, by the King's letter, dated 12th August 1718.

7. OBSERVATIONS ON THE HUGUENOT SOLDIERS AS A BODY.

Old Schomberg wrote from Dundalk, 12th Oct. 1689, "When we arrived [in Ireland], I had not more than 6000 men, no equipages, and the officers of the army not one horse. I was happy that the troops found horses to buy; these did not answer our necessities. Among those who took some horses there are Frenchmen; and, I believe, people are very glad in the letters that they write from hence to lay the blame upon them. I do not take a side either way. Others can inform Your Majesty that the three regiments of French infantry, and their regiment of cavalry, do their duty better than the others."

Two hundred and fifty Papists had contrived to enrol themselves in those regiments; but a conspiracy having been discovered at Dundalk to promote desertion, they were detected and cashiered. Their ringleader, Captain Du Plessis, and five of the traitors, were tried and executed. The rest were sent prisoners to England, and transported thence to Holland, where they were set at liberty.

It was not from dread of Popery in disguise, that the refugee officers were unpopular with some politicians; for the good haters of Protestant strangers were ardent lovers of foreigners, if they were Romanists and Anti-Williamites. It was the French refugees' honest and immutable attachment to King William that led to the ultimately successful proposal to disband their regiments. And a new stroke of vindictiveness was attempted in 1701 by the Earl of Rochester, the Semi-Jacobite Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland: "That which gave the greatest disgust in his administration there," says Burnet, "was his usage of the reduced officers who were on half-pay, a fund being settled for that by Act of Parliament, and they being ordered to live in Ireland, and to be ready for service there. The Earl of Rochester called them before him, and required them to express under their hands their readiness to go and serve in the West Indies. They did not comply with this; so he set them a day for their final answer, and threatened that they should have no more appointments if they stood out beyond that time. This was represented to the King as a great hardship put on them, and as done on design to leave Ireland destitute of the service that might be done by so many gallant officers, who were all known to be well affected to the present government. So the king ordered a stop to be put to it." (II. 291).

These officers did afterwards tender their services for an expedition to the West Indies to be commanded by the Earl of Peterborough. Some progress had been made in organising a regiment before the withdrawal of that Earl's commission.

8. LORD RIVERS' BRIGADE.

The refugee officers were offered congenial employment. Britain and Holland planned a descent upon France in 1706, the Earl of Rivers to command in chief. The Protestants in France were to be invited to rise, and to furnish the principal strength of six regiments, the frame-work of which was to be manned by the refugees. A translation of Lord Rivers' preamble to his proposed manifesto shews the spirit of the undertaking—"Whereas (as is known to everybody) there has for several years past, appeared in the management of the councils of France an ambitious and restless spirit which has manifested itself by the most outrageous violences against her neighbours without the least provocation on their side; and treaties of peace which had been sworn in the most solemn manner, have been violated with design to usurp a universal monarchy in Europe, the French king being first made absolute master at home: Whereas, in the accomplishment of this design the liberties and privileges of the French nation have been totally overthrown, the ancient rights of the States-General, Parliaments, and Courts of Judicature have been suppressed, the immunities of provinces, cities, towns, clergy, princes, nobility, and people have been abolished, and a great number of innocent persons have been sent to the galleys, or reduced to the hard necessity of abandoning

their country, and seeking sanctuary elsewhere : And, whereas, in the train of all these violences at home, use has been made of the sunk subjects of France to carry like desolation into other countries, THEREFORE, the Queen of Great Britain, the Lords of the States-General, &c., &c., were obliged to enter into engagements for the preservation of their own dominions, and for stopping the encroachments of so encroaching and so dreadful a Potentate." The project is thus described :—" Because the High Allies ardently wish, that the French who at present are reduced to the extremest misery, may not henceforward serve as instruments in enslaving both their countrymen and their neighbours, but may reap the opposite fruit and advantage, Her Britannic Majesty and the States-General have sent a considerable military force and a strong fleet to put arms into their hands . . . to restore the States-General, the Parliaments of France and the ancient rights of all cities, provinces, clergy, princes, nobility, and people, and to secure for those of the Reformed Religion the enjoyment of the privileges stipulated by the Edict of Nantes." The manifesto was dated London, 25th July 1706.

The six regiments raised in Britain were to form a Brigade, and to have as Colonels, the Earl of Lifford, the Comte de Paulin, Count Francis of Nassau (youngest son of Monsieur Auverquerque), Colonel Sibourg, Colonel Montargis, and Colonel de la Barthe. On its being announced that the Marquis de Guiscard was to command this Huguenot Brigade, Lifford, Paulin, and Montargis declined to serve, and were succeeded by Brigadier Josias Vimare (or Veymar), Colonel Fonsjuliane, and Colonel Blosset. I copy from a contemporary printed list the names which formed the skeletons of six regiments:—

1. *Colonel* Josias Vimare, *Brigadier*.
Lieut.-Col. Jeremiah Bancous, *Major* Peter Bruse,
 Rev. Peter Le Seure, *Chaplain*.
2. *Colonel* Louis Fontjuliane,
Lieut.-Col. John Trapaud, *Major* Anthoine La Maria,
 Rev. Charles La Roche, *Chaplain*.
3. *Colonel* Paul Blosset,
Lieut.-Col. Pierre De Puy, *Major* Paul Gually,
 Rev. John Rogue, *Chaplain*.
4. *Colonel* Frederic Sibourg,*
Lieut.-Col. Balthazar D'Albon, *Major* Francis Vignoles,
 Rev. Bernard Richon, *Chaplain*.
5. *Colonel* Count Francis de Nassau d'Auverquerque,
Lieut.-Col. La Bastide, *Major* Constantine Magny,
 Rev. John Majon, *Chaplain*.
6. *Colonel* John Thomas La Barthe,
Lieut.-Col. John Brasselay, *Major* Gideon La Maria,
 Rev. Isaac l'Escott, *Chaplain*.

The descent upon France was not made. Unfavourable winds prevented the junction of the English and Dutch fleets in sufficient time, and the project was abandoned. But for the reinforcements required for Spain, one dragoon regiment commanded by Count Nassau, and two of infantry under Colonels Sibourg and Blosset, were fully equipped and sent out.

As to *Nassau's Dragoons*, we know only the names of officers included among the casualties of the battle of Almanza (1707). The *killed* were Captain de Coursel, Lieutenants Ripère and Nollet; *wounded prisoners*, Major Labatie, Captain Desodes, Lieutenants Sellaries, Rocheblave, Verdechamp, and Du Fau: *other prisoners*, Captains De Barry, St Maurice,

* Two brothers, Frederic and Charles Sibourg, were reputed to be illegitimate sons of Charles, 2d Duke of Schomberg. Of Frederic we shall speak in the text. Charles was Lieut.-Colonel of Mainhardt, Duke of Schomberg's Horse till 1711, and was Colonel of that regiment from 1713 to 1720. He was made Governor of Fort-William in Scotland; he rose to the rank of Lieutenant-General, and died 25th January 1733, leaving a widow, a son, a daughter, and the reputation of being worth £80,000. His wealth, however, consisted chiefly of South Sea Stock, and neither his widow nor Charles his son administered to it. It was not till 8th May 1758, that his daughter Catherine, wife of Richard Reade, Esq., came forward, and was sworn to administer.

Gignons, Beaufort, and La Ravalière ; Lieutenants Santillie, Compan, Osmond, Lestry, Lostall, and Lescure. *Blosset's* and *Sibourg's* were not present at that Battle, but were in garrison at Alicant.

Of *Blosset's Foot*, as finally enrolled, no officer's name is preserved, except the colonel's. His descendants seem to have held landed property in the county of Dublin. Towards the end of last century, Miss Blosset ["descended from an ancient French family long settled in Touraine, who, being expatriated at the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, and seeking an asylum in Ireland, settled in the county of Dublin, where the family estates lie,"] married Rev. Dr Henry Peckwell, Chaplain to the Marchioness of Lothian, and Rector of Bloxhamcum-Digby, who died 18th August 1787, aged 40. Mrs Peckwell survived till 28th Nov. 1816. Her only son was the late Sir Robert Henry Peckwell, knight, and her only daughter was Selina Mary, wife of George Grote, sen., and mother of the historian, George Grote, formerly M.P. for the city of London. Sir Robert (who died unmarried in 1828), assumed the name of Blosset, and had for many years a highly respectable forensic reputation as Mr Sergeant Blosset, author of "Reports of Cases on Controverted Elections," 2 vols., 1804. "He was afterwards Lord Chief-Justice of Bengal, where he afforded his countenance in the support and encouragement of Christian missionaries." (See "Lady Huntingdon's Life and Times," vol. ii., page 200).

Sibourg's Foot were quartered in Alicant during the memorable siege. The garrison of the Castle of Alicant was besieged by the French and Spaniards in 1708, and held out all winter. The enemy undermined part of the fortress and gave warning to the garrison, that, if afraid, they might surrender ; and two British Engineers were allowed to come out and examine the mine. On their report a council of war resolved to hold out still. The enemy then sprang the mine, and as far as the demolition of the castle was concerned, it proved a failure. But Major-General Richards and Colonel Sibourg, out of curiosity, had approached too near, and other officers followed them to avoid the imputation of fear. The consequence was that they were blown up and buried in the ruins of the one bastion that was hurt. Thus died, on March 4, 1709, Colonel Sibourg, Major Vignolles, and above thirty officers and soldiers. The senior surviving officer, Lieut.-Colonel D'Albon, continued to hold out till the 18th April, when a capitulation was agreed to ; the garrison marched out with two pieces of cannon and every mark of honour, and were conveyed by the British fleet to Minorca.

"A Person of Honour," (1740) in his history of the two last wars, gives some additional particulars on the authority of the enemies' engineer and of Colonel Sibourg's "gentleman ;" the following is a summary. The French general having invited the officers to inspect the mine, Colonel Thornicroft and Captain Page, a Huguenot engineer, went ; and on their return they reported to the garrison that the mine was a sham. On the morning fixed for the explosion, the enemy again gave warning, and the country people, who also received notice, went to the surrounding heights to look on from a safe distance. Sitting over their wine the night before, every one observed that General Richards was tormented by a great fly, which was perpetually buzzing about his ears and head, and that he appeared to be gloomy, thinking this annoyance a bad omen. In the morning a large party of officers went upon the doomed battery, and the General hurried to get off ; but Colonel Sibourg jocularly said that they would go off without loss of time, but that they must first drink Queen Anne's health where they stood ; and he sent his "gentleman," for two bottles of wine. The "gentleman," returning with the bottles, observed Captain Daniel Weaver, shouting that he would drink the Queen's health with them, leap upon the battery ; in a moment the mine was sprung, and blew up the Captain along with the General, Colonel Sibourg, Colonel Thornicroft, and at least twenty more officers,

Most of the officers of *Nassau's*, *Sibourg's* and *Blosset's*, were entitled to the original half-pay fund. The rest were provided for, as appears in the List of Half-pay officers in 1718, "Under Lord Rivers, £346 15s."

9. DRAGOON REGIMENTS IN PORTUGAL.

Lord Galway (as was told before) raised six regiments of Portuguese dragoons, all in

British pay, and entirely commanded by British and refugee officers. Luttrell says, "Aug. 9, 1709. Letters from Lisbon of the 4th (N.S.) say that Generals Ogilvy and Wade had presented to the king several English and French officers in order to command his horse, who made objections, saying he never intended his regiments should be commanded by all foreigners, but that each should have half Portuguese officers—to which Lord Galway answered, that ours and his would be always disagreeing, and thereby hinder the operations of the campaign." The regiments were disbanded in 1711. Their Colonels were Major-General Foissac, Lieutenant-General Desbordes, Major-General Paul de Gually, Colonel Bouchetière, Colonel Magny, and Colonel Sarlande.

Several of these names have already appeared in our lists. The military rank prefixed to the first three names is the rank the officers attained to before their death. Balthazar Rivas de Foissac followed John Cavalier in the lists as Brigadier in December 1735 and Major-General in July 1739. According to Beatson, Paul de Gually became a Brigadier 12th March 1707; he is Major-General in the list of December 1735. John Peter Desbordes survived all his comrades, he became Brigadier in 1727, Major-General in 1735, and Lieutenant-General in July 1739. The only officer as to whom any biographical information has been preserved is Colonel La Bouchetière. He was a Lieutenant in De Casaubon's company in *Schomberg's* in the Irish campaigns. His memory was long extolled in Waterford by the heads of two distinguished Refugee families, who had been in his regiment in Portugal, namely, Captain Francquefort and the Chaplain, the Rev. Philip Amaury Fleury. In 1719 he was in France as a diplomatist. M. Charles Coquerel, in his "Eglises du Désert chez les Protestants de France" (vol. i., page 91) mentions that Cardinal Alberoni, being bent upon obtaining the post of Regent of France for Philip V. of Spain, intrigued with the Protestants of the Cevennes and the Lower Languedoc, stirring them up to rise in rebellion against the Duke of Orleans in 1719. Monsieur de la Bouchetière, *colonel de cavalerie au service de la Grande Bretagne*, was despatched to Poitou, his native province, to dissuade the inhabitants from encouraging the Spanish plot. He reported that the Huguenots were patriotic on principle, and would not rise at the instigation of any foreigner; that there was no danger except from driving them to desperation by fanatical and persecuting edicts; and that before his visit they had packed off the Cardinal's emissaries.

Besides the officers of French regiments there were many others enrolled in the other corps of the British army. Some notice of these officers I shall insert in another chapter. Skelton said truly concerning the French Protestant refugees, "They have shown themselves brave and faithful in the army, just and impartial in the magistracy. For the truth of the former assertion, the noble carriage of Sir John Ligonier is a sufficient voucher; and for that of the latter the mayoralty of Alderman Porter."

Chapter XXIII.

THE THREE LIGONIERS.

THE ancient family of Ligonier belonged to Castres, in Languedoc, and at the epoch of the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes was represented by Louis de Ligonier, Sieur de Montequet. His eldest son, Abel, became the head of the family, and was alive in France in 1769.

Three younger sons became Protestant refugees in England at different dates; not, however, in 1685, as at that time they were not far advanced in boyhood. They adopted the spelling, "Ligonier." The first who came to England was John (of whom afterwards). Antoine came over in 1698, served in several of Marlborough's campaigns, and rose to the rank of Major in

Harrison's regiment (the 15th); he died unmarried in 1767, and of him I have no more to say. The other two Ligoniers are Francis and Edward, father and son. [A *Reverend* Abel Ligonier was naturalised on the 15th April 1693. I have his signature on the title-page of a copy of the *Colloquies of Erasmus*.]

I. COLONEL FRANCIS LIGONIER.

Francois Auguste de Ligonier came to England in 1710, and received a cornet's commission in the 2nd Dragoons. He passed through the various steps of promotion "with that honour, courage, and magnanimity which are so distinguishingly the characteristics of his family,"* till we find him Lieutenant-colonel of the 8th Light Dragoons at the battle of Dettingen. At the head of his regiment he did wonders, and was wounded in the thigh. He was promoted to the Colonelcy of the 48th foot on the 25th of April 1745; probably there was no vacant cavalry regiment at that date, The death of the lamented Colonel Gardiner at Prestonpans, on the 21st of September, created a vacancy in the 13th Light Dragoons. That regiment was given to Colonel Ligonier on the 1st of October, the king observing, "I will give them a colonel that will *make* them fight." The 48th was not handed over to another colonel till April 6th, 1746, so that on the 17th January there fought at the battle of Falkirk both Ligonier's foot, and Ligonier's dragoons.

General Hawley directed the battle without sufficient consideration, and ordered a charge of cavalry at an improper time, and on unfavourable ground. Colonel Ligonier, who had the command of all the cavalry, had no choice but to attempt to obey an impracticable order, with a violent storm of wind and rain blowing full in the face of the troops. Lord Cobham's dragoons, which were part of the brigade of cavalry under our colonel's command, behaved well, and so did his own infantry regiment, which was in Brigadier Cholmondeley's brigade. Except in these and one or two other regiments, the officers were deserted by the troops, and left exposed to the rebel forces.

Colonel Ligonier's connection with this battle from first to last was of a nature to deserve the reader's sympathy. Being ill of a pleurisy, for which he was bled and blistered on the 14th January, he would, nevertheless, contrary to advice, march with the army to Falkirk on the 16th, and command the brigade of dragoons at the attack of the rebel army's two lines. He broke the first line, and did great execution; when Lieutenant-colonel Whitney and several other officers were killed in the midst of the rebels, Colonel Jordan and others were wounded, and the squadron was repulsed by the enemy's second line. Colonel Ligonier rallied them, and made the rear-guard of the army to Linlithgow, where he arrived at one in the morning, his clothes being wet through. He was in consequence attacked with quinsy, of which he died on the 25th of the same month. The following is the inscription on his monument in Westminster Abbey:—

"A Rege et Victoria.

"Sacred to

Francis Ligonier, Esq., Colonel of Dragoons, a native of France, descended from a very honourable family there; but a zealous Protestant and subject of England, sacrificing himself in its defence against a Popish pretender at the battle of Falkirk, in 1745 [1746, new style]. A distemper could not confine him to his bed when his duty called him to the field, where he chose to meet death rather than in the arms of his friends. But his disease proved more victorious than the enemy; he expired soon after the battle. When under all the agonies of sickness and pain, he exerted a spirit of vigour and heroism.

"To the memory of such a brave and beloved brother this monument is placed by Sir John Ligonier, Knight of the Bath, General of Horse in the British Army, with just grief and brotherly affection."

* "A Complete English Peerage," by Rev. Alexander Jacob, London, 1767. Supplement added in 1769.

Colonel Ligonier was married to Ann Murray, widow of Colonel Freeman, by whom he had a son, Edward, and a daughter, Frances.

2. FIELD-MARSHAL, THE EARL LIGONIER, KNIGHT OF THE BATH,
AND PRIVY COUNCILLOR.

Jean Louis de Ligonier was born at Castres* on the 7th November 1680; he came to England in the year 1697. On the declaration of war in 1702, he accompanied the British army to Flanders as a volunteer, and immediately, by prodigious bravery, attracted the attention of the Duke of Marlborough. On the 23rd October 1702, he and another volunteer, the Honourable Allan Wentworth, brother of Lord Raby, were the two first who mounted the breach at the storming of the citadel of Liege. Wentworth was killed at the side of John Ligonier.

In February 1703 he was permitted to purchase a company in Lord North's regiment. Mr Jacob, however, is mistaken in saying that he was only sixteen years of age, he was in his twenty-third year, according to Haag, whose very specific date for his birthday we have given above; or if we are guided by his monument, he was twenty-five years of age in 1703. Permission to enter the regular service as a captain implies mature age. In July 13th he fought at Schellenberg; and on August 13th (N.S.) at Blenheim. The latter "glorious victory" cost Lord North an arm, and the lives of all the captains of his regiment, except Ligonier. At the siege of Menin, in August 1706, Ligonier served as a captain of the English Grenadiers, who made themselves masters of the counterscarp after hard fighting. He was raised to the rank of major, and appointed major of brigade. He took part in all Marlborough's great battles. At Malplaquet he must have specially distinguished himself, the name "Taisnière" being inscribed on his monument after "Malplaquet." The allusion may be gathered from the following incident narrated by Boyer:—"11th Sept. 1709, in the morning. A little after eight o'clock (the signal for the attack being given by a discharge of fifty pieces of cannon, and the cannonading continuing very brisk on both sides), Prince Eugene advanced with the right into the wood of Sart. Thirty-six battalions of that wing, commanded by General Schuylenberg, the Duke of Argyle, and other generals, and twenty-two other battalions under the command of Count Lottum, attacked the enemy with such bravery that, notwithstanding the barricadoes of felled trees and other impediments they met in their way, they drove the French out of their intrenchments in the woods of Sart and TAISNIÈRE." During this battle, twenty-two shot went through our hero's clothes, but he was not wounded.

When the Pretender was encouraged by Spain to make warlike preparations within its territory, Ligonier was Colonel and Adjutant-General under Lord Cobham at the taking of Vigo in 1719. Detached to attack the city of Ponto Vedro, he took it; and at the head of a hundred grenadiers, reduced Fort Marin, in which was a garrison with twenty pieces of cannon. He obtained the colonelcy of the 4th regiment of horse on the 18th July 1720; that regiment at a later period was named the 7th dragoon guards.

He was one of the six aide-de-camps (with £200 per annum) to King George the Second, with whom he was in high favour, and from whom he obtained, in March 1735, "a grant to Colonel John Ligonier of the office or place of Chief Ranger or Master of the Game in Ireland." In the same year (Nov. 14th) he became Brigadier-General, and he was promoted to the rank of Major-General on July 2d 1739. The king's favourite son, William, Duke of

* An unhappy marriage, contracted by his nephew, occasioned the publication of a worthless brochure entitled, "The Generous Husband," London, 1771. As there may be some truth in the following paragraph, I insert it in this note:—"The late Lord Lelius [John Ligonier] was born in France of a noble family, not less illustrious for their many domestic virtues and inflexible regard for public liberty, than for their noble extraction and extensive possessions. His father was born in the south of that kingdom, where, having taken up arms in defence of the civil and ecclesiastical liberties of his oppressed fellow-Protestants, but being overborne by numbers and superior strength, he was made prisoner, brought to trial, and condemned. This was on account of the revocation of the Edict of Nantes and the other oppressive persecuting measures pursued by that tyrant, Louis XIV., against his unoffending Protestant subjects. To these operations of bigotry, superstition, and injustice, we owe the services of a Schomberg, a Galway, and Ligonier."

Cumberland, had lately completed his eighteenth year (having been born April 15th 1721) and Ligonier was appointed his military tutor.

Prospects of active employment now appeared through the differences between Britain and Spain, in which the latter power was secretly assisted by France. The full storm burst in 1740, in consequence of the death of Lord Galway's ancient friend or enemy, the Emperor Charles VI. (the King Charles III. of the War of the Spanish Succession). His territorial dominions were hereditary, and now belonged to his only child and heiress, Henrietta Maria. The nearest male relative was Charles, Elector of Bavaria, who had the prospect of being elected to the dignity of Emperor; but coveted also the succession to the vacant throne. But it was the invasion of Silesia by Frederick of Prussia that gave its shape to the war. It was fortunate for the honour of England that the Parliament in the spring of 1741 sent to the royal lady a subsidy of £300,000; and that this sum, turned to account and augmented by the devoted loyalty of the Hungarians, was of great service to her. It atoned for the scrape into which our King George thrust himself by his inopportune visit to Hanover in the month of May, when the approach of the French compelled him to promise to be neutral for a year. This did not prevent preparations with a view to action on the expiry of the neutrality. Ligonier was now our greatest cavalry officer, and His Royal Highness Prince William was to make his débüt at his side. However, in 1742, the British in Flanders, under the command of the Earl of Stair, were hampered by the apathy of the Dutch, and got no opportunity of acting; so that the King, and the Duke, and probably Ligonier also, remained at home. Ligonier became a Lieutenant-General on the 8th of February 1743. A European war had now set in; and on the 16th of June the battle of Dettingen was fought. Lieutenant-General Ligonier was, with General Honeyman, Lieutenant-General Campbell, &c., placed at the head of the first line of the cavalry; and after the retreat of the French, was ordered with Campbell to pass the morass and march with the horse straight to Dettingen. This they effected, but found the village abandoned. They then marched to Wilsheim, which was also evacuated, though barricaded all round, and loopholes made through all the walls and tops of the houses. Ligonier's regiment suffered much, and gained great reputation. After the victory, the king invested him with the insignia of a Knight of the Bath on the field, under the royal standard.

The year 1744 is remarkable so far as Britain is concerned for the beginning of the last plot to win the British crown for a Stewart. France became so demonstrative, that it was compelled by common honesty to issue a formal declaration of war with our country, and to become a principal belligerent. No blow was struck on British soil, either in 1744 or the greater part of 1745. The scene of action was Flanders. On the 1st May 1745, was fought the Battle of Fontenoy (or Tournay). "The French army of 76,000 men under Marshal Saxe," says the *Student's Hume*, "occupied a strong position; the allied army numbered only about 50,000 men, of whom 28,000 were English and Hanoverians." The latter would have carried the French lines if the Dutch had not stood aloof. Voltaire declares that if the Dutch had advanced while the British infantry were repeatedly driving back the enemy, there would have been no escape for the French king (Louis XV.) or for his army. The French accounts at the time speak of the intrepidity of the English infantry and of their prodigious fire. And our Gazette stated, that "the honour gained by the infantry was in a great measure owing to the conduct and bravery of Lieutent-General Sir John Ligonier." Mr Jacob gives the particulars. The famous attack of the French intrenchments was commanded by Sir John Ligonier in person. Everything gave way to British intrepidity, the troops remaining masters of the field of battle for upwards of two hours. If the Duke of Cumberland could have persuaded the Dutch to imitate the example and bravery of British troops, victory would have been certain. Nor did Sir John, though in imminent danger, think of a retreat until he received a written order from the Duke. Before leaving the field, he sent a card to Marshal Saxe, laconically asking him to take a humane care of his dead and wounded, and promising to repay the obligation on the first opportunity by similar humanity to the French. The Marshal replied that

he had laid Sir John's message before the king his master, who had ordered him to comply with it in its utmost extent. The Duke of Cumberland received Sir John with most tender marks of affection and approbation. Three shots had gone through his clothes; "but, from that providential protection he had so often experienced, he escaped without a wound."

The campaign having proved unpropitious to our arms, the Pretender considered that the time had come for his meditated dethronement of the Hanoverian potentate. The young Chevalier set his foot on Scotland in the month of July, gained the battle of Prestonpans in September, and would then have found England in a very defenceless state, if it had been in his power to hasten southward. He however allowed time for the English to arm, and for our regiments from Flanders to return to be the backbone of the forces.

Horace Walpole wrote to Mann from London, 15th Nov. 1745, "Ligonier, with seven old regiments and six of the new, is ordered to Lancashire." Nov. 22, "Colonel Durand, Governor of Carlisle, sent two expresses, one to Wade, and another to Ligonier at Preston; but the latter was playing at whist with Lord Harrington at Petersham. . . . The Duke sets out next week with another brigade of guards, and Ligonier under him."

At the head of the list of troops and commanders marching towards Lancaster, we find "Sir John Ligonier, Commander-in-chief under the Duke of Cumberland." This successful march terminated in the recovery of Carlisle from the rebels on the 30th December; his Royal Highness then returned to London, and would have gone to Flanders, but the defeat at Falkirk showed that he himself must undertake the quelling of the Scottish Rebellion. Ligonier had therefore to part from his royal pupil, and to take the command in Flanders.

In the summer of 1746, the following appeared among the appointments:—"Sir John Ligonier, Knight of the Bath, to be general and commander-in-chief of all His Majesty's British forces, and of those in His Majesty's pay, in the Austrian Netherlands." The British under his command consisted of three regiments of cavalry, and seven of infantry. He arrived in Flanders on the 8th of July (N.S.) A council of war was immediately held at Terhyde, when it was resolved to march towards the bishopric of Liege, to facilitate the junction with a great reinforcement from Germany under Count Palfi. They set out on the 17th, and the expected reinforcement met them on the 23d at Peer, and the army halted at Hasseldt on the 26th. After various marches and counter marches, an action happened between the right wing of the French and the left of the allied army at Roucoux, near Liege. Ligonier led the whole left wing; and when, after great loss and gallant conduct, some battalions gave way, he rallied them and brought them again to the charge. At the close of the action he made a retreat that did him great honour—a retreat much admired and praised by Marshal Saxe. The Earl of Sandwich being at Breda, received the following despatch—dated

"Camp at Lesser, Oct. 12, 1746.

"My Lord—For fear the relation which the French may publish of what passed yesterday should make too great an impression, I would not, though on a march, miss a post in communicating to your Excellency that Marshal Saxe yesterday attacked our army on the side of the left wing, where the Dutch, after long resistance, and after behaving extremely well, were obliged to yield to superior numbers. Three villages, occupied by eight battalions, English, Hanoverians, and Hessians, being attacked by fifty-four battalions of French, after repulsing them twice, were, in their turn, forced to give way; but the English cavalry had all along the advantage. I think that (properly speaking) the affair cannot be called a battle, for I doubt if the third part of our army was engaged. The cannonading was terrible for about two hours. I look upon our loss to be between 4 and 5000, and that of the French double the number. The army retired in the best order that could be. As we suspected the town of Liege to be betrayed to the enemy, it was impossible for us to remain in our camp. My letter is written in great haste. I have, &c.,
J. L. LIGONIER."

Ligonier was at the above date only Lieutenant-General; but the following Gazette notice was issued:—"Whitehall, Jan. 3, 1747.—The king has been pleased to appoint Sir John

Ligonier, Knight of the Bath, to be General of the Horse." This year witnessed his last battle, now known as the Battle of Lauffeld (or Lawfield)—then called the Battle of Kesselt or of Val. It was fought on the 2d July between the left wing of the allies and the French (the Dutch and Austrians looking on). Ligonier sent Lieutenant-Colonel Forbes to inform the commander-in-Chief, the Duke of Cumberland, that the enemy seemed by their motions to have formed with a design of attacking our left wing, and that he had ordered all the troops to arms. Ligonier advanced at the head of the British dragoons, and the whole wing of cavalry followed. This charge was very successful, having the enemy in flank in spite of their superior numbers, but Sir John, by an order which was never cleared up, was stopped in his successful attempt. The second charge was with only ten or twelve squadrons, with which he attacked the whole right wing of the enemy's cavalry, then in motion to fall upon our retiring infantry. Sir John's sudden and unexpected charge immediately routed twenty or twenty-five French Squadrons. The French, thoroughly disconcerted, left off the pursuit of our infantry, and had to defend themselves. Our cavalry was at last overcome by the power of numbers. Ligonier, espying a squadron of the Enniskillen dragoons in order, endeavoured to effect a junction, but on his way he fell among a squadron of French Carabineers, and was taken prisoner. The *Pictorial History of England* says:—"The gallant Ligonier, with the British cavalry, checked the advance of the French, and saved the allies from destruction."

The commander of the French carabineers was the Chevalier de Lagé; he accepted Sir John Ligonier's parole, and would not take either his sword or pistols. He sent his great prisoner to Prince Clermont, who brought him to Marshal Saxe. The Marshal introduced him to the French king, saying, "Sir, I present to your Majesty, a man who by a glorious action, has disconcerted all my project." The French monarch received him with great marks of distinction. He asked him if he had received any wound, to which he answered in the negative. His Majesty then complimented him on his generalship, having seen the whole affair from the hill of Herderen, about 300 paces from the place of action. Sir John had much conversation with Marshal Saxe, who told him that the French had lost an immense number of officers and men, and that their disaster was worse than that of the allies. Proposals of peace were made through Ligonier, but were not accepted. It was stated at the time, that it was a private of the French carabineers who took Ligonier prisoner. And this seems to be confirmed by the minutes of the National Assembly at Paris, 8th January 1792:—Guillaume Pierre, a veteran, aged 74, claimed the honour of having taken General Ligonier at the battle of Lawfelt, "whose talents made him so important a prisoner," and stated that he had refused the offer both of his purse and diamonds, with which he endeavoured to buy his release. The Assembly, on the recommendation of its committee, presented him with 7000 livres, and ordered his annual pension of 150 livres to be continued.

Wolfe's biographer states that the Duke of Cumberland was enabled by Ligonier's chivalrous charge to collect his scattered forces, and to retire to Maestricht without molestation. Thus, although the French won the battle, the allies succeeded in reinforcing the city, which they continued masters of during the campaign. Sir John Ligonier was allowed complete liberty in France upon his parole. On an exchange of prisoners he returned to his duty with the allied army, which went into winter quarters in October. He arrived in London on the 13th November. He embarked on his last visit to foreign camps at Harwich, in the end of February 1748. Haag sums up his foreign service, by stating that he had taken part in nineteen pitched battles and twenty-three sieges, and had never been wounded. The general peace (signed at Aix-la-Chapelle, Oct. 7-18, 1748), found him in his 68th year. Though an old officer, he was of active habits, and he lived to keep the printers of the "Gazette" in constant employment recording his offices and honours.

Field-Marshal George Wade died in the beginning of 1748. Marshal Wade was Member of Parliament for Bath; and, a writ for a new election being ordered on the 13th March, his place was supplied by General Sir John Ligonier. Sir John not only stepped into the Marshal's

vacant seat in the House of Commons, but also into his post of Lieutenant-General of the Ordnance. He was made a privy councillor on the 1st Feb. 1749. He became Director of the French Hospital of London on the 13th April, and on the 5th of October its Governor. He also received a new grant of the office of Chief Ranger, &c., of all the king's parks in Ireland. On the 24th July he was transferred to the colonelcy of the 2d Dragoon Guards. This regiment was vacant by the death of John, Duke of Montague, Master-General of the Ordnance. Ligonier was the right man for the Master-generalship, but it was an office always filled by noblemen. Accordingly that office was left unsupplied, and for six years Sir John did the duties of the head of that department. On 10th April 1750 he was made Governor of Guernsey.

There are documents among the Irish Patent Rolls of the nature of warrants from Ligonier for realizing his revenues as ranger, which I mention only because in them he is styled Sir John Lewis Ligonier. In 1753 (Jan. 27) he was advanced to the colonelcy of the Royal Regiment of Horse Guards Blue. Next year, the Parliament having been dissolved, he again presented himself to the constituency of Bath, that is, to the Mayor, Aldermen, and Common Council, and being re-elected, he took his seat in May; he is now called Governor of Plymouth.

The attention of Government in 1755 was occupied with preparations for war. Artillery was drafted off to the several regiments in country quarters. At the end of the year, Charles Spencer, Duke of Marlborough, was made Master-General of the Ordnance, under whom Ligonier remained as Lieutenant-General for two years.

The year 1757 was an eventful year to him. The Duke of Cumberland retired from the army, and Ligonier had the honour of succeeding to the martial prince's appointments. He thus became Commander-in-chief of all His Majesty's land forces in Great Britain, and was permitted to purchase the proud position of Colonel of the first foot-guards. On the 30th November he was promoted to the rank of Field-Marshal. And he was raised to the peerage on the 21st of December by the title of Viscount Ligonier of Enniskillen in the kingdom of Ireland. An Irish peer may represent an English constituency in parliament, so he retained his seat in the House of Commons. Lord George Sackville succeeded him in the Ordnance Office.

In 1758 the equipments for the expedition to America under Wolfe occupied the chief attention of Viscount Ligonier. Wolfe always spoke of him as "the Marshal," and thought he showed some of the jealousy of old age towards a younger aspirant. Probably there was no real grievance. Ligonier vindicated Wolfe's claim to select the officers of his staff. Lord Ligonier (says history) presented the names of the staff selected by Major-General Wolfe, and His Majesty struck out the name of one officer, Colonel Guy Carleton, who had spoken slightly of the Hanoverian Guards. Lord Ligonier waited upon His Majesty a second time to request that Carleton's name should be restored, but the king was inexorable. It was only at a third audience, and in consequence of Lord Ligonier's persistently arguing that the great responsibility thrown upon Wolfe required that his request should be granted, that the King signed Carleton's commission.

Bubb Doddington notes under date, 6th July 1758, just after the return of our expedition from St Malo, the Earl of Granville made some strong animadversions at a meeting of the Cabinet. Lord Ligonier said—*My Lord Granville, you must admit*— Lord Granville interrupted him with—*My Lord, I will admit nothing; your Lordship is apt to admit, but I will admit nothing.* Ligonier perhaps meant to specify the demolition of Cherbourg harbour. Two new cannons were made out of the guns captured there, and became admired trophies in the Tower of London; on one of them Viscount Ligonier's arms were carved "in a masterly manner."

In 1759 the additional honours of a decade of years satisfied the nobility that he might be the chief of the Ordnance Office. On July 3d the Gazette informs us that the King was pleased to appoint Field-Marshal the Right Honourable Viscount Ligonier to be "Master-General of the Ordnance, arms, armories, and habiliments of war," in room of the Duke of Marlborough

deceased. He found in the office a new Lieutenant-General of the Ordnance, the "gallant and good-natured" Marquis of Granby. This General's name is associated with the Battle of Minden—a battle which ruined Lord George Sackville's reputation. It is reported that old Ligonier was disinclined to grant to the latter Lord a court-martial in England, and said with gruff wit—If you want a court-martial you may go and seek it in Germany ; (so writes Walpole to Sir Horace Mann, 19th September 1759).

I have omitted several notices of ordnance experiments under Ligonier's auspices. A somewhat eventful one took place nearly three weeks after the accession of George III. "At a proof at Woolwich of the new-invented smoke-balls, one of them burst, whereby Colonel Desaguliers had his arm broke, Lord Howe received a small contusion on his side, Sir George Saville had his ankle torn, Sir William Boothby a finger broke, and Lord Eglinton had his sword broke by his side.

Under George III. Lord Ligonier continued to be Commander-in-Chief, Master-General, and Privy Councillor. He had the gratification of obtaining substantial honour to the memory of the Woolwich Professor of Mathematics, the talented Thomas Simpson, F.R.S. "The King at the instances of Lord Ligonier, in consideration of Mr Simpson's great merits, was graciously pleased to grant a pension to his widow, together with handsome apartments adjoining to the academy, a favour never conferred on any before." At the coronation of the King and Queen, 22d Sept. 1761, "Lord Ligonier, as commanding officer of the guard on duty, had a small tent fixed on the left side of the platform in Old Palace Yard."

Parliament was allowed to run its septennial course, and a dissolution having taken place in March 1761, Lord Ligonier was, for the third time, returned for Bath ; the Houses met on the 3d of November. The octogenarian lord, having no heir, was honoured with a new Irish patent of viscounty, containing a remainder in favour of his nephew. This patent, dated 2d June 1762, gave him the title of Viscount Ligonier of Clonmell, with remainder "To our trusty and well-beloved Colonel Edward Ligonier, captain of a company in our first regiment of foot-guards."

In 1763 the viscount retired from the ordnance. It was announced to the Commons on April 19th that he had been made "steward of the Chiltern Hundreds in the County of Buckingham (we all know what that means). But there was another announcement on the same evening—St James', April 19th, 1763, the King has been pleased to grant to the Right Hon. John Viscount Ligonier of Ireland and his heirs-male, the dignity of a Baron of Great Britain, by the title of Lord Ligonier, Baron of Ripley, in the county of Surrey." His country seat was Cobham Park in Surrey, but the title of Lord Cobham being pre-occupied, he took his English title from an ancient village in his neighbourhood ; the chapel of Ripley was founded about the end of the twelfth century.

On the 13th August 1766 Viscount Ligonier ceased to be Commander-in-Chief, the claims of the Marquis of Granby to the office admitting, in the opinion of the government, of no longer postponement. The Earl of Chesterfield, however, said—"It was cruel to put such a boy as Granby over the head of old Ligonier ; and if I had been the former I would have refused that command during the life of that honest and old general." To gratify a wish generally felt, the Government gave Ligonier a pension of £1500 a year ; and on the 10th Sept. there was this announcement in the Gazette, "John, Lord Ligonier, to be Earl Ligonier in the Peerage of Great Britain."

He lived to enter upon his fourth year as a British Earl, and died on the 28th April 1770. He was in his 90th year, according to Haag ; his monument says his age was 92.

The well-earned monument (designed and executed by J. F. Moore) is in Westminster Abbey (ambulatory, north side). The principal figure is History, with a pen in her right hand and a scroll in her left hand. She is leaning on a sepulchral urn, on which are the arms and ensigns of the Order of the Bath. She points with her pen to the scroll, inscribed with the names of battles:—Schellenberg, Blenheim, Ramillies, Oudenarde, Malplaquet, Taniere, Dettingen, Fontenoy, Rocoux, Laffeldt, "at all which," says Neale, "the courage of Ligonier was conspicuous." The Earl's portrait is in profile, "a well executed medallion" on the stand of the

urn. A Roman coat of mail, in which is the emblem of Fortitude, represents the soldier at rest. Behind the figure of History is a pyramid of Brujata marble, at the top of which is his lordship's crest, with the motto *A rege et victoria*, and below is an alto-relievo of Britannia. Round the pyramid are medallions representing the four sovereigns whom the Earl served about seventy years. The following is the inscription :—In memory of John, Earl Ligonier, Baron of Ripley, in Surrey, Viscount of Innskilling, and Viscount of Clonmell, Field-Marshal and Commander-in Chief of His Majesty's Forces, Master-General of the Ordnance, Colonel of the First Regiment of Foot Guards, one of His Majesty's Most Honourable Privy Council, and Knight of the Most Honourable Military Order of the Bath. Died 28th of April 1770, aged 92 years.

"In the late war," says Mr Jacob, "his lordship did not serve in person, the nature of his high employment not permitting it; but the glorious successes which attended our arms in all parts of the world may justly, in great measure, be attributed to his lordship's wise plans, his co-operation with the great men then at the head of affairs, and his just regard to real merit in all his recommendations and appointments.

"As his lordship's uncommon talents and bravery have equally entitled him to the favour of his sovereigns and the love of the public, so by a most rare felicity, amidst all the rage of successive contending parties, through every change of measures and administration, his character was never once mentioned with disrespect, nor one of his actions arraigned. As indisputable abilities and great skill in his profession have raised his lordship to the highest honours, those honours were never envied him. And at the time these lines are written (1769) it would be difficult to find a heart so bad to conceive, or a hand or tongue so malignant to write or speak, anything derogatory to his lordship's reputation, either in affairs of state or of the army."

This is a well-deserved panegyric, on "a long life of usefulness and benevolence to mankind in general, and to this country in particular." It is recorded elsewhere that he was a Fellow of the Royal Society. His titles, except one Irish Viscounty, died with him.

Field-Marshal the Earl Ligonier left an only child, Penelope, wife of Lieutenant-Colonel Arthur Graham, of the 1st Foot Guards. Their family consisted of two sons and four daughters—the elder son's names were Ligonier Arthur, and the other was John Seffery Edward. Lord Ligonier left £10,000 in trust for these grandchildren; also £2000 to his niece, Frances Ligonier, and £500 to the French Hospital. He had settled £20,000 on his nephew, Edward Ligonier, on his marriage with Penelope Pitt, for any children that might be born to them. There was no issue of that marriage.

3. EDWARD, EARL LIGONIER, K.B.

Edward Ligonier, only son of Colonel Francis Ligonier, was born in 1740. His father's death in 1746 left him under the charge of his mother, a widow for the second time. His valiant uncle's affection and influence ensured his prosperous career, though he himself was evidently a man of ability and conduct.

We find him holding the rank of captain in the army, and lieutenant in the 1st Foot Guards (Lord Ligonier's regiment) at a very early age. He served in the "Seven Years' War," during five Campaigns, under Prince Ferdinand of Brunswick, chief commander of the allied forces. His Serene Highness requested King George II. to send him two British aides-de-camp, and Lieutenant-Colonel Fitzroy and Captain Edward Ligonier were selected.

Captain Ligonier was the bearer of the despatches to the British Government announcing the glorious victory of Minden, which took place on the 1st August 1759. In the general order published in the camp next day, Captain Ligonier was one of the officers named by Prince Ferdinand among those "whose behaviour he most admired." There was also an implied censure on Lord George Sackville. It is well-known that Lord George

Sackville was tried by court-martial, and cashiered. Young Ligonier had to give evidence against him.

The facts were these. The heat of the day had been borne by the infantry and the artillery, and the French under Marshal Contades were thrown into disorder. The Prince sent his Hessian aide-de-camp (Captain Wintzingerode) to order the cavalry under Lord George to advance. His Lordship expressed some hesitation as to the interpretation of the order. The Prince, perplexed and impatient at the delay, despatched Ligonier with a repetition of the order—"bring up the cavalry, there is a very fine opportunity of gaining a great deal of credit, the enemy being all in disorder." The Duke of Richmond, a few minutes after, rode up to the Prince, and recommended a charge of cavalry. And then Lieutenant-Colonel Fitzroy asked His Serene Highness's leave to go and bring up the British cavalry, which was granted. Fitzroy hastening at full gallop met Wintzingerode, and asked, "Why does the cavalry not advance? His Highness is in the greatest impatience." In the meantime Ligonier had delivered his message to Lord George, who made difficulties as to the direction of the advance movement. Ligonier said "to the left"—but Lord George was not satisfied. Then Fitzroy arrived and used the phrase "the British cavalry;" the perplexed Sackville saw another difficulty—why divide the cavalry?—in short, he would go and speak to the Prince before giving an order. His lordship's aide-de-camp, Lieutenant-Colonel Sloper, said aside to Ligonier, "For God's sake, sir, repeat your orders to that man, that he may not pretend not to understand them, for it is near half an hour ago that he has received orders to advance, and yet we are still here; but you see the condition he is in." Sloper explained to the court-martial that he meant by the last remark that "Lord George Sackville was alarmed to a great degree." His Lordship said, "Captain Ligonier, your orders are contradictory." Ligonier replied, "In numbers, my Lord; but their destination is the same." The Prince afterwards sent his orders to Lord Granby (the second in command of the right wing) to advance, and both he and Sackville did then advance; but the delay had lost them the opportunity of contributing to the victory.

On the 15th August 1759 Edward Ligonier obtained a company in the first foot-guards which gave him the rank of Lieutenant-Colonel in the army. He gave his evidence at the Court-Martial as Lieutenant-Colonel Ligonier on March 8th and 29th 1760. We hear no more of him until the next reign. In April 1763, retaining the same regimental rank, he was made a Colonel in the army, and Aide-de-camp to King George III.

In the following August he had the honour of being sent to Madrid as Secretary of the British Embassy to the Court of Spain. The Spanish king was Charles III. The heir-apparent to the throne, whose title was the Prince of the Asturias, was also named Charles, but was not yet out of his teens. A singular interview which Colonel Ligonier had with this young man is the only memento of his diplomatic career. The Royal Family of Spain, being Bourbons, did not altogether sympathise with the Spanish grandees in their family pride, which secretly despised French blood even of regal dye. Yet Spanish etiquette made these nobles give unquestioning subjection to royal will. The Prince of the Asturias contrived a plan for making their haughtiness and stateliness appear absurd. One morning Colonel Ligonier was waiting in an antechamber for admission to the young prince, when he was astonished to see several grandees retire from their audiences one after another, each with a paper fool's-cap on his head, and walking in court-dress with humiliating gravity. After taking a cautious look at them, the Colonel thought of himself, and asked one of the ministers in waiting, "Is a similar compliment in store for me?—because the king, my master, would be far from pleased if I were to submit to such an indignity." The minister said he would enquire, went into the prince's chamber, and returned with the reply, that the Colonel must be crowned like the other visitors of His Royal Highness. "Then," said Ligonier, "I present my respects to His Royal Highness and wish him a very good morning;" having said this, he walked away. The Spaniard called out quickly, "Nay, nay, stay a little, and I will step in again to the Prince." He did so, and returned

with a message implying that the British diplomatist might banish his apprehensions. Ligonier having been admitted for his audience, the prince conversed with him for some time with the greatest affability. The royal stripling, who stood with his back to the fire-place, always kept one hand behind his back. Observing this, Ligonier resolved to keep a sharp look-out, which he did. In due time he approached to take leave, and made a very low bow. At the moment when he was raising up his head, he saw the Prince rapidly bring forward his hidden hand, holding a fool's cap for our Colonel's summary coronation. But he was too good an officer to be unprepared. With an adroit jerk he struck the paper crown out of the Prince's hand to the other end of the room, made a second unexceptionable bow, and retired. The merry Prince lived to ascend the throne as Charles IV.

On the 17th November 1764, Colonel Ligonier was appointed one of the grooms of the bedchamber to William Henry, Duke of Gloucester. On the 16th Dec. 1766 he married at Paris, Penelope Pitt, daughter of Lord Rivers (then George Pitt, Esq., M.P.). He divorced this lady on 7th Nov. 1771. From the proceedings it appears that he had inherited his uncle's house in North Audley Street, and also Cobham Park. When he discovered that his wife had been the victim of a seducer, he hastened from Cobham Park to London. On getting out of his chaise, he immediately went from his house towards Bond Street, and in Bond Street he took a sword from a sword-cutler's, and afterwards went to the Opera House and found Count Alfieri, whom he called out. As they walked to the Green Park he drew from the Count a confession of his guilt. In the Park they fought a duel. Ligonier was only yielding a formal compliance with the world's code of honour, and he allowed the Count to make a furious attack, which he skillfully parried, being a splendid swordsman. Alfieri says, "He only parried my blows; his aim was not to kill me. At last he made a thrust and wounded me between the elbow and the wrist; he then lowered the point of his sword, and said he was satisfied." All the world admitted that Ligonier had been an excellent husband, and his wife's relations took his side. She is remembered through Gainsborough's beautiful portrait; the National Portrait Gallery catalogue is mistaken in calling her a Countess; she was only Viscountess Ligonier. His uncle, Earl Ligonier, had died in 1770, when (by the remainder of the patent of 1762) Colonel Ligonier became an Irish Viscount.

Edward, Viscount Ligonier, became Colonel of the 9th Foot on the 8th August 1771. On the 14th December 1773, he married a second time. Old Ligonier's first colleague in the representation of Bath was Robert Henley, who suddenly rose from being Solicitor-General to the Prince of Wales to be his Majesty's Attorney-General, became Keeper of the Great Seal, with the title of Baron Henley, and afterwards (in 1764) Lord Chancellor, with the higher title of Earl of Northington. His son was the second and last earl, and a daughter and co-heir, Lady Mary Henley, became the wife of Edward, Viscount Ligonier.

Lord Ligonier was promoted to the rank of Major-General, 19th September 1775. He wished to be an earl, and accordingly in 1776 (19th July) the King granted him "the state, degree, title, style, dignity, and honour of Earl Ligonier of Clonmel, in the kingdom of Ireland." He became a Lieutenant-General on the 29th August 1777. In Beatson's List of Knights of the Bath the following notice occurs:—

"1781, Edward, Earl Ligonier, Lieutenant-General, died before installation." His death took place on the 14th of June 1782.

Thus the last Earl Ligonier expired at the early age of forty-two. He had no children by either marriage. On the 18th November 1785 the Countess Ligonier gave her hand to a second husband, Thomas Noel, LL.D., the second and last Viscount Wentworth. Cobham Park was sold to the Earl of Carhampton.

* * Frances, daughter of Colonel Francis Ligonier, and sister of Edward, Earl Ligonier, was born in 1742. In a description of a fancy-ball, where she appeared as Minerva, she is described as "a very elegant figure." Her marriage removed her from London assemblies to the distant and stilly north, her husband being Colonel Thomas Balfour of Elwick, in the

Orkney Islands. Her children were Captain William Balfour, R.N., and Mary. The latter was married in 1798 to the Rev. Alexander Brunton, afterwards Doctor of Divinity, and Professor of Hebrew in the University of Edinburgh. Mrs Brunton, by her celebrity as the author of works of serious fiction, specially of "Self-Control" and "Discipline," has saved her mother's and her husband's names from oblivion. The date of her mother's death is not preserved; the lamented "Mary" died on the 19th Dec. 1818, aged forty.

From the manly and pathetic memoir by her husband I select those sentences which connect her with the Ligoniers:—

Mary was born in the island of Burra in Orkney, 1st Nov. 1778. . . . Her mother had early been left an orphan to the care of her uncle Field-Marshal the Earl Ligonier, and had been trained rather to the accomplishments which adorn a court than to those which are useful in domestic life. She was, however, a person of great natural acuteness and of very lively wit; and her conversation, original though desultory, had no doubt considerable influence in raising her daughter's mind. She was assiduous, too, in conveying the accomplishments which she herself retained; and Mary became, under her mother's care, a considerable proficient in music, and an excellent French and Italian scholar. From these languages she was much accustomed to translate; and there is no other habit of her early life which tends, in any degree, to account for the great facility and correctness with which her subsequent compositions were written. . . . Before 1778 Viscountess Wentworth proposed that Mary, her god-daughter, should reside with her in London. What influence this alteration might have had on her after-life is left to be matter of conjecture. She preferred the quiet and privacy of a Scotch manse. We were married in her twentieth year.

The above are Dr Brunton's words. He has also printed some of his wife's correspondence, and of her journals during tours in England. There are letters to her mother, dated 6th Oct. 1802, and 21st Nov. 1809; to her brother, Captain Balfour, of the dates 9th Sept. 1813, 21st April and 27th Oct. 1815, and Dec. 1816; and to her brother's wife of date 21st March 1812, two dated 17th Jan. 1818, and her last, dated 22d Oct. 1818. In the first letter to her brother she humourously consoles him for the small dimensions of his baby's corporeal frame-work:—"Like you, like Cæsar, Alexander the Great, myself, and others, our friend may hide a capacious soul in a diminutive body." In one of the last letters she ever wrote there is the following beautiful sentiment:—"Life is too short and uncertain to admit of our trifling with even the lesser opportunities of testifying good-will. The flower of the field must scatter its odours to-day. To-morrow it will be gone."

At the time of Mrs Brunton's death Captain William Balfour had two young children, Thomas and Mary, but I have been unable to find any trace of the earthly future of these great-grandchildren of Colonel Francis Ligonier.

Chapter XX.

THE CAUMONT AND LAYARD GROUP OF FAMILIES.

(I.) LA DUCHESSE DE LA FORCE.

THE Ducs de la Force highly valued their ancient surname of Caumont. Francois de Caumont, Seigneur de Castelnau, married on May 16th 1554 Philippe, daughter of Francois de Beaupoil, Seigneur de la Force. The Seigneur de Castelnau was killed in the St Batholomew

massacre, as was his elder son, Armand de Caumont. But the family became an illustrious ducal house through the talents and achievements of the younger son, who escaped from the massacre, and was sheltered by his relative the Baroness de Biron. This was Jacques Nompar de Caumont, Duc de la Force, Marshal and Peer of France; he married on 9th Feb. 1577 Charlotte de Gonthault. The Marshal's two sons Armand and Henri Nompar, successively succeeded to the dukedom, the former dying without issue. Henri was the grandfather of the next Duke, Jacques Nompar de Caumont, fourth Duc de La Force, whose children by his first wife, Marie de St Simon de Courtemer, did not survive. He married, secondly, Susanne de Beringhen, who was the mother of two Dukes:—(1) Henri Jacques, fifth Duke, who married Anne Marie de Beuzelin, but whose issue did not survive; (2) Armand, sixth Duke, who in 1713 married Elizabeth Gruel, and whose son and heir was Jacques, seventh Duc de la Force.

At the time of the Revocation, the heads of the family were the fourth Duke, and his second wife (née Susanne Beringhen). It was an illustrious Protestant family, but unhappily the only refugee was the Duchess.* "The Duke de la Force," says an anonymous historian, "after having his children taken away, was confined in a monastery, insomuch that at last he yielded. But no hard usage was able to overcome the constancy of my lady the Duchess, who, after having tired out the cruelty of her persecutors, obtained leave to come over into England a few days after the death of her husband in 1699. God gave him grace to repent of his weakness, and to die in the profession of the true religion."

Under the year 1699 Oldmixon's History chronicles that, "before the Earl of Jersey returned from his embassy in France, he obtained leave for the Duchess de la Force, a Protestant, to quit that kingdom where, upon the death of the Duke her husband, she was thrown into a nunnery at Evreux in Normandy, and had endured fourteen years' persecution, with invincible constancy, on account of her religion. She came over to England with the Countess of Jersey, and lived here to a very great age."

Jean Marteilhe, of Bergerac, in his own autobiography of "un Protestant condamné aux galères de France pour cause de religion," informs us that the Chateau of La Force was near his native town, in the province of Perigord. The good Duchess's son, the fifth Duke, had in 1699 become a bigotted Papist, and obtained a commission to convert the Huguenots in his estates. After having tortured some of his victims to death, and compelled the survivors to utter an abjuration of their faith, he held a riotous festival in the village of La Force, and made "a bonfire of a magnificent library, composed of the pious books of the reformed religion, which his ancestors had carefully collected." On the 25th May 1731 (says the *Gentleman's Magazine*) died at her house in St James's Place, London, the Duchess de la Force, "grandmother of the present Duke de la Force, a Marischal and Peer of France."

(2) LAYARD.

The Layard family claims descent from the Raymonds, whose chiefs were the illustrious Sovereign Princes and Comtes De Toulouse. They are believed to spring from the same ancestry as the Ducs Caumont de la Force. The more specific ancestor was either Guillaume Raymond, the first Seigneur de Caumont (who died in 1337), or Nompar Raymond, Seigneur de Caumont, who died in 1400. Among the family papers are the names and armorial bearings of Pierre de Caumont and Jeanne de Brissac, his wife (1570), and of Raymond de Caumont de Layarde, and Francoise Savary de Mauleon de Castillon, his wife (1590). How the name

* From two publications, namely, "Bray's Middlesex," and "Faulkner's Chelsea," we learn that members of the family retired into England from earlier persecutions. The latter work gives the epitaph of Elizabeth, daughter of Theodore de Mayerne Seigneur d'Albon, and wife of the Marquis de Cugnac, who died in Chelsea 10th July 1653, aged 20. The Marquis, her "mœrens conjux," represents himself as son of Henri de Caumont, Marquis de Castelnauth, and grandson of Jacques Nompar de Caumont, Duc de la Force, first Marshal of France, who was, as a commander, "fortissimus, fortunatissimus, invictissimus."

of De Layaarde came into the family is not known. But the above Raymond de Caumont de Layaarde, by his names, is linked with the ancestry just described, and with the refugee founder of the British family of Layard, who was probably his grandson.

Peter Raymond de Layaarde was born in 1666 at Montflanquin, in the Duchy of Agen and Province of Guienne. He, on account of his Protestantism, became a refugee in Holland in 1685, and having entered the army of William of Orange, he came to England in 1688. He is known as Major Layard, having attained that rank in the British army in 1710. Like many of his countrymen, he seems to have delayed naturalisation until the twelfth year of Queen Anne. In 1716 he married a Huguenot and comparatively youthful bride, Mary Anne Crozé or Croisey, by whom he had twelve sons, of whom all died in infancy, except one son and two daughters. Major Layard died in his eight-first year, on the 18th March 1747.

Major Layard's daughter, Elizabeth, was born at Sutton-Fryers, Canterbury, on 23d June 1731, and was married at St Bride's, Fleet Street, London, on 4th Nov. 1760 to Charles Fouace. Her sister, Mary Ann, born in the same place, 5th March 1733, was married on 2d Jan. 1769, to Brownlow Bertie, fifth and last Duke of Ancaster. The Duchess died 13th Jan. 1804, leaving an only child, Lady Mary Elizabeth Bertie, the first wife of Thomas Charles Colyear, fourth and last Earl of Portmore, whose son Brownlow, Viscount Milsington (heir-at-law of the Duke of Ancaster) died before him, being mortally wounded by banditti near Rome, in 1819.

Major Layard's sole male representative was Daniel Peter Layard, M.D., LL.D., F.R.S., and F.S.A., Member of the Academy of Gottingen, and Physician to the Princess of Wales. In the Family Papers, Canterbury is said to be his birth-place, but the pedigree in the Herald's College records that he was born in the parish of St Ann's, Westminster, on 28th March 1720. He married, in Spring Gardens Chapel, Susanna Henrietta, daughter of Lieutenant-Colonel Louis de Boisragon, by his second wife Marie Henriette, daughter of the Chevalier Nicolas de Rambouillet. Dr Layard practised his profession for many years in Huntingdon, and was styled of Woodhurst, Huntingdonshire. He claimed the barony of Clifton-Camville. He was an industrious student and writer. He printed an "Essay on the Bite of a Mad-Dog;" "Directions to prevent Contagion of the Gaol Distemper;" and several Papers in the Philosophical Transactions. But his greatest celebrity arose from his writings and services connected with the Cattle Plague. This Plague raged in Great Britain from 1744 to 1756, and again from 1769 to 1777. In 1757 Dr Layard, being resident in Huntingdon, published an "Essay on the Nature, Causes, and Cure of the Cattle Plague," which soon became famous. When the Plague again broke out in 1769, Dr Layard had removed to Greenwich, and was sent for by the Privy Council. "He was consulted," says a contemporary Narrative, "in the drawing up of those Orders in Council and Acts of Parliament, which being put into immediate execution, stopped the spreading of the contagion, and totally extirpated it in less than six months out of Hampshire, and soon after out of Banffshire in 1770 and 1771." The House of Commons voted £500 to Dr Layard, and the King appointed him to correspond with Foreign Courts, which office of Corresponding Secretary he held to the time of his death in 1794.

Dr Layard left three sons. His daughter, Susanna Henriette (*born 1757, died 1832*), wife of Peter Pegus, Esq., had a son Peter William Pegus, M.A., of Cambridge, who married his cousin, the Countess Dowager of Lindsey, and whose daughter, Mary Antoinette Pegus, was married to Charles, tenth Marquis of Huntly. Dr Layard's younger sons, Lieut.-General Anthony Lewis Layard (*died 1823, and buried in Salisbury Cathedral*), and Lieut.-General John Thomas Layard (*died 1828, and buried in Walcote Church, Bath*) had no descendants. The eldest son was the Very Rev. Charles Peter Layard, D.D., F.R.S., Dean of Bristol. He was born in the parish of St Ann's, Westminster, 19th Feb. 1749; he married, *first*, Elizabeth, daughter of Joseph Ward of Greenwich, and, *secondly*, Elizabeth, co-heiress of Rev. John Carver.

Dean Layard (whose early preferment was the Vicarage of Warle and Kewston) was a graduate of Cambridge with honours, M.A. in 1773, and S.T.P. in 1787. In 1789 he preached

a Sermon at the consecration of Bishop Horsley, which was published. During his ministry in Oxendon Chapel, London, he was greatly followed and admired as a most eloquent and excellent preacher; he was Chaplain in Ordinary to his Majesty, and Librarian of Archbishop Tenison's Library, in St Martin's Parish. On the resignation of Dr Hallam, he was made Dean of Bristol in January 1801, and died at the Deanery, 10th April 1803. His daughter, Charlotte Susanah Elizabeth, renewed the family alliance with the Berties, by her marriage on 15th Nov. 1809, with George Albemarle, ninth Earl of Lindsey; this Countess died in 1858 being the mother of the tenth Earl. Another daughter of Dean Layard was Caroline Bethia, wife of Louis Gibson, Esq.

Three branches of the Layard family sprang from the three sons of Dean Layard, who were—

1st. The Rev. Brownlow Villiers Layard, M.A., Rector of Uffington, Lincolnshire (*born 1779, died 1861*), who married, *first*, (in 1803) Louisa, daughter of John Port, of Ilam Hall, Staffordshire, and, *secondly*, (in 1821) Sarah Jane, daughter of Thomas Margary, of Clapham Common.

2nd. Henry Peter John Layard, Esq., of the Ceylon Civil Service (*born 1782, died 1834*), who married Marianne, only daughter of Nathaniel Austen, Esq., of Ramsgate. (To this branch belong the Right Honourable Austen Henry Layard, and his brother Colonel Frederic Layard; to the latter I am indebted for an abstract of the family papers.)

3rd. Charles Edward Layard, Esq., of the Ceylon Civil Service (*born 1786, died 1852*), who married Barbara Bridgetina, daughter of Gualterus Mooyart, the last Dutch Governor of Ceylon. He had a family of twenty-six children, of whom at one time seventeen were living, and ten now survive.

The heir of the first branch, Lieutenant-Colonel Brownlow Villiers Layard, M.P. for Carlow, died in his father's lifetime in 1853, aged 49. He had married in 1835 Elizabeth, daughter of Captain John Deane Digby, of the 5th Irish Dragoons. He left an only child, born in 1838, Captain Brownlow Villiers Layard, a military officer, the present head of the family. A younger brother of the late Lieutenant-Colonel B. V. Layard is Lieutenant-Colonel Bernard Granville Layard (born in 1813), who recently edited an abridgement of his great-grandfather's essay on the Cattle Plague.

(3.) CROZE AND DESPAIGNOL.

Susanna, heiress of James Samuel Balaire and widow of James Crozé (or Croissé, or Croissy), Captain in the Dutch Navy, died in London 16th March 1716, and was buried in St Martin's-in-the-Fields. Her husband had died in Amsterdam in 1710, being a Huguenot refugee born at Loudun in France. Their children were James Samuel Crozé (*born 1697, died 1714*), and two daughters Mary Anne and Susanne Mary.

Mary Anne was born at Rotterdam 8th April 1693 (Colonel F. Layard says, 1689), and was married in London at St Benet's, Paul's Wharf to Major Peter Layard, whom she survived till June 16th 1768; she was buried at Kensington on 23d June, when her deceased husband's coffin was laid beside hers.

Samuel Despaignol, Esq., born at La Bastide, in France, in 1689, married in 1722 Susanna Mary Crozé. She was born in 1700 and died 3d June 1737; he survived till 1743. Their son was Peter Despaignol, Esq. (*born 1733, died 1769*). Their daughter was Elizabeth Despaignol (*born in 1728*), wife of the Very Rev. David Palaret, Dean of Bristol, to whom she was married on the 31st March 1765.

(4.) BOISRAGON.

An ancient French family, surnamed CHEVALLEAU, acquired the territorial title of De la Liffardière, and at a later date the territorial title of De Boisragon. Jean Chevalleau, Ecuier,

proved his *chevalerie* in 1594. In 1614, Pierre Chevalleau, Ecuyer, Seigneur de la Liffardière married Marthe, daughter of Jean Rignon, Ecuyer, Sieur de la Braconnière by Antoinette Prevost. His son and heir Jean Chevalleau, Ecuyer, Seigneur de Boisragon was living in the chateau of St Maixant in Poitou, in 1665, having married in 1652 Catherine de Marconnare. From him descended the French family and the refugee family of Boisragon.

The refugee, born in Maixant, was the younger son of Louis Chevalleau, Seigneur de Boisragon. He took refuge, first in Holland, and latterly in England in the train of William of Orange. On 18th March 1689-90, he was enrolled in *Schomberg's Horse* as a cornet; he rose to be Captain in that regiment. He obtained the rank of Major in 1708, and was Brevet-Lieut.-Colonel in 1709-10. At the date of his death he was Lieut.-Colonel in command of the 53d Foot. His Will, dated 16th December 1729, was proved 2d April 1730.

He had married in 1700 Louise Poyrand, daughter of Messire René Poyrand, Seigneur Des Clouseaux, by whom he had a daughter Catherine Louisa, and a son Alexander Louis Chevalleau de Boisragon, who, after serving as an ensign in our army, retired to Surinam. Lieutenant-Colonel De Boisragon's second wife, whom he married on 21st December 1713, was Marie Henriette, daughter of Messire Nicolas de Rambouillet, chevalier, Seigneur de la Sablière. By her he had Susanna Henrietta, Mrs Layard—Elizabeth, Mrs Mathy—and Anne, Mrs Justamond—also Major Henry Boisragon of Windsor who died in 1791, and Major Charles Gideon Boisragon, C.B.

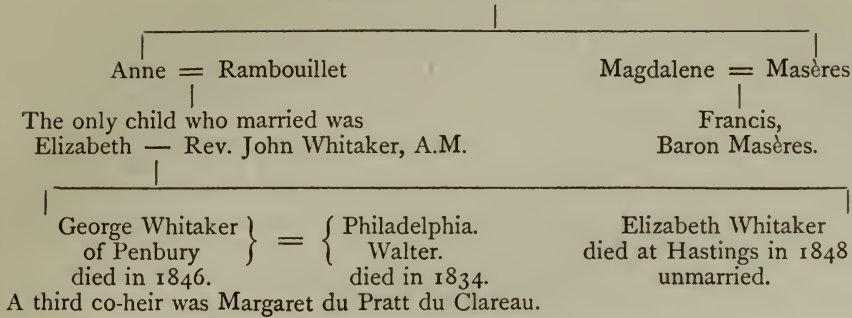
The latter Major Boisragon married Mary, daughter of James Patterson, of Combe, County Down. His son was Henry Charles Boisragon, M.D. of Cheltenham, who married on 7th June 1803 Mary, daughter of John Gascoyne Faushawe of Parsloe, Essex, and whose sons were Captain Charles Henry Boisragon of the Bengal army, Theodore Smith Boisragon, M.D., and Conrad Gascoyne Boisragon. The eldest of the above, Captain Boisragon (born in 1804) married Ellen, daughter of General Maxwell, and his sons are Lieutenant-Colonel Henry Boisragon, and Major Theodore Boisragon, both of the Bombay Staff-corps.

(5.) RAMBOUILLET.

The Rambouillets were falconers to the Kings of France. The 1st Marquis de Rambouillet was in the royal carriage with Henri IV., when that prince was assassinated. From him descended a noble refugee, Nicholas, Marquis de Rambouillet, chevalier, Seigneur de la Sablière, who married Henriette Louise de Cheusse. He himself, with his wife and family, fled from France on the Revocation, and took refuge in Copenhagen. He became a Councillor-of-State of the King of Denmark. In 1714, he came to England with King George I., and did not remove till his death (date unknown); the Marchioness survived till 1735. The Marquis's shield was "azure, three partridges *proper*, picking an ear of corn *or*." But he had an allegorical seal engraved in memory of the determination of himself and his lady to seek refuge in a Protestant country; the device was, two doves perched on a tree and ready for flight, and the motto was "idem velle, idem nolle!" He had also another seal representing a crown of glory in the sky held out in prospect over a stormy sea.

Anthony Gideon de Rambouillet, his eldest son, died at the Hague, unmarried. He also had an emblematical seal, surmounted by a coronet, with the initials A.G.R., and having as the device a bird escaped from a net leaving several feathers behind, the motto being "Les pertes ne sont rien quand on sorte d'esclavage." His nephew, Major Henry Boisragon administered to his Dutch Will in Feb. 1751, the Boisragons of that generation being the children of his only sister, Marie Henriette. The old refugees had another son Charles William de Rambouillet, Lieutenant-Colonel in the Guards; he married at Fulham, 16th June 1730, Anne daughter and co-heir of Francis du Pratt du Clareau of La Rochelle; by this marriage he became connected with the refugee family of Masères, thus:—

FRANCIS DU PRATT DU CLAREAU



(6.) LE COQ.

Francois le Coq, Sieur de Germain, Counsellor of the Parliament of Paris, was proprietor of the estate of La Ravinière, near Blois. He was the son of Aymar Le Coq, Counsellor of the Chamber of the Edict at Paris; his mother's maiden name was Marguerite de la Madeleine. He pursued his studies in company with the learned Jean Rou, who in his memoirs highly praises his character and talents. When he was seventeen years of age he could translate the Greek of Theophilus at sight, without deigning to cast his eye on the Latin version. In 1661 he was received as Counsellor of the Parliament with great applause. In 1672 he married Marie de Beringhen, and was thus brother-in-law of Le Duc de Caumont La Force. During the dragonnades, Monsieur and Madame Le Coq were arrested and were shut up in a succession of prisons. In August 1685 they were permitted to go into exile. At the same time the equally unflinching members of the family of De Beringhen were released, and retired into Holland—namely, Monsieur de Beringhen, his father and mother, and the greater part of his family. Monsieur Le Coq's property in France was confiscated, and was given to a nephew and niece on their apostatizing from the Protestant faith. The nephew was the Marquis de Verac; the niece was the Countesse de la Coste.

Monsieur Le Coq established himself in London. When the Prince of Orange made his entry, Barillon, the French Ambassador, fled from the populace to Le Coq's house, and thus found a refuge from his alarms under the hospitable roof of a refugee. Another refugee arrived, the Sieur de l'Estang, an officer of William's guards, bearing orders from His Highness that the Ambassador should quit London within twenty-four hours. A third refugee received orders to accompany him to Dover, to protect him if any tumult should arise. Barillon wrote from Calais, 8th January 1689, to Louis XIV., "The Prince of Orange desired that an officer of his guards should accompany me. I was not sorry for it. It seemed to relieve me of some difficulties which are met with on such occasions. He is a gentleman of Poitou, named St Leger, who retired to Holland with his wife and family. I received all manner of good civility and treatment wherever I passed."

Evelyn writes as to the 2d October 1689, "Came to visit us the Marquis de Ruvigny, and one Monsieur Le Coq, a French refugee who left great riches for his religion, a very learned civil person; he married the sister of the Duchesse de la Force." *Cet aimable savant homme, ce sage magistrat*, Monsieur Le Coq was, through life, a very influential gentleman in London and among the Huguenot refugees.

(7.) DANEY.

Elias Daney, advocate in the Parliament of Bordeaux, received in 1665 from the Duc de la Force the appointment of Judge of the lands and lordship of Caumont and Taillebourg.

He married Anne Bouet. The only child was Anne, born at Caumont on the 23d April 1669. This daughter became a refugee in England, and was married on the 6th March 1698 to John Grubb, Esq., of Horsenden, Bucks. She was the mother of nine children, and died on the 11th March 1721 in the 53d year of her age. The year must have been 1722, according to new style, because the above figures are copied from her monument in Horsenden Church; she was buried in a vault in Camberwell Church.

The anonymous author of "An Essay for composing a Harmony between the Psalms and other parts of Scriptures" (London 1732), presented a copy of that book to one of her sons, with this autograph inscription on the fly leaf, "Mr Grubb is desired to accept this book from the author, who has the pleasure to reflect that he was in some degree serviceable to his mother who, in the year 1685 upon the repeal of the Edict of Nantes, came into England with her uncle Dr Donne, when she was about seventeen years old. She was a lady of exquisite beauty, which was embellished with the charms of her great modesty."

Chapter XX.

THE REFUGEE CLERGY—SECOND GROUP.

ALLIX, AUFERE, CHAMIER, DAUBUZ, DE L'ANGLE, DRELINCOURT, DU BOURDIEU.

1. PETER ALLIX, D.D., AND DEAN ALLIX.

PIERRE ALLIX was the son and namesake of an old pasteur of Alençon, and was born in the year 1641. In 1664 we have a glimpse of him as a student at Saumur taking part in a disputation, *De Ultimo Judicio*. He followed his father's profession, and his first employment was to be one of the Protestant ministers of Rouen. The Protestants of that city required several pastors to minister in the only temple allowed them by the government, which was situated in the village of Grande-Quevilly, and was capable of holding seven or eight thousand persons. In 1670 he was translated to Paris, where the congregation had to submit to the same policy as their brethren of Rouen, their temple being at the village of Charenton; and, though it could accommodate nearly 10,000 persons, it was often too small for the crowd of worshippers. He had already distinguished himself as a learned and masterly writer in defence of the faith; and his appointment to Charenton being an indication that his publications had been serviceable and opportune, he continued his literary labours with redoubled assiduity. "His sermons," says Weiss, were "fine models of sacred eloquence; were distinguished for their tasteful simplicity, and by precepts appropriate to the circumstances in which his church was placed."

A Mr Wylie contributed to "Wodrow's Analecta" some reminiscences of the two great pastors of Charenton, Claude and Allix (my readers must remember that a French preacher in those days put on his hat at the beginning of his sermon). "Monsieur Claude," says Mr Wylie, "was a very plain, slovenly man. One could scarce have access to him, he was so much thronged with business. . . . He promised very little to look at, but was a mighty affectionate preacher, and very much affected with what he delivered, and very grave and staid in his delivery. His colleague Allix was a frank open man, very much seen in the Rabbinical learning, and of very free access. He kept weekly conferences in his house, to which many of the Doctors of the Sorbonne resorted. He was bold and brisk in the pulpit, and when he read his text he cocked his hat; but Claude, when he put on his hat slipped it on and drew down the sides of it. There were some differences fell in between Claude and Allix, and Allix said that he could have been forty years with his venerable colleague without bringing them into the pulpit, and complained that Monsieur Claude brought them to the pulpit."

At the Revocation he and his colleagues were ordered to quit Paris immediately, having only forty-eight hours allowed them for packing up. The Charenton temple was demolished without a day's delay. (A Benedictine monastery was afterwards built on the site, and a small Roman Catholic church, dedicated to the "Holy Sacrament.")

Allix retired to St. Denys, and obtained a passport to England with some difficulty. He was accompanied by his wife, whose maiden name was Margaret Roger, and by his sons, John Peter, and James. From a letter written by Seignelay from Versailles (9th Feb. 1686), it appears that some of his family remained in France:—"The family of the minister Allix, who is in London, have become sincere converts here in Paris." The writer proceeds to say to the Envoy Bonrepas, "If you could get at that minister, and prevail upon him to return to France with the intention of being converted, you need not hesitate to offer him a pension of 3000 or 4000 livres; and if it were necessary to go further, I doubt not but that upon the advice you would give me of it, the king would consent to even more liberal settlements." On 8th July 1686, Evelyn writes, "I waited on the Archbishop at Lambeth, where I dined, and met the famous preacher and writer, Monsieur Allix, doubtless a most excellent and learned person; and the Archbishop and he spoke Latin together, and that very readily."

King James II. gave him a patent to found in London a French Church, with the Anglican ritual. And here I have to give another quotation from Wodrow, who says, "Mr Webster tells me that he had an account (I think from one of the French ministers in Edinburgh) that when they were forced out of France in 1685, Monsieur Allix was the first who submitted to re-ordination in England—that he was so *choaked* [shocked?] when he saw Monsieur Allix re-ordained, and a declaration made that he was [had been] no minister, and the reflection cast on the whole ministry of France and the Reformed Churches, that he could not bear it but came to Scotland." In palliation of this accusation I may suggest that the Presbyterian view of ordination is that it is the solemn setting apart of a minister to the charge of the congregation and district, which at that date he has undertaken to serve. In Scotland and Ireland there is the "laying on of the hands of the Presbytery" on the head of the minister, only on his being installed in his first church; on his removal or translation, to a new sphere of ministerial labour, the ordination questions are again put to him as before, but there is no "laying on of hands," the ceremony being then called his induction (in Scotland) or his installation (in Ireland). Mr Allix may have regarded the ceremonial, to which he submitted, in the light only of an induction or installation, and not of re-ordination. He certainly in several of his books styles himself a "Divine of the Church of England." As such he co-operated with the leading established clergy in the composition of the learned tracts against Popery which were originally intended to counteract the pamphlets by Romish divines issued by King James's printers, but which are still read and admired. Allix contributed three brief and weighty discourses to the series, the first licensed on April 1st, the second on May 31st, and the third on August 15th, all in the year 1688.—(1st) "A discourse concerning the merit of Good Works;" (2d) "An Historical Discourse concerning the necessity of the Minister's Intention in administering the Sacraments;" (3d) "A Discourse concerning Penance shewing how the Doctrine of it, in the Church of Rome, makes void True Repentance."

On the 7th May 1688 Allix published his two volumes of "Reflexions upon the Books of the Holy Scripture to establish the truth of the Christian Religion;" and he took occasion in a long Dedication to acknowledge the king's hospitable acts to the refugees. I quote a few sentences:—"To the King. Great Sir,—The gracious acceptance, which your Majesty was pleased to allow the first volume (of my 'Reflexions upon the Holy Scriptures to establish the Truth of the Christian Religion'), encouraged and almost necessitated me to the further presumption of laying these two volumes at this time at your Majesty's feet. Your Majesty did me the honour to say, *That you were pleased to see divines apply themselves to the clearing of subjects so important.* As your Majesty continues still to give such illustrious instances of your clemency and royal protection to those of our nation; so I confess, Sir, I thought myself under an obligation to lay hold of this opportunity of publishing what all those

who find so sure a protection in your Majesty's dominions, feel and think (as much as myself) upon these new testimonies of your royal bounty. . . . The whole world, Sir, which has received upon all its coasts some remainder of our shipwreck, is filled with admiration of the unexampled effects of your Majesty's clemency. . . . We must, Sir, be wholly insensible, if we had not all of us the highest sense of so great a bounty; and we should justly appear to the whole world to be unworthy of this your paternal care, if, notwithstanding that low condition to which we are now reduced, we should not prostrate ourselves before your august throne, with the humblest demonstrations of thankfulness. . . . This, Sir, is my whole aim in the dedication of this work to your Majesty; and may your sacred Majesty be pleased to approve of these poor testimonies of our thankfulness in general, and to look upon them as instances of mine in particular, and of that profound respect with which I am, &c.

"P. ALLIX."

Allix was, with his pen, the incessant and victorious adversary of the crafty Bishop Bossuet; and however thankful to his Jacobite Majesty, he could never forget that he himself was a Protestant refugee, and that, after the characteristic atrocities of 1685 he was more than ever called to continue the good fight. A farewell sermon, which he had prepared in Paris, but which he found that he could not deliver at Charenton "without danger to himself and his congregation," he printed and published in his haven of refuge—also a volume containing two practical treatises, "Maximes du vrai Chrétien," and "Bonnes et saintes pensées pour tous les jours du mois" (1687).

The advent of King William occasioned his pamphlet, entitled, "An Examination of the Scruples of those who refuse to take the Oaths" (1689). Tillotson, in a letter to Lady Russell, dated London, September 19, 1689, gives a list of clerical appointments, which concludes thus:—"and, which grieves me much, Monsieur Allix is put by at present." Allix was consoled by receiving admiration and honours. The clergy fixed upon him as the best man to write a complete History of Councils, in several folio volumes: this work could not be completed for want of funds. It drew forth the only gift he seems ever to have obtained under the Protestant succession from high places, namely, an order from the House of Commons that all the paper brought from Holland for printing it should be exempt from duty.

His "Remarks upon the Ecclesiastical History of the Ancient Church of Piedmont" were licensed for the press on the 23d September (1689). The dedication to King William contained the following sentences:—"May it please your Majesty,—If your Majesty, following the example of your glorious ancestors, did not think it an honour to maintain the Reformed religion, I should never have undertaken to present your Majesty with a treatise of this nature. . . . From your royal throne you were pleased to cast your eye on the miserable estate of that little flock of dispersed Christians, in affording them a happy retreat in your dominions, as the ancient professors of pure Christianity." Turning his thoughts to his own France, he published in 1692, "Remarks upon the Ecclesiastical History of the Ancient Churches of the Albigenes." This work he dedicated to Queen Mary, beginning thus:—"May it please your Majesty,—This defence of the Albigenes, the ancient and illustrious confessors who some ages ago enlightened the southern parts of France, is laid down at your Majesty's feet for your protection, as well as their successors do now fly into your dominions for relief." The title-page of the latter volume reminds me that I should mention that since the summer of 1690, through the kindness of Bishop Burnet, he had been "Treasurer of the Church of Sarum," *i.e.*, of Salisbury Cathedral. The University of Cambridge at the *commencement*, in 1690, conferred on him the degree of Doctor of Divinity; and he was incorporated as a D.D. at Oxford in 1692. These volumes on the Waldenses and Albigenes are so well known through modern editions that I need hardly say that, in opposition to Bossuet, Dr Allix vindicates those primitive Christians with great erudition and spirit. As a specimen of the latter characteristic, I quote a single sentence of his comments upon the Waldensian tractate, known as the "Noble Lesson." "Now I defie the impudence of the devil himself to find therein the least shadow of Manicheism" (p. 166.) It is by these historical works that Dr Allix is now

remembered ; although it is said that the book which obtained him the highest credit was, "The Judgement of the Ancient Jewish Church against the Unitarians, in the controversy upon the Holy Trinity and the Divinity of our Blessed Saviour" (1699).

In 1701 he published "The Book of Psalms, with the argument of each psalm, and with a preface giving some general rules for the interpretation of this sacred book." The note "to the reader," is as follows :—"We reproach justly the Papists for reading their prayers in the Latin tongue, which is unknown to the common people, and hindreth them from receiving any benefit from their public worship. And it were to be wished that our common people could understand well what they read in English, that they may not fall under the same reproach. As nothing is so ordinary amongst us as the reading of Psalms, I thought fit to help them to a better understanding of that divine book. I could have given abundance of notes to clear many places which are dark in the translation, but I think I have given light enough by a short preface, and by the arguments which are prefixed to every psalm, if the readers are willing to consult diligently the places which I have remitted them to, and to consider them attentively. I pray God give His blessing to those who read this book, and make them sensible of the several motions of the Holy Ghost, which are expressed with such nobleness that all human poetry is but straw in comparison of the Psalms."

The Trinitarian controversy raised no slight animosity in some quarters against Dr Allix. He had attributed some works of Anti-Trinitarian tendency to a Mr N., and other writers who professed to believe the Thirty-nine Articles of the Church of England. The rage of the Rev. Stephen Nye, Rector of Hormead, may be seen in the following ebullition :—"Of so many eminent for learning and dignity as have written against those books . . . none charged those books on Mr N., or on the other supposed writers, *save only this stranger*, who of a refugee for religion was not ashamed to turn informer ; he that will take on him the infamous character of an informer is ready, without doubt, to go much farther, if circumstances and opportunity invite him." He also came into collision with a personal acquaintance, William Whiston, Professor of Mathematics in the University of Cambridge.

I would not go farther in this matter, if it did not afford a good opportunity of exhibiting Dr Allix's intercourse with English society, and also his remarkable command of the English language, which he had acquired by careful study. I have before me a pamphlet entitled, "Remarks upon some places of Mr Whiston's books, either printed or in manuscript. By P. Allix, D.D. The Second Edition, to which is adjoined, an answer to Mr Whiston's Reply. London, 1711." "He pretends," says Allix, "I have transgressed the rules of humanity and Christian friendship in publishing my remarks at a time when his writings were before the Convocation. What a complaint is this ! He gave his Historical Preface in MS. to be perused by several of his friends, and one of them told me how he reflected on my answer to Dr. Payne. A while after he published that Historical Preface, wherein he lays to my charge (plus quàm inuendo) that I had given him an occasion of calling in question the Divinity of the Holy Ghost. After this, was I not necessarily obliged to purge myself from such an imputation ?" "Those words of mine which he relates were spoken in a conversation at which many other divines and ministers of London were present, and since none of them were displeased with what I then said, it is plain that Mr Whiston must have put a wrong interpretation on them." "The late Dr Payne having asked me, 'Whether the Holy Spirit was addressed to in the public prayers of the Primitive Church ?' I answered that if they had ever read the works of St Basil the Great, they would have found a satisfactory answer . . . all the public prayers were directed to the Father by the intercession of the Son in the Holy Spirit." "I am sure the divines and ministers who were there and then present little thought that I had therein given any occasion for such a charge as Mr Whiston has now, at the distance of twelve or thirteen years, publicly brought against me." "I thought him a studious man, and had a respect for him as such ; and he will do me the justice to acknowledge that I always spoke my mind to him very freely and sincerely ; but that I never approved of the liberties he took." "He again visited me since his professing himself an Arian, and he can witness that I exhorted him

seriously to pay some deference to the advice of one of the most learned prelates of our church. . . . I represented to him with some earnestness how ill it became a person of his age to be so positive as I had always found him, especially since he had spent so much of his time in mathematical studies, and therefore could not have sufficiently applied himself to the study of antiquity." "Indeed, as I learned from one of his friends, he had never read Dallæus's book 'De Pseudepigraphis Apostolicis,' where that learned man had demonstrated the *Book of the Apostolical Constitutions* to be spurious; but, according to Mr Whiston, that book is the most canonical book of the whole New Testament, because all the other books are only supported by its authority." "It is very plain that Mr Whiston has not read the ecclesiastical writers with much judgment or attention; nay, and that he has made little use of that sort of learning which he best understands, I mean the mathematics." "It seems Mr Whiston is ashamed of Arius's person, since he complains that I have represented him as one of his followers. But I must own that he has confirmed me in that opinion of him, by the propositions he has published in his appendix to his reply, and it is my custom that I call *scapham* 'scapham.'

His other numerous and valued works I need not name, except his Latin Dissertations, *De Messiaë duplici adventu*, published in 1701, which drew forth Bayle's sarcasm (Art. Braunbom), "notwithstanding Jurieu's want of success, Dr. Allix has taken the field to assure us that Antichrist will be extinct in 1716, in 1720, or (at the latest) in 1736." Such were favourite speculations of the French refugees. A correspondent of Ralph Thoresby wrote from Petty France, Westminster, Aug. 17, 1715, (signed J. C.), "The setting aside of the French king's Will as to the most essential parts of it, and that before he was quite cold, shews that the commands of the most imperious and domineering person in the world cannot extend his *sic volo et jubeo* one moment after the breath is out of his body; that a living dog is better than a dead lion. Great events seem now not so remote as even the year 1717, when the Bishop of Worcester expects them; restoration of the religious and civil rights of France; the downfall of Rome and Popery, &c., which God grant, Amen!"

"He enjoyed," says Dr Campbell (in the *Biographia Britannica*), "a very uncommon share of health and spirits, as appears by his latest writings, in which there is not only all the erudition but all the quickness and vivacity that appeared in his earliest pieces. Those who knew him found the same pleasure in his conversation that the learned will always find in his productions; for with a prodigious share of learning he had a wonderful liveliness of temper, and expressed himself on the driest subjects with so much sprightliness, and in a manner so out of the common road, that it was impossible to flag or lose one's attention to what was the subject of his discourse. He continued his application to the last, and died at London, February 21, 1717, in the seventy-sixth year of his age, leaving behind him the reputation of a man equally assiduous in the right discharge of all the offices of public and private life, and every way as amiable for his virtues and social qualities, as venerable for his uprightness and integrity, and famous for his various and profound learning."

His will was dated 18th February 1717, and proved on the 27th by his widow Mrs. Margaret Allix; it was translated from the French by Pet. S. Eloy, N.P., and was as follows:—"I, under-written, Peter Allix, living in London, have made my will as follows:—I recommend my soul to God, the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, and I order my body to be buried privately, and without expense. I was minister of the church of Paris when, by the persecution made in France to those of the reformed religion, all the ministers were drove out of the kingdom by an Edict. I came for refuge into England with my wife and three children, where I found a happy asylum. The universities of Oxford and Cambridge did of their own accord confer on me the degree of Doctor in Divinity. I exercised the ministerial functions two years or thereabouts in London among the French refugees, until I was named Treasurer and Prebendary of Salisbury by the bishop of the diocese. I have endeavoured to edify the faithful by my ministry, my works, and my example. I bequeath to my eldest son, Peter Allix, my manuscripts, to make such use thereof as I have mentioned to him. I have always wished the

welfare of this nation, and of the Church of England, and I have sought for the opportunities of contributing thereto. I have made fervent wishes for the Act of Succession of these kingdoms of Great Britain and Ireland in the House of Hanover. I have taken part in the public joy upon the accession of King George to the crown, and to my death I will put forth my fervent prayers to God that He will please to give him a long and happy reign, and to continue the same, till time is no more, in his illustrious house. I die full of gratitude for the kindness of that good king, which he hath showed lately towards my family, in granting it a pension for its subsistence, upon the entreaty of my Lord Archbishop of Canterbury, and my Lord Bishop of Norwich. I thank these worthy prelates for having bestowed on me their generous offices, and I pray God to reward them.

"I have left the best part of my estate in France, whereof my relations have taken possession by virtue of the Edicts; and I have brought little into England. The revenue of my Prebend and Treasurership hath supplied me for to live on, to educate my family, and to be at the expense of one to copy who had been given to me to work on *The Councils*. The small remainder which I leave is not sufficient to fulfil my Marriage Articles with my wife. Therefore I leave to each of my five children only ten pounds for their mourning, and I give to my wife the remainder of my estate, after my debts, funeral expenses, and legacies paid; and I name her for my executrix and administratrix. I exhort my wife and my children to live in the fear of God, and to keep up the good union and understanding wherein they have lived till now, which is the sure and only way to bring down the blessing of heaven. This is my last will, &c., &c.

P. ALLIX."

Witnesses.—Sam. Woodcock; J. Le Clerc De Virly; R. De Boyville.

With regard to his children, his will gives their number as five, so that others must have followed after 1688, one of whom probably was Gilbert Allix, a London Merchant. The father and mother, with their sons, John, Peter, and James, were naturalized on 5th January 1688. These have been spoken of as "three sons," but the will calls Peter "my eldest son," and the editor of Evelyn names him "John-Peter." This son, known as the Rev. Peter Allix, became minister of Castle-Camps in Cambridgeshire. He was publicly created Doctor of Divinity on the occasion of the king's visit to Cambridge, on 6th October 1718, and on the 23d January 1722, he became a chaplain in ordinary to His Majesty. On the 25th April 1729 he was made Dean of the Cathedral Church of Gloucester, vacant by the resignation of Dr. John Frankland, and by the death of the same reverend Doctor, the Deanery of Ely becoming vacant, Dr. Peter Allix became Dean of Ely on the 26th October 1730. Dean Allix died in 1758, and was buried in his church of Castle-Camps. His wife was Elizabeth, niece and co-heir of Admiral Sir Charles Wager, Treasurer of the Navy, and First Lord of the Admiralty. From Dean Allix descend the families of Allix of Willoughby Hall, and Allix of Swaffham.

II. REV. ISRAEL ANTHONY AUFRÈRE, M.A.

The Rev. Israel Antoine Aufrère was a great-great-grandson and the senior representative of Pierre Aufrère, Procureur du Roi au siège-royal a Paris (*i.e.*, one of the highest law-officers of the crown of France), about the beginning of the sixteenth century. This Pierre, according to tradition, was son of the celebrated author on French law, both civil and ecclesiastical, Etienne Aufrère, President of the Parliament of Toulouse. Pierre Aufrère bought the castle and estate of Corville in Normandy, and by his wife, Claire Macetier, was the father of Antoine Aufrère, Marquis de Corville, and Procureur du Roi. In 1622 the Marquis married Catherine Le Clerc, and was the Father of another Antoine, who in his turn (in 1622) married Marie Prevôt, and was the father of the third Antoine Aufrère, Procureur du Roi, the first refugee, and father of the refugee minister.

Antoine (the third) was a zealous and intelligent Protestant. On the 11th November 1644, he married Antoinette Gervaise. His high position in Paris enabled him soon to see that the Protestants were doomed, and to foresee that exile in foreign lands would be their lot. His

business talents were useful to him in effecting from time to time the sale of all the property that he could prudently bring into the market, and remitting the proceeds to Holland ; it is said that altogether he realized £9000* sterling. He and his family made their escape to Holland soon after the Revocation, in circumstances of the greatest peril. His family consisted of his wife and two sons, Israel Antoine, and Noel Daniel ; they took up their abode in Amsterdam. On 30th April 1688 the good man of the house summoned to his bedchamber Henry Rams, Notary Public, and his visitor describes him as being “sick a-bed but of sound mind and understanding.” The notary at his dictation wrote a disposition of his estate, to be shared between his two sons, “after it shall have pleased God to retire him out of this world for to introduce him into the life eternal which he hopes to enjoy with the blessed, through the only merit of Jesus Christ his Saviour and Redeemer.” He bequeathed 1000 florins to “Jesus Christ’s poor persecuted in France for the truth of His Gospel, and to whom God hath given grace to come to glorify Him in these Provinces.” Monsieur Aufrère’s illness did not prove fatal, and on 1st July 1690 he made a will, substantially confirming the above settlement, but amending and adding to it. The preamble is as follows :—“I, Anthony Aufrère, considering the certainty of death, and the uncertainty of the time and moment of its coming, which cannot be prevented and expected too soon by every person who will lessen the surprisal and the fear of its approaches and its seizing, and put himself better by that means in a condition to think on the eternal salvation prepared for all the faithful elected for whom it was acquired and merited by the sufferings and death of Jesus Christ our divine Saviour and Redeemer to which I do aspire by the grace of my God, though I have wholly rendered myself unworthy thereof by the number and enormity of my sins, hoping through the grace and merciful bounty of that great God that he will grant me the pardon thereof according to my earnest prayers and supplications, very often re-iterated and accompanied with a sincere and serious repentance for having so much, so often, and so unworthily offended his holy and divine Majesty. Finding myself in that good disposition, and besides sound of body and mind, having escaped from a fit of sickness which it pleased God to send me two years and two months since, which was short but nevertheless dangerous,” &c. One alteration in the Will is to reduce the legacy to poor refugees to 500 florins. In neither document does he make any allusion to his wife, so that we conjecture that she died before 1688. Monsieur Aufrère lived to emigrate with his eldest son to London in 1700. To this son we return.

Israel Anthony Aufrère was born in 1677. Though only eighteen years of age when he fled from France he was not a mere follower in the train of his father, but deliberately defended his faith against the Romanists and refused to recant. He studied for the ministry in Holland, and was ordained there. On May 2d, 1700, he married Sarah Amsincq, “one of the daughters of a gentleman belonging to a family of great distinction both at the Hague and at Hamburgh, where they filled the highest posts.” This marriage connected the Aufrère family with the distinguished Dutch families of Boreel and Fagel. It is more germane to this volume to observe that it connected them with the glorious Huguenot family of Basnage. In later years we find the Rev. Mr Aufrère obligingly managing the English part of the property of Marie Basnage de Beauval, *alias* Amsincq (1752), and Susanna Basnage, *alias* Dumoulin.

* This is the estimate given in a MS. lent to me by Geo. A. Carthew, Esq. In 1688 an Inventory was made and attached to Mr Aufrère’s will, in which his property is estimated in florins :—

	Florins.
1. Six Bonds on the Treasury of Amsterdam, yielding 3 per cent. per ann.,	14,300
2. Three Bonds upon the Counter of the City of Amsterdam 4 per cent.,	11,922.10
3. Two Bonds on the East India Company of Amsterdam,	9,740
4. Debt due by Mr Barnardus Muyskens,	16,980
5. An Action in the West India Company of Amsterdam,	6,720
6. Another of the same,	6,712
7. Another—not paid,	0,000
8. Twenty bales of Pepper,	5,032.13
9. Twenty bales of Pepper (value not given),	0,000
10. Profits of speculations in merchandize by Mr Tourton, with money furnished by Mr Aufrère,	8,900

This marriage probably decided in the affirmative the question as to removing into England. Through this union of hearts and hands our king, William of Orange, may have been informed of the young divine's talents and excellence. There was also an intimacy between the Aufrères and the Robethons, James Robethon (resident in Amsterdam in 1688), having been one of the advisers named by old Mr Aufrère for his sons' interests. Among the naturalizations at Westminster, and near the end of List XXIV (dated 11th March 1700), we have the names of Anthony Aufrère and Israel Anthony Aufrère (clerk).

The date of the father's death is not known. The career of the son was highly influential. He was enrolled as an M.A. of Cambridge. As to his talents and acquirements, we are informed that he was a proficient in Greek, Latin, and Hebrew—also in German, which he spoke with ease. He understood English, but conversing chiefly with French refugees, he never attained to any tolerable pronunciation of the language of his adopted country. As to French, his native language, his composition was very pure and elegant, and in preaching he was sometimes eloquent. A manuscript memoir says that he was a preacher at the Savoy French church. He does not appear in any of Mr Burn's lists until 1727, when he was promoted to be one of the ministers of the French Chapel Royal, St. James's.

In February 1720 Mr Aufrère was appointed one of the Secretaries of the General Assembly of the French Churches of London, among whom he was a leading minister. In 1736, on occasion of the Prince of Wales's marriage, the Duke of Newcastle introduced at court Mr Aufrère and other ministers of the French Protestant refugees, to present four congratulatory addresses to the King, the Queen, the Prince, and the Princess. These addresses, written in French, were printed at full length in the Gazette, Nos. 7506 and 7508, May 1736. At a meeting of the General Assembly, 17th February 1744 (*n.s.*), Mr Aufrère reported that he had communicated with the Duke of Newcastle, venturing to assure the Government that the French refugees would be willing to make some demonstration of loyalty on the threatened invasion in favour of a Papist Pretender. On the following 22d February an address was signed, testifying, along with their loyalty, their devotion to the Protestant religion *pour laquelle ils ont souffert*, and their sense of obligation to the *illustre et genereux* nation among whom they were naturalized. An opportunity for action was given to them, which they assembled to embrace on March 7th, by the letter from the Baron of Saint-Hippolite. Besides ecclesiastical matters, other interests occupied much of Mr Aufrère's attention. He was the father of the poor of his district, and the firmest of friends. As an adviser in business matters and an executor of Wills, his generosity was in constant exercise. The Hervarts, the Robethons, the De La Mothes, the De Gastines, the Deslauriers, and many other refugee gentlemen and ladies were among the friends whom he obliged. And he had friends also among the English clergy and literati, among whom is mentioned Archdeacon Robinson of Northumberland.

In domestic life, his memory is fragrant and evergreen. He was comparatively rich; and, raised above the fear of penury, he kept up the style of a gentleman. Yet "for his children's sake he not only denied himself things suitable for his station in life, but even stripped himself for them, and for some of his grandchildren, so as to leave nothing but what was necessary for his decent maintenance. His dear wife, a woman of most exemplary virtue, was entirely of the same way of thinking, so that their frugality and economy were remarkable, and their contempt of everything that looked like show or grandeur. He built a noble house in Charles Street, St. James' Square; but on the death of his brother, who left a widow and six children destitute, he let the house for £100 *per annum*, and rented another at £40, to enable him to maintain these distressed relations.

Mr Aufrère was remarkable for the perfect health which in Providence was granted to him. At the age of eighty-six he was not sensible of any decay of nature, but the death of Mrs Aufrère in the year 1754 reminded him to make his Will, which he did. About two years after he felt a weary disinclination for public business, and we are told that, "on account of his great age," on the 21st March 1756, he resigned the books of the Chapel Royal to the Rev. James Serces. He continued to walk about London, and to read without spectacles for about two

years more. In March 1758 nature failed all at once. He revised his Will, and added a short codicil on the 23d March. He met death like one of the ancient patriarchs, calling his family around him, and giving them an edifying farewell, sending a message to his congregation, declaring that he prayed for them, and asked their prayers for himself, and sending from his bed money to the sick and the poor of the neighbourhood. He expired on the 24th March 1758, in his 91st year. I add his Will and Codicil :

JE, Soussigné me voyant âgé de 86 ans accomplis, &c.

I, the underwritten, being eighty-six years of age complete, though in perfect health of body, and of sound mind, have thought it proper to make my Will, wherein, in the first place, I return thanks to God for having caused me to be born in the Christian Church, reformed from the gross superstitions and idolatries of Popery, and when the same was cruelly persecuted in my native country, to have drawn me happily from thence, after having refused to dissemble my faith, having conducted me at the time of the highest danger, a few months after the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, and brought me into the countries of liberty, and there honoured me with the ministry of the Gospel, which I had destined myself for by my first resolutions, that I might more constantly employ my thoughts on the importance of a future life and the little worth of the present life, and in order to persuade other men, and for having accompanied me during my whole life with the protection of His divine Providence, and having caused me to enjoy, during my whole life, an uninterrupted health, notwithstanding the weakness of my constitution. I most humbly prostrate myself before Him, being sensible of my sins, which I condemn and also deplore, but whereof I hope for the remission through His infinite mercy, by the mediation of our Lord Jesus Christ, who gave Himself as a ransom for us. I entreat Him to sanctify me entirely, and to grant me a happy death, and to admit me one day, in pursuance of His promise, to the enjoyment of a better life and to an eternal felicity. I order that my body be interred with much simplicity in the churchyard of Paddington, to remain there as a deposit for the day of resurrection. As to my temporal affairs, I WILL that after my debts are paid and discharged (if there be any), that my executor, hereafter named, do dispose of my effects and estate in the following manner : First, As by the Marriage Settlement of Anthony Aufrère, my eldest son, with Susanne de Gastine, his first wife, I engaged myself to assure to him, and to the children who should be born of that marriage, the house which I caused to be built in Charles Street, in the parish of St. James, Westminster, to enjoy the same after my decease, and that of my wife, I do declare that I do confirm by these presents the said settlement. And whereas I have obtained a prolongation of the first term which was to expire in the year 1766, I give and grant to him all the said ulterior term which has been so granted to me, with all the rights thereto belonging, to him, and to his son after him. In conformity to the directions of Sarah Amsincq, my deceased wife, who by her marriage settlement had a right to dispose of the plate and household goods which should belong to me at the time of my decease, I do order that my daughter, Marianne Du Val, may have a share of that plate, to wit, two candlesticks, also a case with twelve knives and as many spoons and forks, also twelve other large knives with silver handles, pursuant to her mother's intentions ; moreover, I give to my said daughter all the household goods, linen and clothes, which shall be found in my house on the day of my decease. As to the remainder of the plate, I leave the same, to wit, a silver kettle, the porringer, and all the remainder.—I leave the same to be equally divided between the four daughters of my daughter Jane (deceased), who was married to Balthazar Regis (also deceased). I give to the two daughters of my deceased brother, Catherine and Dorothy, fifty pounds sterling, to be equally divided between them, and which shall be paid to them within three months after my decease at furthest. And I do order that all the remainder of my estate, after the payment of the above-mentioned legacies, as also whatsoever shall come in by succession, donation, or otherwise, be divided between my children or representatives into four equal portions, whereof one shall be for my son Anthony, the second for my son George, the third between the four daughters of Jane Regis, representing their mother, and lastly, the fourth for my daughter Du Val, for her and her children. I leave to my grand-

son, Philip Du Val, all the books which he shall find in my house. I give him also the watch which I caused to be made by G. Lindsay. He shall also take my sermons and other manuscripts. The gold watch was given to his sister by my wife. I give to the servant who shall be in my service, and who shall have taken care of me during my last illness until my death, besides his wages, a reward of ten pounds sterling, which shall be paid to him fifteen days after my decease. I give to my granddaughter, Catherine Potter, a leathern purse, wherein are seven guineas of divers reigns, and forty shillings of West Friesland in silver of Holland. I nominate my son, George Aufrère, to be executor of this my last Will and Testament, and I give him twenty pounds sterling for his trouble in the execution of my Will, thus done and settled to be my last Will, London, the 3d July 1754.

I. A. AUFRERE.

Signed, sealed, and delivered in the presence of John Fagg, An. Newcomb, Martha Smith.

As the things which I had promised and left by the aforesaid Will to Catherine Potter are not now in being, I leave her as an equivalent, twelve guineas. In witness whereof I have subscribed my name in London, 23 March 1758.

I. A. AUFRERE.

Proved, 20 April 1758.

III. REV. DANIEL CHAMIER.

One of the greatest men of the French Protestant Church was Daniel Chamier, Professor of Theology in the University of Montauban, who, when Louis XIII. besieged Montauban, was struck by a cannon-ball and died 17th October 1621, aged 57.

His great-grandson, Daniel Chamier, a refugee first at Neufchatel and then (from 1691 to 1698) in England, was son of Daniel and grandson of Adrien, both pasteurs of Montelimart. He was first cousin of an Antoine Chamier (who, being taken prisoner in the civil wars at the age of 28, was broken alive upon the wheel in 1683 before his father's house), and of an Adrien Chamier, another refugee who, in order to perfect his acquaintance with the English language, that he might be ordained to the ministry in the Established Church, went to Essex for a short sojourn, but died there; both of these lamented young men were sons of Jacques Chamier, Advocate and Doctor of Laws. Daniel's father was, during his own father's lifetime, the Pasteur of Beaumont, and married in 1659 Madeleine Tronchin of Geneva; his children were born at Beaumont, the eldest being Daniel, born 11th January 1661; the death of Adrien, the head of their family (aged 80), led to their removal to Montelimar in 1670. The pastoral charge had passed from father to son since the days of the famous professor; and there is still a domain named *Chamier* on the Dieu-le-Fit road, two kilometres from Montelimar. Young Daniel's manuscript, engrossed in a family register, gives a concise account of his life, beginning with his entrance upon his tenth year; I quote the concluding portion:— "In November 1685 I came to Neufchatel where I resided till 26th March 1691. There, on the 3d June 1686 I received ordination. There I was married on the 9th December 1689. I had a son there on the 22d October 1690. I set out thence with my wife, my mother, my two sisters, and my son, the 26th March 1691, and I arrived in England on the 26th May of the same year. I was forthwith associated with Messieurs Pégurier, Lions, Contet, Verchères, and Lombard, to serve their three churches, and I was received by the three consistories in June 1691. In 1691 the Walloon Church of the City of London resolved to elect a minister in room of M. Gravisset, who had asked leave to resign; the candidates were myself and M. Blanc, who was chosen by a majority, the decisive votes having been secured by M. Testas, my relative. On Wednesday, October 5th, at six P.M. my wife gave birth to a son. He was baptized on Wednesday November 9th, being presented by my cousin, Daniel Lions, and by Madame Bourdeaus, and was named Adrien, after my grandfather. M. Contet baptized him, after having preached on the words, *Notre conversation est de bourgeois des lieux* (Phil. iii. 20). In the end of 1692 my colleagues and I exerted ourselves to get a temple built, larger and better situated than the one in Glasshouse Street, and we found a site near the quarry of

Leicesterfields, where an architect erected for us an edifice 64 feet in length and 40 in breadth. We ceased to preach in the Glasshouse Street Church on Sunday, 9th April 1693, and I formally closed it. The following Saturday, Easter Eve, 15th April 1693, I officiated at the opening and the dedication of the temple of Leicesterfields, where there was a prodigious flow of people. Some months after this M. Contet died of consumption; soon after M. Contet's death M. Lombard left us without leave, to go to Holland. M. Coulan arrived from Holland in October to take the place of M. Lombard. On the day after Christmas my eldest son was seized with fever and vomiting; the fever lasted seventeen days, it was not very violent, but he was always very lethargic. On Thursday night, 11th January 1694, between nine and ten o'clock, God took him from this world, his age being three years, two months, and twenty-one days, and he having given beautiful hopes of every kind. He was handsome in person, had a tender and caressing heart, and shewed vivacity, judgment, and a good memory. In March I took up house in the neighbourhood of the quarry of Montmouth, where on the 2d April I lost my second son Adrien, who died of fits caused by teething and lasting for twenty-four hours. He was eighteen months old, and he was a very beautiful boy. In the month of May M. Coulan was elected a pastor in our three churches, and we reduced the number of our pastors to five; but the last comer did not survive long: he preached on Sunday morning, 9th September, and died on the Thursday following of a very slight fever, which gave no indication of the approach of death. In his place we chose M.M. Rival and Lamothe of Guienne, who were elected by the three consistories on Monday, 24th September. On Sunday 14th October, between 1 and 2 P.M., my wife gave birth to a daughter; she was baptized on Thursday the 25th, and was presented for baptism by M. Pierre De Malacare and Madame Jeanne Crommelin, and Madelaine Chamier my sister; she was named Jeanne Madelaine. On Monday, 21st November 1696, God gave me a son, born at half-past eight A.M., named Daniel, presented by M. Testas and Mademoiselle Lions."

The Rev. Daniel Chamier's wife was a daughter of Pasteur Huet of Neufchatel. His sisters were Madeleine Chamier (*born* 16th Nov. 1662, *died* in London 19th March 1745) and Jeanne Chamier (*born* 26th Aug. 1667, *died* in Edinburgh 7th March 1729). Madeleine wrote a brief history of the family, addressed to her brother's eldest surviving son, Daniel Chamier, Esq.; in it she says:—

"Your father, my dear nephew, married in 1689 Mademoiselle Huet, daughter of a minister of the gospel, a man of superior mind and sought after by all the able men of his time. From this marriage sprang a son, *born* 22nd Oct. 1690, who was presented for baptism by M. Osterwold, a worthy pastor of Neufchatel, and by M. Chambrier (banneret) and Madame Sudre, the godmothers were Madame Saudot and Mademoiselle de Montmollin. On the 21st May 1691 my eldest brother and his wife, with my mother, my sister, and me, and my little nephew (who was only a few months old and died at the age of three years) took refuge in England to escape the persecution of the Protestants at the period of the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes. My brother, Daniel, had several more children, a son named Adrien, a daughter named Madeleine (those two died very young); in 1696 a son named Daniel (who is yourself, my dear nephew); in 1697 a son named John; in 1698 another son named Robert, who came into the world some months after the death of his father—a mournful event which had occurred on the 15th July 1698.

"That was the day your father died of a malignant fever. He had great sweatings. His brain was attacked, but he spoke of nothing but good things during his illness, which lasted fifteen days. All the world regretted him; there were fully a thousand persons at his funeral, and his memory is blessed yet. On the day of his seizure he preached at the Calvinist Church of Leicesterfields, which he himself had consecrated, and of which he was minister. His text was Psalm xxxii. 6. He preached with much power, saying that a sinner should not delay to seek God till the day of adversity or the end of his life; that we knew not at what time God would summon us—*perhaps* (he added) *among those now hearing me there are some who are soon to die—perhaps I who am speaking shall be of that number.* After the service, he received

the judicial declaration of contrition from seven persons who had professed in France to be New Catholics. He then visited a sick man with whom he prayed: it would seem that he was infected by this man, as both died of the same fever. His mother conversed with him to the last moment with great fortitude and piety, keeping herself up during that great affliction with much resolution, for very tenderly did she love her son. This dear mother, on the 2nd Dec. 1708, was attacked with inflammation of the lungs, which passed into a kind of dropsy. God took her to Himself, after great suffering, on Friday, 14th January 1709. God grant that we may profit by her good example and exhortations. She was buried in the same place as my late father in the parish of St James's, London, on the 17th January. The pall was borne by six ministers."

The Rev. Daniel Chamier died at the early age of 37. Quick says that he was a young man of rare parts and that he adorned his name and family.

* * The above biography is abridged from (1) *Memoir of Daniel Chamier*, London, 1852; and from (2) *Daniel Chamier*, avec de nombreux documents, per Charles Read, Paris, 1858; from which books and from other sources I have to compile an account of the Refugee Family of Chamier in another chapter.

IV. REV. CHARLES DAUBUZ, M.A.

THE surname of D'Aubus, or Daubuz, was taken from the Seigneurie of Aubus in Poitou. Records of the honours and noble alliances of the ancient Seigneurs are abundant; but we begin with a branch of the family at Auxerre, the head of which was Charles D'Aubus (*born* 1550, *died* 1639). He seems to have spent his life at Nerac, probably as a pasteur, and to have been succeeded in the pastoral charge by a son and grandson. Charles (sen.) published, in 1626, a tractate against the Capuchins, especially as begging friars; and his son Charles (jun.), who was born about 1600, also was an author. The grandson was Isaye, born in 1637, pasteur at Nerac, and his wife's Christian name was Julie. He was happy in having powerful friends at court, and he accordingly obtained the king's permission to sell his property and to retire to England with his family.

The following is a translation of the royal permit, the original of which is still in the possession of one of his descendants; it is signed by Louis XIV. and by the younger Colbert (Marquis de Seignelay):—

"To-day, the second day of July 1685, the king being at Versailles, and taking into consideration the very humble petition made to him by Isaye D'Aubus, heretofore minister of the Pretended Reformed Religion at Nerac, praying leave to retire into England with his wife and four children, and to sell all their property in France, His Majesty is graciously pleased to grant them his permission to that effect, and in virtue of this his decree releases them from the rigour or penalty of any of his Ordonnances to the contrary. To which it is His Majesty's pleasure to affix his own signature, and at his command this is countersigned by me his Councillor and Secretary of State and of his Commandments and Finances."

The emigrants took their departure accordingly, but the father died on the road between Paris and Calais, aged 48. Madame D'Aubus thus arrived in England as a widow with her fatherless children. These children, according to my information, were three sons and one daughter—this daughter lived to marry Monsieur La Roche, who took the name of Porter, and she was the mother of Sir James Porter, Ambassador at Vienna; the youngest son was named Louis; but we are concerned with Charles, the eldest (or eldest surviving) son.

Charles Daubuz was born in the Province of Guienne in 1674, and was thus a refugee at the age of eleven. From his birth he was destined for the Christian ministry, and Providence placed him in the Church of England. He studied at St John's College, Cambridge; he took his B.A. degree in 1693, and in that year became librarian to the University. His early love of learning was perhaps fostered by the refugee divine and author, De la Mothe, as we

find that he married one of the connections of that family, Anne Philota, daughter of Philippe Guide, M.D. In 1699 he was presented by the Dean and Chapter of York to the Vicarage of Brotherton, in Yorkshire, and the same year he took the degree of M.A. He was remarkable for his scholarship and Biblical learning, and also for his piety and benevolence. He died on the 14th June 1717, and a tablet to his memory remains in Brotherton Church. The English families of Daubuz descend from his son Theophilus. The Rev. Charles Daubuz left in manuscript a magnificent commentary on the Apocalypse, which was published in 1720; it is entitled "A Perpetual Commentary on the Revelation of St John," and extends to 1068 closely-printed folio pages. Upon it have been founded all the modern Dictionaries of Prophetic Symbols. It is a valuable book of reference, if studied by the help of an analysis, published in 1730, whose title page is an abridgement of the folio title page, containing Mr Daubuz's name as author, and adding that the new edition is "new modell'd, abridg'd and render'd plain to the meanest capacity by Peter Lancaster, A.M., Vicar of Bowden, in Cheshire;" the abridgement occupies 630 quarto pages.

V. THE TWO BROTHERS DE L'ANGLE.

The two brothers De L'Angle were the sons of the Pasteur Jean Maximilien De L'Angle of Rouen; the family title was Seigneur De L'Angle; their French surname was De Baux. The father of the refugees was one of the letter-writers of 1660 in favour of King Charles II., but otherwise his public life was most serviceable and distinguished. He was born at Evreux in 1590, was settled at Rouen in 1615, where he died in 1674. He had married in 1619 Marie, daughter of René Bochart, Sieur de Menillet, and sister of Samuel Bochart. He left two sons, Samuel and John Maximilian.

Samuel de L'Angle was named after his erudite uncle. He was born in 1622, and in 1647 he became colleague to his father at Rouen. He became a pasteur of Charenton in 1671, where he remained for eleven years, and then retired to England, when Anthony Wood introduces him to us in the *Fasti* of Oxford University, thus:—

1682-3. Feb. 12. Samuel De L'Angle was created D.D. without paying any fees by virtue of the Chancellor's letters written in his behalf, which partly run thus:—"Mr Samuel de Langle, minister of the Reformed Church at Paris, is retired into England with his whole family, with intentions to live here the remainder of his time; . . . he hath exercised his function 35 years, partly at Rouen, and partly at Paris; . . . he is only M.A., which the Protestant Divines usually take, and no farther;" &c. When he was conducted into the House of Convocation by a beadle and the King's Professor of Divinity, all the Masters stood up in reverence to him. When the Professor presented him, he did it with a harangue; which being done, Mr De Langle took his place among the Doctors, and spoke a polite oration containing thanks for the honour that the most famous University of Oxford had conferred upon him. He had been preacher of the chief Church of the Reformed religion in France, called Charenton, near Paris, and was afterwards made Prebendary of Westminster. He died in 1693 (aged 71).

He was installed Prebendary of Westminster, 13th Oct. 1683. At the Coronation of William and Mary, when the Dean and Prebendaries brought the Regalia to Westminster Hall, in solemn procession, Dr De L'Angle carried the King's sceptre with the cross. He died at his prebendal house on the 17th June 1693, and was buried on the 21st. In the register he is called also Parson of Steventon in Bucks. His eldest son was the Rev. Maximilian De L'Angle (born 1666) M.A., of Christ Church, Oxford, in 1694. His second son Peter wrote his will, the testator's brother, Dr John Maximilian De L'Angle, being present. It was signed 13th June, and proved 2d July 1693. The effects consisted only of 'what shall be found of money and medals,' and of his 'plate,' which was to be sold. The contingencies were, 'if anything be gott of my lawsuite which I have against Mr Lewson and my estate in France.'

He left to his daughter *Fany* a diamond ring and his 'Chagrin Psalmes with golden clasps;' and to his daughter Nanny, his dear wife's "necklesse of pearles."

The Rev. John Maximilian De L'Angle, younger brother of the Prebendary, was born in France about 1640. He and his wife Geneviève were naturalized in England in 1681, but he must have come over at an earlier date; for it is stated that John Maximilian De L'Angle, S.T.P., was installed Canon of Canterbury on the 27th July 1678; he had the degree of D.D., probably from a foreign university, perhaps from the Archbishop of Canterbury. In England, he was also Minister of the French Church in the Savoy, and Rector of Chartham in Kent. He soon signalized himself by very solemnly and indignantly rebuking Dr Louis Du Moulin for having become an advocate of the Independents' theory of Church Government, and for having disparaged and scandalized the Church of England. Du Moulin rejoined in a pamphlet of some force and candour; he also attacked Canon De L'Angle as a pluralist; and he made some personal remarks, which he afterwards retracted. De L'Angle said that he had spoken plainly to him as "a near kinsman." *Perrault* discloses that the relationship was through De L'Angle's mother, sister of Samuel Bochart, who was the son of René Bochart, Pasteur of Rouen, by Esther, daughter of the great Pierre Du Moulin, Pasteur of Charenton. After this controversy, Dr De L'Angle spent a long and quiet life. He died on the 11th (or 14th) Nov. 1724, in his 85th year, in Chartham Rectory, and was buried in the Church. In his Will he employed the business talents of his nephew Peter, whose daughter is mentioned. His own wife "Genevova" survived him. He had an only son, Theophilus, whose wife was Elizabeth, daughter of Rev. Merrick Head, D.D., third son of Sir Richard Head, Bart., by Elizabeth, daughter and co-heir of Alderman Merrick of Rochester. They had three sons, Theophilus, Merrick, and William. The second son appears in Dec. 1748 as Captain Merrick De L'Angle, Royal Navy, Commander of the *Devonshire* (80 guns). The eldest of the three was the Rev. Theophilus De L'Angle, Vicar of Tenterden, Rector of Shargate, and minister of Goodnestone, all in the County of Kent. At his death he left a widow and a son. Mrs Theophilus De L'Angle lived till 1782, and her son, with whom she spent her widowhood, is the last of the family whom I can discover. He was the Rev. John Maximilian De L'Angle, M.A., Rector of Danbury and Woodham Ferrers, and minister of Goodnestone, who died at Danbury (Essex) on the 30th May 1783.

VI. DEAN DRELCOURT.

This dignified and munificent clergyman was the son of the famous Charles Drelincourt, Pasteur of Charenton; his grandfather was Pierre Drelincourt, a Protestant native of Caen, who fled for refuge to Sedan. As to the dean's grandfather, if it be true, it is no disparagement to him that he was a humble tradesman, either a shoemaker or a soap-boiler. This his adversaries proclaimed as a taunt; it at any rate embodied an admission that their information was not at all precise. It is certain that he discharged with credit the office of secretary in the court of the Duc de Bouillon. Charles, his only child was renounced for his publication, "Consolations de l'ame fidelle contre les terreurs de la mort;" but he was the author of forty other works, some of them displaying solid learning, which occasioned the anagram on his name:—

CHARLES DRELCOURT—CHER TRESOR DE CALVIN.

He was born at Sedan the 10th July 1595, and died at Paris the 3d November 1669. He had sixteen children, of whom five sons and one daughter survived him. The fifth surviving son was Pierre, who came to England in order to study for the Established Church, and his first preferment was that of chaplain to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, the Duke of Ormond, who brought him from England. Dublin University presented him with his degrees of M.A. in 1681, and of LL.D. in 1691. According to his monument, he left France out of love to the Anglican Church, and not on account of misfortune, and he viewed England not as an

asylum, but as his native country. He nevertheless fraternized with the refugees ; and his only original publication was a quarto pamphlet of eight pages entitled, "A Speech made to his Grace the Duke of Ormond, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, and to the Lords of His Majesties most honourable Privy Council, to return the humble thanks of the French Protestants lately arrived in this kingdom, and graciously relieved by them, published by special command. Dublin 1682." He employed the Rev. Marius D'Assigny, B.D., to translate into English his father's book, "The Christian's Defence against the fears of death." Dr Drelin-court was Precentor of Christ Church, Dublin, and incumbent of St Dulough's till his death. From 1683 to 1691 he was Archdeacon of Leighlin, from 1691 till his death rector and Dean of Armagh. His wife was probably a Welsh heiress, at all events he had a good estate in Wales. He spent most of his latter years in London, where he died on the 7th March 1722 (a quarterly periodical named *The Historical Register* says *March 15th*), his age was 76. A magnificent monument to his memory, executed by Rysbrack, stands in the Armagh cathedral. He was very generous with his money during his lifetime, beautifying the cathedral, building a church at St Dulough's, and founding an educational hospital for boys in Dublin. In his will he left £500 to the French Church in Dublin, £700 for a charity school in Wales, £800 to the blue boys' hospital of Dublin, and £1000 for charitable and pious uses either in Armagh or in Clonfeckle, and £2000 for his own or his wife's relations, at her discretion, but this £5000 was to be disposed of as above, only if his daughter married without her mother's consent. This daughter, their only child Anne, was married on 21st June 1739 to Lieut.-Colonel Hugh, third and last Viscount Primrose. Both charity and wedlock seem to have been pleasingly arranged ; the school in Armagh, called the Drelin-court Charity, was founded in 1732 by the dean's widow, Mrs Mary Drelin-court ; she also founded a chapel and school, named Berse-Drelin-court, in the parish of Wrexham in Wales, which subsists upon the income of a landed estate now yielding about £500 per annum, which she dedicated to the double object. Who was this Mary ? and when did she die ? are questions still unanswered. Viscount Primrose died at Wrexham on 8th May 1741 in his 39th year. Anne, Viscountess Primrose, died in London on 3d February 1775. Her Will leaves her freehold lands in Denbighshire, &c., to Thomas, Lord Dartrey, and to his son the Hon. Richard Dawson and their heirs, whom failing to the daughter or daughters of the Hon. Elizabeth Perry, wife of the Right Hon. Edmund Sexton Perry. (The above Lord Dartrey leaving no surviving issue, Lady Primrose's heiresses must have been the two daughters of Viscount Pery, Diana, Countess of Ranfurly, and Frances, wife of Nicholson Calvert, M.P.) Among other legacies she left to Charlotte Elizabeth De Laval £400, and to Daniel De Laval £400, to the French Hospital £100, to the French Charity School in Court Road £50, "I give to the Honourable and Right Reverend his Grace the Archbishop of York, Doctor Robert Drummond £200, as a small mark of my friendship and gratitude to him ;" "I give to my friend Mrs Dorothy Johnson my father and mother's pictures ;" I give £200 Irish, for the marrying, or settling in any way of business, four young women, those of Armagh or of French extraction to have the preference." The Will and Codicil are signed, A. PRIMEROSE.

VI. SIX REVEREND DUBOURDIEUS.

A seventh Rev. Du Bourdieu founded an eminent Irish family, of whom I shall speak in a subsequent chapter on Families. Six refugees in England must be memorialized here, viz., the Rev. Isaac Du Bourdieu, with his son, three grandsons, and one great-grandson. In the king's letter, dated 24th Aug. 1684, and in the Patent Roll of 21th Jan. 1685, Isaac Du Bourdieu ; also John Du Bourdieu ; Margaret, *his wife* ; Peter, Isaac, Armand, Gabriel, John-Armand, John-Louis, and James, *their sons* ; and Margaret, *their daughter*, — were naturalized. [Anne and Elizabeth remained in France.]

(1). *The Rev Isaac Dubourdieu* was born about 1597. He was senior pastor of Montpellier, but persecuting laws condemned both him and his church. Mr Baynes (*Life of*

Brousson, p. 219), says, "Upon judgment being given against Du Bourdieu, sen., by the parliament of Toulouse in 1682, he absconded and repaired to London. In 1688 an author writes (*Apologie des Refugiés*, pp. 98-100), Among ministers, the good man M. Du Bourdieu, the father, holds a primary rank. You know that he was one of the best heads of our French presbytery. What he was in Montpellier, that he is in London—wise, laborious, and entirely devoted to the welfare of the Refugee church, which he instructs by his frequent preaching." In 1684 was published "A Discourse of Obedience unto Kings and Magistrates upon the Anniversary of His Majesties Birth and Restauration. By Isaac Du Bourdieu, D.D., one of the ministers of the French church in the Savoy, the 29th May, 1684." The English translation was dedicated to Henry Savile. An Appendix contains lists of names, &c., connected with the persecutions in France. One outrage was the demolition of the author's church. On that event two rival epigrams (translated by Isaac Watts, D.D.) were written. First, a Jesuit sang :—

" A Hug'nots' Temple, at Montpellier built,
Stood, and proclaimed their madness and their guilt;
Too long it stood beneath heav'n's angry frown,
Worthy, when rising, to be thundered down.
Louis, at last, the avenger of the skies,
Commands, and level with the ground it lies.
The stones dispersed, a wretched offspring come,
Gather, and heap them on their fathers' tomb.
Thus a curs'd house falls on the builder's head.
Although beneath the ground their bones are laid,
Yet the just vengeance still pursues the guilty dead."

A French Protestant replied :—

" A Christian Church once at Montpellier stood,
And nobly spoke the builders' zeal for God.
It stood, the envy of the fierce dragoon,
And not deserved to be removed so soon.
Yet Louis, the vile tyrant of the age,
Tears down the walls, doom'd by malignant rage.
Young faithful hands pile up the sacred stones
(Dear monument!) over their fathers' bones.
The stones shall move when the dead fathers rise,
Start up before the pale destroyer's eyes,
And testify his madness to th' avenging skies."

It was of Dr Isaac Du Bourdieu that Quick wrote in 1692 : "This reverend and ancient servant of the Lord Jesus resides in London, and preacheth, though 95 years old." At last he died, and was buried within the Savoy chapel.

(2). *The Rev. John Du Bourdieu*, son of Isaac, and also styled, on his portrait, *Docteur en Theologie*, was born about 1642. He was his father's colleague at Montpellier. Cardinal de Bony had great hopes of obtaining his abjuration, partly through intimidation, and specially through the influence of some relations or bosom friends. His eminence asked for and received from the French government a *lettre de cachet*, containing an order for the imprisonment or banishment of Du Bourdieu, le fils. The coveted divine was immovable, and was allowed to remain at his post in the Reformed Church till the Revocation. He then retired to England, and was followed by many of his flock, who increased the numbers of the London Savoy congregation.

He was chaplain to the three Dukes of Schomberg successively. He was at the old Duke's side when he fell at the battle of the Boyne. He accompanied Duke Charles to Turin. During the irruption into France, when about two hundred native Protestants left France under the Duke's protection, Du Bourdieu was the minister before whom they recanted the abjurations of their faith previously extorted from them. At his instigation Dr

Lloyd, Bishop of St. Asaph, espoused the cause of the Waldenses. When the Duke of Schomberg breathed his last at Turin, the good chaplain was with him, and undertook the burial of his honoured remains at Lausanne, and embalmed his heart, which in 1696 he brought to England.

As a resident in England, he avoided domestic politics, and declared his motto to be, *Exul! tace*. But he wrote, preached, and published much. Before his exile he published a sermon preached at Montpellier, entitled, "The Blessed Virgin's Opinion regarding what all Generations should say of her;" also a Brief Correspondence with Bishop Bossuet. He wrote the Duke of Schomberg's manifesto to the French people, on his irruption into France, dated at Embrun, 29th Aug. 1692. At Turin, within the church of the Jesuits, on 20th January 1693, he witnessed the idolatrous worship paid to the Thebean soldiers, Solor, Adventor, and Octavius, the patron saints of Turin. This was the occasion of his writing and publishing "An Historical Dissertation upon the Thebean Legion, plainly proving it to be Fabulous." He also published a Funeral Sermon on Queen Mary, entitled, "Sermon prononcé la veille des Funerailles de la Reine," 1695. To him is also attributed the sermon preached at Chelmsford Assizes, published in 1714 (but not having seen it, I can say no more). Neither am I sure whether to attribute to him or to his son the anonymous work entitled, "Comparison of the Penal Laws of France against Protestants with those of England against Papists, with an Account of the Persecution of the Protestants abroad, by J. D., a clergyman of the Church of England," 1717. Dr John Du Bourdieu died in the parish of St. Martin's-in-the-Fields, London, on the 26th July, 1720, aged 78. The Historical Register for 1720 calls him "a celebrated preacher among the French Refugees."

(3.) *The Rev. Peter Du Bourdieu* was the eldest son of Dr John. In 1707 he was chaplain of Townshend's Regiment. In 1718, when his father made his will, he was a Yorkshire rector. The testator calls him "my eldest son Peter Du Bourdieu, Rector of Kirby-over-Carr, in Yorkshire." (That parish is now called Kirkby-Misperton.)

(4.) *The Rev. Armand Du Bourdieu*. He also is mentioned in his father's will. He was Vicar of Sawbridgeworth in Hertfordshire; he was collated to that vicarage on 27th April, 1716, and died 25th August, 1733; his wife Elizabeth predeceased him on 15th April, 1724, aged 21; she was buried underneath the sacarium, and he was laid beside her. He left six sons, John, Jacob, Isaac, Armand, Peter, and Charles; and two daughters, Elizabeth and Emma. John is the great-grandson of Dr Isaac Du Bourdieu, who is to occupy a place (No. 6) in this section.

(5.) *The Rev. John Armand Du Bourdieu*, after his mother's death, seems with his wife and family to have resided with his father, Dr John Du Bourdieu; with him he was associated as a preacher in the Savoy Chapel. He was probably altogether an English collegian; and this would account for his lack of reverence for Louis XIV., of whom the older refugees spoke with melancholy awe and romantic regard. Being the genius of his family, he attracted the attention of the Duke of Devonshire who made him his chaplain, and in 1701 presented him to the Rectory of Sawtrej-Moynes (now called Sawtrej-All-Saints) in Huntingdonshire. On the fly-leaf of the old Parish Register it is stated in Latin that to Richard Morgan, in 1701, succeeded *Johannes Armandus Duboundieu, Monspelliens: Gallus, et Ecclesiæ Gallo-Sabaudiens: apud Londinenses Pastor*. This church, during Du Bourdieu's incumbency, was served by his curate, the Rev. W. Corke, who afterwards succeeded him in the benefice. Mr John Armand Du Bourdieu's wife was called Esther, as is noted in the register of the burial of a daughter on 21st May 1705 at Hammersmith. He printed a number of sermons and pamphlets; I make a note of those which I have seen; bibliographers having confused father and son, and having attributed the writings of both *en masse* to one ideal person whom they name *John*.

He preached in 1707 a sermon on Ex. ix. 16, in which he was supposed to allude to Louis XIV. as a Pharaoh to the oppressed Protestants of France. This discourse was published, and the consequence was that he had the honour to be singled out by the French king, at the time of the Peace of Utrecht, as the one victim whose punishment would soothe his chagrin on

being prevailed upon to release so many Protestant slaves from the galleys. Mr Prior wrote to Lord Bolingbroke that the king of France desired that young Du Bourdieu might be punished. Bolingbroke communicated with the Queen, who answered to the effect, that "that was none of her business, but the Bishop of London's." The French Ambassador, Le Duc d'Aumont presented a written memorial to Her Majesty, who formally referred it to the Bishop. On the 17th May 1713 the pastor received a summons, which he cheerfully obeyed, the French Savoy Church being under the jurisdiction of the metropolitan Bishop; and on the 19th, accompanied by four elders, he went to Fulham Palace, and the Bishop showed him the memorial, which was as follows:—

"Whatever reason the King may have hitherto had, not to abate his just severity against those of his subjects who have been condemned to the galleys for contravening his orders in matters of religion, His Majesty, nevertheless, in consideration of the Queen of Great Britain, has given his orders to release the least guilty, and to let them enjoy the grace from which they were more and more excluded by the conduct of the refugees, and particularly of their ministers, towards His Majesty. They made the punishment of some private persons the concern of the whole body, and Her Britannic Majesty, moved by their clamours and their representations, was pleased to intercede in their behalf with the King; but they will certainly render themselves unworthy of that favour which she has procured for them, if they continue to talk with so little regard of a Prince to whom they owe profound respects. But what appearance is there of keeping them in duty, if those very persons, whose position obliges them to give others an example of moderation, launch out even in public into passionate and injurious discourses, and (if one may say so) into blasphemies? It is a matter of importance to inflict an exemplary punishment on those who have abused the ministry of the pulpit, to disperse their malice, bitterness, and animosity against the King. Whereas nobody has expressed himself with more rage and scandal than Mr Armand du Bourdieu, Minister of the Church of the Savoy, whose whole religion is reduced into declamations against France and against the person of the King (he thinking by that means to gain the esteem of parties and to conceal his scandalous life)—and forasmuch as such a turbulent temper as his, being a man moved by the spirit of party and faction, cannot but be disagreeable to the Queen, to the consistory, and to the nation, who have already set a mark upon him,—*therefore* the punishment of Armand du Bourdieu is the only thing that Monsieur le Duc d'Aumont takes the liberty to demand from Her Britannic Majesty. At a time when the King, out of his sole complaisance for Her Majesty, is induced to give his subjects the marks of such extraordinary clemency, it is right that she should suppress calumny and irreligion, covered with the mask of apostolic zeal, and should, by the punishment of one man only, impose silence on others as to the sacred person of a Prince so strictly united to Her Britannic Majesty by the ties of blood."

The pastor and elders examined the memorial, and after Mr Pujolas had read it, the Bishop asked Mr Du Bourdieu, "What he had to say to it?" He answered, "That, the memorial containing only general complaints, he had nothing to say, except that during the war he had, after the example of several prelates and clergymen of the Church of England, freely preached against the common enemy and persecutor of the Church; and, the greatest part of his sermons being printed with his name affixed, he was far from disowning them; but since the proclamation of the Peace he had not said anything that did in the least regard the person of the French King." The Bishop made him repeat the words, "since the proclamation of the Peace," and asked the elders, "Is that true?" They answered, "It is, my Lord." The Bishop said that he would make his report to the Queen. Mr Du Bourdieu requested that a copy of the memorial might be granted to him, and the Bishop promptly complied. The memorial, with an account of the interview with the Bishop, was printed both in French and English. No further steps were taken.

The sermon most calculated to offend Louis XIV. was one entitled, "The Silence of the Believer in Affliction," which was printed both in French and English. The following is the title of the French edition:—"La Silence du Fidelle dans l'Affliction, ou Sermon sur le

Pseaume xxxix. 9 prononcé dans la Chapelle des Grecs le Dimanche de la Trinité 1712, à l'occasion de la Persecution renouvelée en France, avec un ample preface pour la justification du Sermon." The preface extended to 112 pages. On the occasion of the Scotch Rebellion, he took occasion to expose the dogmata of Dr Sacheverell and the Jacobites, in a sermon preached on 7th June 1716, on the day of thanksgiving for the success of our arms:—"La Faction de la Grande Bretagne caractérisée et confondue—sur ces paroles de St Paul, 2 Cor. xi. 26, *En périls entre faux frères*, ou l'on refute ce qu'il y a d'essentiel dans le Discours du Docteur S—l sur ces mêmes paroles." In 1718 (says Baynes) he published, "An appeal to the British Nation, or the French Protestants, and the Honest Proselytes [from Romanism], vindicated from the calumnies of Malard and his associates; with an account of the state of the French Churches in this Kingdom." His last printed sermon was on an occasion of the King having returned from Hanover, Du Bourdieu thought it expedient to hint to the English that the refugees could observe their prejudices and the fickleness of their hospitable resolves. The sermon is entitled:—"MEPHIBOSETH, ou le caractère d'un bon sujet—sermon sur 2 Sam. xix. 30, prononcé le 5 Janvier 1724 (N.S.), sur le retour du Roi de la Grande Bretagne dans son royaume et dans son palais." I translate the following sentence which provoked many remarks (as doubtless the preacher intended that it should):—"But if (which God the Protector of the afflicted will never permit) necessity should force the Prince to suspend payment of the Royal Bounty, beware of murmuring at that. Remember that the love of religion commands you to prefer the conservation and prosperity of that august House to your own subsistence—to life itself; and say with Mephiboseth, *Let them take all, forasmuch as my lord the king is come again in peace to his own house.*"

The death of this Divine occurred in the latter part of the year 1726, soon after which his curate succeeded to the Rectory of Sawtre Moynes. From the proceedings in the Court of Probate on 11th July 1727, it appears that at the time of his death he was a widower, and that he left one son, Samuel, and two daughters, Margaretta-Henrietta, and Esther. These children having declined to take themselves heirs to his estate, a commission was granted to Peter Quantiteau, the principal creditor of John Armand Dubourdieu, late of the Parish of St Martin's-in-the-Fields.

(6.) *The Rev. John Dubourdieu*, great-grandson of Dr Isaac, is mentioned in his grandfather's (Dr John's) Will. "I give to my grandson John Dubourdieu, son of Armand, all my books and all my papers, which shall not be delivered to him till he shall be a minister; and in case he should embrace another profession, I give them to the first of my grandsons who shall be a minister." John was the eldest son of the Vicar of Sawbridgeworth; he proved his father's Will as executor on 17th Oct. 1733; the following clause applied to himself, "I give and bequeath to my eldest son, John Dubourdieu, clerk, all my manuscript papers." He succeeded his father as Vicar of Sawbridgeworth, being collated 28th August 1734. This living he resigned, at what date is not known; it may have been before 1745, if he be the clergyman who re-appears in Darling's *Cyclopedia Bibliographica* as John Dubourdieu, M.A., Vicar of Layton, Lecturer of Hackney, Author of a "Sermon on 2 Samuel xv. 21, on the present Rebellion," 4to, London, 1745. It was not, however, till 1752 that his successor was collated at Sawbridgeworth.

Chapter XXX.

GROUPS OF REFUGEES.—(1.) LADIES. (2.) OFFICERS. (3.) MEDICAL MEN.
(4.) CLERGY. (5.) MERCHANTS.

(1.) LADIES.

ESTHER DE LA TOUR, daughter of Charles, Marquis de Gouvernet, “a gentleman of a very ancient family, and a most plentiful fortune in Dauphine,” was married in 1684 to the Baron Eland, son of the Earl (afterwards Marquis) of Halifax. She was introduced to the Earl’s notice by his brother Henry Savile, in a letter dated Paris, 25th Feb. 1680:—“My great assiduity at Charenton has gained me a general acquaintance and kindness amongst the Huguenots; and as generally the women are most pleased with such a proceeding, I have got into the friendship of the gravest. They all think themselves unhappy by being of a persuasion different from the Government, apprehending daily greater calamities than they yet lie under, that most of them are disposed to marry their children rather into England and Holland than in France. Amongst this number there is one who will give 200,000 crowns down, paid in London and in English crowns, viz., £25,000, with a very pretty daughter as modestly bred as I have ever seen.”

Lady Eland became a widow in 1688, succeeding by will to all her husband’s property. The received date of her death is 26th May 1694, her 28th year.* It was on 23d Sept. 1698 that her mother administered to her estate. The Marquis de Gouvernet, son of the former Marquis by Madelaine de Vignolles, was a firm Protestant; but he died before the Revocation. His widow (née Esther Hervart) was in 1685 permitted to join Lady Eland in England, on condition of her leaving her other children in France. The Marquise de Gouvernet was naturalized by Royal Letters Patent, dated 16th January 1691; she was Baron Hervart’s sister; her mother, Mrs Esther Hervart, was also a refugee, and at her death was buried in Westminster Abbey, on 7th Dec. 1697. The Marquise was an influential member of London society; she died 4th July 1722, aged 86, and was buried in the same vault as her mother and daughter. Her Will was dated 20th Oct. 1718; she described herself “now dwelling, as I have, for above thirty years last past in my own house in St James’s Square in the Liberty of Westminster.” She left an immense quantity of china, jewels, furniture, and pictures, both French and English (including the Savile Portraits) to her grandson, Charles de la Tour, Marquis de Gouvernet, her heir. She also remembers her surviving children, John Frederick de la Tour de Gouvernet and the Countess of Verville. She mentions her grand-daughters, sisters of the young Marquis, Frances Emelia (married to the Marquis de Monsales), Jane Angelica, and Emelia Margaret Esther. She also left £600 to the French Hospital, and 200 guineas in gold to my Lady Cowper, wife of the Right Honourable William Lord Cowper, formerly Chancellor of Great Britain.” The Earl Cowper proved the Will on 3d August 1722.

Henri de Dibon was a Huguenot refugee in England; he had a son Henri who married, but he survived both his son and his son’s wife, and at his death his sole representative was Margaret, who married a clergyman, and was in her turn represented by her only daughter Anne, Mrs Faber, mother of the uncommonly erudite, valuable, and valiant religious author, Rev. Geo. Stanley Faber, B.D. (born 1773, died 1851). Within the old French Bible handed down to him by his maternal ancestors, and now the property of Charles Waring Faber, Esq., Barrister-at-law, the Rev. G. S. Faber wrote in 1834 what follows:—“This Bible once belonged to M. de Dibon, a Huguenot gentleman, whose family estate and residence were situated in the Isle of France. At the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes in the year 1685, M. de Dibon

* Colonel Chester’s MSS.

was arrested by order of Louis XIV ; and on his firm refusal to abandon the religion of his ancestors, his whole property was confiscated, and he himself was thrown into prison. Before the arrival of the dragoons at his residence, he had time sufficient to bury this his Family Bible within a chest in his garden. Here he left it, in hopes of some day recovering what he esteemed his best treasure. While in confinement, he was frequently tortured by the application of fire to wreaths of straw, which were fastened round his legs ; but through the grace of God, he was enabled to persevere in making a good confession. This particular torture was specially resorted to, in consequence of his being a sufferer from the gout. He at length effected his escape ; but, ere he quitted his native land for ever, he had the resolution to revisit the estate of his forefathers, now no longer his, for the purpose of recovering his Bible. This he accomplished ; and with the Word of God in his hand, an impoverished exile, he finally reached England in the reign of William III. of glorious memory. It was the will of heaven that he should survive his only son and daughter-in-law, who left behind them an only child Margaret, born A.D. 1720. In consequence of the early death of both her parents, Margaret de Dibon received her education from her pious grandfather and grandmother, who, having sacrificed everything for their religion, were thence proportionately anxious to inculcate its great saving truths on the mind of their grand-daughter. Nor was their labour useless ; for, through many trials and privations, Margaret, ever shewed herself the faithful descendant of a faithful ancestry. At the age of 24 years, in the year 1744, she became the wife of the Rev. David Traviss, only son of William Traviss, Esq. of Darton, in the County of York, Vicar of Snape, &c. The offspring of this marriage was—1st, Anne, born A.D. 1745, and married A.D. 1772, to the Rev. Thomas Faber, A.M., Vicar of Calverley ;” [2d, Caroline, Mrs Buck ; 3d, William (died without issue)].

Jane Guill was the daughter and heir of Monsieur George Guill, a French Protestant, proprietor of “ noble estate in Tours in France.” Her family became refugees in Britain, and she was married, first, to Mr Francis Barckstead, and, secondly, in 1701, to the Rev. Daniel Williams, D.D. The father wrote a memorandum within his family Bible as follows :—“ On Thursday, October 11, 1685 (French style), we set out from Tours, and came to Paris on Monday the 15th of the said month. On the 17th came out the king of France his declaration to drive out the Protestants, who had notice in Paris in four days, which day falling on the 21st was just the day whereon our places in the waggon for Calais were retained ; and the day before I was warned by letters from Tours by several friends, that upon false accusations I was sought out by the Intendant and other magistrates, and that they had written to the Chancellor of France to send after me and arrest me. But it pleased God that, immediately after his signing and sealing the declaration for the annulling of the Edict of Nantes, he fell sick, and died while we were on our journey ; so I have extraordinary occasion to take notice of God’s providence towards me and mine in such eminent dangers, out of which He hath miraculously saved us.”

Mary Roussel (born 15th August 1666) was the great-grand-daughter of one of the two Roussels, the bosom friends of Farel the Reformer. Her father, Lawrence Roussel of Pont-Audemer, was arrested in 1684 as he meditated flight, and he died a prisoner for the Protestant faith in his own house in 1691. Her mother with two boys reached Calais in safety, *en route* for England. Mary’s duty was to follow with her brothers Stephen and Francis, aged eight and four. Having dressed herself as a peasant-girl, she placed them in two panniers which were swung over the back of a donkey, covering them with vegetables and fruit ; she put a basket containing poultry on the donkey’s back. The little ones were charged neither to speak nor to move, whatever might happen on the road. A servant, dressed as a farmer, rode on horseback, moving in advance as if unknown to the girl. They travelled by night ; but as time was precious, the latter part of the journey had to be taken by day-light. Suddenly a party of dragoons came in sight ; they rode up, fixed their eyes upon her, and then on the panniers. “ What is in those baskets ? ” they cried. Before she could give an answer, one of them drew his sword, and thrust it into the pannier where the younger boy was hid. No cry

was heard, not a movement was made; the soldiers concluded that all was right, and galloped off. As soon as they were out of sight the sister knocked off the inanimate contents of the pannier, the little boy lifted up his arms towards her, and she saw he was covered with blood from a severe cut on one of them. He had understood that if he cried, his own life and the lives of his brother and sister would be lost, and he bravely bore the pain and was silent. She bound up the wound and nursed him on the road with the fondest care, and had the joy of finding that his life was spared, though he carried a scar from the wound all his days. The party reached Calais, and the family crossed to England. The two elder boys were Isaac and Lawrence; and they with Stephen and Francis were educated in England. Isaac left two married daughters. Lawrence, after a chequered life in America as a slave, and then as a proprietor, was a London physician, and had a daughter Bridget who married her cousin Isaac, son of Francis. Francis, "the wounded Huguenot boy," married Esther Heusse, a refugee from Quillebœuf, and had eight children; from two of his daughters, Elizabeth, wife of Peter Beuzeville, and Mary Ann, wife of Thomas Meredith, the collateral representatives of the Roussels descend. One of these was Esther Beuzeville (*born 1786, died 1851*); she wrote the account of Mary Roussel's flight in "Historical Tales for Young Protestants," edited by Mr Crosse for the Religious Tract Society; she was a daughter of Peter Beuzeville, son of the aforesaid Peter and Elizabeth, and was married to the Rev. James Philip Hewlett of Oxford. Her son, the Rev. James Philip Hewlett of London, has with admirable industry and accuracy compiled a genealogy of the Roussels, showing their relation to the families of Beuzeville, Meredith, Byles, Jolit, and others; to this genealogy, a copy of which Mr Hewlett presented to me, I owe the above details. Mary Roussel the intrepid refugee was never married; a husband worthy of her would have been a prodigy of worth.

René de Saint-Leger, Sieur d'Orignac, son of Le Sieur de Boisrond, was a Huguenot; the Revocation dispersed his family. His wife and daughter were refugees in England; the latter was imprisoned in France, and was conveyed to one convent after another from 1685 to 1688, until, proving "obstinate," she was banished.

Lady Douglas, at the time of the Revocation, had completed her first year of married life in France; her maiden name was Anne De Bey de Batilly, and she had brought to her husband an estate in Alsace. From a state paper Sir John Dalrymple gives the following extract, it occurs in a letter to the Earl of Sunderland, dated 19th Dec. 1685, from our ambassador at Paris, Sir William Trumball:—"I acquainted Mons. De Croissy with Sir William Douglas's petition for leave for his wife and child to go into England with him. But this he told me plainly the king had refused; for although the husband, being not naturalized, might go if he pleased, yet the wife and child were subjects of France, and should not have that permission. It happened that at the same time I requested leave for one Mrs Wilkins to sell her estate at Rouen and to return to her husband in England, whose case was this: Humphrey Wilkins had for many years been a merchant in Rouen, but falling into troubles, his wife obtained a sentence of separation *de habitation et des biens* from him, and so he went to London. Monsieur De Croissy told me that the king would not grant her any leave as she desired, but because her husband had been naturalized he looked upon her as his subject. So that in the case of Sir William Douglas they separate man and wife, and in the other, they join them that were separated by the sentence of their own judges." During the Williamite war the estate was forfeited, and after the peace of Ryswick a petition for its restoration was transmitted. Our ambassador reported on 12th December 1699, "I have mentioned the case of Sir William Douglas, and have obtained as much as could be desired, it being a matter triable at law, so it is recommended by the king's order to the chief president of Alsace, with which Sir William Douglas is well satisfied." The following epitaph is on a tablet in St James' Church, Westminster:—"Near this place lies the body of Lady Anne de Bey de Batilly, daughter of the Right Hon. Anthony de Bey, Lord Baron of Batilly (Major-General to Louis XIII. and Louis XIV., Kings of France, Governor of the town and citadel of New Chateau in Lorraine), and of the Lady Susanne de Pas, the daughter of the Marquis of Feu-

quière, who was made Marshal of France the day he died. This illustrious person was famous for her piety, charity, virtue, and goodness, and was married to Sir William Douglas, Major-General of Her Majesty's forces, by whom she had four children, Charles only surviving, now Colonel of Her Majesty's forces. She died the 20th of March 1709."

Magdalen Lefebvre in October 1685 was a very little girl, "a child of old age," daughter of a farmer-proprietor in Normandy, and of an invalid mother. A writer in *Household Words*, Vol. VIII., gives a beautiful narrative of her parting from her parents, and her being shipped off to Jersey with a great chest of clothes hastily but abundantly collected. From one of her brothers descended a Duke of Dantzic. She herself is represented by English descendants, one of whom was the lady who told the story to the writer. That lady, as an orphan child, had lived in London with two maiden aunts, who always spoke French, thinking English a foreign language, and often reminded their niece that she was a little French girl, bound to be polite, gentle, and considerate, to curtsy on entering or leaving a room, to stand until her elders gave her leave to sit down. Upstairs was the very chest with which Magdalen Lefebvre was sent off from France. Out of Magdalen's trousseau the little Spitalfields girl was dressed. When she shrank from putting on so peculiar a frock, with such a quiet pattern, she was told, "You ought to be proud of wearing a French print, there are none like it in England." They were surrounded by families like their own. Some correspondence had been kept up with the unseen and distant relations in France (third or fourth cousins perhaps); but it languished and ceased. Yet there remained characteristic relics from Normandy and Languedoc, a sword, wielded by some great-grandfather, a gold whistle that had summoned household servants and out-of-door labourers when bells were unknown; bibles with silver clasps and corners; strangely-wrought silver spoons, the handle enclosing the bowl; a travelling case with coat-of-arms engraved in gold, containing a gold knife, spoon and fork, and a crystal goblet. Many such relics still tell of the affluence and refinement which the refugees left behind for religion's sake. (The above facts and phraseology are from *Household Words*).

A Huguenot wife reached England. The husband, who had taken a different road to avoid suspicion, was captured and consigned to a French prison. His cell had an iron floor, which was heated from beneath till it was red hot, whenever the attempt to torture him out of his religion was resorted to. He became a cripple, and was at last let out, to go about the town on crutches. He had no means of corresponding with his wife, and knew not whether she was safe, or even alive. But at last he found his way to London, and startled the passers-by by enquiring if they knew where Louise his wife was. Some one at length thought of directing him to a coffee house near Soho Square, kept by a French refugee, and resorted to by Huguenots; but even there he could get no information. A pedlar, overhearing all that was said in the coffee-room, silently resolved to enquire for the poor stranger's wife in every town where French settlers were to be found. At length, at Canterbury, his enquiries made a noise, and Louise, who was there, and living by needlework, lost no time in starting for London. Reduced to the lowest poverty, and utterly despairing of seeing her again, the poor man was found. It may well be supposed that Louise rejoiced, though tears flowed fast at the tokens of agonizing and protracted suffering visible on the long-lost companion of her youth. At Canterbury she affectionately and thankfully nursed him, and maintained him for the remainder of his life. (*Crosse's Historical Tales*).

The wife of René Bulmer, a Huguenot refugee, residing at the Priory House in Lambeg, has a name in Irish Protestant history. In 1690, as William III. was passing their house on his way to the army, his carriage broke down, and the Huguenot husband helped to repair it. The only reward he requested was that the great and generous chief of European Protestants would deign to kiss him, to which the king assented, adding, "And thy wife too," and suited the action to the word. They left descendants in Lisburn, whose representatives spell their name "Boomer," and keep up the Christian name "Raine," or "Renny."

In the Irish Pension List of 1722 are the names of three ladies, each in receipt of two shillings per day, Elizabeth de St. Lis de Heucourt, Urania de St. Lis de Heucourt, and Mag-

dalena de St. Lis de Heucourt; they were probably daughters or a Protestant nobleman of Normandy, the Marquis de Heucourt, mentioned as a Royal Commissioner by Du Bosc.

"I believe," said the Rev. Philip Skelton, "you will be as much pleased as I was with the behaviour of a French Gentlewoman, brought from Bordeaux to Portsmouth by a sea captain of my acquaintance. This excellent woman, having found means to turn her fortune (which was considerable) into jewels, was in the night conveyed on board the ship of my friend, with all she was worth in a small casket. Never was the mind of a human creature so racked with fears and anxieties till the ship was under sail. But she no sooner saw herself disengaged from the country which she loved best, and where she had left all her relations, than her spirits began to rise and discover that kind of joy which others, after a long absence, testify on their approach to the place of their nativity. This pleasing sensation gave signs of gradual increase, as she drew nearer and nearer to the place she had chosen for her banishment. The moment she landed, she threw herself on her face among the mud, and (without the least regard either to the foulness of the spot, or the remarks of those who saw her), kissing the ground, and grappling it with her fingers, she blessed the land of liberty and cried, '*Have I at last attained my wishes? Yes, gracious God!* (raising herself to her knees, and spreading her hands to heaven), *I thank Thee for this deliverance from a tyranny exercised over my conscience, and for placing me where THOU alone art to reign over it by THY word, till I shall lay down my head on this beloved earth.*'"*

May we allude to the fact, that there is noble Huguenot blood in our Royal Family?—Alexandre d'Esmiers, Marquis d'Olbreuse, a Huguenot nobleman of Poitou, was an exile in Holland. George William, Duke of Zell, married his only child, Eleonore, Marquise d'Olbreuse, and had issue an only child, Her Serene Highness, Sophia Dorothea, Consort of George Lewis, Electoral Prince of Hanover, and mother of King George the Second. The generous deeds of the Olbreuse Family illumine the pages of Jean Migault, filled with the *Malheurs d'une Famille Protestante de Poitou*.

By inter-mariages many persons in England and Scotland descend collaterally from the Huguenot refugees. John Long, author of "Some account of the Reformed Church of France," was the son of John Wilkinson Long, by Sarah Balicourt, and thus a grandson of the French pastor in Berlin, Rev. Sebastian Balicourt (*born 1660, died 1731*), whom a grocer in Metz had packed up in a cask, and forwarded *with care* to Germany.

The great-grandmother of the author of "Witnesses in Sackcloth," was the daughter of a Huguenot exile in Canterbury, named Delamere, and thus entitled her great-grandson to call himself "a descendant of a refugee." In his *Life of Brousson* he signs his name Henry S. Baynes.

The name Havée (a refugee surname of Norwich, and borne by Huguenot proprietors in France), is similarly represented by the families of Dixon of Wickham-Bishop in Essex, Bale of Tofree in Norfolk, and Walker of Heathfield in Oxfordshire.

In Scotland the name of a Huguenot refugee family, Jeffrey (or Geoffrey), is thus represented by William Drummond of Rockdale, near Stirling, and Sir George Harvey, President of the Royal Scottish Academy, both of whom have a hereditary enthusiasm in the cause of Protestant martyrs.

A printed attestation still exists, filled in with the date 1696, and with the names of James Barbot and his wife, Mary Jourdain, from La Rochelle, as naturalized British subjects. They

* Mr Skelton printed a sermon, from which I quote more than once, to incite our hospitality towards French Protestant refugees who arrived in 1751, exiles in the reign of Louis XV. Among these was Monsieur Olier with two daughters. He never learned a word of English. The elder daughter set up a young ladies school in London, the younger, Maria, was married to Robert Smith, Esq., and had one daughter, Maria, and four sons, Robert, Sydney, Cecil, and Courtenay. Of these the second was the facetious Rev Sydney Smith (*born 1771, died 1845*), "who used to attribute a little of his constitutional gaiety to this infusion of French blood." I may here mention that several families of French Protestant descent are not to be found in this work, because they do not come within its chronological range, for instance, Labouchere, Du Boulay, De Lessert.

brought some property with them, and settled in London. Both are buried in St. Giles's Church. They had a daughter, Louise, who died in 1785, widow of Antoine Leserre, also two sons, James and John. The latter is represented through a female descendant by his great-grandson Thomas Barbot Beale, Esq., of Brettenham Park, a magistrate for the county of Suffolk.

2. OFFICERS.

Old Schomberg wrote to King William in January 1690 :—" If your Majesty gives Hewet's regiment to Mr Beyerley, it would be desirable that you would put a good lieutenant-colonel under him. Several suitable persons might be found among the French officers ; but I never of my own accord put any French among the English, unless they desire it." (Despatch, No. 16).

Jean La Borde, a military officer, fought at the battle of the Boyne. His wife was of the family of La Motte Graindor, which possessed a beautiful property in Languedoc. This young lady during her earliest years witnessed the relentless persecution which her family and relations had to endure, and which she often narrated to her own descendants. "A young girl, her cousin, they tied by the heels to a cart, and then they drew on the horse through the streets until her brains were dashed out ; a young man she was to be married to went after the cart, imploring them to stop." The family of Cassel, having undergone fearful tribulation, were the first of her relations to fly into Holland, and they took her with them. The La Bordes suffered as much, many being imprisoned and stripped of their property. Jean La Borde escaped out of prison in an almost miraculous manner, and after great privations, contrived to let his parents know where he was, hiding in fields, afraid to enter his own home, where there was plenty of food, and he starving. At length he fled to Holland, met the Cassels, and married Anne La Motte Graindor. There he joined the army of the Prince of Orange, whom he followed into England. He retired on a lieutenant's half pay, and settled at Portarlinton, in which town the Cassel family also had representatives. In the register there is the baptism of a son of Jean La Borde and Anne Graindor, the parents being sponsors, who was born 16th Dec. 1703, and named Jean. Another child, Anne La Borde, was married to Isaac Cassel, and Abel Cassel, their son, was baptized on 12th Aug. 1736. In 1858 a daughter of Abel Cassel was alive, the last of her family, and very aged ; she dictated the substance of the above narrative to Sir Erasmus Borrowes. (*Ulster Journal*, vol. vi., p. 345).

Captain René de la Fausille, formerly of the French royal regiment of La Ferté, was a captain in *La Caillemotté's Foot*, and served in Ireland. At the Boyne he received no less than six wounds, and King William took special notice of his ardour and courage, so that he received a pension of ten shillings per day, and the post of Governor of Sligo. His two sons were British officers ; one died with the rank of captain, unmarried. The other being in 1758 Lieut.-Col. John Lafausille of the 8th foot, was promoted to the Colonelcy of the 66th ; he became Major-General in 1761, and died on his voyage home from Havannah in 1763, leaving an only child, the wife of a Mr Torriano. (*Smiles' Huguenots and Beaton's Political Index.*)

Major Isaac Cuissy Mollien left a holograph memorandum dated 6th June 1692, willing the destination of his property, "if God should dispose of me in the dangers of war or otherwise." On 4th Oct. 1698 this document was sworn to by Charles Moreau, of St Martin's-in-the-Fields, gent., and was administered to by Susan, wife of James de Mollien. This lady and her husband were to inherit his small means, on condition of their maintaining the Major's two nieces, named Denandiere, which nieces were to succeed to the whole upon the death of Mr and Mrs de Mollien without issue. Otherwise, surviving daughters of the De Molliens should have it in equal shares ; if, however, the De Molliens left a son, he was to have one half, and the daughters to share the other half between them. [The major is perhaps the same person as Captain de Moliens of *Schomberg's Horse.*]

Captain Louis Geneste Pelras de Cajare fought at the Boyne in Cambon's regiment. Geneste was his surname, his title was "Pelras." On retiring from the service he lived at

Lisburn till his death, excepting the interval between 1724 and 1731, when he resided in the Isle of Man, where his son Louis Geneste afterwards settled. The son of the latter went to France in 1792, and saw some of his clan, in whose possession one half of their ancient estate of Beargues still remained. The late excellent Hugh Stowell the well-known English clergyman, was descended from a female representative of the gallant refugee. (*Ulster Journal* vol. ii., p. 170.)

Major Abel Pelissier was the son of Abel Pelissier and Anne Nicolas, of Castres in Languedoc. When he retired from the service owing to the disbanding of the French regiments, he was Aide-Major and Mareschal-des-logis in *Galway's Horse*. He had hardly found a home in Portarlington, when in 1698 he married Marie, daughter of Cæsar de Choisy, a refugee from Poitou, by his deceased wife Marie Gilbert de Chef-boutonne. Their children were Abel, Alexandre, Jean, Jacques, Angélique, and Marie. The second son, born in 1701, was Alexander Pelissier, merchant, of Dame Street, Dublin.

Peter Petit, Esq. was Quartermaster-General of the Light Horse of France. He married Madame du Quesne, née Susanne Monnier, who had a son to her first husband named Abraham Du Quesne, "Captain of one of the King of France his ships." Monsieur and Madame Petit "being gone out of France through the persecution exercised against those of the true reformed religion, were forced to leave there almost all their estates." They retired to the Hague, where on 18th April 1687 he made his will, being then a Major of horse in the army of the States-General. Probably it was he who was the commanding officer in charge of the Blue Dragoons at the embarkation of the Prince of Orange, and of the expedition to England in 1688; Dumont de Bostaquet says that the provisional Colonel of *Les bleus* was Monsieur Petit; but as the gallant officer's Will was made in Holland, I know nothing more about his career. All his own and his wife's property was declared to be the property of the survivor unconditionally. And it was directed that the children, Armand Louis Petit and Isaac Francis Petit, should have "a good education, and in the fear of God;" and that in the survivor's ultimate settlement the young Du Quesne should have an equal share with each of the two Petits. The will was proved in London by Mrs Petit on the 12th January 1698.

Major Henry Foubert was aide-de-camp to William III. at the Boyne; he is said to have warned old Schomberg against mingling in the fight without his cuirass. He is probably the Monsieur "Faubert" of whom Evelyn speaks (in 1681) as "being lately come from Paris for his religion," and as the founder of a riding academy in the neighbourhood of Swallow Street (now Regent Street), where a passage is still known by his name. The Royal Society on 9th Aug. 1682 became patrons of his academy: Evelyn calls Faubert and his son "provost masters" of the academy. The surname survived in Portarlington in the following generation.

Colonel Rieutort was a native of Montpellier, and of a good family. He served in Ireland under William III., and afterwards in Piedmont. In 1703 he assisted in the defence of Landau. In 1704 he was sent by the Earl of Galway to co-operate in the relief of Gibraltar. He then went to Barcelona with King Charles III., who gave him a regiment of dragoons, but Count Lichtenstein insisted on his becoming a Roman Catholic, and as he could not comply, he resigned his command. He was afterwards Chamberlain to the Elector-Palatine. He had a house in Chelsea, where he died on the 24th January 1726, in his 66th year.—(*Faulkner's Chelsea*.)

Brigadier Mark Antony Moncal, promoted to that rank in our army on 12th Feb. 1711, was no doubt the officer who distinguished himself in Gibraltar in 1705, as is recorded in the Annals of Queen Anne. On the 27th January, "Colonel Moncall, Major in Lord Barrymore's regiment, a French refugee, by a vigorous charge drove the enemy from the round tower which they had held for an hour. The next day his leg was shot off, as he was in attendance upon the Prince of Hesse-Darmstadt in the new battery."

Louis Hirzel, Comte D'Olon, an old French refugee officer, attended the Earl of Galway as aide-de-camp and secretary at the battle of Almanza. He became Lieutenant-Governor of the island of Jersey. The noble family of Hirzel, to which he belonged, was of St Gratien,

near Amiens in Picardy. His daughter and heiress became the second wife of Thomas Le Marchant, Esq. of Le Marchant Mann, Guernsey. She had no children; but her step-son, John Le Marchant, a retired officer of the British army (who died in Bath in 1794), married her relative and heiress, Maria Hirzel of St Gratien, eldest daughter of the Comte de St Gratien, a *maréchal-de-camp* of the Swiss Guards in the French service. This is the ancestry of Sir Denis Le Marchant, Baronet.—(*Duncan's Guernsey*.)

Lieutenant Gaspard Lanalve was “a native of France, which he left on account of religion at fifteen years of age”—*i.e.* in 1688-9. He served in the wars in Ireland after the Revolution, also in Flanders and Spain, and received several wounds. So says the *Scots Magazine*, and the *Gentleman's Magazine* adds, “Though never promoted higher than lieutenant, he had served in five battles and several sieges, and was in the castle at the blowing up of the Rock of Alicant.” He probably belonged to Sibourg's regiment. He died on half-pay at Canterbury on 17th Sept. 1754, aged 80.

Brigadier Lalo, “a French refugee in great favour and esteem with the generals,” was killed at the battle of Malplaquet. There was a noble sufferer in France in 1687, Monsieur De Lalo (or De l'Alo), of the house of Epeluche, a councillor in the parliament of Dauphiny. The refugee in Britain was Samson de Lalo; he became Colonel of the 28th Foot in 1701. In 1706 he exchanged with John, Viscount Mordaunt, and thus obtained the 21st regiment, called the Royal Scots Fusiliers. In 1707 the Duke of Marlborough wrote thus:—“Colonel Lalo is acquainted that his officers must conform themselves to other regiments, and use pertuisans as those of the regiment of Welsh Fusiliers.” The Colonel received a letter dated 7th Dec. 1708, in which the Duke says:—“I thank you for your letter of the 3d inst., and the account you give me of the siege. I hear so seldom from thence that I should be very glad if you would write to me every evening, when the post comes away from Brussels, how it goes forward. Your letters may be left at Oudenard, from whence they will be forwarded to me by express. I would readily oblige you in your request of going for England, but that, having sent twice already, I do not think it proper to send you. However,” &c., &c. He was promoted to be a Brigadier, 2d April 1709, and on the 11th September following, he was killed in action. He was unmarried, and his estate was administered to in London by female relatives. Luttrell says:—“Oct. 1700, Monsicur La Loo, a French Huguenot, is made standard-bearer to the yeomen of the guard.” The name occurs frequently. On 10th Sept. 1705 was baptised at St Peter's, Chichester, Richard De Lalo Spicer, son of Luke Spicer and Elizabeth [De Lalo?]; Susanna Spicer, a daughter of the same couple, was married at Chelsea on 22d Sept. 1724, to a husband of Huguenot name, Peter Lefebur. [On 16th April 1726 Philip Laloe of St Clement Danes, London, married Jane Judith Delpech. On 7th Feb. 1749 a “Miss Laloe, with £10,000,” was married (see the *Gentleman's Magazine*).

A cavalry field-officer also fell at Malplaquet, named Antoine Du Perrier, son of Mark Du Perrier, a refugee of noble birth, who settled in Ireland about 1685. From this officer descends the family of Perrier of Cork. Three of his great-grandsons were Sir David and Sir Anthony Perrier, knights, sheriffs and mayors of Cork, and George Ferdinand Perrier, merchant in that city. The elder son of the last-named was Sir Anthony George Perrier, C.B., British Consul at Brest (*born* 1793, *died* 1867); his official connection with Brest was of forty-three years' duration, and he was respected and beloved. He was made a C.B. in 1859 for his conduct in Paris as British Delegate to the European Sanitary Conference of 1851-2, on which occasion the Prince-President (Napoleon) had given him a gold medal. It was in 1843 that he was knighted for his services in the International Commission on Fisheries.

In the Artillery and Engineers Goulon and Cambon have been already named. Luttrell says, “Monsieur Le Roch, the Huguenot engineer, did more execution before Lisle in three days than D'Meer, the German, in six weeks.” Weiss says, “The refugee John De Bodt devoted his whole life to the defence of the cause for which he was proscribed. Born in Paris, he fled to Holland at the age of fifteen, and was recommended to the Prince of Orange by

General De Gor, chief of the Dutch artillery. He accompanied the Prince to England, was made captain of artillery in 1690, and was afterwards placed at the head of the corps of French engineers. William III. employed him in eight sieges, and four great battles—those of the Boyne, Aghrim, Steinkirk, and Nerwinde. At the siege of Namur, it was he who, in the capacity of chief of brigade, directed the triumphant attack on the castle. In 1699 he removed to Brandenburg.”

Pierre Carle was born at Valleraugue, in the Cevennes, about 1666. He first took refuge in Geneva, next in Holland, next in England. Next he went back to Holland on the invitation of a powerful patron, on whose death he studied mathematics, and in six months qualified himself as a military engineer. He came to England with William, and served under the King in Ireland and Flanders, and was wounded before Namur. He was fourth engineer in the service, and received a pension of £100. He accompanied Lord Galway to Portugal, and was present at the taking of Alcantara. John V. made him Lieutenant-General in the Portuguese army (and afterwards a full General, it is said), and engineer-in-chief, and pressed him to settle in Portugal. Peter Carle was a naturalised subject of England, and was true to his adopted country; but he consented to reside as a foreign visitor in Portugal till 1720, when he returned to London, and renounced arms for agriculture. He died at London, 7th Oct. 1730; his surviving family consisted of three daughters; his only son had died of an accident in hunting, and had predeceased the gallant and talented veteran. Of the daughters, Anne was the wife of the second son of the 6th Earl of Lincoln, Admiral the Hon. George Clinton, C.B., M.P. for Saltash, Governor of Newfoundland in 1732, Governor of New York in 1741. Collins' Peerage says that there were three sons and three daughters of this marriage, but that two only, Henry and Mary, were surviving in 1756.

Captain Samuel, Comte de la Musse, was on the half-pay of *La Melonniere's* in 1722. In 1692 Quick says, “Here [in London] is a Marquis de la Musse, a faithful confessor for Christ, having forsaken his estate and embraced the Cross, rather than forsake his religion.” Major Achilles La Colombine was long resident in Carlow; he was very zealous from the year 1731 and downwards for the spiritual interests of the parish and the rebuilding of the parish church; he died on 31st Aug. 1752, and was buried in the Carlow churchyard.

In 1689, died at Dundalk, Monsieur Bonel, son of Fresné-Cantbrun of Caen by his wife, a daughter of Secretary Cognart. In 1690, at the siege of Limerick, the first sortie was repulsed, but it left the Marquis de Cagny mortally wounded; his name was Gedeon-Mesnager, and he was the son of Louis, Sieur de Cagny, and Marie de Barberie de Saint-Contest; he had married a daughter of a distinguished physician Francois de Mougnot, and had been, with his father-in-law, imprisoned for two years in the Bastille and in the Castle of Angers; in 1688 he was banished, and he retired to Holland; he died with great constancy and resignation, having often said that he had no wish to survive the Duke of Schomberg; the Marquis de Cagny's death was deeply regretted by the whole army. At the last assault on Limerick in 1690 Monsieur Martel, grandson of the Baron de Saint-Just, was killed just as he had entered the breach and was shouting *Ville gagnée*; at the same time were wounded Colonel Belcastel, and Messrs Bruneval and La Motte Fremontier; the French infantry officers were in the van and commanded by the Sieur de la Barbe; the English grenadiers were commanded by Le Bourgay, who was taken prisoner. At the same siege was killed Lieut.-Maurice de Vignolles of *Belcastel's*, a grandson of Vignolles de Montredon and Claudede Belcastel, his wife.

In 1704, at the Battle of Schellenberg, were wounded Ensign Denys Pujolas of the Foot-guards, Ensign Bezier of *Webb's*, Ensign Pensant of *Hamilton's*, Lieut. Jeverau of *Ingoldsby's*, Lieut. Tettefolle of the Cavalry. At the Battle of Blenheim, Major Chenevix of *Windham's Horse* was killed, and the following were wounded, Captain La Coude of *Marlborough's*, Capt. Pennetiere of *Hamilton's*, Captain Villebonne of *Hov's*, Lieut. Boyblanc of *North and Grey's*, Lieut. Beiser of *Webb's*, Cornet Creuseau of *Schomberg and Leinster's Horse*. In 1707, at the Battle of Almanza, Captain Justeniere of *Southwell's*, Capt. Cramer and Lieut. Doland of *Hill's*, Captain Digoine and Ensign Ferrer of *Wade's*, and Lieut.-Col. Deloches of *Pierre's*

were killed ; and the following were made prisoners, Lieut.-Colonel Magny of *Nassau's*, Capt. Saubergue of the Guards, Lieut. Morin and Champfleury of *Mordaunt's*, Capt. Berniere of *Gorgé's*, Capts. Latour and Hauteclair, and Ensign Lamilliere of *Wade's*, Lieut. Labastide of *Montjoy's*, Lieut. Gedouin of *Britton's*. (Colonel Armand de la Bastide was Governor of Carisbrook Castle in 1742.)

In the Ulster Journal, Vol. IV., the admirable article on French settlers in Waterford (by Rev. Thomas Gimlette), notes the following officers :—Major Sautelle (whose heiress was Mary), Quartermaster Peter Chelar, Captains Louis du Chesne, Abraham Franquefort, John Vaury, and Louis Belafaye ; Lieutenants Emmanuel Toupelin Delize and Besard de Lamaindre. A similar article on Youghal notes the deaths of Cornet Daniel Coluon (1738), Captain James Dezieres (1747), Lieut. Pierre Mazière (1746), Ensign John Roviére (1736) ; a site in Youghal is still called “Roviére’s Holdings.”

Perhaps we should mention Major de Labene of Sir Richard Temple’s foot ; after the town of Ghent had been taken by the French in July 1708, he held out in the castle with great resolution, and was granted a very honourable capitulation. He was made Lieutenant-Governor of Tynemouth Castle in 1718, and died with the rank of Lieutenant-Colonel in 1722.

(3). CLERGY.

The Rev. James Jerome, or Hierosme, was before 1660 French minister in Somerset House ; Charles II., in 1660 granted to the congregation the Savoy Chapel upon a condition already stated. He removed to Ireland, where on 9th March 1667 was enrolled the Lord Chancellor’s certificate in behalf of James Jerome, D.D., to inhabit in Ireland, and in 1668 a grant to him of £30 per annum ; on the 1st March 1668 he was made Precentor of Waterford Cathedral. Then there is the King’s letter dated 14th July 1668, “The King taking notice of the piety and learning of James Hierome, clerk (to whom the Lord-Lieutenant, in consideration of his being a stranger, and one who not only early submitted to the government of the Church of England but brought the French congregation which then met at the Savoy to conform thereto, gave the vicarage of Chapel-Isold), has thought fit, as well in consideration thereof, as in regard of his undertaking to expend £300 in repairs of house and land, to grant him a lease of a ruinous house, and one acre and a-half of land in Chapel-Isold for 99 years at 40s per annum, together with free grazing for two horses and eight cows in Phoenix Park for same term.” Dr James Hierome was presented in 1676 to the vicarages of Mullingar and Rathconnell, and in 1677 to the Rectories of Churchetowne and Piercetowne, all in Meath Diocese, and finally on 7th April 1680 to the Rectories of Clonegan and Newtownelenan in Lismore Diocese.

Anthony-a-Wood’s *Fasti* of Oxford University informs that in “1685, Sept. 9, James Le Prez, lately one of the Professors of Divinity in the University of Saumur, and warden of the College there before it was suppressed, was created D.D. by virtue of the Chancellor’s letters sent in his behalf. This learned theologian was one of those eminent divines that were forced to leave their native country upon account of religion by the present King of France ; and his worth and eminence being well known to the Marquis of Ruvigny, he was by that most noble person recommended to the Chancellor of the University.”

“1686-7, March 8. James D’Allemagne, a French minister of the Protestant Church lately retired in England upon account of religion, was created D.D. without the paying of fees.” He was naturalized at Westminster, 15th April 1687 (see List xiii.)

Antoine Pérès was a native of Montauban, who in 1649 began to study theology in Geneva. In 1661, he was made Professor of the Oriental languages in the Protestant University of his native town, and afterwards was transferred to the chair of Systematic Theology. In 1684 the University of Montauban was suppressed ; the professors were imprisoned, and were not set at liberty until October 1685, when they were banished. Pérès shared their vicissitudes. Quick says of him, “This very learned and godly divine died in my neighbourhood in 1686 here, in King Street, near Bunhill-fields,” [London.]

César Pégurier, a theological student at Geneva in 1666, was a native of Roujan in Languedoc. He became pasteur of Senitot in Normandy. Through the pressure of persecution he left his charge in 1682, and came to England, with a certificate of honour from the Synod of Quévilly. He was the minister of the French churches, styled the Artillery and the Tabernacle in London, and was the author of three publications :—(1.) *Exposition de la Religion Chrétienne* [in dialogues], Utrecht, 1714. (2.) *Système de la Religion Protestante*, containing 700 quarto pages, London 1718. (3.) *Maximes de la Religion Chrétienne* [a controversial work], London, 1722. In 1728 his daughter, Madelaine, was married to Jean Sauvage in Rider's Court French Church. The Rev. Daniel Cæsar Pegorier, who was born in 1696, was probably this good refugee's son.

The Rev. James Sartre (naturalized in 1685 as James Sartres, *clerk*, and called by Anthony-a-Wood *Jacobus Sartræus*) was a native of Montpellier, and M.A. of Puylaurens. He was ordained by the Bishop of London on 1st Aug. 1684, incorporated as M.A. at Oxford on 14th May 1688, and installed a Prebendary of Westminster on the 17th; he carried St Edward's staff in the procession at the Coronation of William and Mary, 11th April 1689. On the 5th July 1704, at Bromley in Kent, he married Dorothy, daughter of the Rev. Lancelot Addison, D.D., Dean of Lichfield and sister of the Right Hon. Joseph Addison. He died 3d Sept. 1713, and was buried in Westminster Abbey; Mrs Sartre remarried with Daniel Combes, Esq. (Col. Chester's MSS.)

The Rev. Daniel Amiand was naturalised during the last days of James II. (see List XVI); William and Mary presented him in Dec. 1690 to the Rectory of Holdenby in Northamptonshire. On 21st Nov. 1718 he was collated a Canon of Peterborough Cathedral; in the list he is styled "Daniel Amyand, Rector of Holdenby in this diocese, a French refugee;" he died in 1730; an oak screen in the parish church is his only extant memento at Holdenby.

The Rev. Anthoine Ligonier de Bonneval was pasteur of Sablayrolles until 1681, in which year he was appointed to the pastorate of Pont de Camarès. In 1685 his public worship being interdicted, and being himself apprehensive of personal arrest, he received a consistorial certificate, dated 12th Sept., and quitted France. He became a military chaplain in Britain, and retired with a pension of 3s. 4d. a day to Portarlington in 1702, where he accepted the incumbency of the French church under episcopal jurisdiction, and its endowment of £40 per annum; he resided there till his death, 16th Sept. 1733. His sister Anne Marie was married in 1737 to Jacques Louis de Vignoles.

The Rev. Henry Pujolas was minister of the French church of Parson Drove in 1692; in 1691 he married Anne Richards, and died in 1749. Denys Pujolas was an ensign in the Guards in 1704. John Pujolas died in London before 1762, and was the father of Henry Pujolas, Esq., *Richmond Herald*, who died in 1764, aged 31. Benjamin Pujolas, surveyor to the Westminster Insurance Office, died in 1776.

The Rev. Daniel Lombard, D.D., rector of Lanteglos and Advent in Cornwall, formerly chaplain to the Princess Sophia, Electress of Hanover, was the elder son of a French refugee pasteur. The refugee family appears among our Naturalizations (see List XIV.) of 5th January 1688: John Lombard (clerk), Frances, *his wife*, and Daniel and Philip, *their sons*. The father was minister successively of Martin's Lane, La Quarré, and Hungerford Market French churches in London, and died in 1721. Daniel was Fellow of St John's College, Oxford, and became M.A. by diploma dated 7th Apr. 1701—then proceeded to B.D. on 25th Apr. 1708, and to D.D. on 23d Apr. 1714. He is said to have been an extraordinary linguist. He died on the 31st Dec. 1746, having just completed his able and concise "History of Persecutions." In this book, which is still celebrated, he betrays his noble birth by dwelling upon the sufferings of the Protestants of France.

Ezechiel Barbauld was in 1704 a pasteur of the City of London French Church; Pierre Barbauld was pasteur of La Nouvelle Patente in Spitalfields in 1709, and of La Patente in Soho in 1720. Whether either of these was the French refugee who, "when he was a boy, was carried on board a ship inclosed in a cask and conveyed to England," I am not informed.

The boy refugee was surnamed Barbauld, and he lived to be the father of the Rev. Theophilus Lewis Barbauld, whom George II. presented on 22d June 1744 to the rectory of St Vedast in London; the rector's son was the Rev. Rochemont Barbauld, a dissenter, whose wife, Anna Lætitia Aikin, made his own surname celebrated: he left no descendants. Mrs Barbauld, being an English authoress, should not have a place in this work, but a few of her sentences illustrative of its subject must be quoted. As to French Protestant preaching at Geneva, she writes in 1785, "As soon as the text is named, the minister puts on his hat, in which he is followed by all the congregation, except those whose hats and heads have never any connection (for you well know that to put his hat upon his head is the last use a well-dressed Frenchman would think of putting it to). At proper periods of the discourse the minister stops short, and turns his back upon you, in order to blow his nose, which is a signal for all the congregation to do the same; and a glorious concert it is, for the weather is already severe, and people have got colds. I am told, too, that he takes this time to refresh his memory by peeping at his sermon, which lies behind him in the pulpit." With regard to the Protestant congregation at Marseilles, "The minister is an agreeable and literary man; his wife has been six years in England, and speaks English well. Her family fled there from persecution; for her grandfather (who was a minister), as he came out from a church where he was officiating, was seized by the soldiers. His son, who had fled along with the crowd, and gained an eminence at some distance, seeing they had laid hold on his father, came and offered himself in his stead, and in his stead was sent to the galleys, where he continued seven years. *L'honnête Criminel* is founded on this fact."

The Rev. Stephen Abel Laval was in 1737 pasteur of the united chapels of Castle Street and Berwick Street in London. At that period of his life he brought out his elaborate *History of the Reformed Church of France*, in six volumes, with an appendix. The preface apologizes for his English, as written by a Frenchman; there are two interesting lists of subscribers' names. He was proud of his connection with the Drelincourts. Charlotte Susanne, daughter of the deceased Pasteur Laurent Drelincourt, eldest brother of the Dean of Armagh, was married in the London French Church, in the Savoy, in 1690, to John Barbot, author of *Voyages to Guinea*, in Churchill's collection; Charlotte Barbot, her daughter, was Laval's wife, and had to him two children, Daniel and Charlotte Elizabeth.

(4.) MEDICAL MEN.

The oldest refugee surname* connected with the healing art is Colladon. On 5th Apr. 1662, John Colladon, *armiger*, medicine doctor, Aymé his wife, Theodore, Gabriel, Isabella, and Susan, his children, were naturalized at Westminster. Previously (at the date 24th Dec. 1661) he appears as physician in ordinary to the king, and the first of the original lessees of the French church in the Savoy; he was knighted at Somerset House on the 8th Aug. 1664. Sir John Colladon is mentioned in Pepys's *Diary*, though sometimes the surname is misspelt Collaton, Collidon, &c.; he died in 1675. His son was also M.D., and a knight; Sir Theodore Colladon was in attendance at the death of William III.; in Oct. 1707, when he wrote his will, he was physician to the Royal Hospital of Chelsea; at that date he had an

* Perhaps the surname BARIL may compete with it. Pierre Baril, physician to Louis XIV., was the son or grandson of an English medical student who fled from England from the persecution of Bloody Queen Mary (the name in English was Barry). Being a Huguenot, he was at length forbidden to practise medicine,—a prohibition which he obeyed, until, having been called in by a lady of quality, in whose case a moment's delay might have been fatal, he could not refuse his aid; for this offence he was thrown into the Bastille, where he died in 1690, and was buried in the prison-yard. His son Josiah had been sent to England, where he was naturalized, and married in 1687 Susanne, daughter of Louis Berchère, and, dying in 1729, was represented by his son Lewis Baril, Esq. (born 1692), who married in 1720 his cousin, Susanna, daughter of J. L. Berchère, Esq. Of nineteen children, the fifth, Magdalen Judith, was married to Theophilus Daubuz, Esq.

only child, Ann, and his sister Susan (or Susanna) was the wife of Dr John Wickart, Dean of Winchester. His will was proved in 1712 by his widow, Susanna Maria, Lady Colladon. This lady was under-governess to the princesses in the next reign; she was a great benefactress of the refugees. We find the Earl of Galway and Mr De la Mothe, taking counsel with her regarding the Huguenots released from the galleys in 1713; and as late as 1749, when the Earl of Lifford leaves £500 to the refugees, the chosen almoner is Lady Colladon.

Dr Peter Silvestre was born at Bourdeaux, about the year 1662, being the son of Daniel Silvestre, procurator to the Parliament of Bourdeaux; he and all his family were Protestants. His college education commenced at Guienne, where he *passed his philosophy* under Mons. Vaudrel. He studied at Montpellier under Mons. Barberiac. He excelled in anatomy, and took his medical degree at the age of 21. He was then sent by his father to Paris to gain experience in the hospitals, and there he staid until the Revocation. Happily he had the opportunity of quietly removing to Amsterdam from Paris in the company of some German noblemen. He was made physician to the Prince of Orange, whom he accompanied into England. Marshal Schomberg solicited of King William the favour that Dr Silvestre might accompany him to Ireland, which was agreed to; and to Ireland he went. However, having neglected to obtain a military commission, he found himself adrift after the Duke of Schomberg's death. His Dutch pension he retained, and being known to the Duke of Montague, he was attached to the household of the Prince of Valdée, and obtained an extensive private practice in London. It is stated that he was also commissioner of the sick and hurt. To the latter duke he dedicated St Evremond's collected works, in the publication of which he was associated with Des Maizeaux in 1703. He died 16th Apr. 1718. He had no heirs, but Sir John Silvester, knt., M.D., was his nephew. A son of the latter became, in 1815, Sir John Silvester, bart.; but that baronetcy expired in 1828 in the person of Captain Sir Philip Carteret Silvester, Bart., C.B., R.N.

The greatest medical surname belonging to the refugees is Martineau. The Messieurs Haag and Mr Durrant Cooper, in his Camden Society volume for 1862, give us the most information concerning it. Gaston Martineau, surgeon, son of Ellie Martineau and Marguerite Barbossou, was a refugee from Dieppe in 1685, and settled at Norwich in 1695, where he married Marie Pierre, daughter of Guillaume Pierre and Marie Jourdan, of Dieppe. His son, David Martineau, surgeon, married Elizabeth Finch, and died 29th May 1729, aged 32, leaving two daughters and one son, the second David Martineau, surgeon (*born 1726, died 1768*); the latter, by Sarah Meadows, his wife, had five sons—Philip Meadows Martineau (surgeon), David, Peter-Finch, John, and Thomas. The fourth of these, John Martineau of Stamford Hill, Middlesex, was the father of Joseph Martineau of Basing Park, Hants, who married in 1823 Caroline, daughter of Dr Parry of Bath. The Martineaus are now considerable, both in numbers and in reputation, and all descend from the five sons of the second David Martineau. The public, however, divide them into two branches, the Church of England and the Unitarian. Harriet Martineau, the celebrated authoress, daughter of Thomas, was born at Norwich in 1802. Though her creed is not that of the Huguenots, she well represents her ancestry in her mental energy and heroic endurance. The competency of worldly goods to which she was born melted away in her early youth, and her energetic literary life was begun with a view to her own self-reliant support. She had to struggle against partial deafness. In gratifying success, one monument of which is her own pretty villa in Westmoreland, she has her reward. Mr Robert Braithwaite Martineau, who died in 1869, aged 43, was a painter, who, among other successful works, produced "The Last Day in the Old Home," the picture so greatly admired in the Fine Art Galleries of the International Exhibition of 1862.

Dr James Reynette, of Waterford, was a son of Henri De Renêt, a Huguenot landed proprietor in Vivarais in Languedoc. Five sons became refugees, of whom the youngest, Gabriel, turned Roman Catholic, and got back the estate, two went to the Cape of Good Hope, and from their vineyards came a wine called *Graf de Renêt*, and two remained in Ireland, one of whom was Jacques. His fame as a physician reached Dublin, and he received an offer from

that capital of £200 a-year for life if he would accept the charge of their greatest hospital. His refusal was regarded as a great compliment at Waterford, and he received the freedom of that city for himself and his heirs for ever, and also (tradition says) more substantial rewards. The Parish Register contains, under date 23d July 1719, the marriage, in Doctor Reynette's house, of Captain John Ramsay and Miss Charlotte Reynette; but too soon after there is this entry:—"Jan 23d, 1720. Doctor James Reynette was buried by Mr Denis in the French Church." The French descendants of Gabriel fled from France during the first French Revolution. Napoleon I. included their surname among many others in a list to be read by the clergy in Roman Catholic chapels everywhere, communicating his imperial invitation to them to return to France. Some one reported this in England to the Rev. Henry Reynett, D.D., who obtained information from the French Ambassador that the old Languedoc estate was in the possession of a family of his name. Accordingly, General Sir James Reynett wrote to his distant relatives, who replied that they had got safe home, but had found their house damaged by soldiers, who had been quartered in it. The refugee Reynettes, descendants of the good physician, have prospered. In 1755, James Henry Reynette was sheriff, and he was twice Mayor of Waterford. From him the above-mentioned clergyman and general officer sprang.

Dr Pierre De Rante was another Huguenot physician in Waterford. His first wife was of the influential family of Alcock (she died in January 1716, aged 33), and, partly for her sake, the Town Council gave him the care of the sick poor, with £10 per annum, and he was known as "the French doctor." In Dec. 1717 he married Miss Anne Pyke; he had several children, and lived till January 1756. He was buried beside his first wife, on the 26th day of that month.

(5.) MERCHANTS.

Many of the refugees brought considerable sums of money; some who had not money had good knowledge of business and inventive talents, thus they contributed greatly to public prosperity, and some made private fortunes and founded British families. It was a custom in London, regularly observed till 1723, for elders of the Dutch and French Churches, who usually were merchants, to be sent in December of each year on a deputation to the new Lord Mayor; this I infer from a paragraph in the *Gentleman's Magazine* for December 1738:—Thursday 14th—"The elders of the French and Dutch Churches, in number about twenty, attended by their ministers, waited on the Lord Mayor (Micaiah Perry, Esq.) to beg his protection, and presented two large silver cups. His lordship received them in an obliging manner, and assured them of his favour. This custom has been neglected fifteen years, and we cannot guess why it is revived."

"A London merchant, Mr Banal, a good refugee," was once in 1713 in the French café near the Exchange, when he heard an officer of the French embassy insulting the Protestant refugees, saying that they ought to be hanged. The French Papists had great hopes from the Harley-Bolingbroke ministry, as secret sympathizers with Louis XIV. in his quarrel with the Huguenots, and the French Ambassador's household were in the habit of speaking in this insolent style; so that this officer had no regard for verbal remonstrances, but went on to say, "Think you, gentlemen, that the king of France has not arms long enough to reach you beyond the sea? I hope that you will soon find that out." Mr Banal could stand this no longer, but rushing forward with uplifted hand, shouted, "This arm, which is not so long as your king's arm, will reach you from a nearer place," and gave him a tremendous box on the ear. A row ensued, in the midst of which the landlady obtained for the officer the favour that he should be turned out by the door instead of being thrown from the window. (Marteilhe.)

The family of D'Olier claims descent from an ancient Roman Catholic family, of which the first name on record is Bertrand Olier, a capitoul of Toulouse in 1364, the more immediate ancestor being Edouard Olier, Marquis de Nointel in 1656, whose third son Pierre became a

Protestant. Pierre's son, Isaac Olier, was a refugee, first in Amsterdam, and finally in Dublin. His grandson, Jeremiah D'Olier, Governor of the Bank of Ireland, was High Sheriff in 1788, and D'Olier Street in Dublin was named after him. His relative, Isaac M. D'Olier, Esq., another Governor of the Bank, called his country residence after his French ancestor's house, Colleges, near Montauban. (Smiles' Huguenots.)

In the end of February 1744 (new style) the merchants of the city of London presented a loyal address to the King, in consequence of his Majesty's message to the Houses of Parliament regarding designs "in favour of a Popish pretender to disturb the peace and quiet of these your Majesty's kingdoms," and declaring themselves resolved to hazard their lives and fortunes "in defence of your Majesty's sacred person and government, and for the security of the Protestant succession in your royal family." Among the 542 signatures, the following French names, chiefly Huguenot, occur:—Jacob Albert, Gilbert Allix, George Amyand, Claude Aubert, George Aufrere, J. Auriol, Nathaniel Bassnet, Allard Belin, Claude Bennet, James Lewis Berchere, John David Billon, John Blaquiere, John Peter Blaquiere, Henry Blommart, John Boittier, Samuel Bosanquet, John Boucher, James Bourdieu, Stephen Cabibel, Peter Callifies, James Caulet, James Chalie, Honorius Combault, Peter Coussirat, Daniel Crespin, Peter Davisme, Gabriel De Limage, Joseph De Ponthieu, Peter Des Champs, C. Desmaretz, Andrew Devesme, Philip Devesme, Isaac Fiput De Gabay, Ph Jacob De Neufville, William Dobree, John Dorrien, Libert Dorrien, Peter Du Cane, Samuel Dutresnay, J. Dulamont, Charles Duroure, Alexander Eynard, William Fauquier, An. Faure, Abel Fonnereau, Zac. Phil. Fonnereau, Peter Gaussen, Francis Gaussen, James Gaultier, J. Gignoux, James Godins, Benjamin Gualtier, G. T. Guigner, Joseph Guinand, Henry Guinand, Stephen Guion, William Hollier, John Jamineau, Stephen Theodore Janssen, John Lagiere Lamotte, P. Lebefure, Thomas Le Blanc, Charles Le Blon, Gideon Leglize, Cæsar Le Maistre, David Le Quesne, Benjamin Longuet, Samuel Longuet, John Lewis Loubier, Henry Loubier, Charles Loubier, Jo. L. Loubier, J. Ant. Loubier, Peter Luard, William Minet, William Morin, Pulcrand Mourgrue, Francis Noguier, Peter Nouaille, Francis Perier, Pearson Pettit, John Pettit, Joseph Pouchon, Philip Rigail, Cypre Rondeau, Stephen Teissier, Matth. Testas, Thomas Tryon, Ant. Vazeille, Dan. Vernezobre, Dan. Vialers, Thomas Vigne, William Vigor, Peter Waldo.

Eynard was the name of a family in Dauphiny, allied to the house of Monteynard. Jacques Eynard, Chatelain (*i.e.*, Lord of the Manor) of La Baume-Cornillaine, had, for becoming a Protestant, been disinherited by his father, and seems to have earned his new position for himself. He was very zealous in founding and maintaining a Protestant church on his manor: he died in 1666, and his son Antoine inherited his zeal. Antoine Eynard removed to Lyons in 1676, married Sara Calvier, and had four sons. The third and fourth were refugees in England, and died unmarried. Anthony (who died in 1739) was an officer of merit in the British army. Simon Eynard was a merchant in London, and made a fortune. Their sister Louise, and her husband, Gideon Ageron, were also refugees in England. A nephew, John Anthony Eynard, a son of an elder brother, Jacques, passed most of his life in England, but died in the Canton-de-Vaud in 1760, unmarried.

James Bourdieu may have been the youngest son of Rev. John Du Bourdieu (Naturalization, List X).

Chapter XXX.

GRAND GROUP OF FAMILIES FOUNDED BY THE REFUGEES.

ALLIX.—From Dean Allix (see chap. xx) two families have sprung. (1) *Allix of Willoughby Hall*. The Dean's only son on record was Charles Allix, Esq., of Swaffham, whose wife was

Catherine, daughter of Thomas Greene, Bishop of Ely; and their eldest son was the first Allix of Willoughby Hall (Rev. Charles Wager Allix), who was succeeded, in 1795, by Charles Allix, J.P. and D.L. This Mr Allix died in 1866, aged 83, and the present head of his family is his son, Frederick William Allix of Willoughby Hall.

(2). *Allix of Swaffham.* This family has kept alive its great ancestors' many ties to the county of Cambridge. The founder was John Peter Allix, Esq., younger son of the first Charles; and his two sons, John-Peter and Charles, were successively chiefs of this branch. The latter was Colonel Allix, whose wife was his cousin Mary Allix; and who, dying in 1862, aged 75, was succeeded by the present Charles Peter Allix of Swaffham, his only child.

AUFRÈRE.—This family descends from the Rev. Israel Antoine Aufrère (see chap. xx.). The honourable and reverend gentleman was, in France, entitled to the territorial title of Le Marquis de Corville; but when he became a refugee, he relinquished it altogether. His spendthrift brother, Noel Daniel Aufrère, still kept his courtesy title of Chevalier de Corville; but he squandered his share of the paternal inheritance, and did not found an English family. By his wife, Sarah Amsincq, the reverend refugee had two sons and three daughters. His eldest daughter and child, Jeanne (born in 1701), was married to Rev. Dr Regis; Magdalene (born 1703, died 1729) was the wife of Samuel Grove, Esq., barrister-at-law, appointed to Antigua; Marianne (born 1707) was married, about 1730, to Philip Du Val, one of the Court physicians. George René Aufrère, Esq., who was born in 1715, and died at Chelsea in January, 1801, was the youngest child of the Rev. Israel Antoine Aufrère. He married, in 1746, a cousin of the Earl of Exeter, Miss Arabella Bate, of Foston Hall, Derbyshire. He was M.P. for Stamford, and left an only child, Sophia (who died in 1786, before the elevation of her husband, Charles Anderson Pelham, Esq., to the peerage, with the title of Baron Yarborough).*

The Aufrère line was continued by Rev. Anthony Aufrère, the eldest son of the refugee, born 25th June, 1704. He was a scholar of Westminster, and a gentleman-commoner of Oriel College, Oxford, where he took the degrees of B.A. and M.A. He was ordained a clergyman of the Church of England in 1728, and was presented to the Rectory of Heigham, near Norwich, by Archbishop Wake of Canterbury. He was twice married; 1st (soon after his becoming a Rector), to Marianne de Gastine, daughter of a French refugee officer, a major in the Dutch service at the time; 2nd, in 1740, to a widow lady, Mrs Mary Smith, heiress of Giles Cutting, Esq.: her married life was also brief; but she left her wealth to her widowed husband, who survived her for nearly thirty years, or until 22nd May, 1781, when he died at Norwich, in his 77th year. His only surviving child and heir was the son of his first wife.

Anthony Aufrère, Esq., of Hoveton, who was born February, 1730, and died at Hoveton 11th September, 1814, in his 85th year, is remarkable as the father of fifteen children—seven sons and eight daughters. He entered the married state on the 19th February, 1756. His widow, Anna, daughter of John Norris, Esq., of Witton and Witchingham, Fellow (1728) of Gonville and Caius College, Cambridge, by Anna, daughter of Thomas Carthew of Benacre, in Suffolk, Esq., died at Hoveton 11th September, 1814, in her 82nd year. I cannot follow the fortunes of their large family, having space to mention only Lieutenant Charles Gastine Aufrère, R.N., who perished, in his 29th year, on the 9th October, 1799, on board H.M.'s frigate, *Lutine*, off the coast of Holland; Rev. Philip Duval Aufrère (born 1776, died 1848), Rector of Bawdeswell, Norfolk; Rev. George John Aufrère (died 30th January, 1853, aged 83), Rector of Ridlington and East Ruston, Norfolk; and the eldest son, Anthony.

Anthony Aufrère, Esq., of Foulsham, Norfolk (born 1757, died, at Pisa, 1833), married in 1791, Marianne, daughter of General James Lockhart of Lee and Carnwath, Count of the

* Lord Yarborough (who died in 1823) is the ancestor of the Earls of Yarborough. In 1808 he sold to Government the house at Chelsea, which, with a collection of pictures, &c., he had inherited from his father-in-law, George Aufrère, Esq. The house became a part of Chelsea Hospital.

German Empire. This Mr Aufrère edited "The Lockhart Papers," which were published in two quarto volumes, in 1817. He had made his debut in the literary world in 1795 as the translator of "Salis's Travels in various Provinces of Naples;" he also (in 1795) translated from the German, and published, "A Warning to Britons against French Perfidy." He left one son and one daughter.

George Anthony Aufrère, Esq., of Foulslam Old Hall, and of Bowness, the present head of the family, was born 18th June, 1704, and married, on the 3rd September, 1828, Caroline, second daughter of John Michael Wehrmann, Esq., of Hamburg and of Osterrade, in the Duchy of Holstein. (She died at Edinburgh 14th September, 1850, without issue.) The heirs of Mr Aufrère's deceased sister, Louisa Anna Matilda, wife of George Barclay, Esq., of New York, are the children of her only child, Antonia Matilda, wife of R. Rives, barrister of New York, formerly an attaché to the American Embassy in London, the eldest son being George Lockhart Rives, born 1st May, 1849. [Mrs Barclay died at New York 27th June 1869, her husband having predeceased her 15th September, 1868.]

BOILEAU.—The antiquity of this family is fully borne out by history; the founder, Etienne Boileau, being mentioned under the year 1258 in several authoritative works. Paris was thoroughly demoralized by the sale of offices and judicial sentences, until he was appointed to the new office of Grand Prevost, when he established the police, and drew up the first code of municipal regulations—thus he was the father of the municipal bye-laws of the civilized world. His great-grandson was ennobled in 1731 by Charles V. of France, and had a son, Jean Boileau, a crusader, who was killed at the battle of Nicopolis, and in honour of whom the crescent was introduced into the Boileau armorial bearings. The ninth chief of the Boileaux was Noble Antoine, who in 1500 acquired the lands and jurisdiction of Castelnaud, Lagarde, and Sainte-Croix de Boiriac, in the diocese of Uzez. With him died the Romanism of his family; he erected a tombstone for his parents, whose epitaph had the concluding appeal, *Orate pro defunctis, ut in pace requiescant*; and he and his wife procured an Indulgence from Pope Leo X., dated 7th Aug. 1516, still extant, as one proof of the titles and honours appertaining to the family, by which the receivers of the mystic document are duly styled. His son Jean (born in 1500) succeeded his father, and embraced the Reformed faith, for which he was imprisoned and tortured, and finally in 1560 beheaded. By his wife, Anne de Montcalm, he left a son Jean (*born 1545, died 1618*), who, by his second wife, Rose de Calvière, was father of Nicolas, the father of Jacques Boileau, the thirteenth chief from the Grand Prevost, the tenth ennobled chief of the family, and the fifth Seigneur of Castelnaud, &c. This Huguenot martyr was born in 1626, took the degree of M.D. at Orange in 1642, and married in 1660 Françoise, daughter of Noble Jacques de Vignoles; he was arrested as a heretic in his own house at Nismes on 12th January 1687, and imprisoned in the tower of Pierre-Cise, near Lyons; there he was left till 1696, when he was prostrated by paralysis, for which he got leave to try the Baths of Balaruc; he died at St Jean-de-Vedas, near Montpellier, on 17th July 1697, in his 72d year. His wife did not long survive him; since 1686 she had been imprisoned in convents, but she had found her way to Geneva in Feb. 1690, and in 1697 she had been five years with her children in Brandenburg; the next year she returned to Geneva, and died there, 4th January 1700. The youngest son, Maurice (born 1668), remained in France, and became the legal head of the family. The other three surviving sons, Henri (born 1665), Jean-Louis (born 1667), and Charles (born 1673), took refuge in Brandenburg, and were enrolled in the army, and served as *Grands Mousquetaires*.

The latter, Charles Boileau, ultimately entered the English army, settled among us, and founded a British family. He was in *Farrington's* regiment, and after seeing service, he was still an ensign at the Peace of Ryswick; in 1703 was a lieutenant; in 1704 he was taken prisoner, and was exchanged at Valenciennes on 1st Feb. 1709. He left the army in 1711, and resided at Southampton till 1722, when he removed to Dublin, where he died 7th March

1733 (N.S.), aged sixty. He had married in Holland in 1704 Marie Magdelaine, daughter of Daniel Collet Descury, late Major-en-second of *Galway's Horse*, and had ten children. In 1709 he had become the true head of his family by the death in battle of his brother Henri (Jean Louis had fallen in 1703), and the headship at his own death descended to his eldest son, Daniel Philip Boileau, on whose death without heirs in 1772, it devolved on the heir-male of Simeon Boileau, the son of the refugee from whom all the English houses of Boileau derive. Two daughters of the refugee were married—Marie was married to Henry Hardy, merchant in Cork, and the eldest, named Marguerite, was married to Rev. John Peter Droz, a refugee clergyman, originator and editor of "A Literary Journal," printed in Dublin, on the model of De la Roche's periodicals. The descendants of Mrs Droz and of Simeon Boileau are fully mapped out in a lithographed *Genealogy of the Family of Boileau de Castelnaud*, by Mrs Innes (née Jane Alicia Macleod, grand-daughter of Simeon Boileau, and sister of Sir Donald Friell Macleod, K.S.I., and C.B.). It will be sufficient, therefore, to indicate the main line (in another chapter the Baronets of the family will appear). Simeon Boileau was born in 1717, and married in 1741 Magdalene, daughter of Theophilus De la Cour Desbrisay [De Brizé?]. Simeon's eldest married son was Solomon, whose heir was Simeon Peter Boileau (*born 1772, died 1842*), and his heir is Major-General Francis Burton Boileau, of the Royal Bengal Artillery, the present head of the family.

BOSANQUET.—This ancient and steadfast Huguenot family has taken very deep root in English soil. Pierre Bosanquet was the father of Fulcrand (or Foulcrand) Bosanquet who flourished in 1583, and whose son and grandson bore the name of Pierre. The latter married Gallarde de Barbut. His son David left written a memorandum concerning his flight from France, of which the following is a translation:—"I, a son of the Sieur Pierre Bosanquet by Gallarde de Barbut, was born at Lunel, Monday, 31st Oct. 1661; presented for holy baptism by M. David Barbut, my uncle, and by Marguerite de Barbut, my aunt, in the stead and place of Marguerite Bosanquet, my eldest sister, baptised on 6th Nov. 1661 by M. Thomas, one of the pasteurs of that church. On Saturday, 29th Sept. 1685, N.S., in order to escape the persecution, I departed from Lyons, where I was living, and I arrived at Geneva the 29th Sept., O.S., whence I departed the 18th Nov. following, taking Germany and Holland in my way. I arrived on Sunday the 21st February following at London, where I was married in the Parish Church of St Stephen's, Coleman Street, by the parish minister, the blind Dr Richard Lucas, on Thursday 15th Sept. 1698, to Elizabeth (born 25th Sept. 1676), daughter of the late Claude Hays and of Eleanor Hays (Cognard)." In the same church the venerated couple was buried, with this epitaph:—"M. S. Davidis Bosanquet Luneliæ in Galliâ Narbonensi prid. kal. Nov. A.D. 1661 nati, qui post Edicti Namnetici abrogationem ex patriâ ergo profugiens in Angliam se recepit, atque huic civitati adscriptus in omnes fermè orbis terrarum partes mercaturam feliciter fecit, in matrimonium duxit Elizabetham, Claudii Hayes civis Londinensis filiam, pulchris quæ feminam ornant virtutibus amabilem, ex quâ sex filios et tres filias unâ cum charissimâ conjuge superstites sibi relinquens decessit prid. kal. Jul. A.D. 1732,—cujus desiderium moestissima conjux haud amplius ferens heu nimium cito subsecuta est prid. kal. Oct. A.D. 1737 ætatis suæ 62. David Bosanquet, filius natu maximus, utriusque memoriæ hoc monumentum tristis posuit." David, with this epitaph (*born 1699, died 1741*), married Dorcas Melchior, a sister of Mrs Fonnereau; he was a learned antiquary, traveller, and collector of historic coins, medals, &c. His line failed in 1809, on the death of his son Richard (unmarried). The refugee's family was continued by his second and eighth sons. The fourth son, Claude's, epitaph is beside that of his parents:—"To the memory of Claude Bosanquet, late of this parish, Esquire, who died 26th July 1786, aged 79; his life was the evidence of his faith in the Christian religion, his death the proof of its reward. Pious and benevolent, he constantly exemplified his love to his fellow-creatures, his respect and reverence to his Maker. Ripe, both in years and virtue, he beheld his approaching end without fear, and retired at once with resignation and with confi-

dence." [It must be remembered that the deceased gentleman never endorsed either the phraseology or the doctrines of the above epitaph.]

The founder of the chief line of the Bosanquets was the refugee's second son, Samuel Bosanquet, of Forest House, Leyton, Essex, who was born in 1700, and married in 1732 Mary, the heiress of William Dunster, Esq. His eldest son was Samuel Bosanquet, of Forest House, who was a Director of the Bank of England, and Deputy-Governor of the Levant Company; in all political and social questions he was deeply read, extensively experienced, and frequently consulted. His practical loyalty was conspicuous at the period of the French Revolution; he died 4th July 1806, in his 63d year. Another son, William, was unmarried; the daughters were Anna Maria (Mrs Gaussen), and Mary (Mrs Fletcher). The second Samuel had three noteworthy sons, namely, the third Samuel Bosanquet, Esq. of Forest House and Dingestow House (*born 1768, died 1843*), Colonel Charles Bosanquet, of Rock (*born 1769, died 1850*), and Right Hon. Sir John Bernard Bosanquet (*born 1773, died 1847*). The present head of the family succeeded as the heir of the eldest of these; he is Samuel Richard Bosanquet, Esq. of Dingestow Court, barrister-at-law, Chairman of the Quarter Sessions of Monmouthshire, and Deputy-Lieutenant. His next brother is James Whatman Bosanquet, Esq., who married Merelina, only daughter of the Lord Chief-Justice, Sir Nicolas Conyngham Tindal, and whose descendants are the Tindal-Bosanquets. There are other branches too numerous to mention; the heir-apparent of Dingestow is Samuel Courthope Bosanquet, M.A., Oxon.

We now return to the eighth son of the refugee, namely, Jacob Bosanquet, Esq. (*born 1713, died 1767*); his monument is in Abbey Church, Bath, under the good Samaritan. His eldest son was Jacob Bosanquet, of Broxbournebury, in Hertfordshire, who for forty-five years was an East India Director, and was repeatedly elected Chairman of the East India Company. His eldest son and representative was George Jacob Bosanquet, Esq., of Boxbournebury (a celebrated mansion, and remarkable for a unique rose-garden). This Mr Bosanquet was in the diplomatic service from 1815 to 1830; after two years' residence at Berlin, and four at Paris, as an Attaché, he went to Madrid as paid Attaché in 1822, and was promoted to the rank of Secretary of Legation in Nov. 1828. For about three years and a half he acted as Chargé-d'Affaires, first for Sir William A'Court, and latterly for Sir Frederick Lamb. He married Cecilia, daughter of William Franks, Esq., and widow of Samuel Robert Gaussen, Esq. Two other branches of the family spring from William and Henry, brothers of George Jacob Bosanquet, Esq. William, a banker, died in his father's life on 21st June 1800, from a melancholy accident, recorded in the *Gentleman's Magazine* for that year. In that obituary notice he is described as "a gentleman of the finest literary attainments; nature had done much for him, education more. He possessed a fine taste, improved by the richest classical stores, and as a gentleman and a scholar was much admired in the superior circles of life." He had married, 6th Dec. 1787, Charlotte Elizabeth, one of the co-heiresses of John Ives, Esq., of Norwich (she died 13th Nov. 1805, aged thirty-eight). One of their sons is Augustus Henry Bosanquet, Esq., of Osidge, who married Louisa Priscilla, eldest daughter of David Bevan, Esq., of Belmont. He was an eminent civilian in India, in which country he also earned a military pension by a successful attack on the fort at Bareilly. His sister's son, Adolphus de Kantzow, a cavalry officer, received the special thanks of the Governor-General for his services in the suppression of the Sepoy revolt. George Jacob Bosanquet, Esq., left an only daughter, Cecilia Jane Wentworth Bosanquet, his heiress, who married; her husband has assumed the surname of Bosanquet by Royal letters patent; he is Horace James Smith Bosanquet, Esq., of Broxbournebury.

CHAMIER.—The English family of Chamier is descended in the male line from Rev. John Des Champs (born in 1709), whose parents were Huguenot refugees in Mecklenburg, her father being the Pasteur Jean Des Champs, Sieur de Bourniquel, and his mother Lucrece de Maffée, daughter of a gentleman of Dauphiné. Having emigrated to England in 1747, he became a minister of the London French Church in the Savoy in 1749, named Judith Chamier in 1758,

and died in 1767; he was also the non-resident incumbent of Pilleston, in Dorsetshire. In the female line, the present Chamiers are descended from Daniel Chamier, Esq., brother of John Chamier, secretary to the Archbishop (Wake) of Canterbury, and of Robert Chamier (an officer severely wounded at Dettingen), sons of the Rev. Daniel Chamier (see chapter xx.) Daniel Chamier, Esq., who had been private secretary at Paris to the Earl of Stair, died a London Merchant in 1741, aged 45. By his wife, Susan de la Mejanelle, he had one daughter Judith, Mrs Des Champs (*born* 1721, *died* 1801), who had the honour of keeping alive her father's name and family, and one surviving son, Anthony, who had the merit to endow them with a good position in English society. After the death of the latter the following appeared in the *Gazette*:—"St James's, 21st Oct. 1780.—The king has been pleased to grant unto John Des Champs, of the city of London, and his heirs-male, pursuant to the will of his uncle, Anthony Chamier, late of Epsom, in the county of Surrey, Esq., deceased, his royal licence and authority to take and use the surname of Chamier only, and to bear the arms of Chamier." This John was John-Ezekiel Des Champs (*born* 30th May 1754); in 1772, by his own persistent choice, and through his uncle's interest, he entered the Madras Civil Service, and though his succession to his uncle obliged him to visit England in 1780, yet he returned to his post in that distant empire to which his descendants have been equally devoted, and in which they have earned distinction. There he married in 1785 Georgina Grace, daughter of Admiral Sir William Burnaby, Bart. John Chamier, Esq. (as he must now be called), was secretary to the Madras Government in the days of Macartney and Clive, and thereafter spent a quarter of a century (*i.e.*, from 1805 to 1831) in literary leisure in London. Of his sons, the name of Chamier was represented in the literary arena by Captain Frederic Chamier, R.N., a successful historical writer and author of nautical romances. The eldest, Henry Chamier, Esq., the head of his family, was born 7th April 1795; his son, Charles Frederick Chamier (also of Madras) was born 13th April 1825; and his grandson, Henry Chamier, was born 17th April 1851. Henry Chamier, senior, was Chief Secretary, thereafter Member of Council, and at length Governor and Commander-in-Chief of Madras; he retired with a very high reputation, and died at Windsor in 1867. Charles Frederic was of the Madras Civil Service, Civil and Sessions Judge of Salen, he died in India on 21st April 1869, aged 44, justly eulogised as "the best type of the Anglo-Indian official," and, like the old refugees, a great horticulturist. Two of his brothers, Francis-Edward-Archibald and Stephen-Henry-Edward, served with distinction at the suppression of the Sepoy Revolt in India. To the former Sir James Outram wrote from Lucknow, 2d April 1858—"May God prosper you, my dear friend, in the career on which you are about to enter, and in all your undertakings; and if you seek this blessing, be assured it will not be withheld. You have abilities above common. You have a brave heart and a kind one. You are steady and high principled. You cannot fail to succeed, and of your success none will be more delighted to hear than myself, by whose side you have so often stood in the front of battle." The latter is now Major S. H. E. Chamier of the Royal Artillery.

COURTAULD.—The head of this family is Samuel Courtauld, Esq. of Gosfield Hall (*born* 1793), son of Samuel and Louisa Perina (see chap. xiv.) Two of his brothers (one now surviving) have founded branches of the family. The late George Courtauld (*born* 1802, *died* 1861) married in 1829 Susanna, daughter of John Sewell, Esq. of Halstead. Their son is George, of Cut Hedge (*born* 1830); he has been twice married, and his sons are George (*born* 1859) and Samuel Augustine (*born* 1865). John Minton Courtauld, of St John's Wood (*born* 1807) is the father of Julian Courtauld (*born* 1844). A son of the late George Courtauld, Esq., is named Louis (*born* 1834); his brother, Samuel Augustine (*born* 1833, *died* 1854) was drowned while bathing; the only sister in this branch of the family is Susanna-Ruth, Mrs Solly.

DAUBUZ.—The English families of this surname descend from Theophilus Daubuz, Esq., fifth son of the Rev. Charles Daubuz (see chap. xx.), who was born at Brotherton in 1713 and

died in London in 1774, having children by his second wife, Magdalen Judith, daughter of Lewis Baril, Esq. His eldest son, Lewis Charles Daubuz, Esq. (*born 1755, died 1839*), married in 1794 in Cornwall, Wilmot, third daughter of William Arundel Harris Arundel, Esq. of Kenegie; he had nine children, and died at Leyton, in Essex; of his children two sons survive at the head of families. The eldest son is James Baril Daubuz, Esq. of Leyton, Essex and Ryde, Isle of Wight (*born 1795*). J. P. and D.-L. for the county of Sussex, formerly an officer of the Royal Dragoons; his eldest son is Captain John Theophilus Daubuz, R.A. (*born 1833*), whose eldest son is James Claude Baril Daubuz (*born 1868*). The head of the other family is the Rev. John Daubuz (*born 1808*), formerly rector of Creed, now rector of Killiow, Cornwall; his heir-apparent is John Claude Daubuz. The late Lewis Charles Daubuz, Esq., has a surviving daughter, Anne, wife of the Hon. John Craven Westenra, and mother of Mary Anne Wilmot, Baroness Hastings, wife of the heir-apparent of the 12th Earl of Huntingdon. (Marie Daubuz, refugee sister of Rev. Charles Daubuz, was married in 1732 to Joshua Vane-neck, Esq., afterwards a baronet; she was the mother of Joshua, Lord Huntingfield.)

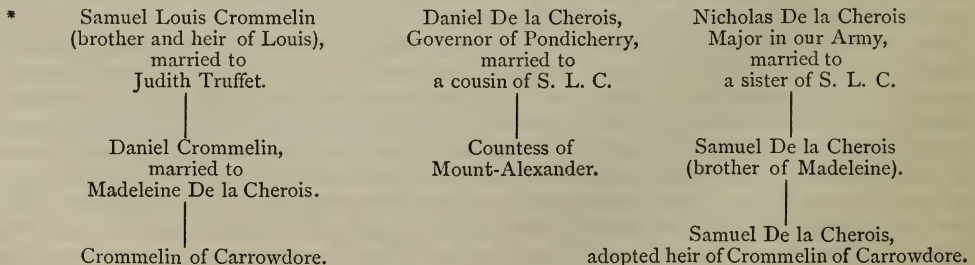
DELACHEROIS.—This family descends from Samuel la Cherois (see chap. xvi.), only son of Major Nicholas de la Cherois, by Marie Crommelin, sister of the Royal Overseer of the Linen Manufacture. He married in 1734 Sara Cornière, daughter of Daniel Cornière and Sara de Lalande, and his eldest son was Daniel de la Cherois. Daniel's marriage in 1782 was another tie to the Crommelins, his wife being Mary, daughter of Alexander Crommelin, granddaughter of Samuel Louis Crommelin, junr.; great-granddaughter of Samuel Louis, brother of the celebrated Louis Crommelin; three sons sprang from this marriage, of whom the youngest, Ensign Nicholas De la Cherois of the 47th, was killed at Barossa in 1811; the eldest, Daniel of Donaghadee (*born 1783, died 1850*) was unmarried; thus the representation of the family devolved on the descendants of the second son, Samuel Louis (*died 1836*). The present head of the family is Nicholas De la Cherois, Esq. of Ballywilliam, county Down (*born 1821*), late of the 7th Dragoon Guards. The second family is presided over by Daniel De la Cherois, Esq. of the Manor House, Donaghadee (*born 1825*), M.A. of Dublin, and a member of the Irish Bar; his heir is Daniel Louis (*born 1855*).

DELACHEROIS-CROMMELIN.—This family is genealogically De la Cherois and monumentally Crommelin. In 1734 (as already stated) Samuel De la Cherois and Sara Cornière were married, and their eldest son, Daniel, has just been memorialized. We here mention the second son, Captain Nicholas De la Cherois of the 9th regiment; he left no descendants. And now we rivet the reader's attention upon young Daniel, the third son, born in 1744; besides his De la Cherois parentage, his ties to the Crommelins demand attention. His grandmother was a sister of the great Louis Crommelin. His father's first-cousin was the Dowager-Countess of Mount-Alexander (whose mother was Marie, daughter of Abraham Crommelin and Marie Boileau). The Countess acquired wealth from her first husband, Philip Grueber, Esq., and from the Earl, her second husband, whose entire estates were bequeathed to her. Young Samuel De la Cherois himself was first cousin of Nicholas Crommelin, son of his aunt, Madeleine, wife of Daniel Crommelin (for Samuel De la Cherois, senior, had one sister, Madeleine De la Cherois, who was married to Daniel, son of Louis Crommelin, senior). To Samuel De la Cherois, senior, Lady Mount-Alexander left one-half of her estates (thus providing lands for him and his eldest son); and the other half, being the Carrowdore portion, she left to the above mentioned Nicholas Crommelin, whom we must now call Crommelin of Carrowdore. When Crommelin of Carrowdore had to leave his earthly inheritance, he saw that the male line of Crommelins was disappearing, he himself, and his next brother being unmarried, and his youngest brother (whose christian name was *Da la Cherois*) having an only child, a daughter. He, therefore, bequeathed his name and estate to his younger cousin, Samuel De la Cherois, junior, who thus became Samuel De la Cherois Crommelin, of

Carrowdore Castle.* Having discovered the first De la Cherois-Crommelin, the enquirer sees a direct line of posterity. Samuel (*born 1744, died 1816*) was succeeded by Nicholas (*born 1783, died 1863*), who married the Hon. Elizabeth De Moleyns, daughter of the 2d Lord Ventry. Nicholas was the father of Nicholas (*born 1819*), of Rockport, county Antrim, and of Samuel Arthur Hill De la Cherois Crommelin, Esq. (*born 1817*), the head of the family of Carrowdore Castle, county Down, whose heir-apparent is Frederic-Armand De la Cherois-Crommelin (*born in 1861*).

Of the Crommelins of last century, Charles emigrated to New York, and his descendants to the East Indies. During the Indian mutiny the name was honourably represented among British officers. Of these I have no definite information; but I observe in the Army List Colonel William Arden Crommelin, of the Royal Engineers (late *Bengal*), and Lieut.-Col. J. A. Crommelin, officer of H. M. Indian Forces, retired on full pay.

DE LA CONDAMINE.—In 1368, in a military report of the Duke of Anjou, a Gerault de la Condamine is mentioned; but the authenticated pedigree of the family begins with André de la Condamine, Coseigneur de Servès (*born 1560*), who, by his wife, Marie Geneviève, daughter of Noble Jacques de Falcon, Viguier de Vezénobre, left a son, Jean (*born 1583*), a lord of the bed-chamber. Jean was, by Gabrielle, daughter of Antoine de Piget, Seigneur de Chasteuil, the father of Gabriel and Antoine—from the latter descended the litterateur De la Condamine. Gabriel de la Condamine (*born 1606*) married Elizabeth de Rodier de la Brugière, and their son George (*born 1664*) married Antoinette de Montblanc St Martin, by whom he had André and Charles-Antoine—the latter was Colonel of the Regiment de Piedmont, and he conformed to Romanism. André de la Condamine (*born 1665*) was a steadfast Huguenot, as was his wife Jeanne, daughter of Pierre Agerre de Fons; after the Revocation they submitted for many years to much persecution; but at last, the fury of their adversaries, breaking out without restraint after the Peace of Utrecht, made them resolve to fly, along with their four sons and three daughters. The third son, Jean, was persuaded by his military uncle to remain with his regiment, and he founded a French Romanist family at the Chateau de Pouilly, near Metz; and his eldest brother, Pierre, afterwards returned to France, and also became a Roman Catholic. But, according to their resolve, the parents and six children fled in the year 1714; the two youngest were Jean Jacques (*born 1711*), and Marthe (*born 1713*). The fugitives set out from the family mansion, near Nismes, and experienced great sufferings and privations in their perilous journey, travelling by night and concealing themselves by day, until they reached St Malo, whence they crossed to Guernsey. In that island two sons and three daughters grew up as British subjects; of these, one son and two daughters died in London unmarried; Martha died in Guernsey in 1787, aged seventy-four, and Jean Jacques founded a family; it was in 1764 that he died, aged fifty-three, leaving by his wife (*née Mary Neel, of Jersey*) a daughter, Mary (Mrs Bowden), and a son John (*born 1763, died 1821*), King's Comptroller, or Advocate-



[The representation of the Crommelins through S. L. C., junior, could also be tabularly shown. S. L. S., senior's, sons were Samuel-Louis, David, James, and John. His second wife was General Belcastel's sister.]

General, and Colonel of the 1st or East Regiment of Guernsey Militia. Colonel de la Condamine, by his wife Elizabeth, daughter of Peter Coutart, Esq. of Guernsey, was the father of five sons and two daughters, namely, John de la Condamine, Esq. (*born 1792*), William (*born 1795, died 1854*), Captain Thomas de la Condamine (*born 1797*), who married Miss Janet Mary Agnew of Cairn Castle, Robert Coutart de la Condamine, Esq. of Edinburgh (*born 1800, died 1870*), James (*born 1803*), Mary (*born 1788, died 1840*), wife of Captain David Carnegie, late of the 102d Fusiliers, and Elizabeth (*born 1790, died 1847*).

DUBOURDIEU.—Of the founder and members of the Irish family of Dubourdieu my information is derived from the *Ulster Journal*; the only emendation on my part is to disconnect the founder more completely from six of the name already memorialised (see Chap. XX.)—those six all descending from Isaac Du Bourdieu, D.D. Besides that venerable pasteur, there was a succession of Protestant laymen, Seigneurs of Le Bourdieu, and kinsmen of the clerical family, their surname being De Brius. The father of the refugee now in question was Jacques, Seigneur Du Bourdieu; he died before the Revocation, and when that crisis arrived, his widow, “disguised as a peasant, with her infant son, concealed in a shawl, on her back, and accompanied by a faithful domestic, effected her escape through the frontier guards into German Switzerland, and thence to London, where she was received by a relative.” The boy had names occurring in various branches of the family, “Jean Armand,” and hence he has been mistaken for the more celebrated John Armand Du Bourdieu. But the “John Armand” of this paragraph, according to the title of his printed Sermon, “L’Indigne Choix des Sichemites,” as given in the *Ulster Journal*, was chaplain to the Duke of Richmond and Lennox (which the other was not), was alive in 1733 (which the other was not), and was *not* Rector of Sawtrej-Moynes (which the other was). His wife was the Comtesse d’Espuage, and he had an only child, Saumarez. Here I must state that the refugee widow was a lady of the family of De la Valade; her sister, a refugee in Holland, had there been married to Alexander Crommelin; and when the latter couple came to Lisburn, at Louis Crommelin’s invitation, they brought with them her brother, a refugee pasteur, Rev. Charles De la Valade, who became the minister of the French church at Lisburn. This led to the coming of young Saumarez Du Bourdieu to Ireland, and thus he was educated at Trinity College, Dublin. His uncle was minister in Lisburn for upwards of forty years; the second minister remained only two and a half years; and the third and last French minister was Rev. Saumarez Dubourdieu, “who was minister for forty-five years, and was so beloved in the neighbourhood that, in the insurrection of 1798, he was the only person in Lisburn whom the insurgents had agreed to spare.” He died incumbent of Lambeg Parish, aged ninety-six. He left three sons, John, Shem, and Saumarez; the third was a military surgeon, unmarried; Shem’s grandchildren settled in Dublin; John was the Rev. John Dubourdieu, author of two statistical volumes on the Counties of Antrim and Derry; he died aged eighty-six. His eldest son, Captain Saumarez Dubourdieu, on the surrender of Martinique to the British, received the sword of the French commandant, who addressed him thus:—“My misfortune is the lighter as I am conquered by a Dubourdieu, a beloved relative. My name is Dubourdieu.” The second son was Colonel Arthur Dubourdieu, who died of wounds received at Badajoz; the third was John Armand Dubourdieu, of H.M.’s Customs; the fourth was Captain Francis Dubourdieu, of the Royal Hanoverian Engineers. “The youngest son, George, joined the patriots under Bolivar in South America, and perished there.”

DURY.—The family of Dury of Bonsall is said to have been named Du Rie in France, and to have come to England at the Revocation. The first on record is Major-General Alexander Dury (promoted to that rank 2d Feb. 1757), who was killed at St Cas in Brittany, in command of the rear-guard of the British troops, 8th Sept. 1758; his son was Colonel Alexander Dury of the Grenadier Guards, who was succeeded by Captain Alexander Dury of the Royal Artillery, whose heir was his son, a fourth Alexander, an officer in the 67th regiment (*born 1820, died 1843*). The latter, dying unmarried, was succeeded by his brother (*born 1822*) Theodore

Henry Dury, Esq. of Bonsall, in Derbyshire (also of New Abbey, Dumfriesshire, according to Walford) ; his heir-apparent is Alexander William, Lieutenant of the 4th Foot.

ESDAILE.—The family of Esdaile of Cothelstone is believed to be a Huguenot refugee family, the head of which was the Baron d'Estaile. The fugitives at the Revocation led a life of poverty for the sake of religion, but their descendants gradually rose in their adopted country ; one obtained the honour of knighthood, namely, Sir James Esdaile, and he was the father of William Esdaile, Esq., banker in London (who died in 1837), and the grandfather of Edward Jeffries Esdaile, Esq. of Cothelstone House, Somersetshire (*born 1785, died 1867*). The son and namesake of the latter is the present proprietor (*born in 1813*) ; he married in 1837 Eliza Ianthe, daughter of the late Percy Bysshe Shelley, Esq. ; his heir-apparent is Charles Edward Jeffries Esdaile (*born in 1845*). A brother of Mr Esdaile of Cothelstone is William Clement Drake Esdaile of Burley Manor, Hants.

FONNEREAU.—This family is believed to spring from a branch of the ancient stock of the Comtes De Poitiers and d'Evreux,* the chief of which branch in 1120 was Messire Gauthier d'Evreux, Sire De Valliquerville, cousin of the Dukes of Normandy, Kings of England. The surname of *Fonnerel*, or *Fonnereau*, is supposed to have been a royal grant, or an assumed designation, in memory of military services or achievements. In a manuscript memoir concerning the wars in Dieppe it is stated that, in 1599, the citizens of Dieppe were led by "Noble homme Robert de Valliquerville, cadet de Normandie," called "le capitaine Fonnerel," whose wife was a lady of the house of Vauquelin des Ifs ; during the same period are mentioned Abraham de Valliquerville, chevalier, called also "Fonnereau," and Jean de Valliquerville, ecuyer, his nephew. One of this family, borne in 1636, Zacharie Fonnereau, was a refugee in London at the Revocation. His son, Claude Fonnereau, a merchant prince, died on 5th April 1740, possessed of immense wealth. The *Gentleman's Magazine* reported that he had left to his eldest son, Thomas, £40,000, and to his other sons, Rev. Claude £25,000, Abel, Philip, and Peter, each £20,000, to four daughters, each £10,000, and to his widow (his second wife) £400 per annum. I have read the Will, proved 17th April 1740, and I find mention of only two daughters, Elizabeth Frances, wife of James Benezet, Esq., and Anne, wife of Philip Champion de Crespigny, Esq. His sons being married, the Will confirms all marriage agreements and covenants, without quoting any of their details ; in addition to which a sum of £54,000 is left to be invested ; there are also legacies to St Thomas's Hospital, to the French church in Threadneedle Street, to the Charity in London for the Poor of La Rochelle and the Province of Aulnix, and to the French Charity in London called *La Soupe*. The eldest son succeeded to the estate of Christ Church, near Ipswich, which his father had bought. Thomas Fonnereau, Esq., left no heir ; he was M.P. for Sudbury for upwards of twenty years ; as to his brothers, the *Gentleman's Magazine* list seems not quite correct—Zachary Philip Fonnereau, Esq., was M.P. for Aldborough for many years, and in 1761 had Philip Fonnereau as his colleague. The Rev. Dr Claude Fonnereau succeeded Thomas in the Christ Church estate ; he married Anne Bunbury, a co-heiress of Bunbury, and his only surviving daughter, Anne, was married to Sir Booth Williams, Bart., while his only son and successor, the Rev. William Fonnereau (*died 1817*), married in 1758 Anne, heiress of Sir Hutchins Williams, Bart. The other son of the latter marriage, Rev. Claude Williams Fonnereau, succeeded his mother in the estate of The Friars, Chichester, but left no heirs ; the younger son succeeded his father, and was Rev. Charles William Fonnereau of Christ Church Park (*born 1764, died 1840*)—(in his youth he was in the Navy, and served as Lieutenant in H.M.S. Conqueror, under Admiral Rodney, 12th April 1782). His successor was William Charles Fonnereau, Esq. (*born 1804, died 1855*), father of the present head of the family, Thomas Neale Fonnereau, Esq. of Christ Church Park, whose heir-apparent is William Neale Fonnereau (*born 1862*).

* "Evreux" in Burke's Landed Gentry is made "Ivry"—(a mistake).

GAMBIER.—A branch of the Norman family of Gambier was in England in the reign of James I. ; and several persons of the name became exiles for their religion. “Some monumental fragments in Normandy (says Lady Chatterton), together with various other circumstances, prove the family to have been one of antiquity and importance.” The English family, with its several branches, is sprung from a good Huguenot refugee. Nicolas Gambier left France some time after the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes. He settled in London in 1690, where he died in 1724, leaving two sons, James and Henry. The latter was represented by a clergyman in 1824, at which date he published the third edition of his book, “An Introduction to the Study of Moral Evidence, or of that Species of Reasoning which relates to Matters of Fact and Practice, with an Appendix on Debating for Victory and not for Truth. By James Edward Gambier, M.A., Rector of Langley, Kent ; of St Mary-le-Strand, Westminster ; and Chaplain to the Right Hon. Lord Barham.” James Gambier, born in London in 1692, became a barrister in good practice, and was a member of the Common Council of the city. He was elected a Director of the French Hospital, 9th April 1729. He married Miss Mary Mead and had several children. The daughters were Susan, wife of Sir Samuel Cornish, Bart., and Margaret, wife of Sir Charles Middleton, Bart., who, after her death, was First Lord of the Admiralty, and raised to the peerage with the title of Lord Barham. (Their only child was Diana, Lady Barham, wife of Sir Gerard Noel, Bart.) Their sons were John and James. The latter was Admiral James Gambier (*born 1725, died 1789*) ; he married Jane, daughter of Colonel Mompesson, and was the father of Sir James Gambier, British Consul-General in the Netherlands. Sir James (*born 1772*) married in 1797 Jemima, daughter of William Snell, Esq. of Salisbury Hall, Hertfordshire, and was the father of William Gambier, Esq., Rear-Admiral Robert Fitzgerald Gambier, and James Mark Gambier, Esq.

The head of the senior line, the above-named John Gambier, Esq., was born in 1723 and died in 1782 ; he was Lieutenant-Governor of the Bahama Islands. His eldest son was Samuel ; the second son was the gallant and magnanimous Lord Gambier. As to the daughters, Mary married Admiral Samuel Cornish. Susanna married Richard Sumner of Devonshire. Harriet wife of the Rev. Lascelles Iremonger, Prebendary of Winchester, deserves eminence as the mother of Georgiana, Lady Chatterton, to whom we are indebted for two volumes of Memorials of Lord Gambier. Margaret, “a woman of singular beauty and attractiveness,” married William Morton Pitt, M.P. for Dorchester, son of John Pitt of Encombe, who was a cousin of the great Earl of Chatham. Mr and Mrs Morton Pitt had an only child Mary, who in 1806 was married to the Earl of Romney, and is the ancestress of the present Earl.

We now return to the head of the family, Samuel Gambier, Esq. He was born in Sept. 1752, and rose to be First Commissioner of the Navy : he married Jane, and Lord Gambier married Louisa, daughters of Daniel Matthew, Esq. of Felix Hall, Essex, and the latter having no children it would have been creditable to his Majesty’s ministers if they had responded to the suggestion to reward his lordship’s great and varied public services by advising the king to grant him a new patent, with a remainder to Samuel and his heirs. “Died May 11, 1813, in Somerset Place, after a few hours’ illness, Samuel Gambier, Esq., one of the Commissioners of the Navy (brother of Lord Gambier), leaving a widow and eleven children.” Upon this family according to the destination made by Admiral Sir Samuel Cornish, Bart. (who died in 1770), devolved the estate of Sharnbrook, in Bedfordshire. The eldest son (*born 1790, died 1848*) became Charles Samuel Gambier, Esq. of Sharnbrook ; he was succeeded by his next brother, the present head of the family, Admiral Robert Gambier (*born 1791*), whose apparent heir is Rev. Charles Gore Gambier. The third son of Samuel Gambier, Esq., is Sir Edward John Gambier (*born 1794*), M.A., late Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge, Chief-Justice of Madras from 1842 to 1849. The seventh son is Rev. Samuel James Gambier.

GAUSSEN.—The English family of Gausсен of Brookman’s Park (as well as a French branch, which was represented by Le Chevalier de Gausсен, who died in 1843) sprang from the Gaussens of Languedoc. Jean Gausсен, a refugee in Geneva in 1685, was married to Marguerite

Bosanquet, sister of David Bosanquet. Two of the sons, Pierre and Francois, were refugees in London, and died there, without issue; the former was Treasurer of the French Hospital in 1745, and Deputy-Governor in 1756. But they had a brother, Paul Gaussen, who married Catherine Valat; he lived in Geneva, and died in 1774; his third and fourth sons founded families. Paul Gaussen's fourth son, David Francois Gaussen, remained in Geneva; he was the grandfather of the celebrated pasteur and professor, Francois Samuel Robert Louis Gaussen (*born* 25th August 1790, *died* 18th June 1863), author of "La Theopneustie," and kindred works. Paul Gaussen's third son, Jean Pierre Gaussen, was adopted by his English refugee uncles, and joined them in London in the year 1739, the 16th year of his age. He became Governor of the Bank of England, and a Director of the East India Company. He married his cousin, Anna Maria, daughter of Samuel Bosanquet, of Forest House, the second son of David Bosanquet. His son was Colonel Samuel Robert Gaussen, who was High Sheriff of Hertfordshire, and in 1782 a Director of the French Hospital; he married Eliza, daughter of Jacob Bosanquet, Esq. of Broxbournebury, and dying in 1812, was succeeded by the second Samuel-Robert, father of the present Robert William Gaussen, Esq. of Brookman's Park.

The Irish family of Gaussen of Lakeview House is recognised by Haag as of Huguenot origin; but whether it sprang from the Saumur, the Burgundy, or the Guienne stock is not known. The refugee set sail from France for England, but was driven by a storm into Carlingford Bay and found shelter for life in Newry. His name was David Gaussen (*born* 1664, *died* 1751); he won an Irish bride, Miss Dorothy Fortescue; his son was David, of Newry (*died* 1802); his grandson was David, of Ballyronan House, who died in 1832 (his sister, Miss Elizabeth Gaussen, lived to a great age); the refugee's great-grandson was David, of Lakeview House, county Derry (*died* 1853); his great-great-grandson is David Campbell Gaussen, Esq. of Lakeview House (*born* 1815), whose brothers are Captain Thomas Lovett Gaussen, R.N., Rev. Edmond James Gaussen, and William Ash Gaussen, Esq.

GERVAIS.—The Irish family of Gervais of Cecil descends from Jean Gervais of Tournon, in Guienne, and Anne Fabre, his wife, who both died before the Revocation. Their sons, Pierre and Daniel, were brought to England in 1685 by an uncle. Daniel (*born* 1679), became a Captain in the army, and Gentleman-Usher to the Queen; he married Pauline, daughter of the Rev. Mr Balaguier of the French Protestant Church, Dublin. Pierre Gervais (*born* 1677, *died* 1730) married in 1717 Marie Françoise Girard; his son was Peter (*born* 1722, *died* 1800), who married Elizabeth, daughter of Rev. Samuel Close of Elm Park, county Armagh. Their son, Rev. Francis Gervais (*died* 1849), was the proprietor of the estate of Cecil, in county Tyrone; his wife was Katherine Jane, daughter of Michael Tisdall, Esq., and his heir and successor is the present Francis John Gervais, Esq. of Cecil.

GIRARDOT.—The family of Girardot is descended from Huguenot refugees, whose estates near Dijon were confiscated. In the middle of last century Mary Girardot married Mr André, and was the mother of Major André. The first who received a prosperous footing in the world was Charles Girardot, Esq., who married a Lincolnshire lady, daughter of William Dashwood, Esq.; his son was John Charles Girardot, Esq. of Allestree Hall, Derbyshire (*died* 1845), and by his wife, Lydia Marianne, daughter of Charles Vere Dashwood, Esq., he left three sons, Rev. John Chancourt Girardot, proprietor of Car-Colston Hall, Nottinghamshire (*born* 1798), Lieut.-Colonel Charles André Girardot, and Rev. William Lewis Girardot.

GOSSET.—This Norman family fled to Jersey at the Revocation. The chief of the refugees, John Gosset, died in 1712, was the father of John Gosset, who married Susan D'Allain, and left two sons; his younger son, Isaac, a subsequent chapter is concerned. The elder son was Abraham, father of Matthew Gosset of Bagot, whose eldest son was another Matthew Gosset, Esq. of Bagot, Jersey, and of Connaught Square, London, *Vice-Comes* of the Island of Jersey (*died* 1843); his second wife was Grace, daughter of Admiral Sir Thomas Frankland, Bart., and

her sons were Colonel William Matthew Gosset of the Royal Engineers, Admiral Henry Gosset, and Arthur Gosset, Esq. of Eltham House, Kent, the head of the family (*born* 1800). There are two branches founded by Matthew Gosset, senior, by his second wife, Margaret Durell. (1.) Sir William Gosset, C.B., late Sergeant-at-Arms to the House of Commons (*died* 1848), was the father of Ralph Allen Gosset, Esq., father of Major Butler Gosset. (2.) Major John Noah Gosset is the father of Colonel William O'Driscoll Gosset of the Royal Engineers. Another branch was founded by Matthew Gosset, junior, who by his third wife, Laura Honor Cotton, was father of George Bagot Gosset, Esq. (*died* 1840).

HARENC.—“This family,” says the *Gentleman's Magazine*, “came originally from the south of France, the first ancestor in England having been one of the numerous Protestant gentlemen who were driven to find an asylum here from the folly and bigotry of their own government, on the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes. A branch of the family still exists in France, one of the members of which was the amiable and accomplished Madame Harenc, of whom mention is made in the memoirs of Baron Grimm.” Benjamin Harenc lived in London in the middle of last century, where he was well-known in literary and fashionable society, and his house was the resort of the most distinguished foreign residents. He was elected a Director of the French Hospital in 1765. He bought the estate and mansion of Footscray Place, in Kent, in 1773, and resided there till his death. He also bought land in the county of Kerry. Benjamin, his son, took a degree at Cambridge, with honours, being one of the Wranglers of the year 1803. In 1804 he married Sophia Caroline, daughter of Joseph Berens, Esq. of Kevington. He was a prominent County Magistrate and Justice of the Peace, Commander of the Chislehurst troop of Yeomanry Cavalry, a constant visitor of the County Gaol at Maidstone, founder of National Schools for the parishes of Footscray and Chislehurst, founder of the Bromley Savings' Bank, and first Secretary of the District Branch of the Christian Knowledge Society. “Among the latest of the benevolent objects to which his attention was directed, was the formation of a Society supported by voluntary subscriptions for the assistance and support of discharged prisoners, with a view of facilitating their return to habits of industry, by affording them the means of communicating with their friends, and by relieving them from that feeling of destitution and abandonment which had been found in too many instances to drive them to a repetition of crime.” He sold Footscray Place to Lord Bexley in 1821, and died at Seven Oaks at the early age of 45, on 13th Sept. 1825. His death was hastened by his involving himself in great labour and anxiety, by accepting shares, and the provisional management of a scheme for establishing Steam Communication with America from the western coast of Ireland, in the neighbourhood of his county Kerry estate. He was buried amidst evident and universal lamentation, in the family vault under Footscray Church. Having ceased to hold land, his descendants are not recorded in books of reference; but I am glad to observe in the Army List the names of Colonel Archibald Richard Harenc (commanding the 53d Foot), and Lieut. Charles Edward Harenc, of the 5th Lancers, and, in the Navy List, Sub-Lieutenant Archibald Kempt Harenc.

KENNY.—Several families of this name are believed to descend from a Huguenot refugee who settled in Ireland, and whose son Thomas Kenny (*died* 1725) married Frances, a grand-daughter of Rev. John Courtney, Rector of Ballinrobe, and was the father of Captain Courtney Kenny. The eldest son of the latter was Thomas (*born* 1734, *died* 1812), father of Lieutenant-Colonel William Kenny (who met a soldier's death in India in 1803), of Thomas, junior (father of Lieutenant-Colonel Edward Kenny), of Lieutenant-General David Crowe Kenny (father of William), and of Captain Courtney Kenny (father of Lieutenant-Colonel Thomas Kenny of Madras.) The second son of the refugee's grandson was another Courtney Kenny (*born* 1736, *died* 1809), father of a third Courtney (*born* 1781, *died* 1863), whose representative is the present Stanhope William Fenton Kenny, J.P., of Ballinrobe. The second Courtney had a second son Mason Stanhope Kenny, M.D. of Halifax, Yorkshire (*born* 1786, *died* 1865), who was the father of William Fenton Kenny and of Rev. Lewis Stanhope Kenny, Rector of Kirkby-Knowles. A third son of the second Courtney was John, father of Courtney Bermingham Kenny.

LA TOUCHE.—An old history of Dublin justly observes, “The moral qualities brought and exercised by the refugees and their descendants proved the most valuable requisition to Dublin; their names are to be found among the promoters of all our religious and charitable institutions. And one is so conspicuous that notice would be superfluous and eulogy impertinent—who does not know, and knowing, not prize, the excellent family of La Touche?” The refugee in 1686 (aged 15) belonged to the family of the Seigneurs de La Touche, whose surname was Dignes; he had an uncle Louis Dignes, Seigneur de La Brosse, a refugee in Amsterdam. David Dignes de La Touche was serving as a gentleman cadet in the citadel of Valenciennes, his brother Paul and others insisting upon his perversion to Romanism. He wrote to an aunt that he intended to remove secretly to Amsterdam; she replied, giving her consent, and sending him a hundred gold crowns and a Bible. This Bible is still preserved; it fared otherwise with the money, for he forgot to take it out of his pocket on the roadside when he exchanged clothes with a peasant. A penniless foot-passenger, he at length rested upon a doorstep, humming a Huguenot tune, in Amsterdam. An elderly gentleman came up to him, and the following dialogue took place, the senior speaking first:—*Are you a Frenchman?* Yes, sir. *What is your country?* Le Blessois. *Where were you born?* At the chateau de La Touche, near Mer de Blessois. *Are you a Protestant?* Yes. *What are you doing here?* Nothing yet; I am only just arrived. *What do you intend to do?* Whatever my uncle wishes. *Who is your uncle?* Louis Dignes de La Brosse, and I am looking for his house. *Come with me, my child, I will show it to you!* The gentleman was his uncle, who adopted him. La Touche completed his military education, and in 1688 accompanied King William, whom he served as an officer of La Caillemotte’s regiment. On retiring from it, he founded a silk, poplin, and cambric manufactory in Dublin. He was trusted with deposits of money and valuables by his brother-refugees, and this suggested the formation of a Bank, which in 1735 was removed from the factory salerooms in High Street to the Banking premises in Castle Street, Dublin, where, as all the world knows, it still flourishes. He lived to enter his 74th year; “on 17th Oct. 1745 he was found upon his knees in the Castle Chapel—*dead.*” He had married Judith Biard, daughter of Noë Biard by Judith Chevalier, and left two sons, David succeeded him in the Bank, and James in the factory. David dropped the surname “Dignes” or Digges; he was born on 31st Dec. 1703 and died in 1785, and was the senior partner of Messrs David La Touche & Sons. The sons were the Right Hon. David La Touche of Marlay, M.P., John La Touche, Esq. of Harristown, and Peter La Touche, Esq. of Bellevue. Bellevue, in the parish of Delgany, had been the father’s country residence, who had changed the name from Ballydonough. Peter adorned the name of La Touche, and built a new Church at Delgany, where, beneath a splendid monument, by which he had proclaimed his father’s excellences, his own well-deserved reputation is thus described:—“In the vault beneath rest the remains of Peter La Touche, Esq. of Bellevue. During a residence in the parish of nearly fifty years, he was the constant benefactor of all within his reach—a kind and indulgent master and landlord—an attached and affectionate husband, and a steady and generous friend. He died 26th Nov. 1828 at the advanced age of 95 years. Trusting for his salvation to the merits of his Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, by few in his time could the words of Job have been so justly adopted, *When the ear heard me then it blessed me, and when the eye saw me it gave witness to me, because I delivered the poor that cried, the fatherless and him that had none to help him; the blessing of him that was ready to perish came upon me, and I caused the widow’s heart to sing for joy.*” He adopted his nephew, Peter, a younger son of David of Marlay, as his heir, ancestor of the La Touches of Bellevue. The last-mentioned, David, was succeeded by his eldest son, David; he sold Marlay to his brother, who was named John David (*born 1772, died 1838*), and was the founder of the present La Touches of Marlay. The La Touches of Harristown have descended in an unbroken line from John of Harristown, the present proprietor being great-great-grandson of the refugee.

We must now return to James, the refugee’s second son; the business which he inherited

prospered under him ; he was the author of "Observations on the Embargo lately laid on the Exports of Beef, Pork, and Butter from Ireland." By an arrangement with his elder brother he adopted the double surname of "Digges La Touche ;" he married in 1755 Elizabeth, daughter of David Chaigneau, Esq., and secondly, in 1743, Matilda Thwaites ; he had five sons, two of whom were William Digges La Touche of Sans-Souci, and Peter Digges La Touche of Belfield. William was the British Resident at Bussora on the Persian Gulf, and he is thus memorialized in "Major Taylor's Journey from England to India in 1789," vol. ii., p. 302 :—"No man ever deserved better at the hands of the Arabs, or was more highly respected and esteemed among them, than Mr La Touche. His wonderful humanity and boundless generosity to the unhappy captives of Zebur had gained him their warmest affection. When Bussora was besieged by the Persians he sheltered within his own walls, and under the English flag, the principal people with their wives and families. And when the miserable inhabitants of Zebur, according to the custom of the Persians to persons taken in war, became the slaves of their opponents, he ransomed them without distinction at his own expense." He was born in 1746 and died in 1803 suddenly, at his town house in St Stephen's Green. His son was James (*born 1788, died 1827*), a man worthy of the admirable Memoir, entitled, "Biographic Sketches of the late James Digges La Touche, Esq., banker, Dublin, Honorary Secretary to the Sunday School Society for Ireland during seventeen years from its commencement—by William Urwick, D.D." To that book I am much indebted.

LUARD.—Robert Abraham Luard, of Caen in Normandy, was a Huguenot refugee in London. In the ancient province of Maine, and near to the town of Le Mans, there is a Chateau de Luart, and probably his family was originally cradled there. He married Miss Verbeck, and their son, Peter Abraham Luard (*born 1703, died 1768*), became a great Hamburg merchant. The senior line of the family derives from his only son, by his first wife, Peter Robert Luard (*born 1727, died 1802*), who married Jane, daughter of Zachariah Bouryan, Esq. ; his heir was Captain Peter John Luard of Blyborough, who married Louisa, daughter of Charles Dalbiac, Esq., and dying in 1836 was succeeded by Charles Bouryan Luard (*born 1785, died 1855*), father of the present George Augustus Luard, Esq. of Blyborough Hall, Lincolnshire. His next brother, John Godfrey Luard (*born 1829, died 1862*) is represented by another John-Godfrey. Returning to Peter Abraham, we find that he had, by his second marriage, one son, William, whose second son, William, founded or resuscitated the family of Wright of Hatfield Priory, and the third son was the ancestor of Captain William Garnham Luard, C.B., R.N., of the Lodge, Witham. Reverting to Captain Peter John Luard, we observe that he had eight sons, the seventh being Major Robert Luard of the Mote, Tonbridge.

MAJENDIE.—Lewis Majendie, Esq., grandson of a reverend Huguenot, and brother of an Anglican Bishop (with both of whom another chapter will be concerned), became proprietor of Hedingham Castle by his marriage with Elizabeth, daughter of Sir Henry Hoghton, Bart., and grand-daughter and heiress of William Ashhurst, Esq. He quartered the arms of Ashhurst and Hoghton with those of Majendie. He died in 1833, and left two sons, the elder of whom, Ashhurst Majendie, Esq., F.R.S., F.S.A., succeeded to the estates, and the younger, Rev. Henry Lewis Majendie, became the heir-presumptive. But the latter died in 1863, and his eldest son, who succeeded his uncle in 1868, is the present Lewis Ashhurst Majendie, Esq. of Hedingham Castle in Essex, who married Lady Margaret Lindsay, daughter of the present Earl of Crawford and Balcarres. The elder daughter of the first Lewis Majendie was Elizabeth Mary Majendie, wife of the Hon. George Mark Arthur Winn, and mother of Charles, 3d Lord Headley.

MONTRESOR.—This family descends from Guillaume Le Tresor, Vicomte de Condé-sur-Mogreaux in 1486, whose son was Cyprien Le Tresor, Vicomte de Carentan in 1547. The grandson of the latter was Jacques or James Le Tresor, a refugee in England, who died in

1691. His great-great-great-grandson is Lieut.-Colonel Henry Edward Montresor of Denny Hill, near Canterbury. The family crest is a royal helmet, with the motto, *Mon Trésor*. So many members of this family have served in the Army and Navy that I must return to it in chapter XXVI.

OLIVIER.—This family has a distinct Huguenot pedigree, but whether any of its members were refugees I am not informed. Its representative at the epoch of the Revocation was Rev. Jourdain Olivier of Pau, grandfather of Daniel Josias Olivier, merchant in London (*born 1722, died 1782*). This Mr Olivier's son and grandson were Rectors of Clifton, in Bedfordshire. The latter had a younger brother, Lieut.-Colonel Henry Stephen Olivier of Potterne Manor House, near Devizes (*born 1796, died 1864*), whose eldest son and successor is Rev. Henry Arnold Olivier, now of Potterne.

PETIT.—From the ancient Norman family of Petit des Etans descended a gallant Huguenot refugee, Brigadier Louis Petit, who died in 1720. His son was John Petit, Esq., "a gentleman of great abilities and knowledge of the polite world," who, with his family circle, and with a brother, Captain Peter Petit, an officer in the army, inhabited the mansion of Little Aston, in the parish of Shenstone, Staffordshire, from 1743 to 1762. This family's munificence is glowingly described by Rev. Henry Sanders in his History of Shenstone. John Petit married Mary, daughter of Mr John Hayes of Wolverhampton, and had a daughter, Mary-Anne, and a son. The son was John Lewis Petit, B.A. of Cambridge, and M.D., Physician of St. Bartholomew's Hospital, London, who died 27th May 1780, leaving by his wife (Katherine Letitia, daughter of Rev. James Serces of Hounslow) three sons; (1st) Rev. John Hayes Petit, M.A. of Cambridge, Perpetual Curate of Shareshill, Staffordshire, who died at Coton Hall, parish of Avey, Shropshire, 26th July 1822. (2d) Lieut.-Colonel Peter Hayes Petit of the 35th foot, who died in 1809 (aged 36) of a wound he received before Flushing, and was interred in the burial-ground at Deal, with military honours, "a brave and much-lamented officer." (3rd) Louis Hayes Petit, barrister of Lincoln's Inn; M.P. for Ripon; (*born 1774, died 1849*). Neither the second nor the third left descendants; but the first was the father of the (1) Rev. John Louis Petit, M.A., F.S.A., member of the British Archæological Institute, &c., author and illustrator of "Remarks on Church Architecture," 2 vols, 1841; "Architectural Studies in France," 1854; "Notes on Circular Churches," 1861; "Sketches made during a Tour in the East and on the Nile," 1864-5; &c., &c., &c.: *born 1801, died 1869*. (2) Lieut.-Colonel Peter John Petit, C.B., of the 59th foot; *died 1852*. (3) Louis Peter Petit, Esq., barrister-at-law; *died 1848*. The Rev. J. L. Petit was the last male representative of his family.—(*Gentleman's Magazine*, [1822], and *The Register* for 1869, vol. i., pp. 220 and 525.)

PORCHER.—This family is descended from the Comtes de Richebourg. Isaac Porcher de Richebourg, M.D. of the University of Paris, married Claude Cherigny, of the province of Touraine, and, after the Edict of Revocation, they fled to South Carolina under British rule. Their son was Joseph Porcher, father of Paul Porcher, who married Mary Du Pre; and his son, Josias Du Pre Porcher, removed from Charleston, South Carolina, in 1768, being brought to England by his uncle James Du Pre, who had been governor of Fort George, Madras. His son was Josias Du Pre Porcher, Esq., of Winslade House, Devonshire, M.P. for Old Sarum, who married Charlotte, daughter of Sir William Burnaby, and sister of the wife of John Chamier, Esq., and who died in 1820. His eldest surviving son, Rev. George Porcher, married, in 1818, Frances Amelia, daughter of John Chamier, Esq.; and his sons are George Du Pre Porcher, Esq., barrister-at-law, and Captain Edwin Augustus Porcher. R.N. The youngest son of Mr Porcher, M.P., was Charles Porcher, Esq., of Clyffe (*born 1800, died 1863*) whose widow succeeded to his estate.

PORTAL.—The head of this family is Melville Portal, Esq., of Laverstoke, who married,

in 1855, Lady Charlotte Mary Elliot, daughter of the second Earl of Minto : his brothers are Lieut.-Colonel Robert Portal ; Wyndham Spencer Portal, Esq., of Malshanger ; and Rev. George Raymond Portal : their elder sister, Adela, is married to Edward Knight, Esq., of Chawton. These are children of John Portal, Esq., of Freefolk Priors, and Laverstoke (born 1764, died 1848), and grandchildren of Joseph Portal, Esq. (born 1720, died 1793), the son and heir of the noble and talented Huguenot refugee. (See Chap. XIV.)

ROUMIEU.—This Albigenian and Huguenot family claims descent from Romieu, who was the famous prime minister of Raymond, Comte de Toulouse, and the great shining light of the thirteenth century, in Dante's estimation. The historical facts concerning him are preserved in a volume (a copy of which is an heirloom in the English family) entitled, "Histoire de l'incomparable administration de ROMIEU, grand ministre d'estat en Provence, lorsqu'elle etoit en souveraineté, ou se voyent les effects d'une grand sagesse et d'une rare fidelité ensemble, le vray modele d'un ministre d'estat et d'un surintendant de finances. Par le Sr. Michel Baudier, du Languedoc, gentilhomme de la maison du Roy, Con^{sr} et Historiographe de sa Majesté. A Paris, chez Jean Camusat, Rue Saint-Jacques a la Toyson d'Or, 1635. Avec Privilège du Roy." The Comtes de Roumieu held the seigneurie of Vence ; they early declared for the Protestant Reformation, and their rank and influence drew down much persecution upon them. When the Edict of Revocation was foreseen by the Protestant leaders, a dozen or more years before its actual promulgation, the Comte de Roumieu removed from his estate near Arles, and sojourned at Marseilles, where he remained some time, the counsellor of his fugitive brethren, and the custodian of their money, papers, plate, and jewels. On one occasion a young Romanist brought him some silver plate of the Forbin family, representing himself to be a Huguenot ; the Comte, being on terms of friendship with that family, detected the imposture, and secured the restoration of the property to its owner. When persecution thickened, the Comte de Roumieu obtained a passage to Plymouth, where he was reduced, for the sake of subsistence, to the rank of a servant. There Admirals Jean Bart and the Comte de Forbin were prisoners of war in 1689, and were plundered. The latter being an old friend, Roumieu visited him in durance. And though these naval commanders had been taken in the attempt to convey succours to King James and the Irish papists, the Huguenot refugees in Plymouth at once responded to his appeal for charitable donations to the prisoners. Our Comte afterwards settled in London, in the district of Soho. He must have been advanced in life, for Forbin wrote of him as *ce bon vieillard*. The refugees continued to trust him with valuable deposits, so that his son John commenced business as a banker and bullion merchant. It was in the same way (as we have already seen) that the bank of La Touche began ; and to similar beginnings it is said that the banking businesses of the Pugets and Bosanquets can be traced. John Roumieu was twice churchwarden of St. Giles's parish and of St. Mary's, Paddington. Adam, his brother, was steward of the French Hospital. John's son, Abraham Roumieu, was an architect (a pupil of Samuel Ware), father of John Roumieu, Esq., solicitor, of Lincoln's Inn, who died in his 81st year. The sons of the latter are the present representatives of the family. Robert Lewis Roumieu, Esq., director of the French Hospital, was the architect of its new and beautiful fabric near Victoria Park, and gave his professional services without charge. With regard to the estates in the south of France, they were appropriated by the church. The Roumieus of Orleans, though conformists to Romish worship, petitioned for a grant without success : they have, however, been styled, by courtesy, Comtes and Vicomtes de Roumieu. Two officers of the family, in the army of Napoleon, were killed at Waterloo. There has been correspondence at several dates between the refugee family and their French kindred.

SALMOND.—This family claim to be descended from Huguenot refugees, who at first settled in the island of Antigua, from whence William Salmond, Esq., came to England. He was the father of the late Major-General James Salmond of Waterfoot, on the shores of

Ullswater, whose son is the present proprietor, Lieut.-Colonel James Salmond, several of whose family have worthily served their country in the army and navy.

TAHOURDIN.—Gabriel Tahourdin, a Protestant refugee from the province of Anjou, was naturalized in 1687 (see List XIII.), and became a London merchant: he died in 1730, and was buried at Wandsworth. His eldest son, Gabriel, was unmarried. His second son, René Tahourdin, Esq., merchant citizen and grocer, dying in 1751, left an only son, Richard. From Peter, the refugee's third son, the English families spring. The refugee had four daughters, of whom Dorothy was married to Maximilian Western, and is thus an ancestress of the Western and Larpent baronets; Cassandra was married to John Graydon, and is an ancestress of the Earls of Milltown. Peter Tahourdin (*born 1720, died 1784*) was the father of two clergymen and of Henry Tahourdin, Esq., of Olveston, in Gloucestershire (*born 1752, died 1816*). The latter, who was the youngest son, left six daughters, of whom Anne was married to Sir Hanson Berney, Bart., and Mary Henrietta to Lieut.-Colonel the Hon. Savile Henry Lumley. The younger of the clerical sons was Rev. Charles Tahourdin, B.D., rector of Stoke-Charity, Hants (*born 1750, died 1819*), father of the late Rev. William Tahourdin, M.A., Fellow of New College, Oxford. The eldest clergyman, and chief of his name, was Rev. Gabriel Tahourdin, M.A. (*born 1743, died 1814*): he married Mary, daughter of Stephen Le Bas, Esq., and was the father of Peter Tahourdin, Esq., of London, solicitor (*born 1771, died 1844*), whose eldest son is Peter Le Bas Tahourdin, and the second son, from whom the apparent heirs-male spring, is Charles Tahourdin, Esq., of Westminster, solicitor, (*born 1805*). The eldest son of the latter is Charles John Tahourdin, Esq., B.A., Oxon, barrister-at-law; and the second son is Harry Tahourdin, Esq., who married, in 1868, Bridget, daughter of Robert Hannay, Esq., of Rusko.

VIGNOLES.—De Vignolles, or Vignoles, was the name of a noble family in Languedoc. From Jean de Vignoles, who was married in 1559, sprang the chiefs of four branches. The grandson of *Vignoles de Prades*, the oldest chief, was the first Protestant of the race; he was a Major of Cavalry, Jacques de Vignoles, Sieur de Prades. He married in 1637 Louise, daughter of Louis de Baschi, Seigneur d'Aubais, and his wife, Anne Rochemore. Two of his daughters died in Ireland, namely, Louise, who died in Dublin in 1720, aged sixty-seven, and Marguerite, widow of Pierre Richard, Sieur de Vendargues; endeavouring to take refuge in Switzerland in 1686, she was robbed of 62,000 livres, and imprisoned in a convent, from which she escaped penniless (she died in 1730, aged seventy-eight). Another daughter was Madame Boileau. Charles de Vignoles, brother of these ladies, was a military officer, who was born in 1645, and married in 1684 Marthe de Beauvoir du Roure, and with his wife fled to Holland, and afterwards to England; their only surviving child, Margaret (born in London in 1692), was married to her cousin Scipio Durore, and died in Dublin in 1721. Vignoles married in 1694 (having become a widower) Gabrielle d'Esperandieu, daughter of Jacques, Sieur d'Aiguesfondes. Their daughter, Marie (*born 1694, died 1730*), became the wife of a refugee from Poitou, Joshua Du Fay, a Captain of Cavalry. Charlotte (*born in 1696*) was married to Cornet Charles Nicolas, who emigrated to Philadelphia. Vignoles died at Dublin on Dec. 16, 1721, in his seventy-seventh year. His heir was his son, Colonel Charles Vignoles (*born at Dublin 1701*), who married at Southampton, in 1741, Mary, daughter of Captain Isaac Gignoux, of Nismes, but did not leave posterity. Another son, Maurice (*born 1705, died 1745*), left a son, Charles William, who died at Jamaica in 1758, aged twenty-seven, and without heirs. The thirteenth child, Major James Louis Vignoles, of the 31st regiment, founded a British family. He was born in Dublin in 1702, and married at Portarlington, 17th March, 1737, Anne Marie de Bonneval, sister of the deceased refugee pasteur of that town, Rev. Anthoine Ligonier de Bonneval. [I have seen no evidence that this Monsieur De Bonneval was a brother of Earl Ligonier; no such title in connection with the Earl's ancestors is on record.] The son and heir of Major Vignoles was John (*born in 1740*); he also rose to be a Major in the army. After the death of his father

(which took place 21st Feb. 1779), he entered the ministry of the Irish Church, and was minister of the French church of Portarlinton from 1793 to 1817. The Rev. John Vignoles married an heiress, Anna Honora Low of Cornahir, County Westmeath. On his death, in 1817, his son, Rev. Charles Vignoles, succeeded him in the French church, being the last minister who read the liturgy in the French language. This venerable divine is Charles Vignoles, D.D., Dean of Ossory (*born in 1788*); the heir-apparent of Cornahir is the Dean's grandson, Charles Howard Vignoles. Dean Vignoles is the proprietor of Dumont de Bostaquet's precious manuscript; the writer's heirs had probably deposited it with their pastor, Monsieur De Bonneval, among whose heir-looms it has been preserved and transmitted. [In my chapter on *Dumont de Bostaquet*, I adopted the French editor's suggestion as to the probability of a marriage having taken place between Marie-Madeleine de Bostaquet (*born 1680*) and a Monsieur De Vignoles, but I now withdraw that opinion; she did not marry Major James Louis Vignoles, and there is no reason to suppose that she was the third wife of his aged father.]

Chapter XXXIII.

THE ROMILLY GROUP OF FAMILIES.

THE head of the English family of Romilly came to England in 1701. In the old Church-Book of the French Protestant Church of La Quarré, in London, there is an entry dated 14th Dec. 1701, "Reconnoissance de Estienne Romilly de Montpellier." The great Sir Samuel Romilly left a narrative of his ancestor's refugee life, which is printed in his Memoirs, and of which the following paragraph is an abridgement:—"I have not the means of speaking of many of my ancestors. The first of them that I ever heard of, is my great-grandfather. He had a pretty good estate at Montpellier, in the South of France, where he resided. He was a Protestant, but living under the religious tyranny of Louis XIV., and in a part of France where persecution raged with the greatest fury, he found it prudent to dissemble his faith, and it was only in the privacy of his own family that he ventured to worship God in the way which he judged would find favour in His sight. His only son, Stephen Romilly (*born 1684*), my grandfather, he educated in his own religious principles, and so deeply did the young man imbibe them, that when he was about seventeen years of age he made a journey to Geneva for the sole purpose of receiving the sacrament. At Geneva he met the celebrated Saurin, who happened to be on a visit there. The reputation of that extraordinary man was then at the highest. He was revered as an apostle; and his eloquence and his authority could not fail to make a forcible impression on a young mind deeply tinctured with that religious fervour which persecution generally inspires. The result of a few conversations was a fixed determination in my grandfather to abandon for ever his native country, his connections, his friends, his affectionate parents, and the inheritance which awaited him, and to trust to his own industry for a subsistence amidst strangers, and in a foreign land, but in the enjoyment of civil and religious liberty. Instead of returning to Montpellier, he set out for London; and it was not till he had landed in England that he apprised his father of the irrevocable resolution that he had formed. He at first met with much more prosperity than he could have expected. His father remitted him money, and after a few years he set up with a tolerable capital at Hoxton, in the neighbourhood of London, in the business of a wax-bleacher. He soon afterwards married Judith de Monsallier, the daughter of another French refugee, and he became the father of a very numerous family. His generosity, his piety, his affection for his wife, his tenderness towards his children, and their reciprocal fondness and veneration for him, are topics on which I have

often heard my father and my aunts enlarge with the most lively emotion. His generosity led him into expenses which the profits of his business alone would have ill enabled him to support, but he had a resource in the remittances which he was seldom long without receiving from his father. This resource, however, at last failed. His father died. A distant relation (the next heir), who was a Roman Catholic, took possession of the estate, and my grandfather was reduced to a very scanty income for the subsistence of his large family. Difficulties soon multiplied upon him; bankruptcy and poverty were the consequences. His gentle spirit sank under these calamities, and he died (1733) at the age of forty-nine, of a broken heart."

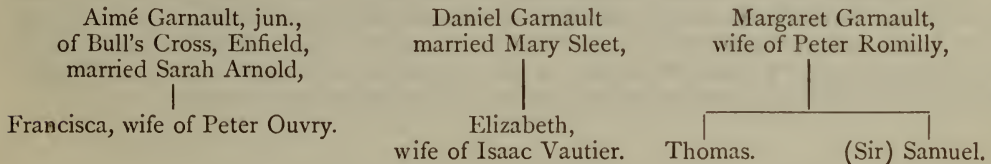
His father-in-law, Francis de Monsallier, had four children: Judith, Mrs Romilly; Lucy, Mrs Page; Anne Marie Picart, Mrs De Laferty; and Elizabeth, Mrs Fludyer. Mr Romilly himself left four sons: Joseph, Stephen, Isaac, and Peter. Joseph died of grief on account of his father's death. Stephen was a partner in business with Sir Samuel Fludyer and Sir Thomas Fludyer—so was Isaac. The latter was of scientific tastes; his epitaph in the parish church of St Bride's, Fleet Street, tells his story:—"Near this place are deposited the remains of Mr Isaac Romilly, F.R.S., *obit* 18 Dec. 1759, *ætat.* 49 (whose affable and humane temper of mind, joined to his goodness of heart, justly endeared him to all his friends, as did his great ingenuity and labour in forming his extensive and valuable collection of natural curiosities to the esteem of the learned), in the same grave with the remains of Mary, his beloved wife, whose sudden and unexpected death on 11th Dec. 1759, in the 48th year of her age, greatly contributed to shorten the thread of his life, for they were an example of conjugal affection." Isaac's younger daughter was married to Nathaniel Thomas, B.A., Oxon., the first editor of the St James's Chronicle (instituted in 1761), and afterwards proprietor of that newspaper, whose son, Nathaniel Thomas, Secretary to the Embassy to the Court of Delhi, died in India.

The refugee's fourth son, Peter, a jeweller, was Sir Samuel Romilly's father. In 1762 the union of the two French churches of Berwick Street and Castle Street is attested by the signatures of Pierre Romilly, Isaac Gosset, and Phin. Deseret. Mr Peter Romilly married Margaret, only daughter of Aimé Garnault, senior, but all his children dying, he removed from London to "*the village of Marylebone,*" where he became the father of three children: Thomas, who married a daughter of Isaac Romilly; Catherine (Mrs Roget), and Samuel. The mother being a confirmed invalid, her relative, Mrs Facquier, educated the children. Samuel was born in 1757; in 1798 he married Anne, daughter of Francis Garbett, Esq.; he was knighted in 1806, on becoming his Majesty's Solicitor-General. At the close of his printed Diary is the following note:—"Lady Romilly died on the 29th of Oct. 1818. Her husband survived but for three days the wife whom he had loved with a devotion to which her virtues, and her happy influence on the usefulness of his life, gave her so just a claim. His anxiety during her illness preyed upon his mind and affected his health; and the shock occasioned by her death led to that event which brought his life to a close on the 2d of Nov. 1818, in the 62d year of his age." He left one daughter and six sons; the daughter is Sophie, wife of the Right Hon. Thomas Francis Kennedy of Dunure, whose heir-apparent is an only child, Francis Thomas Romilly Kennedy, Esq. Of the sons, the eldest now surviving is John, Lord Romilly; the third is Edward Romilly, Esq. (*born* 1804), late Chairman of the Board of Audit, who married Sophia, daughter of Alexander Marcet, M.D.; the fourth is Henry Romilly, Esq. (*born* 1805); the fifth is Charles Romilly, Esq., who married Lady Georgiana Elizabeth Russell, and has six sons; the youngest, Lieut.-Colonel Frederic Romilly (*born* 1810), married Lady Elizabeth Amelia Jane Elliot, and has three sons. The armorial bearings are old French, descriptive of the name, ROC. MIL. LYS.; out of a base of *rocks*, nine (or an indefinite number of) *lilies* spring. During the French Revolutionary War, an officer took from the Chateau de Romilly, in Brittany, an oil painting, a portrait of a Catherine de Romilly; he sent it to England for presentation to Sir Samuel Romilly; the features of the face bore a family likeness to ladies of the English Branch.

In enumerating the families of the Romilly group, we must first mention Philip Delahaize,

of Tottenham High Cross, in the County of Middlesex, Esquire. He is not proved to be of French Protestant descent in the male line, but his mother was Mary, daughter of a refugee, Daniel Alavoine (*born 1662, died 1729*). Mr Delahaize died in 1769, when Samuel Romilly was aged twelve; he was a gentleman of great wealth and benevolence, and by his judicious bequests to his circle of relations he set a number of refugee families upon their feet in a nation in which their ancestors had retired to voluntary poverty, "preferring conscience to affluence." "He left," says Sir S., "to me and to my brother £2000 a-piece; to my sister, £3000; to my father, my mother, and Mrs Facquiere [called in the Will 'Miss Margaret Farquier,' Aimé being spelt *Amy*, and Ouvry, *Ouvery*] legacies of about the same amount, with remainder to my brother, my sister, and myself, and to each of us a share of the residue of his fortune equally with the rest of his legatees. The whole property bequeathed to us amounted together to about £14,000 or £15,000. Blessed be his memory for it! But for this legacy . . . I should have engaged in business; I should probably have failed of success in it," &c. The other families benefitted by the will were, like the Romillies, connected with the Garnault family, as Mr Delahaize is known to have been, though in his case the link is unknown to me. A learned correspondent has presented to me a copy of the Will. There is a bequest of an investment of £2000 to Mr Aimé Garnault of Bull's Cross, in the Parish of Enfield, in life-rent, and after his death to his daughters Francisca, wife of Mr Peter Ouvry, Ann, and Sarah; also immediate legacies: to Mrs Ouvry, £2000; to Ann, £2000; and to Sarah, £3000. To Mary, widow of Daniel Garnault, £2000 in life-rent, and after her death to her younger children; also immediate legacies to her sons Samuel and Daniel, each £2000; to her daughters, Mary Dettull (*Detheuil?*) £1000; Elizabeth Vautier, £2000; Aimée Garnault, £2000. There are also provisions for several other relations on a similar scale of liberality, and a great variety of complimentary bequests, and legacies to public charities.

Aimé Garnault, senior, a refugee of good family, from Picardy, had two brothers, John, and Michael of Enfield (*died 1745*). Aimé's children (those with whom we are concerned) were:—



Thomas Romilly had six sons and three daughters; his fifth son, Rev. Joseph Romilly, late Registrar of Cambridge University, was accustomed, when he rode past the late Mr Delahaize's house at Tottenham High Cross, to take off his hat out of respect to the memory of the bountiful and judicious benefactor of his kindred.

The only tradition respecting the refugees of the Ouvry family is, that having come in safety to London Bridge, they sat down to mend their shoes before they entered the city. James Ouvri, or Ouvry, was naturalised 24th March 1685; he settled at Spitalfields, and prospered; he was admitted a member of the Weavers' Company in 1711, as was his son in 1738. Peter Ouvry, only son of John, married Francisca Garnault, daughter of Aimé Garnault, jun., and niece of Mrs P. Romilly; he was Treasurer of the New River Company; his eldest son was Peter Aimé Ouvry, Esq., who married Sarah Amelia Delamain; his heir is the Rev. Peter Thomas Ouvry, M.A., Vicar of Wing and Rector of Grove, in Buckinghamshire, whose eldest son is Arthur Garnault Ouvry. The brothers of the Rev. P. T. Ouvry are Colonel Henry Aimé Ouvry, C.B., Frederic Ouvry, Esq., Treasurer of the Society of Antiquaries, and the Rev. John North Ouvry North, M.A. The daughters are Francisca Ingram Ouvry, and Sarah Mary, wife of Francis Sibson, Esq., M.D., F.R.S. Miss Ouvry is the author of two historical tales, founded on Huguenot annals, "Arnold Delahaize, or the Huguenot Pastor" (1863); and "Henri de Rohan, or the Huguenot Refugee" (1865); the former is dedicated "To my nieces

and nephews, and also to the other youthful descendants of THE HUGUENOT REFUGEES, who, though scattered throughout the nations, are all united by the common possession of a glorious heritage, which will prove to them an eternal nobility, if they claim and act up to their birth-right."

The Vautier refugee embraced poverty in England rather than apostasy in France, and brought no pedigree papers with him. But he is the fountain of the tradition in England that he sprang from the French noblesse, and the French genealogical writers have a tradition that a cadet of the family, being a Huguenot, fled to England. The Vautiers in old France were a noble and influential family, Princes of Yvetot and Comtes Du Bellay, from whom descended, in the reign of Henri IV., Gilles Vautier, ecuyer, Sieur De la Granderie; he was the grandfather of Gilles, Sieur Des Essards, and his son, Jean Jacques Vautier, has been conjectured to be the father of Daniel Vautier, the refugee. Daniel, with his wife, Margaret, and a daughter, Rachael, was naturalised on 21st March 1688 (see List XV.). I would call the attention of the representatives of the family to the naturalisation, on 5th March 1691, of Margaret and Mary Des Essarts, and John Des Essarts (see List XIX.). The refugee, Daniel, was relieved at the French Hospital, of which Daniel Vautier, said to be his son, became a Director. There were two brothers, Daniel (the Director), and Louis. Isaac and Daniel, two sons of Daniel (the former married in 1739 Marianne Dalbiac) left no descendants, but the line was continued by Louis, whose eldest surviving son was Isaac. This was the Isaac Vautier (*born 1735, died 1767*), who married Elizabeth Garnault, daughter of Daniel, granddaughter of Aimé Garnault, sen., and his son was Lieutenant Daniel Vautier, R.N. (*born 1760, died 1813*), whose death was announced thus:—"Died at Stilton, Daniel Vautier, Esq., R.N., cousin to Sir Samuel Romilly." His surviving daughter, Harriet, was married to Samuel Golding, Esq., and his surviving son, Daniel Vautier, Esq. (*born 1795, died 1831*), married Susannah, daughter of J. Golding, Esq. Two of his sons are heads of families, namely, Rev. Richard Vautier, Vicar of Kenwyn (*born 1821*), and Joseph Garnault Vautier, Esq. (*born 1824*).

The only sister of Sir Samuel Romilly was Catherine, wife of Rev. John Roget, a native of Geneva; but we claim her distinguished son as a descendant of French refugees, namely, Peter Mark Roget, M.D., F.R.S., F.S.A. (*born 1778, died 1869*); though ninety years of age, Dr Roget was preparing a twentieth edition of his "Thesaurus of English Words and Phrases" at the time of his death; he was the author of one of the Bridgewater Treatises.

Chapter XXIV.

THE RABOTEAU GROUP OF FAMILIES.

THE majority of families of this group did not leave France till after the Revocation, but all (with one exception) came to our shores during the reign of Louis XIV. The surname of Raboteau is connected with a hairbreadth escape and with chivalrous conduct, and it linked together the families of Chaigneau, Barré, and Lefanu; Chaigneau introduces Tardy, and Tardy brings before us Du Bedat.

Persecutions, varying in amount and intensity, according to the tempers of the officials in the districts, were the lot of the resident French Protestants after 1685, who refused to apostatize. The engrossing attention to foreign war, which was often required from the heads of government in Paris, was usually favourable to the Huguenot worshippers. When the king was negotiating peace with the Grand Alliance in 1697, it was thought opportune to draw up a *Requete*, or Memorial, praying for religious toleration. Monsieur Mathieu Du Bedat, late an

Advocate in the Parliament of Paris, undertook to draft the Memorial, and the original draft is still preserved. (At the end there is his foot-note, *Imprimé à Paris, le 12 Aoust 1697* ; it was intended for publication, but a hint was thus given to the printer to omit his name in order to protect himself from arrest.) It is evident from an examination of the draft that Mr Du Bedat dictated it to a clerk. It was dictated by an able pleader, but the very good penmanship and the very bad spelling betray the handiwork of some clerk, whom the advocate, being forbidden as a Protestant to practise his profession, had found for the occasion. Through the kindness of the Rev. Elias Tardy I can present my readers with an exact reprint of this important historical document, which I have translated. The English version I give in the text, and the French original in a note :—*

“ TO THE KING.

“ SIRE,—Your subjects who profess the *Religion*, which the Edicts name *The Pretended Reformed*, and whereof you have, for some years, interdicted the public exercise, come to throw themselves at your Majesty’s feet to make their very humble remonstrances, and to entreat your royal pity for their miseries which are so frightful, that your Majesty will not be able to cast your eyes on their deplorable state without having compassion on it.

“ Sire, his Majesty has always done himself the honour of arresting the progress of his arms, and of suspending the course of his victories, in order to give peace to Europe. Must it be that your own subjects who have never violated the fidelity which they owe to you, and which the religion that they follow prescribes to them, that they alone shall be deprived of your royal bounty ?

“ What have they done, Sire ? (permit them to use these terms.) What have they done, and what vile pencil have people been able to employ in order to blacken them before the eyes of your Majesty ? They are persuaded that, after what they owe to God, they are bound to render to your Majesty an obedience without limit. They know of no man on the earth who can give them a dispensation from the fidelity which is due to you. To fear God, to honour your Majesty, and to employ in your service their goods and their very lives—such is an inviolable maxim among them, which they carefully inculcate on their children. Without the extreme of injustice no one can impute to them certain troubles of former reigns. Your Majesty is too enlightened—your Majesty’s deliberations are too wise and penetrating—not to have concluded that these commotions were caused either by princes, legitimate heirs in the entail of that crown which they have transmitted to your Majesty in defending it against intending usurpers, or by some State grandee, never left destitute of some pretext, especially when it is imagined that a Prime Minister is abusing the authority of his king. In fact, Sire, since your Majesty has ascended the throne and has governed personally, none of the petitioners have been convicted of straying from their duty. They can even exult in the approbation wherewith your Majesty has honoured them for their fidelity, which has always been steadfast and resolute,

* AU ROY.

SIRE,—

Vos SUBJECTZ quy professent La Religion que les Editz nomment P. R. :—Et De Laquelle Vous aues Interdit Les Exercices publicqs depuis quelques années Vient Se Jetter aux pieds de Vostre Majesté, Pour Lui faire L’eurs tres humbles Remonstrances Et La Supplier d’auoir pitié De L’eurs Miseres, quy Sont Sy affreuzes—Que V. M. N. Pourra Jetter Les yeux Seul Leur deplorable Estat Sans En auoir Compassion.

Vostre Majesté Sire, C’est toujours fait honneur d’arrester Le progrez de Ses Armes, Et de Suspendre Le Cours de Ses Victoires Pour donner La paiz a L’Europe, faudroit Il que Vos propres Subject qui n’ont Jamais Violé La fidelité quils Vous doiuent, Et que La Religion quils Suiuent Leur ordonne, feussent Seuls priues de Votre bonté Royale.

Qu’ont ils fait, Sire, Permettés L’eur d’uzer de Ces Termes qu’ont ils fait, Et dequel M’auuais pinceau a t’on peu Se Servir pour Les Noircir aux yeux de V. M. Ils sont persuadés qu’apres Cequils doiuent adieu Ils sont obliges de rendre a V. M. L’obeissance sans bornes, Ils ne cognoissent aucun homme Sur La Terre qui puisse Les dispencer de La fidelité qui Vous Est d’eue, Craindre dieu, honorer V. M. Et employer a Son Service L’eurs biens Et L’eurs propres Vies est parmj Eux Une Maxime Inuiolable, quils ont Soing D’inculquer a L’eurs Enfants, on Ne peut qu’ans La derniere Injustice Leur Imputer quelques troubles des regnes precedans—Vostre Majesté Est trop Esclairée Et Son Conseil trop Sage Et trop recetant pour N’auoir pas recogneu que Ces mouuemans feurent Cauzés ou par des princes Legitimes heretiers de La Couronne quils ont transmize a V. M.

though they were vehemently solicited to an opposite course during the minority of your Majesty, whose incontestable rights have been to them inviolable and sacred on the occasion of every intrigue.

“We doubt not, Sire, but that people, knowing that your Majesty is too busy to engage in a deep study of our religion, have painted us as persons of a spirit of libertinism, kept to our professed engagements, but who would abandon our loyal professions without uneasiness and without remorse when through the multitude of arrests and proclamations which our accusers have (as it were) extorted from your Majesty, loyalty should seem to us to be bristling [herissée] with thorns and surrounded with appalling difficulties. But we beseech you, Sire, by that royal benevolence which causes your subjects’ repose to-day, to reflect on the counsels which they have given you, and on the pretended libertinism with which they have daubed us in their representations to your Majesty. They could not say that that was a spirit of libertinism which compelled so many thousand persons to quit their native country, a land full of every kind of good, in order to go to beg [mendier] their bread among foreigners, only to expose themselves to such dangers as captivity in prisons, or in cloisters, or in the galleys, as has been witnessed in cases of people of every condition and style.

“It is necessary, Sire, in order to support such extremities in a man’s lot, that his conscience must be powerfully exercised. It is true that if conscience, being either ignorant or pre-occupied by false principles, engages a man in crimes which disturb the repose of society, it is but just to repress the turbulent and criminal theory. But, Sire, we are persuaded that nothing like this can be imputed to us by our greatest enemies. *Our system of morals is pure and without reproach with respect to God, to your Majesty, and to society.* As to doctrine, of what error can they convict us? We accept the Symbol of Faith composed by the First Œcumenical Council, *and the Symbol which is named The Apostles’ Creed.* We believe in one God only, the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit. We believe that we are ransomed by the sacrifice of Jesus Christ, our God and our Redeemer, provided that we participate in the merit of his death and of his sufferings by true faith working by love, and by sincere repentance. We acknowledge in the Holy Eucharist a spiritual eating of the flesh of Jesus Christ. We baptize in the name

En La deffandant Contre Ceux quy La Vouloient Uzurpée, ou par quelque grand de L’estat qui Ne Manquent Jamais de pretexte, Sur tout quand Ils Simaginent qu’un premier Ministre abuze de L’authorité de Son Roy.

En Effect Sire. Depuis que Votre Majesté Est Montée Sur Le throsne Et qu’elle gouverne tout par Elle Mesme on N’a veu aucun des Supplians Sesoigner de Son deuoir, Ils peuent Mesme Se glorifier de L’aprobation dont V. M. Les a honorés de Leur fidelité qui a toujours Esté ferme Et Constante, quoy que L’on Les ait fortement sollicités duntemps de La Minorité de V. M. de Laquelle Les droit Incontestables Leur ont Esté Entouttes rencontre Inviolables Et Sacrés.

Nous ne doubtons pas, Sire, qu’on Ne Nous aye depeints a V. M. trop occupée pour Cognoistre a fonds Nostre Religion, Comme des gns qu’un Esprit de Libertinage tenoit Engagés dans Sa profession, Et qui es abandonneroit Sans peine Et Sans remords aussy tost quils La Verroient Erissée d’espines Et Enuironnée de difficultés Epouantables par La Multitude d’arret et de declarations que L’on a Comme arrachées de V. M.

Mais Nous Vous Supplions, Sire, par Cette bonté royalle qui fait Le repos de Vos Sujet de réfléchir aujourd’hui Sur Les Conseils qu’on Vous a donnés, Et Sur Le pretendue Libertinage dont on nous a defigurés aux yeux de V. M. on Ne Sauroit dire qu’un Esprit de Libertinage ait obligé tant de Miliers de personnes de quitter Leur patrie Et en pajs plain de Toute Sorte de biens, pour aller mandier Leur pain Chés Les Estrangers, pour ne Sexposer aux dangers destre Confinés dans des prisons, ou dans des Cloistres, ou dans des galeres Comme on y En a veu de toute sorte de Conditions Et de Caracteres.

Il faut, Sire, que La Conscience agisse fortement pour Soutenir de Telles Extremités. Il Est Vrai que Sy Une Conscience Ignorante ou preueneue de faux principes Sengagesit En des Crimes qui troublent Le Repos de La Societe, on Est endroit de reprimer La Science tribulante Et Criminelle, mais Sire, Nous Sommes persuadés ue nos plus grands Ennemis Ne peuvent rien nous Imputer de Semblable; *Nostre Morale Est pure Et San reproche alegard de Dieu Et de V. M. Et a Legard de La Societé,* pour La doctrine de laquelle Erreur nous peut on Convaincre, Nous Recepuons Le Simbole de la foy Composé par Le premier Concile œcumenique *Et Le Simbole qu’on Nomme des apostres* Nous Crojons En Un Seul Dieu, pere, fils, Et Saint Esprit, Nous Crojons Estre racheptés par Le Sacrifice de Jesus Christ Nostre Dieu Et Nostre redempteur, pourveu que Nous Participions au Merite de Sa Mort Et de ses souffrances par Une Vraye foi operante par bonnes œures, Et par une repentance Sincere, Nous admettons dans Le Sainte Eucaristie une Manducation Spirituelle de La Chair de Jesus Christ, Nous baptisons au Nom du pere, du fils Et du St Espr. Pour La Remission de nos pechés Nous Inuouons dieu au nom de Jesus Christ Et par Son Intercession Comme Il Nous a Recommande, Voila Sire, Nostre Reli-

of the Father, of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit. For the remission of our sins we invoke God in the name of Jesus Christ and by His intercession as He has desired us. There, Sire, is our Religion. In substance your Doctors concur in all the Articles, and receive them like us. We cannot adore the Sacrament of the Eucharist. It would be impossible to deny that we were idolaters, if, with the opinion which we hold, we were to adore it. So that no one can constrain us into that without forcing us to commit the greatest of all crimes.

“We supplicate your Majesty to think of this. Pardon us, Sire, if we speak so freely to your Majesty on the theme of our tears and sighs. We are none of those ancient heretics whom the Church has justly anathematized, because they had nothing evidently but the name which they dishonoured by a monstrous doctrine and by impure morals. If we refuse to believe the doctrine of Purgatory, of Indulgences, of the Invocation of Saints, of the Worship of Images, and of the Veneration of Relics, and the other trifling devotions invented by the monks in these latter centuries, it is because these Articles are not found in Holy Scripture. We cannot receive them with a good conscience in deference to human authority ; for we are persuaded that if God had been pleased to erect upon earth a visible tribunal to which we should be bound to submit our consciences on religious topics, that infallible tribunal would unquestionably have been characterized so that it would have been easy to recognise it, because it concerns the salvation and peace of conscience of the faithful.

“Verily, Sire, your Majesty very well knows that in the Congregation itself [la Communion même] this tribunal is a disputed article between Pope and Council. All the authors of your kingdom decide in favour of the Council ; all the Doctors of Italy and many others hold by the Pope. The difficulties which are alleged on one side and the other are so great and considerable that we, unable to discover with certainty that faith requires that infallible tribunal, believe that the sure way is to follow the Word of God as the Rule of Faith. It appears to us that our conduct has none of that opinionativeness which, according to the Canon of the Church, characterizes heretics ; and we pray to God, Sire, for the duration and prosperity of your empire.

“But finally, your Majesty is not immortal. Perhaps, Sire, on the bed of death his Majesty will have some alarm and regret for having been pleased to constrain the conscience of his

gion. En Substance Vos docteurs Conuiennent de Tous Les Articles, Et Les recoiuent Comme Nous Nous ne pouuons adorer le Sacremant de Leucaristie, on Ne Sçauroit nier que nous ne fussions des Idolatres Sy Nous L'adorons dans Le Sentimant ou Nous Sommes, de Sorte qu'on ne peut nous y Constraindre Sans nous forcer de Commettre Le plus grand de tous Les Crimes.

Nous Supplions V. M. d'y penser, pardonne Nous, Sire Sy nous parlons Sy Libremant a V. M. du Sujet de Nos Larmes Et de Nos Souspirs, Nous ne Sommes point de Ces Anciens heretiques Contre Lesquels Leglize a justemant fulminé parce qu'ils Navaint rien de Certain que le Nom qu'ils dishonnoient par Une doctrine Monstreuze, Comme par une Morale Impure, Sy nous refusons de Croire la Doctrine du purgatoire, des Indulgences, L'iuocation des Saints, Le Service des Images, La Veneration des Reliques, Et les autres deuotions menues Inuantes par Les Moynes dans Ces derniers Siecles. Cest parce que Ces articles Ne se Trouuent pas dans Lescripture Sainte, Nous Ne pouuions Les recevoir en bonne Conscience, En vertu d'une autorité Humaine, Car nous Sommes persuadees que Sy dieu Eât Vouleu Eriger Sur la terre Un tribunal Visible auquel nous deuissions Soumettre Nos Consciences En Matière de religion Ce Tribunal Infaillible auroit Sans contredit Sy Caracterizé quil Eust Esté facile de la Reconnoistre puis qu'il y Alloit du Salut Et du Repos de la Conscience des fidelles.

Or Sire, V. M. Sçait tres bien que dans La Communion Mesme Le tribunal Est une Contestation Entre Le pape Et Le Concile. Tous Les Auteurs de Votre royaume decident En faveur de Concile, Tous Les docteurs D'italie Et beaucoup d' autres Tiennent pour Le pape, Les difficultés qu' on allegue de part Et D'autre Sont Sy grandes Et Sy Considerables que Ne pouuant Trouuer avec La Certitude que La foy Requiert Ce tribunal Infaillible, Nous Croyons que Le plus Seul Est de Suivre La parole de dieu pour La regle de La foy. Il nous Semble que Notre Conduite n'a rien de Cette opiniastreté, que font Les heretiques selon Le Canon de Leglize, Et Nous prions dieu Sire pour la durée Et pour La prosperité de Votre Empire.

Mais, Enfin, V. M. N'est pas Immortelle Peut Estre, Sire, qu'au Lict de La Mort Elle aura quelque Crainte Et quelque regret d' auoir vouleu Constraindre La Conscience de Ses Subjetz, qui Luy rendent raison de leur foy avecq obissance, Et avecq respect toutes Les fois quelle La requis eux.

Au Nom De Dieu, Sire, Nous supplions V. M. de faire Reflexion, que peut Estre aux dernieres heures de leur Sa Vie Les mizeres affreuzes d' un Sy grand Nombre de Ses Subjetz dans Lesquelles de faux devots ont Engagé

subjects, who give him, with obedience and respect, a reason for their faith whenever required by his Majesty to do so. In the name of God, Sire, we entreat your Majesty to reflect that perhaps in the last hours of life the frightful miseries of such a large number of your subjects, into which some spurious devotees have engaged your Majesty to precipitate them, will come before your eyes to disturb the repose of your soul. For finally, Sire, permit us to say once more, what have we done that ought to draw down your indignation, even on the supposition that our religion were false? Your Majesty, having sent doctors to instruct us, has done what God demands of a Christian prince, without being obliged by piety to revoke your Majesty's word and royal edicts. And God Himself, who commands to strive for the salvation of our neighbours, forbids us to constrain their consciences, and to force men to be hypocrites in spite of them. We have some difficulty in believing that the violences which have been done to us have come under your Majesty's cognisance, nor that his Majesty is pleased to suffer that the history of his happy reign should be loaded with them, and that people should be able to tell that his Majesty would persecute faithful subjects because they would be resolved to serve God according to His Word and the convictions of their consciences, without failing in their duty otherwise.

"In the course of the many years of our sufferings, we have examined our religion with care. We can even say, though it may be to our shame, that we have examined it with a secret wish to detect some errors in it, in order that we might follow your Majesty's orders. But this investigation has served only to strengthen us in the faith which we have professed from our infancy.

"We have lived in silence while your Majesty was occupied in a great war. At present, when the peace of Europe is the work in hand, vouchsafe your approbation, Sire, when, with all the respect which we owe you, we demand the peace of our consciences. Some of us entreat your Majesty to restore to them their wives and children; some ask you for their fathers and mothers; some pray you to release them from cloisters, from prisons, and from barbarous lands, where they are imprisoned among savages; and others to set them at liberty from the chains and oars where they are fastened along with slaves.

"That we may not be the only individuals, Sire, to whom your throne and your benevolence are inaccessible, we ask from you to live peaceably as subjects, submissive and faithful to your Majesty, with liberty to serve God according to our conscience. Permit, Sire, oh! permit a great number of your subjects, whom religion has constrained to depart from your States, to

Vostre Majesté De Les precipiter, Viendront a Ses yeux pour troubler Le repos de Son ame, Car Enfin Sire, permettés nous de dire Encore Une fois, qu' auons Nous fait, qui ait deub Nous attirer Vostre Indignation quand Mesmes Nostre religion Seroit fausse. V. M. Nous ajant Envoié des docteurs pour Nous Instruire, a fait Ceque dieu Exige d' Un prince Chrestien sans que la pitié [piété ?] Loblige a Revoquer Sa parole Et Ses Edits, Et Mesme Dieu qui ordonne de Travailler au Salut de Nos prochains, Nous deffend, de Constraindre Leurs Consciences Et de forcer Les hommes d'estre hipocrites malgre Eux, Nous auons de la peine a Croire que Les Violences qu'on Nous a faites soient venues a la Cognoissance de V. M. Ny quelle Voulent Souffrir que L'histoire de Son heureux regne En feut Chargée, Et qu'on peut dire quelle auroit persecuté de Subjetz fidelles parce qu'ils auroient Vouleu Seruir dieu Suiuant Sa parole, Et les mouuemans de Leurs Consciences, Sans Manquer dailleurs a leur deoir.

Depuis Plusieurs Années que Nous Souffrons, Nous auons Examiné auecq Soing Nostre religion, Nous pouons Mesme dire quand Ce Seroit a Nostre honte que Nous L'auons Examinée auecq un desir Secret d'y recognoistre des Erreurs, pour Suiure Les ordres de V. M. Mais Cest Examen N'ai Serui qu'a nous fortifier dans La foi que nous auons professée des nostre Enfance.

Nous Sommes demeures dans Le Silence pendant que V. M. Estoit occupée d'Une grande guerre, presentement qu'on traueille a la paix de Leurpe, Trouvez bon, Sire, que nous Vous demandions auecq tout Le respect que Nous Vous deuons, La paix de Nos Consciences, Les uns Supplient V. M. de leur rendre Leurs femmes Et Leurs Enfants, Les autres Vous demandent Leurs peres Et Leurs meres, Les uns vous prient de Les tirer des Cloistres, des prisons, et de Les terres barbares, ou Ils sont Confinés parmi des Sauvages, et Les autres de Les deliuerer des Chaines et des Raimes ou ils sont attachés avecq des Esclaves.

Que Nous Ne Sojons pas Les Seuls Sire a qui Vostre throsne Et Vostre bonté Soient Inaccessibles, Nous Vous demandons, de Viure paisiblement Comme de Subjetz Soumis Et fidelles a V. M. auecq La Liberté de Seruir Dieu Selon Nostre Conscience, permettés, Sire permettés a Un grand nombre de Vos Subjetz que La

return to finish their days there under your royal authority, in order to invoke God along with us, as we have done heretofore.

“Receive, Sire, with your accustomed benevolence, this Memorial, which would be signed by several thousand persons if your Majesty gave permission. Listen to our just demands. We address ourselves to your Majesty. We entreat your Majesty to cast your eyes upon our miseries and on the tears which we shed with our families. Our fidelity is known to you. Render to us, Sire, your protection and the effects of your benevolence, and of your justice, which has been withdrawn from us by surreptitious dealing [par surprise*], by false representations whereby your Majesty has been prejudiced. We pray to God, as in the past, for the prosperity of your Majesty’s reign and sacred person; and we shall bequeath to our children those illustrious sentiments of obedience and fidelity.”

Matthieu Du Bedat, whose family was originally of Agen, in the province of Guienne, died in France, but his son, or grandson, Jean, born at Lacedpede, in Guienne, was sent to Ireland to a “Friends” School at Ballitore, in County Kildare, taught by Abraham Shackleton. His education being completed, Mr John Du Bedat established himself in Dublin, and founded a sugar-refining factory—the first in Ireland. There he married, and his daughter Anne is on record, who was married in 1771 to Elias Tardy, Esq. Mr Du Bedat died in 1780, aged sixty-four; he had been a leading member of the French church in Peter Street; his grandson was William Du Bedat, Esq., Transfer Officer of the Bank of Ireland, who presented the priceless Huguenot State Paper to the Royal Dublin Society, and his great-grandson is Peter Du Bedat, Esq., Secretary of the Bank of Ireland, who, with other representatives of the family, cherishes and adorns the memory of a good Huguenot ancestry.

The surname of Raboteau is of high antiquity; the first member of the family on record is Jean Raboteau, an advocate at St Jean d’Angely in 1397, and its members have occupied a good position in Saintes, St Jean d’Angely, La Tremblade, and La Rochelle. In 1592, in the Protestant temple of La Rochelle, Pierre Raboteau married Marguerite Faye. In 1670 there was an influential Protestant physician named Jean Raboteau. The refugee John-Charles and his sisters, seem to have descended from Josué Raboteau (son of Jean, and husband of Marie Meschinet), Procureur-au-Presidial to Saintes in 1615, father of a Jean Raboteau, a widower in 1681, whose deceased wife’s maiden name was Rebecca Meschinet. John-Charles’ father was of Puy-Gibaud, by La Rochelle. He himself became a wine-merchant in Dublin. His parents had landed in Ireland as refugees, and he was born during their journey to Dublin in a hotel at Carlow. He had two sisters married to the brothers Phipps of Sligo. Another brother was probably born in Ireland, for in the Carlow Register there is the burial, on 29th July 1785, of “Mr James Rabbittoe, aged 76 years.” (In the Naturalisations at Westminster, List XXV., there are “Peter Robateau, and Susan his wife; John Robateau and Anne his wife.” Two female cousins, also named Robateau, escaped from their relatives (who were *New Catholics*). These ladies owed their deliverance to J. C. Robateau. He traded with French wine-growers, and often sailed in his own ship to La Rochelle, and was the guest of the Raboteaux in France. During one visit the young ladies confided to him that they had been sentenced to take the alternative either of marrying two Roman Catholic gentlemen or of being religion a Constraint de Sortir de Vos Estatz, d’y retourner pour y finir Leurs Jours Sous vostre autorité royale afin d’innocuer dieu avecq nous Comme nous Lauons fait Cy deuant.

Recuees Sire, avecq vostre bonté ordinaire Cette Requeste qui seroit signée de plusieurs Milliers de personnes Sy V. M. Nous En donner La permission, Ecoutez Nos Justes demandes, Nous nous adressons a V. M. Nous La Supplions de Jetter les yeux Sur Nos mizeres, Et Sur Les Larmes que nous repandons En Secret dans nos familles, Nostre fidelité Vous Est Cogneue, Rendes Nous Sire Vostre protection, Et Les Effects de Vostre bonté Et de Vostre Justice, quy Nous a Esté Euleuée par Surprinse, Et par de faux Exposés dont on a preuenu V. M. Nous prions dieu, Comme Nous L’auons fait pour La prosperité de Son regne, Et de Sa personne Sacrée, Et Laisserons a Nos Enfants Ces Illustres Sentimens dobeissance Et de fidelité.

* SURPENDRE (obtenir frauduleusement) to get surreptitiously. Le Clergé a surpris quantité d’ Arrêts contre les Protestants— *The clergy have surreptitiously got several orders against Protestants.*—BOYER.

shut up in a convent. He planned their flight. It was hot weather, and the horses were tied to trees in the lawn. By night he carried off his fair cousins upon two of the horses, and lodged them with a widow of La Rochelle; he returned with the horses unobserved. Next morning he apparently shared in the consternation of the family, and no suspicion fell upon him. After some time his visit ended, and he came to La Rochelle to embark for Ireland. He was in the habit of taking home large casks of French apples. In two of these casks the ladies were carried on board. For some time after their becoming denizens of Ireland their former guardians had no clue to their whereabouts. This is a narrative handed down by tradition; the only correction suggested by family papers is, that the casks were empty brandy puncheons.

These Mesdemoiselles Raboteau inherited from their ancestors great personal beauty. One of them was married to Stephen Chaigneau, second son of a refugee. Josias Chaigneau, the refugee, was of a family of eminence in the neighbourhood of St Jean d'Angely, and within a rural district which has been spelt variously, but which I believe to be St Savinien. His residence was the chateau of Labellonière; but he forsook home and lands and his native country for the sake of the Reformed religion. He and his family retired to Youghal in Ireland; his wife was Jeanne Jennede, and his sons by her were Lewis, Stephen, and Isaac; he had a fourth son, John, by his second wife, *née* Castin. Lewis, being a successful merchant in Dublin, purchased the estate of Corkage, in the same county; he married in 1688 Elizabeth Ducoudre, and his son and successor was David Chaigneau, Esq. of Corkage, M.P. for Gowran, High Sheriff of County Dublin in 1717. He was buried at Youghal, where, in the south transept of St Mary's Church, a stone of remembrance bears: "*Here lie the remains of David Chaigneau, Esq., and his wife Elizabeth.*" She was the daughter of Colonel Renouard, and their daughters were Elizabeth (wife of James Digges La Touche, Esq.), Henrietta (Mrs Hassard), Mary Ann (Mrs Pratt), and Charlotte (unmarried); the sons (all unmarried) were Rev. Peter Chaigneau, the first Secretary of the Royal Dublin Society (*died* 1776), James, and Theophilus. The refugee's second son, Stephen, founded the Chaigneau family, which still subsists; but let us dispose here of the descendants of his brothers. Isaac married Helena King, and had a son David (probably Rev. David Chaigneau of Carlow—see Chapter XII.; *Article*, Daillon). John married in 1707 Margaret, daughter of Colonel Martyn; his surviving sons were Colonel William Chaigneau, Army-Agent in Dublin, and John Chaigneau, Esq., Treasurer of the Ordnance. The latter married in 1745 Susannah Smith, and had a son and daughter, namely, Rev. John Clement Chaigneau of Dublin, and Hannah, wife of William Colville, Esq., ancestress of the family of Chaigneau-Colville. We return to Stephen Chaigneau and his lovely wife, *née* Raboteau, whose portrait is at Benown; they had two sons, Peter and Daniel. The younger son was married, but left no recorded descendants. Peter married in 1729 Marie Malet, a descendant of an exiled fugitive from the St Bartholomew massacre; they had many children, but the third son was the only founder of a family. John Chaigneau, Esq., merchant and freeman of Dublin, had that distinction; he married in 1775 Alicia, daughter of Charles Napper, Esq., and died in 1779; his widow re-married in 1790 with Elias Tardy, Esq. The heir of John was Peter Chaigneau, Esq. (*born* 1776, *died* 1846) of Upper Fitzwilliam Street, Dublin, and Benown, near Athlone; he was of Trinity College, Dublin, and called to the bar in 1798; he rose to eminence as a Chamber Counsel, and spent his old age at Benown. By his wife Anne, daughter of Arthur Dunne, Esq., he had John (who predeceased him in 1825), and Arthur Dunne, his heir, also three daughters, Margarette, Alicia, and Anna, now co-heiresses of the latter, who cherish the memory of their brother with the greatest love and esteem. Arthur Dunne Chaigneau, Esq. of Benown (*born* 1809, *died* 1866), educated at Trinity College, and (in 1830) called to the Irish bar, was a magistrate for County Westmeath, and Captain in the Westmeath Militia. He married in 1855 Jane, daughter of Rev. Richard Butler Bryan, but left no children; as a Christian gentleman he is lamented by a large circle of friends, to whom his kindly heart, unblemished honour, and generous hospitality had endeared him.

The other Raboteau heroine of the flight from La Rochelle was married to Pierre Barré, afterwards Alderman Peter Barré of Dublin, whose ancestors were, like the Raboteaux, most devoted *anciens* in the Protestant Church of Pont-Gibaud. This surname is memorable and historical through the vigorous and varied talents of their son, the Right Honourable Isaac Barré, a Member of the British Parliament, commonly called Colonel Barré. In Burton's Collection of Letters addressed to Hume by eminent persons, Isaac gives all the known information concerning his father, and I must make room for the following extracts:—" *Rocheport*, 3d Aug. 1764.—Since my arrival in this part of France I find that an uncle of mine (younger and only brother to my father) died lately possessed of about £10,000 sterling, which (as there was no will) has been very rapidly divided amongst a number of my very distant relations who supposed me dead." " *Toulouse*, Sept. 4.—I stated my case, or rather my father's, to a lawyer at Bordeaux, who thinks he has no right, and grounds his opinion upon several of the king's Declarations, and particularly upon one of 27th Oct. 1725. He makes the whole turn upon my grandfather being a Protestant. This I have alleged, though without any positive proof, to be the case. May I beg of you to take some lawyer's opinion at Paris simply upon this case as I state it:—Barré dies in France about twenty-five years ago, leaving two sons, Peter and John. Peter went over to Ireland about the year 1720 or 22, young and unmarried, but afterwards married and settled there. John, being upon the spot at the time of his father's death, divided the property very nearly as he thought proper. John dies in Sept. 1760 intestate and childless; Bonnomeau, a maternal uncle of his, takes possession of his estate as nearest heir. This Bonnomeau died in the month following, and his whole fortune was divided between sixteen nephews or nieces, who stood in the same degree of relation to him as the deceased John Barré. At the time of John's death it had been reported that Peter and his children were dead. Now I wish to know what right Peter has to the estate of his brother John, considering the circumstances of his having left France and his living so long in Ireland professing the Protestant religion; and whether that right is affected by his father being a Protestant. John was generally thought to be a Protestant, though his heirs contrived to have him buried as a Catholic." The alliance between Monsieur Barré and Mademoiselle Raboteau probably took place about 1725, their son, Isaac, being born in 1726, as appears from the entry in the books of Trinity College, Dublin, on the matriculation of the latter:—" 1740, Novembris 19^o Isaac Barré pens: filius Petri mercator: annum agens 14, natus Dublinii, educatus sub D^{no} Loyd, tutor Dⁱ Pelissier." Barré, senior, became a prosperous merchant, and in 1758 was an Alderman of Dublin; in 1766 he is known to have had a warehouse in Fleet Street and a country house at Cullen's Wood; he died about 1776, and his son inherited from him a property yielding £300 per annum.

Henriette Raboteau, a sister of the fair fugitives, took refuge in Ireland at some other opportunity. She was married to William Le Fanu, a gentleman of a noble Huguenot family (*born* 1707); the Le Fanu certificate of noblesse has been preserved by his descendants, who also have Madame Henriette's portrait, by Mercier. Her sons married the two sisters of the Right Hon. Richard Brinsley Sheridan, Joseph being the husband of Alicia and Captain Henry Le Fanu of E——. The son of Joseph was the Rev. Thomas Philip Le Fanu, D.D., Dean of Emly, author of "An Abridgement of the History of the Council of Constance" (Dublin, 1787). The Dean had a daughter and two sons, one of whom is James Sheridan Le Fanu, Esq., of Dublin, author of "The Wyvern Mystery," "Guy Deverell," "Haunted Lives," "Uncle Silas," &c.

So much for the cousins of John Charles Raboteau; next as to his two sisters. The surname of their husbands was Phipps (often in Ireland spelt *Phibbs*), two brothers, resident in county Sligo. Esther Raboteau was married to Robert, son of Matthew Phipps, of Templevanney, and Marie Raboteau was married to Matthew Phipps, junr. Esther's son was Colonel Isaac Phipps, father of the Rev. Barré Phipps, Rector of Selsey, Canon of Chichester (*died* 1863); and of Arabella Margareta, wife of Hugh Rose, Esq. of Glastullich. The eldest son of the venerable clergyman was Thomas Phipps, Esq., who married his cousin,

Rebecca, daughter of Hugh Rose, Esq., and whose son, Henry Hugh Thomas Rose Phipps, Esq. of Lincoln's Inn, is the nearest male-heir of Esther Raboteau. The Rev. Barré Phipps' second son, Captain Henry Barré Phipps (who has had four sons), and Commander William Hugh Phipps, R.N., are brothers of the late Thomas Phipps, Esq. Marie Raboteau had three sons, William, John Charles, and Robert (Senior Fellow, T.C.D.); she had four daughters, of whom Anne, wife of Thomas Holmes, Esq. of Rockfield, county Sligo, was the ancestress of the celebrated whipper-in of the Tory party, William Holmes, Esq., M.P. William Phipps had a son, Isaac Barré Phipps, and four daughters, of whom I name Betty, wife of Colonel Grogan, and Anna, wife of George Wilson Boileau, Esq. (son of John Theophilus Boileau, 7th son of Simeon), the mother of Lieut.-Colonel George Wilson Boileau of Hethel Hall, and of the late Isaac Barré Phipps Spencer Boileau. The Elwoods of Cams, county Sligo, are descended from a daughter of Marie Raboteau.

John Charles Raboteau married Miss Thornton, daughter of an Irish clergyman, Rector of Tully; he died, aged 80, and is represented by descendants in the female line. His daughter Rebecca was married at Carlow to Samuel D'Arcy, and had a son, John Charles D'Arcy (*born* 1775), who died young, and a surviving son, Lieutenant Isaac Raboteau D'Arcy of the 60th Rifles, who wore the Peninsular medal; also a daughter, Abigail, wife of James Smythe of Carlow. The descendants of the latter are Captain James Griffith Smythe, late of the 50th Regiment, honourably mentioned in the despatches concerning the Battle of Sobraon, and decorated with the Punjaub medal; and Rebecca Raboteau Smythe, Mrs Torpie, author of "Grace Leigh of Darlington," and of the article in *Sunday at Home* (1862), entitled, "The Fugitives of Rochelle."

The ancestors of the family of Tardy were Huguenot gentlemen, whose residence was near La Tremblade, in Saintonge. Jacques Tardy fell at the Battle of Jarnac, in 1569, along with the Prince of Condé. Although his representatives did not become refugees in 1685, yet they cast in their lot with their persecuted brethren in France. One incident connected with their perils is preserved. A retired glade in one of the few forests near La Tremblade had long been the trysting place where a little band of worshippers was wont to meet to engage in joint prayer, in hearing the Scriptures read, and in having brought to their remembrance by a faithful pasteur the gospel-truths which they loved. They assembled from divers points unobserved. But there was one treasure ever needed, the transport of which on those occasions hazarded both its loss and their own discovery. It was their Bible—their sole remaining Bible! a large old folio volume, cumbrous to bear, and difficult to conceal. Yet rarely was it absent in that sylvan temple; its bearer was the wife of Monsieur Tardy. She was a daring and accomplished rider, often seen upon her fleet steed traversing the champaign country in the locality of their chateau, and therefore unexposed to any special observation when she came to the Huguenot assembly, which for many years she devotedly frequented. She had furnished her capacious side-saddle of ancient guise with a large loose leathern lining, which safely enclosed the Bible. Unsuspected she brought it to her delighted and grateful fellow-worshippers, and the huge old saddle was a ready lectern for the sacred volume. In the year 1750 the representative of the family was a youthful grandson of the heroic lady. He acquired a taste for the sea while at school at La Rochelle, and, having friends in high places, he was in that year admitted to the French Navy as a cadet—a very rare favour to be granted to a Huguenot. All the happiness of Elias Tardy in the navy arose from his zeal for the service; for in other respects his life was embittered by ill-treatment as a solitary Protestant among Popish comrades. He served nine years under Admiral Conflans, and in November 1759, at the famous action off Belleisle, he was taken prisoner by the English. Though suffering from a severe wound, he found that he had made a welcome exchange of circumstances, while he was cared for and kindly treated by his captors. He, therefore, remained under British rule, sold his French property through the intervention of friends, and settled in Dublin. There he invested largely in "sugar baking," and made a considerable fortune. He was an *ancien* of the French Church, a trustee of the chapel and

burying-ground in Peter Street, a merchant prince full of hospitality and good works. In 1771 he married Anne Du Bedat, who at her death in 1786 left three sons : he visited France for his health, having with him a certificate of naturalization in Britain, dated 28th April 1788. In 1790 he married his second wife, Alice, relict of John Chaigneau, Esq. ; her only son, Peter Chaigneau, thus joined Mr Tardy's sons, and he and they, being brought up together, continued through life to regard each other as brothers. The eldest son of the refugee was Francis Tardy, Esq. (*born 1773, died 1836*), unmarried ; he was a scholar and a gentleman, an ornament to society, a conspicuous loyalist, and also an advocate for the removal of the political disabilities of Roman Catholics. The second son, Elias Tardy, M.D. (*born 1777, died 1843*), after serving in the Navy, obtained through his merits a lucrative practice in London. Dr Tardy, having anticipated the discoveries of modern science regarding the treatment of the insane, was persuaded to found a private asylum, of which the Duke of Kent was patron ; but he thus lost £10,000, therefore emigrating to Trinidad he made another fortune there. The third son, James Tardy, Esq., (*born 1781, died 1835*), satisfied with his patrimony, devoted his life to the study of natural history, and to the encouragement of that study ; and he has been justly styled "the Father of Irish Natural History." Dr Drummond in his "Thoughts on the Study of Natural History," published in 1820, speaks of it as a neglected study, yet congratulates Ireland on possessing a few distinguished naturalists, one of whom, "James Tardy, Esq. of Dublin, to a knowledge in every department of the science unites an enthusiastic zeal for entomological enquiry." In entomology he discovered several new species, one of which received the name of *Cossonus Tardii*. His cabinet of insects is now in the Museum of Trinity College, Dublin. James Tardy, Esq., had married in 1813 Mary Anne, daughter of James Johnston, Esq. of Rockfield, in the parish of Aughnamullen, a scion of the noble house of Anandale, and his son and successor is the Rev. Elias Tardy, whom he himself educated at home, and who graduated as B.A. of the University of Dublin. This gentleman, being curate of East Farleigh, in Kent, was presented by Lord Chancellor Lyndhurst to the Vicarage of Grinton, in Yorkshire, which he resigned in 1850 on being preferred by the late Lord Primate (Beresford) to the Rectory of Aughnamullen in county Monaghan, a parish with which his mother's family were connected for several centuries, and in which his monument, erected in his lifetime, is the new and handsome Parish Church. The Rev. Elias Tardy, who is a Justice of the Peace for the county, married in 1837 Sarah, daughter of Edmund Charles Cotterill, Esq. of the Grove, Essex, and has had two sons, James Francis Barham (*born 1841*) and Charles Joseph Hill (*born 1849*)—also two daughters, Elizabeth Mary (*died 1863*) and Lucretia Anne. He is the namesake of his good and gallant grandfather, and is also, like him, a Trustee of the Dublin Huguenots' Cemetery.

Chapter XXX.

OFFSPRING OF THE REFUGEES AMONG THE CLERGY.

BISHOP CHENEVIX.—The name of *Chenevix* is pre-eminent in Huguenot martyrology, through the glorious constancy of Monsieur Paul Chenevix d'Eply. Quick says of him, "Monsieur Chenevix was a venerable and ancient gentleman, a person of eminent prudence, illustrious for learning and godliness, and councillor to the king in the court of Metz. He persisted faithful to death. He died, and they dragged most inhumanly his dead carcase upon a hurdle and buried it in a dunghill. He hath a brother, a very reverend minister of the gospel, refugee in this city of London." A letter dated Metz, 2d Oct. 1686, says, "Poor Monsieur de Chenevix

lies very ill. The curate of the parish was with him to oblige him to confession, but he positively told him that he would not confess himself to any but God, who alone could forgive his sins. Afterwards he was visited by the Archbishop, who would have obliged him to communicate before death, which he also as stiffly refused. The Archbishop acquainted him with the king's orders concerning such who, being sick, refuse to communicate ere they die. He replied that he cared not a rush for them, and that he would never communicate after the Popish manner." Another account adds:—"Neither his character nor his age (he was eighty) were regarded; sentence was given that his corpse should be removed by the executioner. A guard of soldiers were unable to suppress such exclamations as, 'There goes a man of God,'—'he is on his car of triumph,'—'his body is in the hands of the executioner, but his soul is with God,'—'his body is disfigured with dirt, but his soul is washed in the blood of Christ.' His friends fetched his corpse from the dunghill; they wrapped it in linen, and prepared a grave in a garden; it was borne thither during the night on the shoulders of four men, attended by 400 persons, chiefly females, who, while the corpse was let down into the grave, sang mournfully the 79th Psalm, in which the prophet deploras the desolation of Jerusalem."

The brother was Pasteur Philippe Chenevix, of Limay, near Mantes, who married Anne de Boubers. Their son (aged twenty-six) served in the Guards in London—[*Query*, Who were Philip Le Chenevix and Magdalene, naturalised in 1682; see List VII. ?]—and was the father of the Rev. Richard Chenevix, Colonel Chenevix of the Carabineers, and Lieutenant Chenevix of the Artillery. Passing from Richard in the meantime, we note that Colonel Chenevix was father of another Colonel Chenevix and grandfather of Richard Chenevix, Esq., who was a Fellow of the Royal Society from 1801 to 1830, and author of "Remarks upon Chemical Nomenclature," "Observations on Systems of Mineralogy," and of many papers in the learned journals, also of two plays, "Mantuan Revels," and "Henry VII."

The Right Rev. Richard Chenevix was Chaplain at the Hague to the Earl of Chesterfield, and when the Earl became Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland, his Chaplain became Bishop of Killaloe—this was in 1745; but Dr Chenevix was immediately translated to Waterford and Lismore, viz., on 15th January 1746. The Bishop was acquainted with the obligations of Ireland to the linen manufacture, and the Viceroy had observed the industrial advantages accruing to Holland from the Huguenot refugees; and consequently a revival of commercial prosperity marked the era now under our observation. The linen and sail-cloth manufactures had subsisted since 1715, when Lewis Crommelin set them up, under the management of John Latrobe. Under Lord Chesterfield's government the management was given to a Patrick Smith, and fifty French families from the North of Ireland, and two from Holland, were transplanted to Waterford. The higher ranks of society, since the days of Bishop Foy, had been Huguenot, such names prevailing as Reynette, Sandoz, Franquefort, Fleury, Grueber, Perrin, Latrobe, Bessonnet, Tabiteau, Boisron Vashon, Espaignet, and Delandre. There was a French church; the first minister was David Gervais, the second, James (or Jacob) Denis, next came Guidon Richion, George Dobier, and Augustus Devoree—the latter died in 1762, and was succeeded by Rev. Peter Augustus Franquefort, who held the office till his death in 1819, having bequeathed a valuable endowment to the City of Waterford Protestant Orphan Association. The latter was, by Bishop Chenevix, made Prebendary of Kilgobinet. The Bishop also gave preferments to other descendants of the refugees; thus we have the names of John Jaumard, Archdeacon of Lismore; William Grueber, Precentor of Lismore; Philip Chenevix (his son), Chancellor of Waterford Cathedral; Henry Gervais, Treasurer of Lismore; Antoine Fleury, Vicar-Choral. Bishop Chenevix "went about doing good," and was "a man of great singleness of heart;" he died in 1779. In his will, dated 13th Aug. 1777, he left to the diocese of Waterford £1600, the interest to be given to widows of clergymen of that diocese; he also left £1000 to the diocese of Lismore. His son, Rev. Philip Chenevix, married Mary Elizabeth, daughter of the Venerable Henry Gervais, Archdeacon of Cashel (formerly Treasurer of Lismore and Vicar-Choral). This young couple presented the Bishop with his only grandchild, Melosina Chene-

vix; she was married in 1803 to Richard Trench, Esq., barrister-at-law, a brother of Lord Ashdown, and a kinsman of the Earl of Clancarty, a family descended from Monsieur La Tranche, a fugitive from the St Bartholomew massacre. Bishop Chenevix is thus represented by his illustrious great-grandson, Richard Chenevix Trench, D.D., Archbishop of Dublin.

BISHOP MAJENDIE.—A Majendie was, it is believed, the almoner of Jeanne D'Albret, Queen of Navarre; but the refugee pedigree begins with Bernard de Majendie, Pasteur of Orthez. His eldest son was André (*born 1601*), Pasteur of Navarreins, afterwards of Sauvetterre, who, in 1667, preached before the Provincial Synod of Bearn at Nay. For this sermon he was prosecuted by the Civil Tribunal and censured; two of his works were at the same time condemned, and copies of them were cut in pieces in presence of the Court. One of these was "Defense de l'Union," no copy of it is now known to exist; the other was a Sermon on Eph. iv. 14, published with the title, "L'Enfant Flottant, ou Sermon fait au Synode de Lembège le 21 Aoust 1661, contre les incertitudes et scrupules inseparables de la communion de Rome." His wife's name was Marie Dejord; at his death in 1680 he left sons, Jean, Jacques, Pierre, and André. Of these, the eldest, Pasteur Jean Majendie, was banished from France, but returned and exercised his ministry in defiance of persecution, until he died in inward and outward peace in the year 1688. Jacques Majendie, his next brother, married Charlotte de Saint-Leger, and left two sons,* the elder of whom became a British subject in 1704, coming to us from Leeuwarden. This was Rev. Andrew Majendie, Pasteur at Exeter for thirty-five years, *i.e.* till his death in 1739; there he married Suzanne Mauzy, and had eleven children. His eldest son, Rev. John James Majendie, D.D. (*born at Exeter in 1709*, and educated at Leyden), was minister of the French church in the Savoy in London, Domestic Chaplain of the Earl of Grantham, also Canon of Worcester, and afterwards of Windsor, author of "Le But des Afflictions" (1741), "The Yoke of the Church of Rome" (1745), and "The Double Deliverance" (1755). Dr Majendie was Queen Charlotte's instructor in the English language, and tutor to her sons, the Prince of Wales and the Duke of York. He was deeply and actively interested in the Waldenses; he died at Weston, near Bath, 7th Aug. 1783, in the seventy-fifth year of his age, and fifty-third of his ministry. His sons were Henry-William, and Lewis (afterwards of Hedingham Castle). Henry-William Majendie, D.D., was born in 1754, was tutor to Prince William Henry, afterwards Duke of Clarence and King William IV.; became successively Canon of Windsor, Canon Residentiary of St Paul's, Bishop of Chester (in 1800), Bishop of Bangor (in 1809). In 1785 he married Anne Routledge, and died in 1830. The chief of the Majendies is his son, Rev. Henry William Majendie, Vicar of Speen, Berkshire, who has two surviving brothers, Rev. Stuart Majendie, Rector of Barnwell, in Northamptonshire, and Rev. George Majendie, Rector of Heddington, in Wiltshire. The Bishop's daughters were Mary Ann, wife of the Dean of Bangor (Cotton), Isabella, wife of the Dean of Salisbury (Lear), Catherine, wife of Henry Fynes Clinton, Esq., M.A., and M.P., author of "Fasti Hellenici," and Louisa, Lady Hewett.

BISHOP SAURIN was a descendant of Jean Saurin, Sieur de la Blaquier, mestre-de-camp to the Duke de Rohan's army in 1622, who was the brother of Saurin, the Huguenot envoy to our Charles I. in 1628, and father of Jean Saurin, advocate in Nismes. The latter (by Hippolyte Tournier, his wife), had three sons, Jacques, the pulpit orator (*THE Saurin par excellence*), Captain Saurin, refugee in England, and Rev. Louis Saurin, minister of the London French church in the Savoy. Louis removed to Ireland, and being highly recommended by the Bishop of London (Gibson), was, in 1727, made Chantor of Christ's Church, Dublin, and at the date of his death (1729) was Dean of St Patrick's, Ardagh. In 1714, in London, in the Savoy, he married Henriette Cornel de la Bretonnière, a refugee from Normandy; their son was Rev. James

* The second son was Jeremie Majendie, whose descendants possess the ancient Maison de Majendie at Sauvetterre, in the Department of Gironde.

Saurin, Vicar of Belfast, and their grandson, James, was Rector of St Anne's, Belfast. The Rector's son James (*born* 18th Dec, 1759), was in 1812 Dean of Cork; 1813, Archdeacon of Dublin; 1817, Dean of Derry; and 1819, Bishop of Dromore. Bishop Saurin died 19th April 1842, in his eighty-third year, having a great reputation as an efficient clergyman, a public-spirited Prelate, and a truly Catholic Christian. He had thirteen children, but only two have come under my observation, viz., Sarah (recently deceased), wife of Rev. William Henry Wynne, Rector of Moira, and Mark Anthony Saurin, Esq. (*born* 1815), High Sheriff of Pembrokeshire in 1867, and Lord of the Manor of Orielson, youngest son of the late Bishop of Dromore by Elizabeth, daughter of William Lyster, Esq.

DEAN LETABLÈRE.—The following inscription is on the Dean's monument in St Patrick's Cathedral, Dublin :—

Fidelis usque ad mortem.
Nous avons tout abandonné et nous t'avons suivi.
Prudentia gloriam acquirit.

To the memory of the Very Rev. Daniel Letablère, Dean of the Cathedral of St Mary, Tuam, Vicar of Laragh-Brian, and Prebendary of Maynooth in this Cathedral Church, who died A.D. 1775,

Son of

René de la Douespe de Lestablère, who, for the faith of our Lord Jesus Christ, on the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes, left his country, Le Bas Poictou, France, and took refuge in Ireland, where, after having held several commissions under Du Cambon and Lifford in the army of King William III., he finally settled.

His daughter Esther Charlotte
married in 1783 Edward Litton, Esq., H.M. 37th Regiment, of Ballyfarmot, whose sons have,
in memory of their ancestor, erected this tablet, A.D. 1865.

In the Annual Sermon and Report of "The Incorporated Society in Dublin for promoting English Protestant Working-Schools for Ireland," the names of zealous Irish Protestants may be found. In such a document for 1752, I observe that Dean Letablère subscribed to the Society, and also to the school at Maynooth, besides remitting his tithes for its fourteen acres of land; to which school Miss Mary Vareilles also subscribes [probably of the same family as a refugee in Essex, Henri Vareilles, Sieur De Champredon, son of Etienne Vareilles, Sieur De la Roche]. Another member is Rev. Samuel Virasel [probably a descendant of Lord Galway's friend, the Baron]. More appropriate to this chapter are the names of Isaac Gervais, Dean of Tuam; Rev. John Pellisier, D.D., Vice-Provost of Trinity College; and Theophilus Brocas, D.D., Dean of Killala—the latter, perhaps, being of the same family as Rev. Peter Brocas de Hondespains, one of the clerical deputies from the London French refugees to Utrecht in 1712—(see Naturalisations, List XXI).

DEAN GABRIEL JAMES MATORIN was grandson of Pasteur Gabriel Matorin. The Pasteur was a foundling, and received both Christian name and surname from a Roman Catholic lady, whose coachman picked him up when she was taking a drive through the streets of Paris. Notwithstanding the education which his protectress gave him, he became a Huguenot pasteur. "About the time of the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes," says his grandson's grandson, Rev. Charles Robert Matorin, "he was shut up in the Bastille, where he was left for twenty-six years, I suppose to give him time to reflect on the controverted points and make up his mind at leisure. With all these advantages he continued quite untractable, so that the Catholics, finding his case desperate, gave him his liberty. There was no danger, however, of his abusing this indulgence, for, owing to the keeper forgetting accidentally to bring him fuel during the winters of his confinement, and a few other *agrèments* of his situation, the poor man had lost the use of his limbs, and was a cripple for life." He accompanied some of his former flock to Ireland, and there

unexpectedly found his wife and two sons. One son, Peter, survived him, and became Dean of Killala. Peter was the father of Gabriel James (*born* 1700), at different times Prebendary of Malahidert, St Michael's, and St John's, then Dean of Kildare, and in 1745 (Nov. 20) Dean of St Patrick's, Dublin. This Dean Maturin was an able mathematician; he obtained his preferments by the suffrages of the clergy, but died in the prime of life, 9th Nov. 1746. From him descended Rev. Henry Maturin, Senior Fellow of Trinity College, Dublin, and Rector of Fanet; Rev. Charles Robert Maturin, author of "Bertram"; Gabriel Maturin, Esq.; Washington-Shirley Maturin, Esq., &c., &c. The author of "Bertram" (*born* 1782, *died* 1824) brought out in the last year of his life a romance in four volumes, entitled "The Albigeneses," with the Shaksperian motto:—

“—— Sir, betake thee to thy faith,
For seventeen poniards are at thy bosom.”

ARCHDEACON FLEURY'S great-grandfather was Louis Fleury, Pasteur of Tours, who, with Esther his wife, one son, and two daughters, Esther and Mary, fled to England in 1683. The Pasteur and his family were naturalized in England 27th April 1687. (See list XIII.) The son, Philip Amauret Fleury (*born* 1671), a graduate of Leyden, was ordained to preach the Gospel to the French in Ireland. Antoine Fleury, grandson of the old refugee, was also a graduate of Leyden, where he was ordained 4th Sept. 1728, but eventually settled in Ireland, and married one of the noble family of Rochebrune; in 1761 he became Vicar Choral of Lismore. His son, George Lewis Fleury, Prebendary of Kilgobinet and Archdeacon of Waterford, earned the designation of "the good old archdeacon;" Bishop Chenevix appointed him to the Archdeaconry in 1773, the post having been vacant for 106 years.

The following notes concerning him are from Dr Sirr's Life of the Archbishop of Tuam of the nineteenth century:—

The experienced Archdeacon of Waterford, Rev. G. L. Fleury, was more than fifty years in office, a keen observer of every transaction in the diocese, an uncompromising censor of every dereliction of duty, a clergyman universally popular for his charitable actions, a friend of the friendless. His goodness and sound practical religion live in memory upon earth, while his enduring record is on high.

Bishop Power Trench had, when quite a young man, been admitted to the See of Waterford, and at first the clergy were disposed to animadvert on so many military men being guests at his palace. Archdeacon Fleury, "who would do and say what no other man would attempt," being present at the bishop's grand reception of his clergy, walked up to him and said, "I am most happy, my lord, to see that your lordship has recovered from your *scarlet fever*." The bishop took the joke with the greatest good humour. The Archdeacon died about 1825; his descendants were Rev. Richard Fleury, rector of Dunmore East, and Rev. Charles Fleury, ordained by the Archbishop of Tuam, 21st January 1827. (I add the Archdeacon's daughters, Mary, wife of Rev. R. Ryland, author of the History of Waterford; and Elizabeth Melesina, wife of Henry M'Clintock, Esq., and mother of Captain Sir Francis Leopold M'Clintock, who entered the Royal Navy in 1831, and was knighted in 1860 for his exploits in the polar regions in the search for Sir John Franklin.)

ARCHDEACON BEAUFORT.—Rev. Daniel Cornelius de Beaufort was Pastor of several French congregations in London. He was born in 1700, and married in 1738, at St Martin's Lane Chapel, Miss Esther Gougeon, and had one son, Rev. Daniel Augustus Beaufort, LL.D. He came to Ireland and became Archdeacon of Tuam. The son succeeded him in the cure of Navan, when he himself was translated to Monrath. The Archdeacon was the author of "A short account of the doctrines and practices of the Church of Rome, divested of all controversy, and humbly recommended to the perusal of all good Catholics as well as Protestants," Dublin 1788. This was the year of his death. The son survived till May 1831, being his

eighty-third year ; he was one of the founders of Sunday Schools in Ireland, and of the Royal Irish Academy, and author of the celebrated "Civil and Ecclesiastical Map of Ireland."

ARCHDEACON JORTIN was the son of René (or Renatus) Jortin, and the grandson of Monsieur Jortin, a gentleman of good family in Brittany, both refugees in England in 1687. His mother was Martha, daughter of Rev. Daniel Rogers of Haversham, Buckinghamshire. His father was first a gentleman of King William's Privy Chamber, and then served at sea as Secretary to three British Admirals successively, namely, Edward, Earl of Orford, Sir George Rooke, and Sir Cloudesley Shovel. In H.M.S. *Association*, he, with his chief and all on board, perished by shipwreck 22d October 1707. In an official document he was called "Mr Jourdain." His reverend son gives this explanation :—"My father came over a young man to England with his father, mother, uncle, two aunts, and two sisters about 1687. He was made one of the gentlemen of the Privy Chamber in 1691 by the name of Renatus Jortin ; I have his patent. After this, and before I was born, he took a fancy to change his name to *Jordain*, to give it an English appearance ; being fond (I suppose) of passing for an Englishman, as he spoke English perfectly and without any foreign accent. This gave me some trouble afterwards when I went into Deacon's Orders under Bishop Kennet, for the registrar of St Giles-in-the-Fields wrote my name (as it stood there) *Jordain* ; I gave the bishop an account of how it came to pass. After my father's death, my mother thought it proper to assume the true name of JORTIN ; and she and I always wrote it so."

John Jortin was born on 23d October 1698. When his mother became a widow, she removed to the neighbourhood of the Charterhouse, where he passed his school-days with distinction, being a remarkable linguist ; he went to Cambridge in 1715. Dr Styan Thirlby recommended him to Pope as a co-adjutor in compiling notes to Homer. Jortin furnished to the poet all his translations from the commentary of Eustathius. "When that part of Homer came out in which I had been concerned," says Jortin, "I was eager (as it may be supposed) to see how things stood, and much pleased to find that he had not only used almost all my notes, but had hardly made any alteration in the expressions. I observed, also, that in a subsequent edition he corrected the place to which I had made objections. I was in some hopes in those days (for I was young) that Mr Pope would make inquiry about his co-adjutor and take some civil notice of him, but he did not ; and I had no notion of obtruding myself upon him. I never saw his face."

John Jortin became B.A. in 1719, and Fellow of Jesus College in 1721. The fellowship was vacant by the death of another descendant of a French refugee, William Rosen, who had held it since 1710. In 1726 he became Vicar of Swavesey, in Cambridgeshire, and married Anne Chibnall in 1727. In 1730 he removed to London, having received preferment from Archbishop Herring, who also made him a D.D. In the closing years of his life he was Archdeacon of London.

Archdeacon Jortin's celebrity arises from his learned works published both during his life and after his death. His best known performance is his elaborate *Life of Erasmus*, which, though it incorporated Le Clerc's authentic compilations, was substantially a new work. The volumes most characteristic of the man contained his "Remarks on Ecclesiastical History," in which we see the preciseness and gaiety of the Frenchman combined with the judgment and directness of an Englishman. This book startled many excellent divines as dealing rather unceremoniously and flippantly with "trifles which persons of greater zeal than discretion would obtrude upon the world as golden relics of primitive Christianity."

The following are among his sayings :—"A desire to say things which no one ever said makes some people say things which no one ought to say." "It is observable that Pharaoh, tyrant and persecutor as he was, never compelled the Hebrews to forsake the religion of their fathers and to adopt that of the Egyptians. Such improvements in persecution were reserved for Christians." Some men threaten to take revenge on the persecutions and superstitions of Popery by going over to scepticism or infidelity. What does Archdeacon Jortin say to that ?—"Miser-

able spirit of contradiction ! because a man would deprive me of common sense, I must, in resentment, throw away my religion ? This is fulfilling, in a very bad way, the precept, If any man will take away thy coat let him have thy cloak also." As to Philip's Life of Cardinal Pole he denounced it as a work "undertaken to recommend to us the very scum and dregs of Popery, and to vilify and calumniate the Reformation and the Reformers, in a bigoted, disingenuous, and superficial performance."

The Archdeacon died 8th Sept. 1770, in his 72d year, and Mrs Jortin in 1778. One son and one daughter survived their parents. The daughter, Martha, wife of Rev. Samuel Darby, died in 1817, aged 86. The son, Rogers Jortin, Esq., of Lincoln's Inn, one of the four attorneys in His Majesty's Exchequer Office for pleas, married, first, Anne (who died in 1774), daughter of William Prowting, surgeon ; and, secondly, a descendant of French Protestant ancestry, Louisa, daughter of Dr Mathy, Principal Librarian of the British Museum. Rogers Jortin died in 1795, aged 63.

CANON REGIS.—Regis is a Huguenot surname : Haag mentions Pierre Regis, M.D., born at Montpellier, a refugee in Amsterdam. Balthazar Regis., D.D., Canon of Windsor, married Jeanne (*born* 1701), eldest daughter of Rev. Israel Antoine Aufrère. He died in 1757, and in his Will he declared that he was entitled by primogeniture to an Abbey and paternal estates in Dauphiné, which he charged his descendants to claim, "if there be a Reformation in France." His eldest daughter was Mrs Dawson, wife of a merchant in Cornhill ; Catherine became Mrs Potter, wife of the Curate of Wallsend, in Northumberland ; and another daughter was married to Rev. Mr Prior of Eton. Mrs Dawson's son, William Dawson, Esq. of St Leonard's Hill, married Sophia (*born* 1763), daughter of Anthony Aufrère, Esq. of Hoveton, and had, among other children, the Rev. Henry Dawson, Sophia (Lady Burke), and Matilda (Mrs Philip Stewart) ; the son of the latter, Charles Poyntz Stewart, Esq., possesses a portrait of Canon Regis.

REV. JOHN HUDEL was pastor of *Les Grecs* in London, and the eldest son of a Huguenot ; "Udel" was the true spelling. The senior Jean Udel of Niort, was a Protestant student of Theology at the time of the Revocation, and was intimidated into a formal abjuration. He married in 1686 Madelaine de Camus, and settled at Bazoges-en-Pareds, to be near his father-in-law, René de Camus, who, however, died soon after from the effects of a missionary visit of the dragoons. Udel soon repented his recantation, and became so zealous a Protestant that he was shut up in the Bastille in 1691, and was removed from prison to prison for the next quarter of a century. After the death of Louis XIV. he obtained his liberty, and spent some time in a fruitless attempt to rescue his three daughters from a convent. Of two sons, the eldest had succeeded in reaching England ; he was the pastor named above ; his father was permitted to join him in 1731.

REV. JACOB BOURDILLON (*born* 12th Feb. 1704) is the connecting link between those children of the refugees whose recollections of "the noble army of martyrs" of France made them French in their sympathies, and those more remote descendants who had assumed the boastfulness of a true-born Englishman. In 1731 he commenced a pastorate over a numerous flock of refugee birth, but his jubilee sermon was preached to a few people and to empty pews. This sermon was printed, but is now extremely rare ; the late Mr Burn possessed the only known copy of it (I believe) :—"Sermon de Jubilé prononcé dans l'Eglise Française de l'Artillerie en Spitalfields le 13 Janvier 1732, par Jacob Bourdillon qui en a été le pasteur dès le 25 Decembre 1731."

REV. JEAN PIERRE STEHELIN, F.R.S., born in 1688, was in 1729 one of the Comité Ecclesiastique, and was minister of several French churches from 1727 till his death in 1753. He printed a Treatise on Transubstantiation, "ou extrait de plusieurs sermons prononcés dans la

Chapelle de Hammersmith." He was famous as a linguist, having mastered the following languages:—"Hebrew, Greek, Latin, English, French, German, Italian, Danish, Dutch, Coptic, Armenian, Syriac, Arabic, Chaldean, Gothic, Old Tudesco or Druid, Anglo-Saxon, besides Spanish, Portuguese. and Welsh." (See *London and Scots Magazines* for 1753.)

REV. JAMES ROUQUET (*born in 1730*) was a son of a French Protestant refugee, born to comparative greatness, who himself became a poor refugee, and whose father was condemned to the galleys for his religion. James's natural talents were good, and he was a creditable scholar of Merchant Tailors' Schools, London, and St John's College, Oxford. The preaching of Whitefield led to his dedication to the Christian ministry. Though always a member of the Established Church he for a time superintended Wesley's celebrated School at Kingswood, near Bristol. He was ordained as deacon by Dr Johnson, Bishop of Gloucester, and as priest by Dr Willes, Bishop of Bath and Wells. His favourite occupation was to preach in Bristol gaol, and to go with the Gospel to the most abandoned of the population. His relations with Whitefield and Wesley exposed him to prejudice; and he was dismissed from his first curacy for preaching from house to house and within the Bristol gaol. But the Lord Chancellor having presented him to the vicarage of West Harptree, Bishop Willes proved a steadfast friend, declaring how much pleased he was with his examination, and appointing him to preach at his next ordination. The good prelate sent to him for the manuscript of the sermon which had been spoken against, and having perused it, he returned it, expressed his entire approbation of the sermon, and assured Mr Rouquet of his friendship and affection. The text of the sermon was, *Feed my Sheep*. The good parson's predilection for instructing and reclaiming outcasts, made him resign his vicarage, and accept the curacy of St Werburgh in Bristol. This was in 1768. One motive may have been to console himself in beneficent labours for the loss of his wife, Sarah, daughter of Honourable E. Fenwicke of Charles-Town, South Carolina (and sister of the Countess of Deloraine), whom he had married on 22d Sept. 1756, and who died on 28th April 1762. Owing to that relationship he had the honorary office of the Earl of Deloraine's chaplain; he held the chaplaincy of St Peter's Hospital, and the lectureship of St Nicholas, Bristol. On the 13th March 1773 he married his second wife, Mary, relict of John Cannon, Esq. of Greenwich, Kent. The great Rowland Hill preached his first sermon in Mr Rouquet's church, on Tuesday, 8th June 1773. Mr Rouquet continued his intimacy with the Wesleyans, and others, called Methodists. He was a delightful person, as well as a most admirable and faithful man in every duty and relationship and in society. He was noted for his pleasantry and jocularities, as well as for his more solid and serious qualities. He preached at the opening of the Tabernacle at Trowbridge on the 19th Nov. 1771, and on each anniversary of its opening until his death. He died on the 16th Nov. 1776, aged 46; his death was unexpected, and it grieved and startled many.* He left several children, a daughter, Jane Anne, who was married in 1782 to John Jordan Palmer, and a second Rev. James Rouquet, Vicar of West Harptree from 1789 to 1837.

Mr Hill preached three funeral sermons on Mr Rouquet—the first on Sunday forenoon the 23th Nov., in St Werburgh, on the text, "Well done! good and faithful servant;" the second on the same evening, at the Trowbridge Tabernacle, on the text, "I heard a voice from heaven saying unto me, Write, Blessed are the dead which die in the Lord;" the third in St Nicholas's, on Tuesday, on the text, "I have finished my course." The first was published, "Dedicated to the Poor among whom he so diligently laboured and who followed in weeping multitudes his coffin to the tomb;" its title was, "A Tribute of Respect to the Memory of the Rev. James Rouquet, being the substance of a Sermon preached in the Parish Church of St Werburgh's,

* Perhaps Mr Fletcher was shocked at Mr Rouquet's jocularities, and it may have been to him that he alluded when he wrote, "R—q—t dead and buried! the jolly man, who last summer shook his head at me as at a dying man! How frail are we! God help us to live to-day! To-morrow is the fool's day." This letter is, in the Rev. John Fletcher's posthumous pieces, dated August 24, 1776; and if the date be not a mistake on the part of the editor of the volume, the allusion cannot be to the Rev. J. Rouquet.

Bristol, on Sunday, Nov. 24, 1776, by the Rev. Rowland Hill, A.M., late of St John's College, Cambridge, and Chaplain to the Countess of Chesterfield." The following notes are appended by Mr Hill:—"A large concourse of people went before, singing funeral hymns, to the church door." "Mr Rouquet was the son of persecuted parents who fled from France to England for the sake of enjoying the inestimable privileges of civil and religious liberty. I mention this as an apology for his conduct in appearing so strenuous, with other great and good men, against those principles which he conceived to be in their end destructive to the liberties of mankind." "Mr Rouquet for many years of his life seldom used to preach less than seven times in a week." I have room for only one extract from the sermon:—

"As a friend, from a very intimate acquaintance with him, give me leave to bear my testimony that one more constant and sincere I never found. To have equalled him would have been difficult; to have excelled him, impossible. And no wonder; an experimental knowledge of the friend of sinners is the only true basis upon which real disinterested friendship can be built. From the best of motives, therefore, he was of a more generous turn than to love in prosperity alone; in adversity he was the same—his conduct was invariable throughout. It frequently also happens that the method in which kind actions are performed adds a double lustre to the action itself. In this respect our dear friend was peculiarly happy; his free and affable disposition would never permit him to disgrace the cause of God by a sullen moroseness, too much adopted by some. That heavenly cheerfulness which true grace must ever inspire, united to the natural sweetness of his temper, gave him an opportunity to prove that it never was the end of the Gospel of Christ to make men melancholy and severe. But amidst all these amiable endowments is it to be wondered at, since there is not a just man upon earth that liveth and sinneth not, if one hears a distant hint that now and then my dearly-loved friend might have been supposed to have made somewhat of a small elopement from that cheerfulness, which is truly Christian, towards a disposition too much bordering upon a turn of pleasantry, which might have needed a little more the spirit of solemnity? With the greatest delicacy I drop the hint, and am glad to cover it with the mantle of love by lamenting, before you all, the same weakness in myself." *

REV. W. ROMAINE.—The father of Mr Romaine was a Huguenot refugee who settled in Hartlepool as a merchant and corn-dealer. He was a man of great justice and benevolence. In 1741 when other corn-dealers took advantage of the scarcity, and withheld corn unless a tremendous price was offered, riots took place which were quelled through the conduct of Mr Romaine in selling to all comers at a fair price. William was born 25th Sept. 1714. "In those principles which were through life his shield and buckler, and which he would not have exchanged could the world have been laid at his feet," old Romaine educated his son. "He was a steady member of the Church of England, a constant attender upon her services, and so exact an observer of the Sabbath-day, that he never suffered any of his family to go out upon it except to church, and spent the remainder of it with them in reading the Scriptures and other devout exercises at home. In this manner he lived to the age of eighty-five, and to the year of our Lord 1757." William was M.A. of Oxford, and a very learned Hebraist. He had completed four folio volumes, and a seven years' task, and was on his way to the vessel in which he meant to return home, when he was recognised by a stranger through his personal likeness to his father, and by that gentleman's advice he applied for the ecclesiastical appointment which established him as a London minister. Accordingly the *Gentleman's Magazine* for November 1748 informs us that Mr Romaine, editor of Calasio's Dictionary, was chosen

* Mr Rouquet inherited gaiety of tone from his French ancestors. In 1755 a Monsieur Rouquet (probably a near relation), Member of the Royal Academy of Painting and Sculpture in Paris, stated that he had resided thirty years in England, as his justification for publishing an Essay, entitled, *The State of the Arts in England*. He also was a humorist; for in that Essay he says that English physicians usually cultivate some art or science which has no relation to medicine, and adds, such pursuits are "sometimes of great service to their patients, because nature takes occasion, from the inattention of the doctor, to effect the cure in her own way."

Lecturer of the united parishes of St George's, Botolph Lane, and St Botolph's, Billingsgate. In 1766 he was finally settled as Rector of St Andrew Wardrobe and St Ann's, Blackfriars. To write another detailed memoir of the author of "The Life, Walk, and Triumph of Faith," and of such an eminent and popular clergyman, is unnecessary. It is to be regretted that Haag had not read his Sermons before the University of Oxford (which were worthy of their theme, "The Lord our Righteousness"), instead of characterising them upon hearsay as rigid or austere. A portion of his "Essay on Psalmody" is so Huguenot in sentiment that I must quote a few sentences:—"The Psalms are the Word of God, with which no work of man's genius can be compared. . . . The hymn-makers thrust out the Psalms to make way for their own compositions. . . . I have heard several of our hymn-singers object to Sternhold and Hopkins; they wonder I make use of this version. . . . The version comes nearer to the original than any I have ever seen, except the Scotch, which I have made use of when it appeared to me better expressed than the English. . . . Here is everything great and noble and divine, although not in Dr Watts' way or style; it is not fine sound like his, and florid verse, as good old Mr Hall used to call it *Watts' Jingle*. I do not match those [metrical] Psalms with what is now admired in poetry, although time was when no less a man than the Rev. T. Bradbury thought so meanly of Watts' Hymns as commonly to call them *Watts' Whims*. And indeed, compared to the Scripture, they are like a little taper to the sun." He wrote to the Hon. and Rev. William Bromley Cadogan, July 30, 1784, "We (*i.e.* himself and Mrs Romaine, *née* Price) set out for the North, in all probability for the last time. I have three sisters alive, all in years as well as myself, and we are to have a family meeting to take our leave, final as to this life. It would be too much for my feelings, if I had not all the reason in the world to believe that our next meeting will be in glory. Mr Whitfield used often to put me in mind how singularly favoured I was; my father, mother, and three sisters were like those blessed people, 'Martha and her sister, and Lazarus,' whom 'Jesus loved.'" "When," says his biographer, "the clergy were called upon to collect in their respective parishes for the French emigrants, he was not a whit behind the chiefest of them in this business, for which he had the honour of being noticed in an anonymous pamphlet, as if to relieve the distresses of a Papist were to encourage the errors of Popery." Thus, to his father's persecutors William Romaine returned good for evil. "A cheerful old man," "praising Jesus," he died on the Lord's Day, 26th July, 1795. Funeral Sermons were preached by Rev. William Goode, Rev. Thomas Wills, and Rev. Charles Edward de Coetlogon.

Chapter XXXIII.

OFFSPRING OF THE REFUGEES IN THE ARMY AND NAVY.

DUROURE.—The ancient family of Beauvoir in Languedoc had several branches, of one of which the chief, in the first half of the sixteenth century, was Claud de Grimoard de Beauvoir Du Roure, Seigneur de Grisac, de Bane et de Saint-Florent. His eldest son, Jacques, was the first Protestant Du Roure. Jean Du Roure, who in 1620 represented Vivarais in the National Synod of Alais, was the eldest son of Jacques. From Jean sprang Scipion Du Roure, founder of a branch of the family in Provence, who married N. De Dangers in 1650. The eldest son of this worthy couple was the refugee Francois Du Roure, who was captain in a regiment of cavalry in the British service. His wife was Catherine de Rieutort, and by her he had two sons, Scipio and Alexander, officers in the British army, who made the surname *Duroure*.

In 1736, under General Wade, Commander-in-chief of the Forces in North Britain, we find Brigadier Charles Dubourgay, and Major Scipio Duroure, the Major of Brigade, with ten shillings a-day. He became Lieutenant-Colonel of the 12th Foot, and he obtained the Colonelcy of this regiment, 12th Aug. 1741. Colonel Duroure went with his regiment to Flanders, the hero Wolfe being one of his subalterns, and the corps got great glory at Dettingen. Scipio Duroure's career of valour and of great promise was cut short by his meeting a soldier's death at the Battle of Fontenoy. He had married in 1713 his cousin, Marguerite de Vignolles.

Alexander Du Roure was born in 1700; we first meet him as Lieutenant-Colonel of the 4th Foot. In Nov. 1748 he married Louisa Brushell of Hammersmith. He rose in the army to be Colonel of the 38th Foot (27th Feb. 1752), and was transferred to the 4th or King's Own Regiment of Foot, 12th May 1756. He was promoted to be Major-General, January 24th, 1758, and Lieutenant-General, 16th Dec. 1765. He died in 1756, and was buried in Westminster Abbey.*

DE JEAN.—Major Dejean was in 1737 a subscriber for *five copies* of Laval's History of the French Protestant Church. On the 2d July 1740 he was made a Director of the French Hospital; he was at that date Lieutenant-Colonel Louis (or Lewis) Dejean of the 1st or Grenadier Guards. In March 1744 several Swiss, in and about London and Westminster, offered to form a regiment to serve his Majesty in case of invasion. Their offer was at once accepted, and their uniform, "grey turned up with red," was ordered. In April they were mustered to the number of 200, under the command of Colonel Dejean. The regiment of Switzers was summoned on 6th Sept. 1745 to attend their Colonel, who, however, on 15th April 1746, obtained the Colonelcy of the 37th Foot, vacant by the death of Sir Robert Munro at the Battle of Falkirk. He became Colonel of the 14th Light Dragoons on Nov. 27th, 1752, and was promoted to the rank of Major-General, 29th January 1756, and of Lieutenant-General 29th March 1759. On April 7th, 1757, he had been transferred to the Carabineers, or 3d Regiment of Horse, after styled the 6th Dragoon Guards. Lieutenant-General Dejean died in Dublin, 29th Sept. 1764.

DE VEILLE.—Thomas, son of Rev. Dr Hans de Veille ("a man of great parts, extensive learning, and of a good family in Lorraine," afterwards a refugee clergyman in London, and Librarian at Lambeth by the favour of Tillotson) was born in St Paul's Churchyard in 1684. Thomas De Veille was apprenticed to a mercer in London about 1700. In course of time his master became bankrupt, and Thomas enlisted in the army as a private, and went with his regiment to Portugal. His facility in acquiring languages, and his zeal and acuteness, recommended him to General Henri de Ruigny, Earl of Galway, who first made him his secretary (his signature in this capacity, 'Tho. De Veille, is before me), and then gave him a troop of dragoons. When Captain De Veille, on the reduction of his regiment, retired on half-pay, he had to increase his income by his business talents, and became celebrated as a London Justice, the services of which office were then paid by fees. Justice De Veille, for his great courage and management in suppressing the riots of 1735, received the honour of knighthood. Sir Thomas, who was also Colonel of the Westminster Militia, died in 1746, aged sixty-two. He had, by two wives, twenty-five children, most of whom died young; he was four times married. His eldest son, the Rev. Hans de Veille, predeceased him. His only surviving son, Thomas, was an officer in the army.

ANDRÉ.—André is a worthy, and not uncommon surname in Huguenot annals. One of that name was a fugitive in the South of France, among the mountains. A dragoon seized him, and he consented to follow him as his prisoner, though refusing to be manacled, when

* Colonel Chester's MSS.

another dragoon came up and struck him a mortal blow. André, before he died, offered to shake hands with his murderer, and assured him that he forgave him. His house in Pont-de-Montvert was given to the Abbé Du Chaila. In the sack of that house the Abbé perished, and the Camisard wars began.

A refugee family named André settled in Southampton, and from them was descended John André, who was born in 1751. Lichfield was his home during his boyhood and his mercantile career. He had always wished to be a soldier, but his family, who loved their "cher Jean," had dissuaded him from it. A tender disappointment, however, revived his first resolution, and he entered the army; and in 1780 we find him in America, serving as Adjutant-General under Sir Henry Clinton. One of the American Generals, named Arnold, having resolved to return to allegiance to Great Britain, Major André was employed to conclude the negotiations with him. General Arnold got safely within the British lines, but André was detected, and captured by the enemy on the 22d of September. As he was in disguise, a Board of Officers decided that he was a spy, and that he must suffer death by hanging, and he was executed on the 2d October. His family justly say of him that he was "a gallant soldier, the idol of his comrades, the admiration of his superiors." A writer in "The Curious Book" (Edinburgh, 1826), recalls "the vivacity, worth, and warm sensibility of André's heart, which sparkled with fervour from his expressive and prominent eyes." The whole army went into mourning for him; and the Americans were evidently grieved at having, according to martial law, to consign to execution a meritorious officer, "in the bloom of life, and peculiarly engaging in his person and manners." The importance attached to his apprehension was manifested by the vote of Congress, that each of the three New York Militiamen who took him prisoner should receive a silver medal, to be presented by the Commander-in-chief, also the thanks of Congress, and a pension of 200 dollars.

Major André was buried where he died, and it was not till 1821 that the Americans permitted his remains to be removed to their final resting-place in Westminster Abbey, where a marble monument, designed by Robert Adam, and executed by P. M. Van Gelder, had been placed in 1781. The following was the epitaph:—"Sacred to the memory of Major John André, who, raised by his merit at an early period of his life to the rank of Adjutant-General of the British Forces in America, fell a sacrifice to his zeal for his King and country, on the 2d of October 1780, aged 29, universally beloved and esteemed by the army in which he served, and lamented even by his foes. His Gracious Sovereign, King George III., has caused this monument to be erected." His letter to Clinton, in the anticipation of death, is honourable to his memory; he writes: "I have a mother and three sisters to whom the value of my commission would be an object, as the loss of Grenada has much affected their income. It is needless to be more explicit on this subject; I know your Excellency's goodness." He had also a brother, whom the King created a baronet, as a further tribute to the memory of the departed. Sir William Lewis André died without heirs, 11th Nov. 1802.

The friend of his youth, Anna Seward, wrote a long monody on Major André. That he was "lamented by his foes" we have proof in two stanzas written by an inhabitant of France and translated into English by Miss Seward:—

"In youth's gay bloom illustrious André died,
Flower of a day, nipt by the wintry storm,
His heart strung high by valour's noblest pride,
His mein with love's seducing ardour warm.

"Glory, in characters of living gold,
Writes on his sacred shrine the patriot name,
And one great act, which bids e'en warriors old
Thank its example for their fresh-earn'd fame."

DE BERNIÈRE.—The Baron Guillaume de Bernière proved his nobility in 1644, and his pedigree is preserved in the *Archives Royales* in Paris (Rue Richelieu). A Lucas de Bernières is mentioned in 1288. In 1444 two Messieurs de Bernières (whose family was then regarded as *très ancienne et noble*) distinguished themselves in the army of Louis XI. One of them (according to Philip de Comines) saved the king's life, in the circumstances of which Sir Walter Scott, by a poetical license, makes Quentin Durward the hero. From the above-mentioned

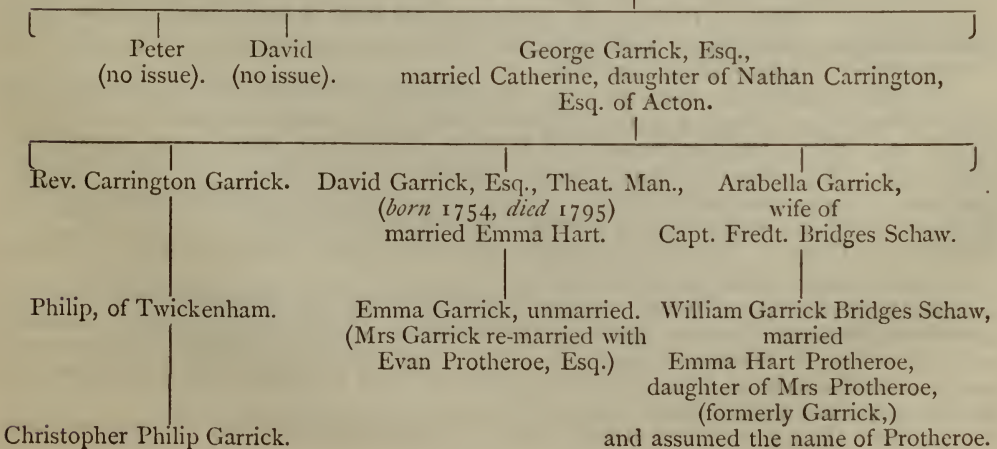
Baron Guillaume descended the gallant Huguenot refugee, Jean Antoine de Bernière. He came over to Ireland. He is reputed by the present French representatives of the family to have been the chief of his name. For conscience sake he left the estate of Bernières near Caen ; he is called in the Crommelin Pedigree "gentilhomme d'auprès d'Alencon." The refugee served under the Earl of Galway at the battle of Almanza ; he was wounded and lost a hand ; his life was also in danger, but by means of an ancient ring which he wore, and which had been the gift of a French king to one of his ancestors, he was recognised by a tenant on the Bernières lands and received quarter. On his return to Ireland he married Madeleine Crommelin, only daughter of the great Crommelin. His grandson was Captain De Bernière of the 30th regiment, who died from exhaustion after the siege of Senegal in 1762, leaving an only son and heir, Henry Abraham Crommelin de Bernière, who rose to be a Major-General in the British army.

Major-General de Bernière was born in 1762, and joined the 10th regiment in 1777, at once entering upon active service in America under General Burgoyne. In 1796 he became Lieutenant-Colonel of the 9th Foot. He was in Holland with the Duke of York in 1798, and with Sir James Pulteney in 1800, and afterwards he was sent out to join Sir Ralph Abercromby. Lord Cathcart placed him upon his Staff at Dublin as Assistant Adjutant-General in 1805, but in 1807 he resolved to sail with his regiment to Holland to serve in the Allied Army as Brigadier. The transport was wrecked on the French coast, near Calais, and he, with the staff officers, was sent a prisoner to Verdun. Great interest was made to have him exchanged, and with apparent success, Colonel Lefevre Desmouettes being released by our Government on that understanding ; but Napoleon refused to sign Colonel De Bernière's release. During his imprisonment he was bereaved of his only son. The entry of the allied armies into Nancy (in 1813), where Major-General De Bernière (for he had been promoted) then was, seemed to assure him of liberty, but at that very time he died. An illness, not apparently alarming, proved fatal through the want of medical aid, the surgeons being overworked by attendance upon wounded and dying soldiers from Moscow.

The General was married to Miss Longley, sister of the present Archbishop of Canterbury. His only surviving child, Françoise Charlotte Josephine, is the wife of the Rev. Newton Smart, Prebendary of Salisbury and Rector of Withesham. Their son, a military officer, is the male representative of the De Bernières.

GARRICK.—

Captain Peter Garrick, of the Old Buff's (*Kirk's* regiment), married Arabella, daughter of Rev. Mr Clough of Lichfield, born 1685, died 1736.



The above Captain Peter Garrick was a refugee infant, son of David Garric, also a refugee. By the courteous permission of George E. Adams, Esq., Lancaster Herald, I have copied the following document which is preserved at the Herald's College in Putman's Collection, 63 :—

PEDIGREE OF THE GARRICK FAMILY,

Translated from a French document written by David Garrick's grandfather, David Garric.

The 5th October 1685.—I, Garric, arrived at London, having come from Bourdeaux the 31st His name August of the same year, running away from the persecution of our Holy Religion. *was David.* I passed to Xaintonge, Poitou, and Brittany. I embarked at St Malo for Guernsey, where I remained for the space of a month, leaving thing [*sic*], even my wife and a little boy four months old, called Peter Garric, who was then out at nurse at the Bastide, near Bourdeaux.

David's
Father.
The 5th Decr. 1685.—God gave me my wife at London, English stile; she embarked from Bourdeaux the 19th Nov., from whence she saved herself the Fourth, and The Master of the Bark is called in a Bark of 14 ton, being hid in a hole, and was a month upon sea with strong tempests, and at great peril of being lost and taken by our persecutors, *Peter Cock* who were very inveterate. Pray God convert them.

The 6th Sept. 1686.—God gave us a girl, who was baptized at our English Parish Church, St Andrew's, Mary-Hill, in our street, Philpot Lane. The godfather was *N.B.*—This was Mr La Conde, Mr John Sarazin, proxy for his father; the godmothers were Miss Forrester dyed at Carshalton, and Fernignac, who gave her the name of my wife, Jane, whom God there buried. Amen.

The 5th Sept. 1687.—God gave us a boy, who was baptized the 14th of the said month at the Walloon Church. His godfather was Mr Stephen Pigon Marchand, native of the city of Amiens, in Picardy; his godmother was Mad^{me}. Mary Perin of Paris, wife of Mr Stephen Soulhard of London, merchant, who gave him the name of Stephen, whom God bless. Amen.

God took him away, Sunday morning the 28th April, at 7 o'clock, 1689, and was buried at the Post [*query*, Pest] House, Monday evening, at $\frac{1}{2}$ an hour of six. He lived 19 Dead. months and 24 days.

David Garrick's father's arrival in England.

The 22d May 1687.—Little Peter arrived at London by the grace of God in the ship *John* Died at Lichfield, *White*, with a servant, Mary Mougner, and I paid for their passage 22 there buried, guineas.

The 26th January 1688-9.—God gave us a boy, who was baptized the 30th do., at the *Liton Uncle* Walloon Church: the godfather is Mr Peter Noul, husband of my niece, dyed at Carshalton, Fermignac. Godmother, the wife of our cousin Soullard. They called him there buried. David, whom God bless.

The 26th August 1690.—God gave us a fine boy between eleven and 12 forenoon; was Charges of Funeral :— baptized at the Walloon Church by a stranger, named Mr La Perin ; Coffin, . 10 sh. Mr John Sarazin and I, David Garrick, the father, being godfathers— Gloves, . 3 ,, the godmother, Madame Sablannan Jane le Goye. (I believe this child Coach, . 8 ,, was named Stephen, but the name is torn in the original document), whom 3 Bottles, . 4 ,, God bless and preserve with long and happy life. Minister, . 17 ,, Sexton, . 10 ,, This child died the 18th Jan. 1691-2, and was buried in Putney church-yard the 20th.

The 21st Sept. 1691.—God was so good as to deliver my wife from her lying-in of a girl, who was baptized the Thursday following, at the Walloon Church, by Mr Brithand, minister; godfather, Mr Peter Fernignac, my brother-in-law; godmother, M^{me}. Soulard, Mary Bernard, who gave her the name of Mary Magdalen, whom God bless and grant a long and happy life for the honour and glory of God.

The 26th 1692, at 10 o'clock at night, God was so good as to deliver my wife from her lying-

in of a boy, who was baptised the Wednesday following, being the 30th, at the Walloon Church by Mr Basset, minister; godfather and godmother, our cousins Stephen Soullard and Elizabeth Colineau, who gave him the name of Stephen, whom God bless and preserve for many years, for the glory of God and his own eternal happiness.

The 4th July 1693.—God took to Himself the little Stephen, who dyed at 10 o'clock in the morning, and the 5th buried at night at 5 o'clock at Wandsworth in the New Churchyard; the whole cost 34 sh.

God hath affected me, and taken from me my poor wife, *the 2d Dec. 1694*, Sunday, at 10 o'clock at night, and given her to me in April 1682. Buried in Bartholomew Lane, behind the Royal Exchange.

The 16-27th July 1696.—God brought me my poor brother, Mr Peter Garric, from Rotterdam, from whence he departed the 9-19th do. with my sister Magdalen, the eldest dau. of all, being 63 years old. My brother fell sick, and after 3 weeks' illness died the 4th Aug. Buried the 6th do., after having suffered like a martyr with a retention of urine. God preserve us from the like distemper. Amen. Interred in Bartholomew Lane, behind the Change, near my poor wife.

The 16th May 1701.—Magdalen Garric, my sister, dyed after being ill with a dropsy. 5 months aged 68 years at 4 o'clock in the morning. Buried the Sunday night in Bartholomew Lane, near my wife and brother.*

RIOU.—That this heroic officer was killed in action is well known through Campbell's lines:—

“ Brave hearts, to Britain's pride
Once so faithful and so true,
On the deck of fame that died
With the gallant good Riou !”

In St Paul's Cathedral there is a monument to him and Captain Mosse, which may be described as if it were heraldic; a sarcophagus is the crest, a tablet is the shield, the supporters are two angels holding medallion profiles of the deceased officers. The tablet has this inscription:—

“ The services and death of two valiant and distinguished officers, James Robert Mosse, Captain of the *Monarch*, and Edward Riou, Captain of the *Amazon*, who fell in the attack upon Copenhagen, conducted by Lord Nelson 2d April 1801, are commemorated by this monument erected at the national expense.

James Robert Mosse

was born in 1746; he served as Lieutenant several years under Lord Howe, and was promoted to the rank of Post-Captain in 1790.

To Edward Riou,

who was born in 1762, an extraordinary occasion was presented in the early part of his service of his signalling his intrepidity and presence of mind, which were combined with the most anxious solicitude for the lives of those under his command, and a magnanimous disregard of his own. When his ship, the *Guardian*, struck upon an island of ice in Dec. 1789, and afforded no prospect but that of immediate destruction to those on board, Lieutenant Riou encouraged all who desired to take the chance of preserving themselves in the boats, to consult their safety, but judging it contrary to his own duty to desert the vessel, he neither gave himself up to despair nor relaxed his exertions, whereby, after ten weeks of the most perilous navigation, he succeeded in bringing his disabled ship into port, receiving this high reward of fortitude and perseverance from the Divine Providence on whose protection he relied.”

* Translated from the French by P. Fermignac, cousin to George Garrick.

I have begun with Edward Riou's epitaph because it does honour to his earlier career. In March 1801 he was in command of the *Amazon*. "Before the fleet left Yarmouth," says Southey, "it was sufficiently known that its destination was against Denmark. Some Danes, who belonged to the *Amazon* frigate, went to Captain Riou, and telling him what they had heard, begged that he would get them exchanged into a ship bound on some other destination. *They had no wish (they said) to quit the British service; but they entreated that they might not be forced to fight against their own country.* There was not in our whole navy a man who had a higher and more chivalrous sense of duty than Riou. Tears came into his eyes while the men were speaking; without making any reply he instantly ordered his boat, and did not return to the *Amazon* until he could tell them that their wish was effected." Nelson had never seen Riou till this expedition, but instantly perceived and appreciated his courage and capacity; his Lordship made his final examination of the watery field before Copenhagen in the *Amazon*. Nelson, Foley, and Riou arranged the order of battle, and Riou received the command of a small fleet and large discretion. Unhappily, some of the ships of this flotilla could not get up to him, owing to impossibilities which sailing-vessels (there was no steam navigation then) could not conquer. The fire from Riou's ships against the Crown Battery was therefore inadequate, and a signal to retire had to be obeyed. Then came the closing scene of Riou's life, which is thus depicted by Southey:—"What will Nelson think of us? was Riou's mournful exclamation, when he unwillingly drew off. He had been wounded on the head by a splinter, and was sitting on a gun, encouraging his men, when just as the *Amazon* showed her stern to the Trekoner Battery, his clerk was killed by his side, and another shot swept away several marines who were hauling in the mainbrace. 'Come then, my boys,' cried Riou, *let us all die together!*' The words had scarcely been uttered before a raking shot cut him in two."

I content myself with the above quotations, because a connected memoir of Riou is given by Mr Smiles in the *Sunday Magazine*, Vol. VI., p. 389, to which I gladly refer my readers, only borrowing from that memoir the facts which I summarise in the following pedigree:—

Etienne Riou, heir of the estate of Vernoux in Languedoc, a refugee at Berne, who joined Viscount Galway's Regiment in Piedmont; thereafter, in 1698, he became a merchant in London, and married

Magdalen Baudoin, daughter of a refugee gentleman from Touraine,

Captain Stephen Riou, Horse Grenadier Guards.

Colonel Philip Riou, Royal Artillery.
Died at Woolwich, 1817,
Senior Colonel.

Captain Edward Riou, Royal Navy,
born 20th November 1762,
killed in action, 2d April 1801,
called (in Lord Nelson's Despatch)
"The gallant and the good."

GAMBIER.—The second son of John Gambier, Esq. (see Chapter XXII.), named James, born in the Bahamas, 13th Oct. 1756, was, while an infant, sent to England to be brought up by his aunt, Lady Middleton. He entered the navy in 1767, and became a Captain in 1778. His father died in 1782, and his uncle, Vice-Admiral Gambier, in 1783.

Young Gambier was in the American war. In 1781 he served on shore with the Naval Brigade at the reduction of Charleston, and he captured an American ship-of-war in the same year. In 1793 he commanded H.M.S. *Defence* (74) in the Bay of Biscay. In May 1794 the British Fleet put to sea, and the naval engagement known as "the action of the 1st of June" took place. The signal was made by Lord Howe to cut through the enemy's line. The enemy suspecting the intention, had closed and formed in compact line to leeward, opening their fire from van to rear. The *Defence* led off, distanced the other ships, and cut through the enemy's

line, passing between the seventh and the eighth ship, she had successively three or four ships engaging her, the men being almost from the first divided at their quarters to fight both sides at once. Gambier was on deck all the time. A short time after this action the King said to the First Lord of the Admiralty, Sir Charles Middleton, in allusion to the latter's notorious aversion to nepotism, "Well, Sir Charles, I hope you are satisfied with your nephew now." Though not to his Majesty, yet to another person who spoke with equal warmth, Sir Charles replied with immovable composure, "Yes, I always knew James would do his duty." In 1795 James became a Rear-Admiral and a Lord of the Admiralty. As the principal sea-lord, he was the author of the new code of signals; he also built the *Triton* (32), and the *Plantagenet* (74). He was Governor of Newfoundland from 1802 to 1804, and again took his place at the Admiralty Board.

In 1807 he was Commander-in-chief of the naval forces of the expedition to compel the neutrality of Denmark. Canning wrote regarding him, "his conduct from the beginning has been without a fault." This was on the successful accomplishment of the undertaking, when he was raised to the Peerage as Lord Gambier [Baron Gambier, of Iver, in Buckinghamshire]. A pension of £2000 a-year was offered and nobly refused, his Lordship being content with his share of the Copenhagen prize-money. The income arising from this money might have made him richer as a commoner, but did not meet the additional expenditure imposed upon him by the title of nobility. All his life he was a comparatively poor man. His only residence, when he was not living at the Admiralty, was a small copyhold house, with a garden and one field. He never had any landed estate.

In the year 1809 Lord Gambier commanded the fleet in the Basque Roads. Auxiliary fireships were commanded by Lord Cochrane, under Gambier's directions; the fireships were sent at Gambier's suggestion, the only alteration being that the direction of them was given to Cochrane and not to Mr Congreve (as had been intended). On the evening of the 11th April the fireships went into the roads, owing to unfavourable weather they did not destroy the enemy's ships, but only put them to flight. Then all the French ships, except two, ran aground. Cochrane signalled at 5.48 on the following morning—"Half the fleet can destroy the enemy—seven on shore." At 6.15 Lord Gambier made for Aix Roads, and at eleven anchored three miles from the fort. At two P.M. he sent in various vessels to attack the fleet, and the execution that was done was between that hour and nightfall. The French fleet consisted of ten line-of-battle ships, one gunship (56), and four frigates. One-third of these was totally destroyed, another third was put *hors-de-combat*, leaving only one ship of the line and three frigates, with disheartened crews. The West Indies were thus saved from the French fleet's intended invasion, and all this without the loss or even delay from service of one British vessel, and at the cost of only ten men killed. Lord Cochrane raised the question whether more might not have done, and at Lord Gambier's request a court-martial was summoned. The whole weight of evidence supported the statements of Mr Stokes, sailing-master of the flag-ship *Caledonia*, whose charts of the entire locality were afterwards adopted by the French Government. Mr Stokes said, "Had three or four line-of-battle ships run into Aix Roads when Lord Cochrane made the signal, they would have met a force equal to themselves; they would have made the attack under every disadvantage, the whole of the fire of the Isle d'Aix, as well as the fire of the *Foudroyant*, *Cassard*, and *Océan* (three-deckers) would have been directed on them. They would have had no place to retreat to, and their only safety would have remained in the destruction of the French ships, and silencing the batteries of Isle d'Aix, which I am sure it would have been impossible for them to have accomplished."

Before Lord Cochrane's advent no one had disputed Lord Gambier's talents and fearless bravery. Lord Howe considered him "equal to any service, however hazardous and intricate." And the court-martial MOST HONOURABLY ACQUITTED him of all accusations. The President (Admiral Sir Roger Curtis) said, "Admiral Lord Gambier, I have peculiar pleasure in receiving the command of the Court to return you your sword, in the fullest conviction that (as you have hitherto done) you will, on all future occasions, use it for the honour and advantage of your

country, and to your own personal honour. Having so far obeyed the command of the Court, I beg you will permit me, in my individual capacity, to express to you the high gratification I have upon this occasion."

Contrast the mutual dealings of Gambier and Cochrane. Cochrane was kindly received by no officer but Gambier, by whom, after the action, he was entrusted with the despatches. Before sailing homeward, Cochrane complained to Gambier of the inefficiency of the Captains. The Admiralty, being delighted with the despatches, arranged for a Parliamentary vote of thanks; Cochrane, being an M.P., announced an amendment, excluding Gambier only. Gambier appealed to a court-martial; Cochrane appealed to unskilled and miscellaneous prejudices. Gambier met the court-martial with his log and signal books unaltered; Cochrane produced only two documents, compiled on shore by himself, namely, a new edition of his log and a narrative. Gambier relied on the judgment of the court-martial in his favour; Cochrane had recourse to an autobiography. The greatest man in the fleet was Captain Pulteney Malcolm; Cochrane, in the autobiography, maintained that Malcolm's evidence had been on his side, but any reader may see that, though Malcolm's wishes (like Gambier's) were on Cochrane's side, he acquiesced in the procedure of Gambier, who was obliged, as Commander-in-chief, to take the proposed experiment into responsible consideration, and then to decide the question how much should be attempted. Cochrane appealed to persons ignorant even as to Parliamentary sessions and vacations, whether it was not the fact that the vote of thanks to Gambier was delayed for several months after the court-martial; whereas the acquittal took place after the prorogation, and thanks were voted in both Houses at the earliest opportunity after the re-assembling of Parliament. The court-martial had the case before it with personal knowledge and experience of the dependence of sailing-vessels on wind and tide; new editions of the Autobiography now appeal to readers who may imagine that Gambier had a steam-navy under his command.

After the court-martial the decoration of G.C.B. was offered to Lord Gambier, but he refused it, because his junior, Lord Cochrane, had been decorated before him. On the 30th July 1814, Lord Gambier was appointed head of the Commission for negotiating a Treaty of Peace with the United States; and on the 7th June 1815 he did not refuse the insignia of Grand Cross of the Bath, which were again pressed upon his acceptance on the occasion of the conclusion of peace with America.

The following speaks for itself:—

“WINDSOR CASTLE, *July 20, 1832.*

“The King has great satisfaction in transmitting to Admiral Lord Gambier the accompanying baton [baton-mareschal] which his Majesty has caused to be made for the purpose of being presented to him as Admiral of the Fleet, and which his Majesty desires Lord Gambier will receive as a testimonial of his personal regard, and of the estimation in which he holds his long, faithful, and meritorious services.

WILLIAM R.”

From our Sailor-King Lord Cochrane continued to differ, but those who have been prejudiced against Gambier by his irreverent comrade should read Lady Chatterton's Memorials. The feeling of this Cochrane [afterwards Earl of Dundonald] was personal, and in his relentless attacks he largely relied on the dislike of the world to so-called fanatics. As to this system of running down a public servant, the biographer of Lord Gambier observes, “Because he had the pluck to avow unostentatiously his honest and simple faith, at a period when such an avowal was equivalent to being morally pilloried and branded as either a Methodist or a Jesuit, he has been handed down to posterity as a narrow-minded, pharisaical sectarian, against the distinct testimony of men who served afloat under him, and against the fact that he voted in the House of Lords for the Catholic Emancipation, to the annoyance of many personal friends, and dismay of the religious party whose views he is *now* affirmed to have held

bigotedly." He was President of the Church Missionary Society for twenty-one years. Lord Gambier died at Iver, 19th April 1833, aged 76, declaring his hope to be like a rock, because "God so loved the world that He gave His only begotten Son, that whosoever believeth in Him should not perish, but have everlasting life."

MONTRESOR.—Major James Gabriel Le Tresor (*born 1667, died 1723*), (son of Jacques Le Tresor and Lucy), was himself a refugee; he became an officer of the 21st Foot, and died Lieutenant-Governor of Fort-William in Scotland; he had married Nanon, daughter of Colonel De Hauteville. His son was James Gabriel Montresor, Second Engineer of England, whose eldest son was John Montresor, His Majesty's Chief Engineer for America. The brothers of the latter were Lieut. John Montresor, R.N., lost in the frigate *Aurora*; Henry Amand Montresor, an officer who died in 1773 of wounds received in the siege of Trinchinopoly; Major John Fleming Montresor, Governor of Port-Royal, Jamaica; Major Robert Montresor of the 70th regiment. The next head of the family, being the eldest son of John, was General Sir Henry Tucker Montresor, K.C.B., G.C.H. (*born 1767, died 1837*). He had two military brothers, Lt.-Colonel John Montresor, who died at Penang in 1805, and General Sir Thomas Gage Montresor (*born 1774, died 1853*). Rear-Admiral Frederick Byng Montresor is a son of the latter.

BOILEAU.—A large number of members of this family and of their connections have served their country in the Army and Navy. Major-General Boileau (the head of the family) has already been mentioned. Major-General Samuel Brandram Boileau of the 22d Foot is deceased. The late Major-General Henry Alexander Edmonstone Boileau of the Royal Bengal Engineers (*born 1807, died 1866*), was the youngest son of Thomas Boileau, sixth son of Simeon; this officer's name is on a tablet in the pediment of the porch of the Free Church Institution at Nagpore, in India, as the beneficent designer of the building; his next elder brother* is Major-General John Theophilus Boileau. This must at present suffice as to the Boileau representatives of the Huguenot refugee. As to other descendants, Anne Charlotte Boileau, eldest married daughter of Simeon (see Chap. XXII.), was married to Peter Friell, whose daughter Henrietta became Mrs M'Leod; and the grandson of the latter is Lieut.-Col. James John M'Leod Innes, who is decorated with the Victoria Cross. Bonne Boileau, another daughter of Simeon was the wife of Lestock Wilson, and her daughter Alicia Magdalene (*died 1834*) was married in 1812 to the Hydrographer of the Admiralty, Rear-Admiral Sir Francis Beaufort, K.C.B. (*born 1774, died 1857*).

Chapter XXXIII.

OFFSPRING OF THE REFUGEES CONNECTED WITH SCIENCE, LAW, THE LEGISLATURE, AND LITERATURE.

DOLLOND.—John Dollond, silk weaver in Spitalfields, son of a French Protestant refugee, of the same trade, was born 10th June 1706. Devoting only his leisure hours to study, he became a proficient in mathematics and physics, and in church history and theology, besides attaining to a creditable acquaintance with anatomy and natural history. To assist him in those studies, he courted the learned languages, and mastered Latin and Greek, as well as

* Here we may name the only married sister, Elizabeth Magdalene, Mrs John Samuel Bosanquet. The eldest brother was the late Thomas Ebenezer John Boileau, Esq., whose daughter, Ellen Leah, is the wife of Reginald John Graham, Esq., and mother of Thomas Henry Boileau Graham and other children.

French, German, and Italian. His industry as a weaver in working hours enabled him to afford a good education to his children, and he established his son, Peter, as an optical instrument maker, in Vine Court, Spitalfields. He at last joined his son in that business, and he was thus enabled to enlist his scientific pleasures in the battle of life. He set himself to study the theory of the dispersion of light with a view to the improved construction of telescopes and microscopes. He earned distinction, and is characterized in the *Encyclopædia Britannica* as "a practical and theoretical optician of the highest celebrity, the discoverer of the laws of the dispersion of light, and the inventor of the achromatic telescope." As to getting rid of the colours imparted by sunlight to things looked at through a glass lens, Sir Isaac Newton's experiments had never been completed. Mr Dollond pursued the investigation. Hitherto every kind of glass had been supposed to be affected alike; but he discovered that a number of different kinds of glass produce a corresponding variety of phenomena. Hence arose his invention of compound object-glasses, which he made according to the theory that the image, afforded by the combined refractions of a convex lens of *crown glass* and another of *flint glass*, is colourless (or, in Greek phrase, *achromatic*) when their focal distances are nearly as 2 to 3. His successive achievements he described in papers which the eminent optician, Mr James Short, F.R.S., obligingly communicated to the Royal Society from 1753 to 1758. A paper of the year 1758 obtained for Mr Dollond one of the highest honours of that Society, the Copley Medal. In the beginning of the year 1761 he was made F.R.S., but in the winter of that year he died. In the same year he had been made optician to the king, to which privilege his sons, Peter and John, succeeded, and after them their nephews. The *Encyclopædia Britannica* says, "Mr Dollond's appearance was somewhat stern, and his language was impressive, but his manners were cheerful and affable. He was in the habit of attending regularly, along with his family, the services of the French Protestant Church. He constantly sought his chief amusement in objects connected with the study of those sciences which he had so much contributed to improve. Perhaps he pursued them with an application somewhat too intense, for on 30th Nov. 1761, as he was reading a new work of Clairaut on the theory of the moon, which had occupied his whole attention for several hours, he had an attack of apoplexy which proved fatal." Peter Dollond, born in 1730, lived till 1820; his daughter Anne was the wife of Rev. George Waddington, Vicar of Tuxford, Notts, and mother of the ecclesiastical historian, Very Rev. George Waddington, D.D., Dean of Durham (*born 1793, died 1869*), and of Right Hon. Horatio Waddington, Under Secretary of State for the Home Department (*born 1799, died 1867*).

GOSSET.—Isaac Gosset, Esq., died at Kensington, 28th Nov. 1799, having nearly completed his 88th year; he was the younger son of Isaac Gosset, of Jersey (see Chap. XXII.) He invented a composition of wax in which he modelled portraits in the most exquisite manner. His works were numerous, and included the royal family, and many of the nobility and gentry from the times of George II. down to 1780. In the line of his art he may be said to have been unique, as the inventor of the inimitable materials with which he worked, the secret of which was confided only to his son, the learned and Rev. Dr Isaac Gosset.

Rev. Isaac Gosset, D.D., F.R.S., died in Newman Street, London, 16th Dec. 1812, in his 68th year. As a learned man in many departments of literature besides Biblical Criticism, and also as a book-collector, he was well known. He was an eminent preacher, though incapacitated by the feebleness of his frame from much or frequent personal exertion. In his happier hours of social intercourse the disadvantages of his person disappeared in the graces of his conversation, which was sometimes serious and argumentative, sometimes playful and humorous. Buoyancy of spirits, joined to literary enthusiasm, operated as a sustaining principle against various bodily afflictions; and it never deserted him. He experienced no mental decay, but died in the full vigour of his intellectual faculties.

BERANGER.—Three detachments of this respectable Huguenot family left France as fugitives from the persecutions under Louis XIV., and one member, the subject of this paragraph,

rose to eminence. His forefathers took refuge in Holland, from whence he himself came over to Ireland in order to marry a fair cousin of Beranger refugee stock who presided over a warehouse for artists' materials in Dublin. The third branch of the family located itself in England, and one of its members is said to have been the original of Sterne's "Maria." The aforesaid Gabriel Beranger was by profession an artist; his landscape drawings were most beautiful; he drew birds with perfect ornithological skill and exactness, and he was also a flower painter of great accuracy and grace. His representation of antiquarian objects of every description were faithful and valuable. And of all his productions in the above-named departments a very large collection has happily been preserved, which was exhibited at a recent meeting of the Royal Institution of Architects in Dublin by Sir William Wilde. Beranger, becoming enamoured of the interesting and romantic remains of architecture and fortifications of which he had made drawings, entered the department of historical and antiquarian study and authorship; he learned to write English with great correctness and even to handle the more intricate implements of epigram and jest. An illustrated manuscript volume still exists as a memorial of his grand artistic journey through many of the Irish midland counties. Further than that he flourished between the years 1750 and 1780, I am not informed as to the chronology of his career; but a forthcoming memoir is announced by Sir William Wilde. (I am indebted to a correspondent for the report of Sir W. Wilde's communication to the Royal Institution, contained in the Dublin *Freeman's Journal* of 18th Feb. 1870.)

MEDICAL MEN.—Benjamin Bosanquet, M.D., F.R.S., was the fifth son of Monsieur Bosanquet, the refugee (see Chap. XXII.); he was born in London, Queen Street, St. Antholins, in 1708, and was baptized by Rev. Charles Bertheau. He was one of the Council of the Royal Society. He resided at Hatton Gardens, and died in 1755, unmarried.

Philip Du Val, M.D. (probably a son of Rev. Mr Du Val, pasteur of La Patente, Soho), having studied under Boerhaave, became First Physician to the Princess of Wales, mother of George III. About 1730 he married Marianne (*born 1707*), daughter of Rev. Israel Antoine Aufrère (see Chap. XX.). His son was Rev. Philip Du Val, D.D., Canon of Windsor and Vicar of Twickenham, who died in London on 14th March 1808, aged 76.

John Obadiah Justamon, F.R.S., surgeon, died 27th March 1786. Justamont or Justamon, was a French Protestant surname, occurring in 1611, 1658, and 1674. At the Revocation Jeremie Justamon of Marsillargues retired to Switzerland.

Charles Edward Bernard, M.D., of Edinburgh University, was a physician of the highest reputation in Clifton from 1812 to 1838. His ancestors were Huguenot refugees, who became proprietors in Jamaica. He died 18th Nov. 1843. (See *Gentleman's Magazine*).

Charles Nicholas De la Cherois Purdon, M.D., is a son of Henry Purdon, M.D., by Anne, daughter of the late Samuel De la Cherois Crommelin of Carrowdore, and aunt of the present proprietor. He is the author of "The Huguenot Colony in Lisburn," in the *Ulster Journal of Archæology*, and of a pamphlet published at Belfast in 1869, "The Huguenots, a Brief History of the circumstances that obliged the Huguenots to leave France, and their settlement in Ireland."

RIGHT HON. WILLIAM SAURIN, elder brother of Bishop Saurin (see Chap. XXV.) was born in 1758 and died 11th January 1839. He was a pupil of Rev. Saumarez Dubourdieu of Lisburn, and of Trinity College, Dublin. He was called to the Irish bar in 1780, and in 1790 his career of successful practice began. He was strenuously opposed to the Union of the British and Irish Parliaments; and for this reason he refused in 1798 to be Solicitor-General for Ireland. It was not till 1807 that he accepted office as Attorney-General for Ireland, and a seat in the House of Commons. He resigned office in 1821, and retired from the bar in 1831, having refused both promotion to the Bench and a peerage. He lived to be Father of the Irish bar. The following is the substance of a sketch printed in "Public Characters" for 1799-1800:—Mr. Saurin is low in stature; his countenance is characteristic of French origin,

it bespeaks strongly a cool and sound judgment, a sagacious understanding, and a good heart. He is said to make considerably more in his profession than any other man at the Irish bar. There appears, however, no obvious or shining excellence in his manner of discharging his forensic duties. His great merit as a bar orator consists in the ingenuity of his statements, his colouring, his selection of facts, and his judicious arrangement of matter. He possesses great legal knowledge, the result of laborious and early reading; and he is characterized by a degree of attention to business to which even a young and poor man is seldom found to submit.

JUSTICE BOSANQUET.—Right Hon. Sir John Bernard Bosanquet, Knight, a younger son of the second Samuel Bosanquet of Forest House, was born 2d May 1773. He was called to the English Bar in 1804, and was made King's Sergeant in 1827; he was standing counsel to the Bank of England. His law reports are authorities of the first class, being also annotated with learning and judgment. Though he confined his practice to the common law courts, he was familiar by study with chancery law, and the accuracy and fulness of his information was unsurpassed. He was knighted in 1830, on becoming a judge, and he took his seat as a Justice of the Court of Common Pleas. In 1833 he was made a Privy Councillor, and in 1835 was a Lord High Commissioner of the Great Seal—a compliment for which an interregnum as to the office of Lord Chancellor presented an opportunity. He was also a Commissioner for the improvement of the practice in the Superior Courts of Common Law, and a Commissioner of the Public Records. He died 25th Sept. 1847. When, according to custom, on being made a Judge, he put his armorial bearings on painted glass in Sergeants' Inn, he took his motto from Horace, *Per damna, per cædes*, in acknowledgment of his prosperity arising from the Almighty's care of a family that had given up their country for their faith.

JUSTICE PERRIN.—A steadfast Huguenot named Perrin left for conscience-sake his property at Nouere, and became a refugee at Lisburn. This was at the period of the Revocation. A few years afterwards he removed to Waterford, and there founded a family which has taken root, and is a good stock. His lineal descendant is the Right Hon. Louis Perrin, born in the county of Waterford near Clonmel, and called to the Irish bar in 1806. He was admitted a bencher of the King's Inn in 1832, and became Treasurer of that Honourable Society, and an eminent King's Counsel. He was elected M.P. for Dublin in 1831, but was unseated on petition. Next year he was duly elected for Monaghan, and in 1835 for Cashel. In 1836 he became a Justice of the Court of King's Bench. He retired into private life after many years' efficient service as a Judge in the kingdom of Ireland.

MASÈRES.—The head of this family, and one brother, a physician, remained in France as "new converts." But the other three brothers, all officers in the French army, left their native country on the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes. One of these rose to the rank of Colonel in the British army, and was the grandfather of Francis Masères.

Colonel Masères served in Ireland under King William III and his generals, and afterwards in Portugal. He was the father of Dr Masères, a physician in London, whose son Francis was born on the 15th Dec. 1731. Francis was educated at Cambridge University, and became a Fellow of Clare Hall; he took his B.A. degree in 1750 with honours. He obtained the first classical medal; Beilby Porteus being second in order of merit. It appears, however, by his subsequent publications, that mathematics* was the favourite study of Francis Masères,

* The following letter to Dr Hutton may be quoted as evidence. "Inner Temple, Feb. 2, 1782. Dear Sir, The Christmas holidays are now completely over, and I have heard nothing of Mr Henry Clarke, who, you told me, would call upon me, to let me know his resolution about translating James Bernouille's book on Infinite Series. Pray be so kind as to let me know what he intends to do about it. I hope you received my paper concerning Mr De Moivre's multinomial theorem, and that you have thought a little more about demonstrating the binomial theorem in the case of roots by the help of it. And I hope too that you will give us a Paper in the Philosophical Transactions concerning your method of summing a slow series by means of arithmetical mean proportionals, which well deserves to be brought before the publick. I remain, &c. FRANCIS MASÈRES."

his great work on that subject being *Scriptures Logarithmici*. As a barrister, his early professional life was spent in Canada, where he filled the office of Attorney General of Quebec. He was very zealous in promoting a good feeling towards the British government, when the revolt of the Southern Colonies might have proved infectious. In 1773 he was rewarded with the office of Cursitor Baron of the Exchequer, and returned to England to enter upon its duties.

His behaviour in the colony had obtained for him the confidence of the inhabitants, and at their request he acted at home as agent of the Protestant settlers in Quebec. In their interest he published, "An Account of the proceedings of the British and other Protestant inhabitants of Quebec, in order to obtain a House of Assembly," 1775, 8vo., and "The Canadian Freeholder, consisting of dialogues between an Englishman and a Frenchman settled in Canada," 1779, 3 vols. 8vo.

Mindful of the steadfastness of his ancestors, he published some works relative to the spirit and persecuting career of popery. Also in 1791 he wrote against "pluralities," or the holding of more than one ecclesiastical office by a clergyman, and against "temporary incumbencies" in parish churches, the incumbent retiring on a patron's protégé coming of age or becoming eligible for the living. These were the principal topics of his book entitled, "The Moderate Reformer, or a proposal to correct some abuses in the Present Establishment of the Church of England," 1791. His strong Protestant convictions were unalloyed with hostility to the persons of Romanists—so much so, that at the period of the French Revolution, his house was open to the refugees from France; and French Archbishops, and bishops, and numerous priests might be seen at his hospitable table. He was a great patron of poor authors, whose meritorious works he was often at the expense of printing. Watt and Haag give a list of his publications. He was thought worthy of admission among the Fellows both of the Royal Society of London, and of the Society of Antiquaries. He lived unmarried, and in his last days he was affectionately tended by his nearest relative, Mr Whitaker. He died on May 19 1824, in his 93d year. (His relationship to the Whitakers is explained in Chap. XIX).

The *Gentleman's Magazine* exhibits his habits linked with the olden time. "French," says the writer, "was the language of the paternal roof, and he spoke it with the utmost fluency and propriety. But it was the French of the age of Louis XIV., not of modern times, and it was amusing to contrast his pronunciation with that of the new refugees. He himself used to mimic with great success the Parisian dialect." But the writer, who volunteers to give the world the most information concerning Baron Masères, is William Cobbett (in his *Rural Rides*). "I knew the Baron very well," says this writer, "he was a most conscientious man. He was, when I first knew him, still a very clever man; he retained all his faculties to a very great age. . . . He had always been a very sensible, just, and humane man, and a man too who always cared for the public good; and he was the only man that I ever heard of, who refused to have his salary augmented." When Cobbett was imprisoned for writing a newspaper article, the Baron frequently visited him in Newgate; and "he always came in his wig and gown, to show his abhorrence of the sentence." As to Baron Masères' money matters, Cobbett is partly mistaken. The following is the correct statement. He had a pretty house and grounds at Reigate, a house in Rathbone Place, London, and also chambers, No 5 King's Bench Walk, Inner Temple. In his Will he bequeathed £10,000 to "my near relation, Mr Whitaker, a farmer at Pembury, in the county of Kent," £10,000 to Elizabeth Whitaker, and £10,000 to Charlotte Whitaker. He left £800 and some books to "Mr Anselm Donisemount, a French gentleman of note, formerly Counsellor of the Parliament of Paris before the French Revolution in 1789;" £500 to Mr Richard Pooler of Reigate, formerly a seller of Mathematical Instruments in London; £200 to Mrs [Miss] Webster of Reigate, "who is constantly employed in doing good offices to her neighbours;" £200 to Francis Polhill, "my godson," second son of the late Charles Polhill, Esq., of Chipstead, Kent; £300 to Mr Ambrose Glover, the attorney at Reigate, for his own use, and £200 for a foot pavement in the High Street; £200 to Mr Martin, the apothecary at Reigate. There are several legacies to ser-

vants, and the whole remainder is left to Rev. Robert Fellowes, of Cumberland Place, Marylebone, who proved the Will, as sole executor, on 19th June 1824. The effects were sworn under £100,000. The Baron also left books to the Inner Temple Library and his unsold publications in sheets to Mr William Frend, of Bridge Street, Blackfriars.

ANTHONY CHAMIER, Esq., M.P., son of Daniel Chamier, Esq. (See Chapter XX. and XXII.), was born 6th Oct. 1725; Antoine Loubier was his godfather. He began life as a merchant; Junius insists that he was a stockbroker. It was not till after his 40th year that he entered upon political life. He was first the private secretary of the Earl of Sandwich in the Foreign Office; then Lord Barrington, Secretary at War, made him his chief clerk, and gave him the office of Deputy-Secretary at War in 1772. He became M.P. for Tamworth in 1774, and sat for that Borough in the House of Commons till his death. In 1775 he became one of the under Secretaries of State, and this post he held for the rest of his life.

The great honours of Anthony Chamier's career were his being one of the original members of Dr Johnson's Literary Club, and also a Fellow of the Royal Society. Such distinctions entirely relieve him of the contempt in which *Junius* endeavoured to overwhelm him. The fact that Sir Philip Francis was furiously enraged at Chamier's being introduced into the War office and promoted over his head, when he himself was a candidate for the secretaryship; and the clear evidences, that no one else both could and would have penned the attacks on Chamier in Junius' Letters, form the great proof that Junius was Francis. March 10th 1772.—“For shame, my Lord Barrington, send this whiffing broker back to the mystery he was bred in. Though an infant in the War Office, he is too old to learn a new trade. At this very moment they are calling out for him at the bar of Jonathan's, Shammy! Shammy! Shammy! The house of Israel are waiting to settle their last account with him. During his absence things may take a desperate turn in the alley, and you never may be able to make up to the man what he has lost in half-crowns and sixpences already.” March 23d.—“I think the public have a right to call upon Mr D'Oyley and Mr Francis to declare their reason for quitting the War Office. . . . They know nothing of the stocks, and therefore Lord Barrington drives them out of the War Office. The army is indeed come to a fine pass with a gambling broker at the head of it.”

On his first entering upon public life he had been saluted sneeringly by Junius as “that well-educated, genteel, young broker, Mr Chamier.” But when the wrath of the elegant scribe came to its height, he asseverated that it was a “frantic resolution” to give the office of Deputy War Secretary to “Tony Shammy;” and he pictured Lord Barrington referring a general officer for information to “Mr Shammy”—“little Waddlewell”—“my duckling”—“little three per cents reduced”—“a mere scrip of a secretary”—“an omnium of all that's genteel—the activity of a broker—the politeness of a hair-dresser,” &c., &c. As Mr Taylor* remarks, “sarcasm, argument and threats, all the topics that could dissuade, provoke, or terrify, were employed to remove Chamier. But all these efforts were in vain. . . . Sir Philip found himself unable to stand against his antagonist, who not only possessed the qualifications necessary for advancing his own interest, but was backed with the influence of his brother-in-law, Bradshaw.” Mr Chamier was married to Dorothy, daughter and co-heir of Robert Wilson, Esq., Merchant of St Mary Axe, London, and her sister was the wife of Thomas Bradshaw, Esq., private secretary of the Duke of Grafton and Secretary to the Treasury, and afterwards a Lord of the Admiralty.

Dr Johnson's Literary Club had been founded in Feb. 1764. Its original members were Johnson, Reynolds, Burke, Nugent, Beauclerk, Langton, Goldsmith, Chamier, and Hawkins. As to Chamier's intercourse with the Club, Boswell gives one anecdote. Goldsmith, being a blundering talker, did not always get the credit of being the author of his own writings. Johnson said of him, “Goldsmith talked away at random. He had been at no pains to fill his mind with knowledge. It did not settle in his mind, so he could not tell what was in his

* See his able book entitled, “The Identity of Junius with a distinguished living character.”

own books. But whatever he wrote he did better than any other man." Chamier could not at first believe that he was really the author of "The Traveller." He said to Goldsmith, "Tell me about that fine line, 'Remote, unfriended, melancholy, slow'—what do you mean by 'slow?' do you mean tardiness of locomotion?" Goldsmith at once said, "Yes." "No, sir," exclaimed Johnson, "you do not mean tardiness of locomotion, you mean that sluggishness of mind which comes upon a man in solitude." "Well," thought Chamier, "Johnson wrote the first line at any rate." Goldsmith, however, improved upon acquaintance; and one evening, after talking with the poet for some time, Chamier went up to Johnson and said, "Well, I do believe he wrote the poem himself; and, let me tell you, that is believing a great deal."

Mr Chamier had a country residence at Epsom. It merits celebrity as the place where Johnson spent the birthday to which he had long looked forward with awe, for then his years attained the sacred number of "threescore years and ten." The Doctor's memoranda having hitherto been printed in a disjointed state, I now produce them in their proper order:—

1779. September. On the 17th Mr Chamier took me away with him from Streatham. I left the servants a guinea for my health, and was content enough to escape into a house where my birthday, not being known, could not be mentioned. I sat up till midnight was past, and the day of a new year, a very awful day, began. I prayed to God who had [safely brought me to the beginning of another year] but could not perfectly recollect the prayer, and supplied it. Such desertions of memory I have always had. When I rose on the 18th I think I prayed again, then walked with my friend into his grounds. When I came back, after some time passed in the library, finding myself oppressed by sleepiness, I retired to my chamber, where by lying down and a short imperfect slumber, I was refreshed and prayed as the night before. I then dined, and trifled in the parlour and library, and was freed from a scruple about Horace. At last I went to bed having first composed a prayer.

Sept. 18, 1779 hora P.M. 12ma. Almighty God, Creator of all things, in whose hands are life and death! glory be to Thee for all Thy mercies, and for the prolongation of my life to the common age of man. Pardon me, O gracious God, all the offences which in the course of seventy years I have committed against Thy holy laws, and all negligences of those duties which Thou hast required. Look with pity upon me, take not from me Thy holy Spirit, but enable me to pass the days which Thou shalt yet vouchsafe to grant me, in Thy fear and to Thy glory; and accept, O Lord, the remains of a mispent life, that when thou shalt call me to another state, I may be received to everlasting happiness for the sake of Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

Epsom. My purpose is to communicate at least thrice a-year.

To study the Scriptures.

To be diligent.

19th, Sunday. I went to Church and attended the service. I found at Church time, to use my prayer, O Lord, have mercy, &c.

Mr Chamier died at his house in Savile Row, London, 12th Oct. 1780, aged 55. He left a widow but no children.

RIGHT HON. ISAAC BARRÉ, born in 1726, (see chap. xxiv), and educated at Trinity College, Dublin, was sent to London, to become a lawyer; but he entered the army. In 1746 he became Ensign, and in 1755 Lieutenant in the 32d regiment; then came the British invasion of the French territory in America. Barré's capacity became known to the "immortal Wolfe." With regard to him, Wolfe wrote to Colonel Rickson in the following winter, "By accident I heard of his worth and good sense . . . I am already repaid by the little I did, by drawing out of obscurity this worthy gentleman. I never knew his face till very lately, nor ever spoke ten words to him before I ventured to propose him as a Major of brigade. . . . We embark in three or four days (Feb. 1758) Barré and I have the great apartment of a three-decked ship to revel in." Barré with the warmest gratitude always spoke of Wolfe as "my only protector and friend" "my zealous and sole advocate;" "for want of friends I had

lingered a subaltern officer eleven years, when Mr Wolfe's opinions of me rescued me from obscurity." In 1759 Wolfe had a Major-General's command in Canada, and in May of that year Barré became Adjutant-General with the rank of Major. On the 13th September Quebec was taken, Wolfe was killed, and Barré received a severe wound which destroyed one of his eyes. Barré remained in America till the surrender of Montreal, when he was sent home with the despatches, and arrived in London 5th Oct. 1760. On 29th January 1761 he was promoted to the rank of Lieut.-Colonel, and became Adjutant-General of the British Army and Governor of Stirling Castle. His military prospects were soon overclouded through his entering the House of Commons, "brought into parliament (he himself said) with reluctance on my own part, by the hand of friendship." The friend was the Earl of Shelburne, through whose interest he became M. P. for Chipping-Wycome in 1761. The proceedings against Wilkes as a libeller raised the question of the legality of his arrest by virtue of a general warrant," *i.e.*, a warrant not naming him, but describing the species of offenders under which he, and others (also unnamed), might be classed. Barré himself informs us, "When the matter of general warrants was discussed in the House, my conscience directed me to oppose the measure, which I modestly did by a silent vote." The very next day he was dismissed from his military employments, and ultimately, by a junior Lieutenant-Colonel being promoted over his head, he received a hint to leave the army, and retired without even his half-pay. His subsequent career as an opposition member was honourable, serviceable, and magnificent. In 1765 when the American Stamp Act was passed, he (as was afterwards admitted) alone foresaw its direful consequences. Walpole writes to the Earl of Hertford from Arlington Street, 12th Feb. 1765, "There has been nothing of note in Parliament, but one slight day on the American Taxes, which Charles Townshend supporting received a pretty heavy thump from Barré, who is the present Pitt, and the dread of all the vociferous Norths and Rigbys, on whose lungs depended so much of Mr Grenville's power." One eloquent passage in Colonel Barré's speech has never been forgotten in Britain or America, "*Children planted by your care? No! your oppression planted them in America; they fled from your tyranny into a then uncultivated land, where they were exposed to almost all hardships to which human nature is liable, and yet, actuated by principles of true English liberty, they met all these hardships with pleasure, compared to those they had suffered in their own country from the hands of those who should have been their friends. They nourished by your indulgence? They grew by your neglect of them; as soon as you began to care about them, that care was exercised in sending persons to rule over them, who were perhaps the deputies of some deputy, sent to spy out their liberty, to misrepresent their actions, and to prey upon them. They, protected by your arms? They have nobly taken up arms in your defence, &c. &c.*"

Barré's career of opposition was interrupted by his receiving office, as one of Lord Shelburne's train, under the Earl of Chatham. This is thought by some writers to be a blot on his career, Barré in his first speech in Parliament having attacked Pitt, and having used even such violent phraseology as "There he would stand turning up his eyes to heaven that witnessed his perjuries, and laying his hand in a solemn manner upon the table—that sacrilegious hand that had been employed in tearing out the bowels of his mother country." The Chatham Correspondence, however, acquits Barré, showing that there had been honourable negotiations, founded as "conciliatory expressions to America." Barré was now made a Privy Councillor and joint Vice-Treasurer of Ireland. The political arrangements, however, were of short continuance, and he returned to opposition. To this period he once jocularly alluded, "In Ireland when I was Vice-Treasurer with Lord Clare, we always paid the money first and then examined if we owed it." He always reckoned himself to be a born Irishman, and once raised a laugh against himself as one of that nation, by saying of the city of Boston, in America, "*She is your eldest son.*" In 1769 (April 12) he made a masterly speech in favour of the perpetuity of the militia; and the resolution was carried by a majority of 84 to 79. In 1773 he obtained an increase to the pay of Captains of the Navy, on the ground that they have greatly promoted the influence of this country by receiving on board and entertaining foreign princes of the blood

and other great personages. In 1774 he opposed the establishment of the Roman Catholic religion in any part of America. In 1778 he began his projects for the publication and auditing of the public accounts of receipt and expenditure. In this year Lord Chatham died, and on May 11th Barré moved an address to the king for a funeral at the public charge, which was agreed to, with an addition, proposed by Mr Dunning, for a monument in Westminster Abbey. On Feb. 22d, 1779, he supported a motion for the enlistment of soldiers for a limited term of service, and though the proposal was thrown out by a majority of 122 to 68, yet the wisdom of the principle was ably set forth in his speech. "That soldiers should be enlisted for life (he said) was, in his opinion, a most preposterous idea, and had ever been repugnant to his feelings. Judge Blackstone had laid it down that it would be agreeable to the constitution of this free country and conducive to the military service that soldiers should be enlisted to serve for a limited time. That soldiers should be kept in slavery for life—this was the hardship that caused so much desertion." In 1780 he proposed that there should be a small committee to act as Commissioners of Accounts, to reform the system of collection and disbursement of public money, and to ascertain the balances in the hands of the various departments. Lord North, on the part of the Government, adopted the basis of the suggestion, but proposed a different construction of the Commission, which was agreed to next Session. In 1782 Lord Shelburne having become Foreign Secretary, Barré became Treasurer of the Navy; and soon after he was made Paymaster of the Forces, his noble patron having become Premier. If the Right Hon. Isaac Barré had not been arbitrarily stripped of his military status and its emoluments by political oppression, he would now have been an old Lieutenant-General; he would have had the Colonelcy of a regiment as the Adjutant-General customarily had, and the military employments, which he had forfeited by no military offence. The government accordingly compensated him by a parliamentary vote, that on his removal from, or relinquishment of, his office under government, he should receive a pension of £3200. To prevent criticisms, to which pensions are liable, Mr Pitt in 1784 conferred on him the sinecure post of Clerk of the Pells, with an income of £3000 a year.

Once in the House he alluded to his wound. "Though I lost one eye in America," he said, "I have a military eye left which does not deceive me." Towards the close of his parliamentary life the sight of his remaining serviceable eye failed him, and he became totally blind. In 1785 he was in this condition, and spoke powerfully on the National Defences. Observing some favour in head-quarters to a "paltry, narrow, circumscribed plan" of fortifying Portsmouth and Plymouth, he obtained the appointment of a board of naval and land officers to report on the whole question. On 27th Feb. 1786 the board having been so constructed as to ensure the recommendation of the Duke of Richmond's proposal, the fortification of the two dockyards was pressed. Barré spoke powerfully against it, but could not wait for the decision; Burke was absent from illness; however, the Speaker's casting-vote negated the plan.

Owing to Barré's powerful diction, fierce argumentation, and popular sympathies, the idea came into notice that he had some connection with the authorship of the Letters of Junius. Mr Britton published an interesting Essay, entitled, "Junius Elucidated," containing pleas for the opinion that Junius was a triumvirate, namely, Shelburne, Dunning, and Barré, the latter being the composer and William Greatrakes the amanuensis. The strongest part of the attempted demonstration, as to Barré, is the belief that he wrote Wolfe's Last Despatch; also that he probably was the author of "A Letter to a Brigadier-General" concerning the military affairs of that epoch, which was published anonymously, and which is written in the same style as Junius. Other portions of the proof are not perfectly conclusive. As to powers of invective there is no want of probable evidence. Instance the following sentences from Barré's attack on the Government in 1770:—"Who then can, without sorrow, behold his sovereign going to war with only half of his people at his back? Who can forbear to wish that there may be reserved in heaven some chosen bolt, red with uncommon fire, to blast the wretches who could reduce him to such an unfortunate situation?" He revelled in sarcastic phrases, such as, "a pension two or three generations deep"—"a species of canine and carnivorous

animals called *Contractors*." He never avowed himself an author; he said in 1780, "The talent of writing ably is undoubtedly a great additional qualification to an officer; some officers possess it in an eminent degree, and some do not; the latter perhaps make it up to their country by their superior personal bravery, by their superior knowledge of the art of war and their eminence as men of distinguished military character. In France, where military character is better understood than in any country, the talent of writing ably is so far from being thought peculiarly commendatory in officers, that generals so qualified are spoken of with contempt and in the coarsest terms the French language will admit of." His speeches occasionally allude to France. In 1773 he said, "In France it is a custom to judge upon one-sixth, one-seventh, or one-eighth of a proof; the unfortunate Calas of Toulouse was condemned upon eight hearsays, which, in France, amounted to a proof. I hope never to see Toulouse arguments admitted as proofs here" ["you mean *too loose* arguments," some honourable member cried out].

"Colonel Barré" (as he was commonly called) was a very amiable relation and a cheerful and companionable friend. He was celebrated in Parliament for his most interesting and inexhaustible fund of anecdote. When he was blind he used to be seen at parties, &c., leaning on the arm of his youthful and very beautiful cousin, Arabella Margareta Phipps, afterwards Mrs Rose of Glastullich. The Phipps family and their connections kept up "Barré" as a Christian name. His political ally, Dunning, became Lord Ashburton; and his heir, the second Lord, was Barré Dunning, in whose memory Barré is a baptismal name in the family of Cuninghame of Lainshaw. Colonel Barré was very intimate with the Montgomery family of Magbie Hill, Peebles; and to one of them, Anne, Marchioness Townshend, he is reputed to have left £12,000. Barbara Montgomery was married to the Right Hon. John Beresford (brother of the first Marquis of Waterford), and her descendants also preserve the name "Barré." Mr Roberts, Deputy-Clerk of the Pells, had a son, Barré Charles Roberts, a young litterateur, who died at the age of 21, and whose posthumous volume was much admired.

The Right Hon. Isaac Barré lived and died a bachelor; his death took place in his 76th year, 20th July 1802, at his house in Stanhope Street, Mayfair, London; he had retired from Parliament in 1790. (The authorities for this Memoir are Britton's Junius Elucidated, Wright's Life of Wolfe, The Chatham Correspondence, and the Parliamentary History.)

OTHER M.P.'S.—John La Roche (born 1700), M.P. for Bodmyn from 1727 till his death in 1752, was a son of Monsieur Pierre Crothaire of the Province of Bordeaux, who came to England as an attendant upon Prince George of Denmark, and assumed the name of La Roche by that Prince's desire.

Sir James Laroche was the third son of the above (born 1734). He was elected M.P. for Bodmyn in 1768, and was made a Baronet 24th Aug. 1776. He died in 1805. His sister Catherine, wife of Charles Berners, Esq. of Wolverston Park, Suffolk, died in 1800.

Joshua Mauger was twice elected M.P. for Poole, viz., in 1768 and 1774. He was a Director of the French Hospital in 1769. He often voted in minorities with Colonel Barré, and was sometimes one of the tellers in the divisions.

William Devaynes, an East India Director, and a Director of the French Hospital, was chosen M.P. for Barnstaple in 1774.

SIR SAMUEL ROMILLY was born on 1st Sept. 1757; he was called to the Bar on the last day of Easter term, 1783. His father (see Chapter XXIII.) died on 29th Aug. 1784, in his 73d year. It was not till 3d January 1798 that he married. His public life began in February and March 1806, when he was made Solicitor-General, knighted, and brought into the House of Commons. He ceased to be a law-officer of the Crown on the change of Administration in 1807, but his Parliamentary career ended only with his life, his last triumph being his election for Westminster at the top of the poll, without any appearance or canvass on his part. It is unnecessary to detail at length his pre-eminent career as an independent member of Parlia-

ment. He procured the enacting of the first reforms of the cruelty of our criminal laws. In the life of one of the private promoters of this just and merciful object, we are reminded of the state of the case in its unreformed abomination:—"There were between one and two hundred offences punishable with death, and the unfortunate victims of inherited misery and vice were strung up like dogs by the dozen at a time." It is added, "The efforts which were made by Sir Samuel Romilly, about the year 1810, to procure the removal of the death-penalty from one or two very minor offences, such as stealing from bleach-grounds, although partially successful, were attended by vigorous and powerful opposition in Parliament, and were apathetically regarded by the public.)* Sir Samuel published a pamphlet explanatory of his measures, which was favourably reviewed in the *Quarterly Review* two years afterwards. The reviewer (Rev. John Davison, B.D.) believed that the learned author "will not consent to abandon, on the first failure, this attempt to humanise the laws of his country." That belief was well-founded. After the Battle of Waterloo, the restoration of the Bourbons was characteristically solemnised by a furious persecution and massacre of Protestants in the South of France. British Christians hastened to concert measures with the French pasteurs for the exposure and cessation of this sanguinary outrage; and Romilly brought the subject before Parliament on 23d May 1816. I quote a few sentences of his speech:—"In these dreadful scenes two hundred persons have been murdered, and nearly two thousand persecuted in their persons and property; two hundred and fifty houses have been destroyed. . . . We have taken a great part in the restoration of the Bourbons. If the Protestants are disarmed, we have assisted in disarming them. At the moment when these bloody scenes were acting in Languedoc, three Protestant armies might be said to occupy France. . . . Our responsibility calls upon us, if we did not at the moment interpose our good offices, to do so now. The House well knows that many parts of France are still in a state of trouble and disorder. Who can say if the fears of those who call themselves *the Loyalists* should be excited, what may be the situation of the Protestant inhabitants of Nismes, who are doomed to be now jostled as they walk along the streets by the murderers of their wives, their children, or their parents; threatening them with their looks, and exulting in their former successful villainy?" A few London newspapers made malicious and ignorant attacks on him on account of this speech. The *Courier* inserted an epigram:—

"Pray, tell us why, without his fees,
He thus defends the refugees,
And lauds the outcasts of society?
Good man! he's mov'd by filial piety."

None, however, but the desperately factious ever attacked Romilly. We find his praises everywhere. Lord Brougham wrote an able panegyric, attributing to him "an extraordinary reach of thought; great powers of attention and of close reasoning; a memory quick and retentive; a fancy eminently brilliant, but kept in perfect discipline by his judgment and his taste." "His manner," Brougham goes on to say, "was perfect in voice, in figure, in a countenance of singular beauty and dignity; nor was anything in his oratory more striking or more effective than the heartfelt sincerity which it throughout displayed in topic, in diction, in tone, in look, in gesture." Brougham also alluded to the probability that Romilly one day would have been Lord Chancellor; but Barnes, in his *Parliamentary Portraits*, published in 1815, had already disposed of such an anticipation:—"I should wish, indeed, to see the first best man of his profession occupying, at some time, the first rank in it, and giving dignity to some new title, which might hereafter be quoted as the heraldic name for fine sense and integrity. But this is merely a matter of taste. Sir S. Romilly has already reached the summit; no honours could add weight to his opinions in the general mind; no station could make his virtues more conspicuous." The poet Montgomery saw in him "the clearest intellect, the most unsullied virtues, and a thoroughly disinterested devotion to the public good." To Crabbe, on 10th

* "Peter Bedford, the Spitalfield Philanthropist," by William Tallack. London, 1865.

Sept. 1818, Romilly suggested that he should devote one of his metrical tales to the object of mitigating the rage of the game-preserver and the passion of the poacher. The poet at once set to work on a twenty-first Tale of the Hall, with the title, "Smugglers and Poachers." Before it was finished Romilly was dead, and Crabbe indited a long note, concluding thus :—

" Thou hadst the tear of pity, and thy breast
Felt for the sad, the weary, the opprest ;
And now (affecting change !) all join with me,
And feel, lamented Romilly, for thee."

BOSANQUET.—The Bosanquet family (see Chapter XXII.) have cultivated literature with no inconsiderable success. The British Museum Library Catalogue contains a long list of their publications. The *Bosanquets of Rock*, in Northumberland, are represented in three generations. Colonel Charles Bosanquet published a Letter on West India Property (1807), Thoughts on Commerce and our Colonial Trade (1808), and Observations as to Bullion (2d edit. 1801). His eldest son and successor, Rev. Robert William Bosanquet, has published *Objections to Dr Pusey's Sermon on the Holy Eucharist* (1843), reprinted at Edinburgh (1844), and *The Sacrament of Baptism* (1850). A younger son, Rev. George Henry Bosanquet, has depicted *The Sorrows of Deafness*, printed in 1839. In the third generation, the heir-apparent, Charles Bertie Pulleine Bosanquet, Esq., Secretary of the Society for Organising Charitable Relief, has published "LONDON; some account of its growth, charitable agencies and wants, with a clue map" (1868), and "How shall I pray?" (1869). We next come to Samuel Richard Bosanquet, Esq. of Dingestow, and to his brother, James Whatman Bosanquet, Esq. The former has been a thoughtful and serviceable observer of the times in which he has lived. His first works were elucidatory of *The Tithes Commutation Act* (1837), *The Poor-Law Amendment Act* (1839), *Rules of Pleading, and Logic* (1839). He has also published *The Rights of the Poor and Christian Almsgiving Vindicated* (1841), *Principia*, a series of Essays on the Principles of Evil manifesting themselves in the last times in religion, politics, and philosophy (1843); *Vestiges of the Natural History of Creation*, its argument examined and exposed (2d edit. 1845); *The late Papal Aggression, and The Sacramental and the Mediatorial Systems contrasted* (1851); *Excelsior* (1865); *The Bible, its superiority in character, composition, information, and authority, to all uninspired literature* (1866); and *Eirenicon* (1867). James Whatman Bosanquet is an eminent London banker, and has written on the *Currency* (1842), and on the *Bank Charter* (1857); he is also an author on Biblical researches—*Chronology of the Times of Daniel, Ezra, and Nehemiah* (1848); *The Fall of Nineveh and the Reign of Sennacherib chronologically considered* (1853); *Messiah the Prince, or the Inspiration of Daniel, also, Sabbatical Years and Jubilees* (1866), and *Hebrew Chronology, from Solomon to the Birth of Christ* (1867). A third brother, William Henry Francis Bosanquet, published a translation from the Anglo-Saxon of *Caedmon's Fall of Man* (1860).

Rev. Edwin Bosanquet, youngest son of the late William Bosanquet, Esq., and Charlotte Elizabeth Ives, is the author of *A Sermon before the University of Oxford, on Psalm II. 1* (1843), and *A Verbal Paraphrase of the Epistle to the Romans, with brief illustrations* (1840). But we must not omit the lady whom the Catalogue describes as Mary Bosanquet (afterwards De la Flechère), author of *An Aunt's Advice to a Niece* (to which is added a correspondence with the late Rev. Dr Dodd during his imprisonment), and *A Letter to the Rev. Mr Wesley on the death of the Rev. Mr Fletcher*.

Mary Bosanquet, was the younger daughter of Samuel Bosanquet (the first) of Forest House; she was born on the 1st September 1739, at Laytonstone, in Essex. In 1763 she went to her native village, where she had some property. She had for many years been under strong religious convictions, and had habitually absented herself from the gay assemblies of the metropolis, and even eschewed the fashions in dress. At that time the Wesleys were members of the Church of England, attending its stated services, and receiving from its clergy the ordinances of baptism and the Lord's Supper; their various meetings were arranged so as to be grafted upon the Established Church system. Miss Bosanquet had found among those

excellent people her most congenial society ; from them she had learned to live to do good to others. One of her own houses having become untenanted, she gladly resolved to make it her residence. She accordingly commenced housekeeping in Laytonstone on the 24th of March 1763. There she established what now would be called an Industrial Home, she herself being the head, and some exemplary and active females being her co-adjutors. It did not confine its attention to children ; the establishment comprised at various times thirty-five children and thirty-four women. She founded it upon the Apostolical motto, "If she have lodged strangers, if she have brought up children, if she have relieved the afflicted, and diligently followed after every good work." Professor Franke's book on his Orphan House at Halle was serviceable to her in carrying out her design. The Laytonstone Institution was kept up for five years. During the latter portion of that period she often visited her dying parents, whose natural affection for her, somewhat damped by her unfashionable style of life, entirely revived before their deaths, which took place within a few months of each other in 1767 or 1768.

In 1768 the sickness and death of her forewoman, Mrs Ryan, proved the occasion of Miss Bosanquet's removing to Yorkshire. There she founded another home like the former ; it was named Cross-Hall. Mr Wesley made the following memorandum regarding it :—" July 7th, 1770.—I rode to Miss Bosanquet's. Her family is still a pattern, and a general blessing in the country." This establishment, which included a farm as well as a dwelling, was maintained for thirteen years. At the ninth year of its existence it seemed prudent to contemplate winding it up, as pecuniary difficulties had begun to arise.

At this juncture, the eminent Mr Fletcher, the Vicar of Madeley, and patron of the Wesleyan classes and meetings, rises to view. In old times there had been a mutual regard between him and Miss Bosanquet, but no serious thought about marriage. In 1777 Mr Fletcher, apparently dying from consumption, had set out on a visit to Geneva. It came into her mind that by a marriage with Mr Fletcher she might be extricated from embarrassments. And the same thought spontaneously occurred to some of her sister-communicants. She determined to be guided by Providential indications, four in number, 1st. That Mr Fletcher should return ; 2d. That he should write to her ; 3d. That he should declare that he had thought of offering marriage for some years ; and 4th. That this should happen in 1781. All this actually came about.

Mr Fletcher was by birth a Protestant of Switzerland, born at Nyon, 12th September 1729. His names, with the original surname, were, after his death, engraved on his tombstone, "John William De la Flechère." He came to England, attracted by its literature and society, was first tutor to Lord Berwick, and then Vicar of Madeley in Shropshire. He was frequently engaged in preaching in the churches founded by the French refugees, and was virtually one of themselves. He was worthy of Miss Bosanquet, and she of him. He wrote to a friend soon after his marriage :—"God declared it was not good that man, a social being, should live alone, and therefore he gave him a help meet for him ; for the same reason our Lord sent forth his disciples two and two. Had I searched the three kingdoms, I could not have found one brother willing to share *gratis* my weal, woe, and labours, and complaisant enough to unite his fortune to mine. But God has found me a partner, *a sister, a wife* (to use St Paul's language), who is not afraid to face with me the colliers and bargemen of my parish, until death parts us."

The winding up of the Cross-Hall scheme, before the marriage, exhibits the sacred and cheerful atmosphere breathed by Mary Bosanquet and her pious female associates. It was a complicated task to sell the property, pay debt, and provide for all the boarders. A Mrs Clapham had a dream, which pictured a visitor paying a large sum in gold, and others laying down smaller bags of gold, and a tall young man (perhaps a younger brother of Miss Bosanquet) also giving his liberal contribution. Mrs Clapham told all this to Miss Bosanquet, and asked, "Have you more brothers than one?" She replied, "Yes, I have two, and the youngest is tall. But I have never received anything in particular from him." Not many days after, a gentleman came and agreed to give £1620 for the place, being a liberal price.

Three days after that, another gentleman bought the farm stock. Next, in quick succession, invitations came for all the boarders to settle elsewhere. And then, on 12th November 1781, the marriage was solemnized. Mr and Mrs Fletcher set out for Madeley 2d January 1782. In the interval they had been making arrangements for paying all the debts of Cross Hall, and it had appeared after a calculation that they still required £100. The next post brought a letter from Mr William Bosanquet; it was opened and found to contain £100 bank note. "We prayed the Lord to appear in our behalf," she writes, "and immediately my youngest brother supplied our every need, though he knew not anything of our necessity."

The useful lives led by the revered Fletchers are part of religious history, and need not be described here. They visited Dublin in the summer of 1783. "He frequently preached in the French Church in Dublin, which was attended by the descendants of the persecuted Huguenots. The first time he preached there he selected for his text:—*Call to remembrance the former days, in which, after you were illuminated, ye endured a great fight of afflictions,*—from which he took occasion to refer to the sufferings and piety of their ancestors, and to enforce upon them the necessity for self-examination." Mr and Mrs Fletcher had a happy home at Madeley. Their prosperity, both temporal and spiritual, combined with perfect sympathy, filled them with thankfulness. His consumptive symptoms disappeared. Their first trouble was her being attacked with a violent fever. He was full of anxiety, foreboding her death; at length she recovered. But it was only to see him prostrated by the same fever, of which he died, having spent his last days in comforting her, and full of faith and hope as to himself.

Mrs Fletcher became a widow on the 14th August 1785. She survived her husband nearly thirty years; her death took place on the 9th December 1814, at the age of 75. During her widowhood she was an acknowledged benefactor of her parish and neighbourhood. The new Vicar did not inhabit the Vicarage, and permitted her to reside in it. He also was guided by her wishes in the choice of his curates. As constituting an exceptional case, her public expounding of Scripture was not only tolerated but encouraged, some of the clergy being frequently her auditors. She was no unlearned expositor. Once, when a seasonable text took hold of her thoughts, she tells us, "I looked out as well as I was able the meaning of the words in the Hebrew Lexicon." All her papers on Biblical subjects display more than average information, accuracy, and ability.

The Romish priest at Madeley seemed to detect in her grave demeanour and plain attire an affinity for some of the superstitions of his creed. He lent books and addressed letters to her, but found her better at fence than himself. Two of her letters to him are preserved, from which I make an extract or two:—"Rev. Sir,—As there is no act of friendship greater than to care for the immortal soul, I consider myself as truly indebted to you for the kind concern you have expressed for mine. . . . I acknowledge the word Protestant was not used till Luther's time, but the truths we contend for date from the time of our Lord and His apostles. . . . Permit me to say, I lay no more stress on St Peter than I do on the other apostles: for it is plain our Lord afterwards gave the same authority to them all, and it is certain St Paul did not acknowledge that St Peter had any pre-eminence over the rest, for he claimed an equality with all the apostles, and upon one occasion withstood St Peter to the face." The second letter begins:—"Rev. Sir,—All you say of the importance of the soul and eternal things, I most heartily agree with you in, and sincerely desire to turn my back on earth and choose Jesus as my only portion. But oh! Sir, bear with me when I say I cannot be of your mind nor receive your Church as truly catholic. You say, 'She is one, whereas we are divided into many.' Alas! how can she appear otherwise when no member dares to speak his mind for fear of an inquisition? If all hearts were known, how many opinions would be found among you! But even this appearance was not always; for at times you have had more Popes than one, and each had his own party. There were then divisions and disorders. I do not say this by way of reproach. No; in every Church there are tares as well as wheat, only I mean you are not free from division any more than we are, although force renders it more concealed. Again, I cannot but greatly object to your doctrine of Indulgence. Perhaps you will say, that is now

given up, as the Council of Trent disapproved of it. But why given up? If only because of the offence, then you still hold the same opinion. So a man may, for giving alms to the poor, &c., commit his favourite iniquity, and it shall not be imputed to him as sin. As to the righteousness of other saints being imputed to him, is not this like saying, 'Give us of your oil, for our lamps are gone out?' But perhaps you say, 'No, not so, we have given it up because we see it wrong and an error.' Well, if you have I am glad of it. But in that case permit me to ask, how can your Popes be infallible who have maintained so sad an error for so many years?"

The letter ends thus:—"I cannot conclude our correspondence, Sir, without once more thanking you for your kind concern and prayers; and though we differ in some sentiments, if we agree in an earnest desire to know and do the whole will of God, I can embrace you as a brother in the Lord, and regard you as such. One day I put this question to myself, 'If Mr — were to become possessed of civil power, and when he found that after all his pains I could not see in his light, he should believe it to be his duty to consume me at a stake, could I love him then?' After a moment's pause, I replied, 'Yes! if I really thought he believed it to be his duty, I could honour the upright intention, though I should see the action wrong. Christ shed His own blood for men, but Antichrist sheds the blood of others. Yet, whatever I might suffer I love an upright intention wherever I see it.' I am, Rev. Sir, your obliged servant,
"MARY FLETCHER."

PORTAL.—William Portal, the refugee brother of Henri (see Chapter XIV.), became an English clergyman. Being a French gentleman of refined address and good education, he was selected to be tutor to Prince George, afterwards King George III.; when he obtained this post he was about 55 years of age. He died incumbent of Clowne, in Derbyshire, and of Farnbridge, in Essex, at the age of almost 100, and in the year 1760. The poet, Abraham Portal, was his grandson; whether modern criticism would declare him to be a poet indeed, my readers must themselves investigate, for I have nothing to lay before them but a list of his publications:—Olindo and Sophronia (1758), Innocence (1762), War (1764), The Indiscreet Lover (1768), and Vortimer (1796).

MANGIN.—This surname belongs to the Crommelin connection. The great Crommelin and Captain Paul Mangin were married to sisters, daughters of Samuel Crommelin and Anne Testart, grand-daughters of Pierre Crommelin and Marie Desormeaux, great-grand-daughters of M. Crommelin and Marie de Semery de Camas. The great Crommelin had the same great-grand-parents, but his grand-parents were Jean Crommelin and Rachel Jacquelet, and his parents were Louis Crommelin, "le fleur de la maison," and Marie Mettayer. Jeanne, Madame Mangin, having died, was succeeded by a second wife, *née* Anne Henriette d'Onie de la Lande. Harriette, daughter of Paul Mangin, was married to Samuel Louis Crommelin, junior (see Chapter XXII.). Captain Mangin spent his latter years in Dublin. I conjecture that the elegant author, Rev. Edward Mangin, M.A., is descended from him. Edward Mangin's work, which attracted most notice, was published in 1808, entitled "An Essay on Light Reading, as it may be supposed to influence moral conduct and literary taste;" a work of the same class, which he published in 1814, was "A View of the Pleasures arising from the Love of Books." He edited Richardson's works, in nineteen volumes, and published some translations from the French, such as "The Life of Malesherbes" (1805-1814), and "The Life of Jean Bart" (1828)—the latter is dedicated to his brother, Captain Reuben Caillaud Mangin, Royal Navy.

COLLETTE.—The Huguenot family of Collette took refuge in England after the Edict of Revocation. They had been for a long time naturalized British subjects, when they emigrated to the American colonies. There by industry they made a fortune, and became extensive proprietors of land. After the American war, the Republican Government confiscated their estates. The present representative is an English barrister, Charles Hastings Collette, Esq., who is one of the Directors of the French Hospital. Mr Collette is celebrated as a historical and polemic writer against Romanism. He has been very successful in exposing the pious

frauds of the Right Rev. John Milner, Bishop of Castabala and Vicar Apostolic of the Midland District of England, also of Cardinal Wiseman and several other Popish ecclesiastics. Mr Collette's books and pamphlets are numerous, and prove him to be an honourable disputant, an acute reasoner, and a learned Church Historian. His most important works are (1), *The Novelties of Romanism*, 2d edition revised and enlarged, a collection of historical facts, exhibiting the antiquity of Gospel faith and precepts, and the subsequent accumulation of Romish dogmata and idolatries. (2), *Henry VIII—an Historical Sketch as affecting the Reformation in England*—(there is a library edition, dated 1864, and a revised and cheap edition, dated 1868); the first draft was a lecture prepared in 1862, founded upon researches among our State Papers, and to some extent anticipating the conclusions promulgated by Mr Froude in his *History of England*. (3), *A Reply to Cobbett's History of the Protestant Reformation in England and Ireland*. The late William Cobbett vilified the Reformers and apologized for the cruelties of their persecutors, and therefore his book is kept in constant circulation among the Roman Catholics in the English and Italian languages. Cobbett had been answered by older writers; but the peculiarity of Mr Collette's work is, that it examines and criticises alleged facts in history only, and does not discourse upon the creeds of the Protestant and Popish parties. This seasonable Reply was published in 1869.

VIGNOLES.—A refugee branch of the Vignoles family received from the British crown an estate in Florida, which the Americans confiscated. Captain Vignoles of the 43d Regiment, a descendant, was killed at the storming of Pointe-à-Pitre in Guadaloupe. He had married a daughter of Charles Hutton, LL.D., Professor of Mathematics in the Woolwich Military Academy, and left a son Charles Backer Vignoles (born in 1792). Young Vignoles, through his grandfather's care, was qualified to be a military engineer, and after serving in our army till the peace of 1815 he adopted the profession of a civil engineer. He has been engaged in the construction of railways in almost every kingdom in Europe; it was he who surveyed the line between Liverpool and Manchester in 1824. Mr Vignoles is a Fellow of the Royal Society, and an active member of the British Association. His address as President of the Institution of Civil Engineers, in 1870, is an admirable compendium of the antiquities and cotemporary history of civil engineering. In the International Exhibitions of 1851 and 1862 respectively, his models of two of his great works were conspicuous, viz., the Suspension Bridge across the Dnieper at Kieff (Class 7, No. 105), and a Railway through the Pyrenees (Class 10, No. 2354).

Chapter XXXI.

MODERN STATESMEN AND PERSONS OF HIGH POSITION DESCENDED FROM THE REFUGEES.

SUSAN, DUCHESS OF ROXBURGHE.—The family of D'Albiac is said to have been a family of Albi, the capital city of the region of the Albigenes in the South of France. This city, situated on the river Tarn, was destroyed in the Popish crusade against the primitive Christians, and the D'Albiacs fled to Nismes in the thirteenth century. At the Revocation, the D'Albiacs of Nismes were almost exterminated by the fury of the Roman Catholics; the father, mother, four sons and three daughters were murdered. Two sons were saved, one of whom abjured Protestantism to retain the family estate. The other sent his two sons to England concealing them in hampers. They arrived safely, and founded two families who wrote their name "Dalbiac." One family was represented by two Directors of the French Hospital, Simon Dalbiac, elected 9th April 1755, and another Simon, 4th Oct. 1758. The

head of the other family was James Dalbiac, who married (about 1720) Miss Delaporte, and died in 1749. He had three daughters, Mrs Turner, Mrs John Lagier Lamotte, and Mrs Wilks. His eldest son, James, married in 1746 a daughter of Peter De Visme, by Madeleine Beaufile his wife, and had a son, James (*born 1750, died 1824*), who had no son. The next male representatives were therefore the sons of Charles (*born 1726, died 1808*), son of James, the refugee in the friendly hamper. His first wife, also a De Visme, presented him with two daughters, Lucy (Mrs Luard) and Susan. By his second wife, whose maiden name was Le Bas, he had a daughter Harriet (Lady Pitcairn) and two sons, James Charles, and George; the latter is represented by three sons, George, Henry, and William. The elder son of Charles Dalbiac, Lieutenant-General Sir James Charles Dalbiac K.C.H., President of the Bristol Court Martials 1832, and M.P. for Ripon, died in December 1847. He married Susan, daughter of Colonel Daeten of Kenningford Hall and Tillingham Castle, Lincolnshire, and left an only child, Susan Stephana, who was married in 1836 to the sixth Duke of Roxburgh, and whose children are James, Marquis of Bowmont, M.P. for Roxburghshire, Lord Charles Innes Ker, Lady Susan Grant Suttie, and Lady Charlotte Russell. The Duchess of Roxburgh has held the distinguished posts of Lady-in-Waiting and Mistress of the Robes to the Queen. Her Majesty paid a visit to the Duke and Duchess at Floors Castle, their magnificent seat near Kelso. I quote a paragraph from a narrative by the correspondent of the *Scotsman*:—"Leaving the Castle by the very elegant private doorway, and walking on the lawn, which commences at the very door, Her Majesty could not fail to be struck with the scene which opens to the view. The wonderful advantage taken of the natural amenities of the situation of Floors Castle, standing as it does on the slopes leading gracefully and gently down to the Tweed, must strike any one standing a few yards before the south front of the Castle. Sir Charles Dalbiac, the father of Her Grace the Duchess of Roxburgh, never was more successful in the disposition of pleasure-grounds at any of the places where his peculiar taste and ability were exercised than he was here. The approaches and slopes at Floors will be a lasting monument to his memory."

BARON ROMILLY.—John, eldest surviving son of Sir Samuel Romilly, was born in 1802. He was called to the bar in 1827, and rose to be Solicitor-General in 1848, when he was knighted. Sir John Romilly became Attorney-General in 1850, and in 1851 was elevated to the Judicial Bench as Master of the Rolls. He has presided over the great national act of opening up the Public Records for the researches of historical students and enquirers, a boon, the value of which is widely and gratefully felt to be incalculable. Sir John was for many years a member of the House of Commons. On 2d January 1866 he was called to the Upper House as Baron Romilly of Barry in the county of Glamorgan. His Huguenot surname had already earned a world-wide and most honourable fame, and no title in the British peerage has a more noble sound than Lord Romilly.

LORD DE BLAQUIERE.—Antoine de Blaquière, a French noble of Guienne, married Elizabeth de Montiel. His son, Florence, who settled at Lueze in Languedoc, was the father of Jean de Blaquière, who in early youth took refuge in England in 1685. The refugee's wife was Marie Elizabeth De Varennes; he died in 1753, she in 1780. Jean de Blaquière had a numerous family, in which the fifth son John is conspicuous. Lieutenant-Colonel John De Blaquière of the 17th Light Dragoons (who was born 15th May 1732), was Secretary of Legation at Paris in 1771, Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland in 1772. He was made a Knight of the Bath, 3d Aug. 1774, and a Baronet, 6th July 1784. Sir John was raised to the Peerage as Baron de Blaquière of Ardkill, County Londonderry, in 1800, and died 27th Aug. 1812, aged 80. He was the father of John the second baron (*born 1776, died 1844*), and of General, William, third Baron de Blaquière (*born 1778, died 1851*). The fourth and fifth barons have sprung from the latter. A flourishing branch of the De Blaquières was founded by the fourth son of the first Lord, Hon. Peter Boyle de Blaquière (*born 1784, died*

1860), a member of the Legislative Council of Canada, and Chancellor of the University of Toronto. The De Blaquière motto is *Tiens à la vérité*.

BARON DE TEISSIER.—The family of De Teissier is of noble descent, and has been characterized as *Famille noble, qui a traversé les siècles en se roidissant contre ses malheurs*. Its cradle was Nice, but in the seventeenth century it was established at Anduze in Languedoc, where its chief became Le Baron de Marguerittes; his eldest son, Pierre (*born 1644*), founded the Roman Catholic family, and the younger, Jacques, founded the Huguenot family of De Teissier. Etienne de Teissier, son of the latter, took refuge in Switzerland. James and Stephen de Teissier, who came to England in 1712, were that refugee's sons, and the English family springs from James, and from the heir of James, namely, Louis de Teissier, Esq., of Woodcote Park, near Epsom (*born 1735, died 1811*), a merchant prince of the city of London. This Mr De Teissier showed munificent hospitality and manifold beneficence to the fugitives from France in 1789. It is to specify but a portion of his generosity if we mention his supporting six Roman Catholic refugee priests for ten years, and promoting the resolves of the Prince de Broglie and the Baron D'Estrées to earn their livelihood by honourable toil. His son, James De Teissier (*born 1794, died 1868*), was invited back to France by Louis XVIII, to resume his position among the Noblesse of the kingdom. This invitation he begged leave to decline. The French king accordingly, in 1819, created him Baron De Teissier by patent to himself and his heirs male, without requiring him to renounce his English citizenship. The Prince Regent of Great Britain gave formal sanction to this creation. The present Baron De Teissier (James Fitzherbert De Teissier), is the eldest son and heir of the first baron; he is a Lieutenant-Colonel in our army. His brothers are Rev. Philip Antoine De Teissier, Colonel Henry Price De Teissier, and Rev. George Frederick De Teissier, B.D., late Fellow of Corpus Christi College, Oxford, Rector of Church-Brampton, near Northampton, and Rural Dean, author of two series of Village Sermons (1863-5), and "The House of Prayer" (1866), also of various translations in Wellesley's *Anthologia Polyglotta* (1849).

VICOMTE HENRI DE VISMES.—The Viscount is the next brother of William, Comte De Vismes (or, De Visme), who has, by permission of the French government, succeeded to the titles appertaining at the epoch of the Edict of the Revocation to his refugee chief, Gerard De Vismes. Philippe, son of Gerard, married in 1716. His sons were Philippe, Andrew, Louis (British Ambassador at Stockholm), Stephen, Gerard, Leo, William, and Benjamin. William continued the family by his marriage with Elizabeth, daughter of Elisée Auriol. His daughter was Elizabeth, Mrs Edward Auriol Hay Drummond. His eldest son was Elisée William De Vismes (*born 1758, died 1840*) of the Coldstream Guards, who formally proved his nobility, and resumed his title and residence in France, where he died, and was succeeded by his eldest son, whose brother, Henry (entitled in France to the courtesy title of Viscount) represents the refugees, as an Englishman.

LAYARD, Privy Councillor.—Austen Henry Layard, eldest son of Henry Peter John Layard, Esq., and Marianne Austen (see Chap. XIX.), was born in Paris, on 8th March 1817, during a temporary stay of his parents in that capital. He spent much of his youth in Florence, and came to England to study law, a study which presented no attractions to one who was so accomplished both with the pen and the pencil. He began his historic career as a traveller in 1839. In his great energy and ready adaptation to the habits of life in foreign countries he reminds us of his expatriated forefathers. His wonderful researches resulted in his celebrated volumes with their accompanying engravings from his own drawings, "Nineveh and its Remains," (London 1849), and "Discoveries in the Ruins of Nineveh and Babylon, with travels in Armenia, Kurdistan and the Desert," (London in 1853). He is also the author of condensed narratives of these discoveries, with the elucidations of Holy Scripture which they so abundantly furnished. He has obtained the honours of D.C.L. of Oxford, the Lord Rectorship of Aberdeen University, and the Royal Gold Medal of the British Institute of Architects.

He has also laboured well in the field of politics, and has represented Aylesbury and Southwark in the House of Commons. He has been in office as Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, and First Commissioner of Works and Public Buildings, and is a Privy Councillor. He is now the British Ambassador at Madrid. By his recent marriage he has renewed the alliance between the Layards and the Berties. Charlotte Susannah Elizabeth Layard (daughter of Dean Layard), was married to the ninth Earl of Lindsey, whose daughter, Lady Charlotte Elizabeth Bertie, was the wife of Sir Josiah John Guest, Bart., whose daughter Mary Enid Evelyn Guest is the wife of Right Hon. Austen Henry Layard.

AMYAND, Baronet.—The first refugee of this name was Rev. Daniel Amiard (or, Amyand, see Chap. XXI.). The first refugee family was naturalized at Westminster, 9th Sept. 1698 (see List XXIII), namely, Isaac Amiard, Anne, his wife, Charles, Isaac, Claudius, John, Theodore, Benjamin and Mary, their children. Of these Claude Amiard (*alius*, Claudius Amyand) founded an English family. He died in 1740, principal surgeon and Surgeon in Ordinary to His Majesty George II. He had distinguished sons; 1st, Claudius, Under Secretary of State; 2d, Sir George Amyand, Baronet (so created in 1764), M.P. for Barnstaple; 3d, Christopher, a merchant. Sir George Amyand died in 1766, leaving descendants, 1st, Sir George (ancestor of Rev. Sir George Henry Cornewall, Bart.); 2d, John, M.P. for Camelford (unmarried); 3d, Anna Maria, Countess of Minto, ancestress of the present Earl; 4th, Harriet, Countess of Malmesbury, ancestress of the present Earl, and of Charles Amyand Harris, D.D., Bishop of Gibraltar. (A maternal grandson of the first of these was the Right Hon. Sir George Cornewall Lewis, Bart., M.P., Secretary of State). During the latter half of last century, Rev. Thomas Amyand was Rector of Hambleton, Bucks.

BAYLEY, Baronet.—A French refugee named De Bailleu settled in the county of Cambridge many years before the Revocation, having two sons, John and Philip. The latter was Philip De Bailleul, or Bayley, of Whittlesey, in the Isle of Ely, who married, 1st, Jane de la Chasse; 2dly, Esther, youngest daughter of Andrew Clerbau of Leville, in the parish of Hatfield, Yorkshire; 3dly, Martha Descamps; and 4thly, Susan De Lo. His heir, by Esther Clerbau, was Daniel de Bailleul or Bayley of Willow Hall (*born 1672, died 1729*), whose heir by Esther Du Bois was Isaac, who removed to Chesterton, in Huntingdonshire (*born 1706, died 1751*). Isaac's son, John Bayley of Etton, gentleman, married Sarah, daughter and heir of Rev. White Kennet, Prebendary of Peterborough, whose heir, John, was Sir John Bayley (*born 1763, died 1841*), Justice of the Queen's Bench, and afterwards a Baron of the Exchequer, who was knighted in 1808, and created a baronet in 1834. His son (*born 1794*), is the second baronet, Sir John Edward George Bayley of Updown House, Kent. The baptisms in last century were administered at Thorney, the seat of a French church in Cambridgeshire.

BOILEAU, Baronet.—John Peter Boileau, Esq. (*born 1747, died 1837*), fourth son of Simeon (see Chap. XXII), married in 1790 Henrietta, daughter and co-heir of Rev. George Pollen. She was succeeded in her inheritance by their second son, George Pollen Boileau Pollen, Esq., of Little Bookham. The eldest son and heir was Sir John Peter Boileau, Bart., (so created, July 1838), of Tacolnstone Hall, Norfolk, and of Kettering Park in the same county. Sir John was a Fellow of the Royal Society, and Vice-President of the Society of Antiquaries, also President of the Norfolk and Norwich Archæological Society. His services in the walks of science, antiquities, and agricultural improvement are detailed in "The Register," 1869, vol. i. He was also a Director of the French Hospital in London. He was born on Sept. 2d 1794, and married in 1825 Lady Catherine Sarah Elliot, daughter of the Earl of Minto. Sir John died 9th March 1869. Lady Catherine Boileau had predeceased him (in 1862), and in her memory he added the Catherine ward to the County Hospital. His successor, the eldest surviving son, is Sir Francis George Manningham Boileau, Bart., whose heir apparent is John Francis Elliot Boileau.

BOROUGH, Baronet.—The very learned Elie Bouhéreau (see Chap. XV.) had a son, John, a clergyman, and another son, a Mayor of Dublin. The son of the latter, Richard, transmuted the surname into *Borough*. He had a son, Lieutenant-Colonel William Blakeney Borough, and a younger son, Sir Richard Borough, Bart. (so created 12 Nov. 1813). Sir Richard (*born 1756, died 1837*), had married in 1799 Anna Maria, eldest daughter of Gerard, Viscount Lake, and was succeeded by his son, Sir Edward Richard Borough, Bart., D.C.L. (*born 1800*), who married Lady Elizabeth St Lawrence, daughter of the Earl of Howth. Deep sympathy was felt for Sir Edward on the death of his two sons, Edward (before Sebastopol in 1855), and William (accidentally drowned in 1856).

DE CRESPIGNY, Baronet.—The knightly Norman family of Champion, Sieurs de la Fleurière, acquired, by marriage with an heiress, the estate of Crespigny. Its representative at the epoch of the Revocation was Claude Champion, Sieur de Crespigny, an officer of the French army. His wife was Marie, Comtesse de Vierville, and he had eight children. He fled to England along with his wife and children, two of whom were concealed in baskets, and they were hospitably received by the Pierpoints, to whom his family was allied by marriage. He was enrolled in the British army as a Colonel. He died in 1695 (aged 75), his wife in 1708 (aged 80); thus, after escaping from Gallic persecutions (to use the elegant words of their epitaph), *tandem in cælum veram patriam transmigrârunt*. His sons, Peter (who died in 1739, member of the committee of the London French Churches), Gabriel (an officer in the Guards), and Thomas (Captain in Sir Charles Hotham's Dragoons), were naturalized in 1690. In 1691 it was certified by the London College of Arms that "we have seen and perused an old book of the pedigree of the said Champions, from Messire Mahens Champion, knight, who lived in the year of our Lord 1350, down to the said Claude de Champion, their father, deceased, in the city of London, 10th April 1695, and buried in Maribone." Thomas was married, and had a son, Philip, who married Anne Fonnereau in 1730, and had a daughter, Jane, wife of Gilbert Allix, Esq. Philip left two sons, namely, Philip Champion de Crespigny, M.P. for Aldborough (who died in 1803), and Sir Claude Champion De Crespigny, Baronet, so created on 31st October 1805. The first Baronet was a Fellow of Trinity Hall, Cambridge, and his name was further adorned by his beautiful and accomplished wife, Mary Clarke, who was a considerable heiress, and who, as Mrs Crespigny, is handed down to posterity in glowing terms in "Public Characters." Their house and grounds, Champion Lodge, Camberwell, were much admired. The first Baronet's name was borne by the third Baronet, who was the grandson of Sir William, the second Baronet, and son of Captain Augustus James De Crespigny, R.N., a heroic officer, who saved nine men from a watery grave at the risk of his life. Captain De Crespigny's last feat was his "taking to a small boat, and pulling into the very muzzles of the enemy's guns, whereby he saved five men who were near drowning through the *Achilles* barge being sunk;" he died off Port Royal, Jamaica, on board of H.M.S. Scylla, 24th Oct. 1825. The third Baronet (*born 1818, died 1868*) was succeeded by Sir Claude De Crespigny, present Baronet, of Wivenhoe Hall, Essex.

LAMBERT, Baronet.—Jean Lambert, an advocate, settled in the Island of Rhé, was a naturalized Frenchman, but a native of Devonshire. He had a son, Jean, a merchant, who, through the friendship of the Governor of the Island, was unmolested by the Romish persecutors, but sent his children to England to prevent their perversion to Popery. He continued to live at St Martin, in the island of Rhé, till his death in 1702. His eldest son, John (who was born in 1666), thus received his education at Camberwell from 1680 to 1684, and returned to France, but came back to England in 1685 among the Huguenot refugees. We find the following notice of him:—"Jan. 18, 1710, John Lambert, Esq., an eminent French refugee merchant in the city of London, was created a baronet of Great Britain, in consideration of his great services to the government."—(Pointer's Chronological History, Oxford, 1714.) The above is the date of his receiving the honour of knighthood; it was on the 16th Feb. 1711

(N.S.) that he was made a baronet ; his services were the giving of loans to the Queen's government to the extent of £400,000. Sir John married Madeline, daughter of Benjamin Beuzelin of Rouen, and died in 1723. The title has descended regularly from father to son. Sir Henry Edward Francis Lambert is the present and sixth baronet.

LARPENT, Baronet.—Jean de Larpent, of Caen, in Normandy, settled in England on the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes ; he married Mademoiselle Le Vasseur. His son and grandson both bore the name of John, and were honourably employed in the Foreign Office. The latter was the father of Francis Seymour Larpent (Judge Advocate-General under the Duke of Wellington, in Spain) and of John James, Baron De Hocheplid Larpent, in the kingdom of Hungary, and of Sir George Gerard De Hocheplid Larpent, Baronet (so created in 1841). Sir George, who died in 1855, aged 69, was the father of Sir Albert John (*born 1816, died 1861*), and grandfather of the present Baronet, Sir George Albert Larpent. The present heir-presumptive is Seymour George Larpent, only surviving son of the first Baronet.

PECHELL, Baronet.—This family was established for a long series of generations at Montauban, in Languedoc. Pierre de Pechels, Baron of Boissonade and St Cran Barré, flourished in 1547. By his wife, Louise de Fumel, he was father of Jean Horace de Pechels, who married in 1575 Isabeau de Prevost. From father to son the succession went on thus :—Samuel married in 1614 Rachel de Valette, Jean Horace married in 1643 Jeanne de la Lauze, and Samuel married La Marquise Thierry de Sabonnières, and was 41 years of age in 1685. The latter noble couple were persecuted with the most lamentable and odious extremes of cruelty, of which he himself wrote a graphic narrative, still extant.

Dragoons were quartered on him at Montauban on 26th August 1685. “ My house, (he writes) was plundered with so much fury, that in a few days I was stripped of all the fortune which it had pleased God to bestow upon me.” The entire gutting of his house was finished on 21st September. “ These soldiers went afterwards to plunder my farms ; they carried off my cattle, which they sold in the market with as much liberty as if they had been the right owners of them, and often threatened to pull down my house and sell the materials, boasting of the authority given them by those in power.” “ The Chevalier Duc and the Intendant and the Bishop vied with each other in forwarding these cruelties.” On the very first day, “ I was turned out of doors with my wife who was ready to lie in, and four little children, without being able to take anything with us but a cradle and some linen for the child that would soon be born. The street being crowded with people who rejoiced to see us thus plundered, we were not able to get beyond the door for some time, whilst the troops diverted themselves by throwing pitchers of water upon us out of the windows.” “ On the 14th January 1686, Monsieur Mubasson, the consul, attended by several archers and sergeants, came to the house where our family had taken refuge, and forcibly carried off my youngest sister with great violence and shut her up in the convent of St Clair at Montauban, by order of the Intendant. My dear mother was dragged there at the same time. On the next day, an exempt and four of his officers came into the room early in the morning to inform me, that they had orders from the Intendant to take me to prison unless I would abjure my religion. I answered concisely, that, by the help of God, I would not change my religion ; that I was ready to go wherever my merciful Saviour was pleased to conduct me. I was permitted to pray to God with my wife and five small children, to implore the Divine blessing and assistance for them and for me. I embraced my wife and poor children, and with tears we took a farewell of each other for ever, with a reciprocal resolution never to forsake our faith in Jesus Christ, who made choice of us to suffer for His name's sake.”

He suffered rigorous imprisonment in various places for eighteen months. On 27th August 1687, being sentenced to transportation, he was shipped off *en route* for America. Through breaks in the voyage and tempestuous weather, the ship did not reach St Christopher till 1st February 1688. Monsieur De Pechel's *compagnons de voyage* were, besides the officers, crew,

and military guards, seventy invalid galley-slaves sent from France to be sold, and fifty-nine prisoners. Of the latter gang he was one. He says, "Our room was under the cook-room of the ship, and so small, that *twenty* persons would have been straitened for room; and yet we were *fifty-nine* in it, not being able to stand upright on account of the place being so low, nor to lie down at full length but upon one another. This vile hole was, besides, very dark, having no light except what came in through the hatches, which were sometimes closed. The want of room, by being so much crowded, the ardent heat of the sun, and the continual fire of the cook-room almost stifled us, so that at times we could scarcely breathe, and were often obliged to strip off our shirts, to such an extent did we sweat. A most terrible stench, &c. . . . This suffocating heat and the terrible quantity of vermin that devoured us, a constant thirst and bad provisions, were not enough to satisfy our conductors; they often gave us severe blows, and threw water upon us, whenever they saw us praying to or praising God."

On the 20th February he was landed at Leogane, but was not long quartered there. His religious visits to his fellow exiles, being a solace to them, were a crime for which he was banished to the island of Vacca (or La Vache), where he arrived on 30th May. Though this was a locality more fraught with the horrors of a penal settlement, it had one advantage, namely, the circumstance that English vessels occasionally touched there. In one of these barks he succeeded in making his escape, and landed in Jamaica on 24th August, 1688. Being prostrated by fever and its effects, it was not till 1st October that he sailed for England in the *Joseph* (John Brookes, commander); he was housed in London on the 24th December. He became a lieutenant in *Schomberg's Horse*, and sailed for Ireland on 25th August, 1689. He survived the trying encampment at Dundalk, and in 1690 retired on a pension. In August, 1692, he settled in Dublin for life.

I have reserved his wife's sufferings for a separate paragraph. When she was ejected from her home, a fine of 400 or 500 livres being the penalty to which any neighbour would be liable for sheltering her, it appeared that the expected infant must be born in the street. The house of her husband's sister, Madame Derassus, was occupied by the dragoons. But at the critical hour her own sister, Madame Guarrisson, having a temporary respite from the visitation of those physical-force missionaries, managed to admit her, and in a few minutes a daughter was born. The same night both mother and child were driven out by the dragoons into the open air; but at last, on condition of a guard being always beside her, a compassionate Roman Catholic woman was allowed to harbour her. Soon her daughters and her only son were taken away from her to convents. Afterwards she herself would have been imprisoned, but contrived to hide for six months, being aided by some attached dependants of the De Pechels family. Then she planned her flight to Geneva, and succeeded to get possession of her son, Jacob De Pechels. He, though only in his eighth year, was the brave companion of her night marches to Geneva. In this adopted home Madame De Pechels earned her bread by handiwork. She had parted from her husband, when his person was first seized, hardly daring to hope that she would see him again. But now she heard that he was in England; and she and Jacob succeeded in reaching London on the 29th August, 1689, four days after her husband's departure for Ireland. It was not till 4th January, 1690 that they were re-united. The two surviving daughters, having been educated as Roman Catholics, obtained the family estates. They both were married: the one became Madame de Cahuzac, and the other Madame de Saint-Sardos, of Chateau Serrasin. They remitted handsome sums of money to their father, by which his exile was alleviated.

The son, Jacob de Pechels (born at Montauban, 2d June, 1679), already mentioned, accompanied his parents to Dublin, which city was his home till his death at a good old age. He rose to the rank of Colonel in our army, having seen much service in the wars of Queen Anne's and George the Second's reigns. About the period of the Peace of Utrecht he married an heiress in Ireland, Jane Elizabeth Boyd. His sons were Samuel Pechell, Master in Chancery, and Lieut.-Colonel Paul Pechell (of Pagglesham, Essex), who was created a baronet on 1st May 1797, and died in 1803. Sir Paul was the father of the second baronet, Major-

General Sir Thomas Brooke Pechell, and grandfather of the third and fourth baronets, Sir Samuel John, and Sir George Richard Brooke Pechell, both Rear-Admirals, and for some time Members of the House of Commons. The fifth and present baronet is Sir George Samuel Brooke Pechell, grandson of Augustus Pechell, Receiver-General of the Customs, who was the younger son of the first baronet. The surname of Brooke was derived from the lady of the first baronet, who was the heiress of Pagglesham.

Chapter XXX.

MISCELLANEOUS FACTS AND NOTES.

IN 1707 a translation of Claude's *Les Plaintes des Protestans* was printed in London, with a new preface, in which the pretence that after the Revocation persecution had ceased is refuted. This is effected by specifying several refugees who had fled from the subsequent persecutions. Le Sieur Peyferie was convicted of having exercised his religion in his country-house; he was sentenced to be hanged, his house to be demolished, and his woods destroyed, but he fled with his family, and lived in poverty in Tower Street, Soho. Similar was the crime and sentence of the Sieur De la Ramière; he became an officer in the English service, and was killed in action; his daughters Charlotte and Mary survived him. Similar were the cases of the Sieur Dupré and Sieur Moses Du Boust, refugees in the parish of St Giles-in-the-Fields; in 1707 the one was 80 years old, and the other an invalided soldier. Mrs Tinel, wife of a French minister at Bristol, was a daughter of the Sieur Margueron, who was actually hanged at Sainte-Foy for the same offence; her refugee brother was killed in our army, and a refugee sister survived along with her. Martha Guisard, refugee in Frith Street, Soho, was a daughter of John Guisard, who was burnt at Nerac on a charge of irreverence towards the consecrated wafer. The writer also adduces a score of women who had escaped after being sentenced to perpetual imprisonment; all these cases were of dates more recent than the Revocation.

There died in London, 5th May 1758, Mr Andrew Bousquet, aged 86, a French Protestant of Languedoc, who, for his religion, suffered fourteen years' slavery in the French king's galleys. He was the first promoter of the Westminster French Charity School, begun in 1747, for poor children born in England of French refugee parents, to which he left £500.

Sabatier was one of the martyrs in the galleys whose stedfastness and generosity occasioned the conversion to Protestantism of the Romish chaplain, Jean Francois Bion, author of a book entitled "Relation des tourmens que l'on fait souffrir aux Protestans qui sont sur les galères de France" (London, 1708). Margaret Sabatier had a pension in Ireland of £36, 10s. John Sabatier was a Director of the French Hospital, 4th July 1759. A refugee family of this name held property at Lea, near Portarlington; and its last representative, a respected county magistrate, died a few years ago.

Under the heading, "Emigration of the Laity," Smedley's History of the Reformed Religion in France gives the following statements (on the authority of Benoist):—"No vigilance could be sufficiently alert, no cordon of gaolers sufficiently numerous, to close every outlet from so extensive a frontier as that which bounded France. . . . The fears of the government were excited by the perilous and rapid depopulation; and force and artifice were equally employed in order to prevent its continuance. Armed peasants scoured the roads and guarded the most obvious passes; and in remoter districts gold was lavishly scattered to corrupt the fidelity of the guides to whom the fugitives entrusted themselves. . . . Scarcely a vessel quitted any port in France without some contraband lading of emigrants. When other places of conceal-

ment failed, the miserable exiles secreted themselves under bales of merchandise, in empty casks, or amid heaps of stores; and if securer means of transport were not at hand, an open boat or the skiff of a fisherman was eagerly coveted for the performance of some hazardous voyage. The Count of Marancé and his lady, personages of distinction in Lower Normandy, formed part of a crew of forty souls, among which were several women with children at the breast, who entered a vessel of seven tons burthen, in the very depth of winter, wholly without provisions, and exposed to a stormy sea; their sole refreshment during a long passage to the English coast was a little melted snow, with which, from time to time, they moistened their fevered lips, until after sufferings which appeared to debar hope, this piteous company gained the opposite shore, and found a hospitable reception."

Turquand is a refugee surname, as to which I am furnished with only one incident. Having concerted their escape with the master of a French smuggling vessel, a considerable band of Huguenots had been waiting for several days, alternately assembling on the shore and returning to hiding-places. At length the vessel stood into the bay. The embarkation of men, women, and children was proceeding, when a king's ship was signalled as having appeared in the horizon. Great confusion arose; the sailors preparing to weigh anchor, and the fugitives hurrying to embark. When the smuggler sailed, the king's ship being in pursuit, the Huguenots had been separated, some were on board, some were left behind, some (it was feared) had fallen into the water and been drowned. Monsieur Turquand and his children were left; Madame Turquand was taken safely to England, but her family had no proof of this, and no one on French ground had observed her getting on board. Subsequently Monsieur Turquand escaped, and found himself in London; but there was no clue to the fate of the missing lady, or to her abode, on the supposition that she had been conveyed to England. Nearly a year had passed; Mr Turquand was introduced to the acquaintance of an English neighbour. The gentleman remarked upon his name, recollected that he had met a lady of the same name at Southampton, and asked, for conversation's sake, Is she a relation of yours? Monsieur Turquand lost no time in setting out for Southampton, and not without difficulty he had the happiness of discovering Madame Turquand, and of giving thanks for their providential restoration to each other. It should be mentioned that Southampton was not the port agreed upon between the smugglers and the refugees; their vessel, being hotly pursued by the ship-of-war, was unable to land at the first port of the English coast as had been promised, and was obliged to run down the Channel.

Aaron Pain of Dieppe, with his third son, Gabriel, escaped to Rye in Sussex. His wife Rachel followed, disguised in sailor's clothes. They had previously, without suspicion, sent their daughter Rachel to Rye to learn English. Their infant, David, only a year old, was brought to the fort of the town gate of Dieppe. The river flowed below it. On the other side a sailor was waiting, by appointment. There was a space below the gate, and the child was passed through to him, and was safely carried over to Rye. The family removed to London, where their name was spelt PAINE. In Crosse's *Historical Tales* (also in *Household Words*) there is a similar anecdote. The scene is the gate of a town at nightfall. A Huguenot husband and wife, who are known to the guard, have the gate opened for them and are allowed to pass out—any suspicion of their intention to leave France being neutralized by the fact that the mother is not carrying her child. But before knocking at the door of the guard-house they had brought the child, who was sleeping under the influence of an opiate, and laid him in the centre of the well-worn causeway. They had packed him up in a bundle tied with a string, and the long end of the string had been dropped at the hollow space right below the gate. Having been let out themselves, and locked out, they drew their precious bundle through the opening; and both parents and child had a safe journey to England.

Among the notes of one of Charles II.'s Crown Counsel was found the case of a French refugee, Jacques du Moulin, who was sentenced to death, and would have been executed if proof of his innocence had been withheld for a very few days. One of a gang of coiners, in the disguise of a footman out of place, called on Du Moulin, who was a family man and a dealer

in Custom-house goods ; and he was forthwith hired as a servant. This man purchased a key, by means of which he frequently opened Du Moulin's drawers, took some of the gold, and replaced it with pieces of his own coinage. Whenever Du Moulin discovered counterfeit money in his repositories he took it to his customers ; and remembering where he had laid each sum when paid to him, he insisted that he had received the rejected pieces from them. They had no alternative but to replace them with good money, but made loud and severe complaints, which spread so widely that Du Moulin raised an action against a customer for defamation. The defendant retorting by a criminal information, Du Moulin was apprehended. The footman, knowing that the officers would make a search, introduced some of his coins and coining apparatus into his master's drawers, where they were seized, and further search was deemed unnecessary. Upon this evidence Du Moulin was convicted ; but while he was in the condemned cell the wife of one of the coiners, being at the point of death, betrayed the gang, one of whom thereupon became king's evidence, and saved Du Moulin's life and character. (*Gentleman's Magazine*, vol. XXIV., p. 404.)

Among singularities of refugee experience, the refugee life of Monsieur Hubert and his daughter should be mentioned. This gentleman, a near relation of the noble family of Roumieu, was a large proprietor in the French colonies, and had in his earlier days suffered losses at the hands of English ships-of-war and privateers, who had seized on vessels conveying his cargoes to France. He was also a devoted subject of France. The consequence was that, though as a Huguenot he found in England a refuge for life, an eternal antipathy overpowered all his gratitude. He would not lend money to an Englishman or invest his capital in the English funds. Fortunately the capital which he had secured, though only a part of his rightful fortune, was very large. He went on to the last day of his life spending his capital, the residue of which, along with his antipathies, he bequeathed to Marie Hubert, his only child. At her death only a few hundred pounds remained ; it is said that she was nearly a hundred years old.

The corporation of Youghal in 1728 demised a part of the strand at the south of the town to Mr John Dehays, a Huguenot refugee, who embanked it, and formed the demesne now called Green Park. James Dehays, his brother, bequeathed in 1757 to the Protestant poor of Youghal £100, which has since accumulated to £217 ; interest, £13, os. 4d. per annum. The name, now corrupted into Hayes, is still to be found among the Protestant population of Youghal.—(*Ulster Journal*, vol. ii., p. 226).

John, son of Louis De Hague, was a Huguenot refugee in Norwich. From him descended Elisha De Hague, Town-Clerk of Norwich, who died in 1792, leaving two sons:—

Rev. Mr De Hague, Fellow of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, and Rector of Little Wilbraham ; and Elisha De Hague, Esq., Town-Clerk of Norwich, who died 11th Nov. 1826, aged 71, and whose portrait, bearing a complimentary inscription on its frame, is in the Guild-Hall of Norwich, and has been engraved.

Huguenot refugees from Picardy, being silk weavers, came in numbers to the neighbourhood of Edinburgh. A village called Picardy, or Little Picardy, was built on the South side of the ancient borough of Broughton, "nearly on the site of the present Picardy Place." The refugees found it an open common between Broughton and Edinburgh ; they laid out a mulberry plantation on the slope of Moultrie's Hill, and built a silk factory. A view of this village was taken by John Clerk of Eldin ; and a facsimile of his sketch is engraved in the beautiful volume of Mr Clerk's etchings, edited by Mr Laing for the Bannatyne Club in 1855. Mr Du Pont, French minister within the College of Edinburgh, qualified before the magistrates 10th Nov. 1702. In 1693 King William granted to the town of Edinburgh a duty of two pennies upon each pint of ale ; and the town, by the same Act, was burdened with 2000 merks yearly for the benefit of the minister of the French congregation. On the death of one of the ministers, the magistrates allotted 1500 merks to the surviving pasteur, 200 to the widow of the deceased, and 300 to the precentor, (who in 1713 was a student of divinity from Franequer), provided he would act as assistant to the Professor of Greek. The last minister, of the sale of whose books the Rev. Archibald Bruce speaks, was Peter Loumeau Du Pont.

Note to Chapter IV.—Ruvigny De Cosne was in active service, before becoming an officer in the guards. He fought as an Ensign at Dettingen in 1743 in Colonel Scipio Duroure's regiment. After the victory he was promoted to the rank of Lieutenant; the *Gentleman's Magazine* calls him "Rovigny Decon."

Note to Chapter VI.—I have just obtained a copy of the French original of M. Misson's Observations. It is a well printed duodecimo volume of upwards of 400 pages, with excellent engravings; the Recommendatory Epistle is dated, London 12th Sept 1697. The full title is, "Memoires et Observations faites par un voyageur en Angleterre sur ce qu' il y a trouvé de plus remarquable, tant à l'égard de la Religion, que de la Politique, des mœurs, des curiositéz naturelles, et quantité de Faits historiques. Avec une Description particulière de ce qu' il y a de plus curieux dans Londres. Le tout enrichi de Figures." ALA HAYE, 1698.

Note to Chapter VIII.—As to fugitives to North America, I quote the following sentences from Bancroft's History of the United States, chapter xiii. :—

1685. The Edict of Nantes was formally revoked. The loss of lives cannot be computed. How many thousands of men, how many thousands of children and women perished in the attempt to escape, who can tell? Every wise government was eager to offer a refuge to the upright men who would carry to other countries the arts, the skill in manufactures, and the wealth of France. In our American colonies they were welcome everywhere. The religious sympathies of New England were awakened; did any arrive in poverty, having barely escaped with life? the towns of Massachusetts contributed liberally to their support and provided them with lands. Others repaired to New York; but the warmer climate was more inviting to the exiles of Languedoc, and South Carolina became the chief resort of the Huguenots. What though the attempt to emigrate was, by the law of France, a felony? In spite of every precaution of the police, five hundred thousand souls escaped from their country. The unfortunate were more wakeful to fly, than the ministers of tyranny to restrain. "We quitted home by night, leaving the soldiers in their beds, and abandoning the house with its furniture," said Judith, the young wife of Pierre Manigault, "we contrived to hide ourselves for ten days at Romans, in Dauphiny, while a search was made for us; but our faithful hostess would not betray us." Nor could they escape to the seaboard, except by a circuitous journey through Germany and Holland, and thence to England, in the depths of winter. "Having embarked at London, we were sadly off. The spotted fever appeared on board the vessel, and many died of the disease; among these, our aged mother. We touched at Bermuda, where the vessel was seized. Our money was all spent; with great difficulty we procured a passage in another vessel. After our arrival in Carolina, we suffered every kind of evil. In eighteen months, our eldest brother, unaccustomed to the hard labour which we were obliged to undergo, died of a fever. Since leaving France, we had experienced every kind of affliction—disease, pestilence, famine, poverty, hard labour. I have been for six months without tasting bread, working the ground like a slave; and I have passed three or four years without having it when I wanted it. And yet God has done great things for us, in enabling us to bear up under so many trials." When the struggle for independence arrived, the son of Judith Manigault entrusted the vast fortune he had acquired, to the service of the country that had adopted his mother. The Hall in Boston where the eloquence of New England rocked the infant spirit of independence was the gift of the son of a Huguenot [Peter Fanueil].

Notes to Chapter IX.—The Marquis de Miremont's and his sister's coffins were removed from the French Church in the Savoy and reinterred in the North Cross of Westminster Abbey on 21st March 1739-40. The Register states that Miremont was born at the Chateau de la Cate in Languedoc, 12th July 1659—died in England 12th Feb. 1732, and that Charlotte died 15th Oct. 1732, aged 73.—(*Col. Chester's MSS.*)

Cavalier was buried in the church-yard of Chelsea on the North side (not at Dublin); he was buried 18th May 1740. With regard to his namesake, Jean Cavalier of Sauve, three affidavits, disclaiming all relationship and sympathy, signed by Colonel Cavalier are printed in "Nouveaux Memoires pour servir à l'histoire des Trois Camisars," London 1708. Among the subscribers to Laval's History is *the Honourable* (i.e., the gallant) Brigadier Cavalier, also the Hon. Brigadier de Bommarel, the Hon. Colonel Addée, &c. The following, from Right Hon. Richard Hill to Mr Secretary Hedges, was accidentally omitted in my memoir:—"Turin, 6th Nov. 1704. I am glad the Queen was pleased to approve of what I did for M. Cavallier. . . . I should say nothing of him now, if I were not amazed so oft as I see him. A very little fellow, son of a peasant, bred to be a baker, at 20 years of age, with 18 men like himself, began to make war upon the King of France. He kept the field for eighteen months against a Mareschal of France and an army of 10,000 men, and made an honourable capitulation at last with the mighty Monarch. It is certain, that he and his followers were animated with such a spirit of zeal for their religion which is the true enthusiasm. I fear they may lose that temper of mind in the commerce of the world, though they are very devout and very regular. I therefore will do all I can to get them back into France, where one Camisard is worth 100 refugees."

Notes to Chapter X.—Baron Hervart died at Southampton; there is no such place as Cotteville in or near that town; the entry, being in French, states that he died in "cette ville"—(in "that town," viz., Southampton).

It was to the property of her mother, Madame Hervart, *née* Esther Vimar, that the Marquise de Gouvernet administered in 1698: (it was *not* to Lady Eland's property).

Peter Falaiseau, Esq., in his Will, calls himself the son of Messire Jacques Falaiseau, ecuyer, and Dame Ann Louard. The Will is dated 21st May 1725 at Dieppe where he found himself temporarily. His sole and universal legatee was Mrs Mary Alsen of Southampton, who proved the Will 6th May 1726.—(*Col. Chester's MSS.*)

Note to Chapter XII.—Benjamin De Daillon's book *Examen de l'oppression des réformés en France, ou l'on justifie l'innocence de leur religion* (1691) had a sermon prefixed, which the *Assemblée Pastorale* at the Hague was petitioned to censure, as containing some peculiar views about the Devil. Fortunately Jurieu addressed a Letter to the Assembly proving that the accusation arose from a misunderstanding; and so the petition was dismissed. Rou informed Jurieu of this result in a letter dated 21st January 1692, which intimated the mind of the assembly that Daillon had neglected to guard his readers against some consequences of his Thesis, and that he had been spared on account of his varied merits, accompanied with docility and modesty, and even with submission.

Notes to Chapter XIV.—The Christian name of Monsieur Crommelin, who married the Dame de Camas, was "Jean" (*not* "Martin"). Louis Crommelin's petition in 1717 was successful. The House of Commons referred it to the Committee appointed to inspect the state of the linen manufacture, and on Dec. 10 their Report was to the effect that Louis Crommelin should, under the directions of the Trustees, be employed in making settlements for the manufacture of hempen sail-cloth, and that £1000 a year, for two years, should be voted to the Trustees for the project. This was done; two manufactories were set up at Rathkeale and Cork, another at Waterford, another at Rathbridge in Kildare. In 1719 duties were imposed to furnish revenues for promoting the linen manufactures in the south, namely, 12d. per lb. on tea, 3d. per lb. on coffee and chocolate. On 8th Dec. 1725 favourable reports were presented to Parliament. After Crommelin's death in 1727 the southern manufactures languished, though the north continued to progress.—(*Ulster Journal*, Vol. IV., p. 207.)

Monsieur Nouaille was a refugee from Nismes in 1685. His son, Mr Nouaille of Hackney, "a merchant of considerable eminence in the Levant and Italian trade," was the father of

Peter Nouaille, Esq. (*born 1724, died 1810*), of whom there is a long obituary notice in the *Annual Register*. In 1745, having been assumed by his father as a partner, he set out on a tour through France, Italy, and Sicily, by which he greatly increased his knowledge and accomplishments. In 1740 he returned to his country and to his desk. He married, in 1761, Elizabeth, sole heiress of a descendant of Huguenot refugees, Peter Delamare, Esq., of Greatness, near Sevenoaks: (she died in 1805). In 1778, having, through untoward circumstances, become bankrupt, he resumed business through the countenance and aid of "many of the most eminent merchants in the city, among the foremost of whom was his ever-valued friend, Peter Gaussen, Esq., then Governor of the Bank." In 1800 he retired from business with an independent fortune, which was at that date increased by his succession to a relative's property. He died at Greatness, "the oldest member of His Majesty's Court of Lieutenancy in the city of London." "He first introduced the manufacture of crapes into England, which, before his time, were imported from Bologna. By his own ingenuity he discovered the process of their manufacture, and soon rivalled them in his manner of preparing them."

"From carefully-prepared statistics, compiled from a series of observations and enquiries made about the year 1810, it appears that at that date there were above 10,000 silk looms in Spitalfields and its neighbourhood. About the same period 2852 of these looms were unemployed, and the members of the families dependent upon those unemployed looms amounted to 9700. About 3000 looms were only half employed, implying half subsistence for nearly 10,000 other persons. . . . The weavers were at intervals in a state of comparative comfort and prosperity, but always liable to be overtaken by severe trial and poverty through enforced idleness. The more industrious and steady among them were famed for their love of flowers, which they cultivated abundantly in window-boxes at home, and on a more extensive scale in numerous small plots of land (on the allotment system) at Hoxton and the City Road, then a suburban district of gardens and brick fields, but now brought miles within the embrace of street and terrace, square and crescent." (*Life of Peter Bedford*.)

Notes to Chapter XV.—Sir John Chardin, knight, married Esther, daughter of Monsieur de Lardinière Peigné, Counsellor in the Parliament of Rouen. (*De Bostaquet's Memoirs*, and Col. Chester's MSS.)

I have just obtained a copy of "PAULI COLOMESII Rupellensis, Presbyteri Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ et Bibl. Lambethanæ Curatoris, OPERA," edited by J. A. Fabricius, 1709. [The Works of Paul Colomiés of La Rochelle, Presbyter of the Anglican Church and Keeper of the Lambeth Library.] A hasty glance at the two words, "Presbyteri Ecclesiæ," has led to the false report that Colomiés became a Presbyterian; two of his works, "Icon Presbyterianorum" and "Parallele de la pratique de l'Eglise ancienne et de celle des Protestans de France," indicate his aversion to Presbyterians, as the most methodical opponents of heterodoxy, especially of some heterodox dogmata of Grotius. His most valuable works are "Gallia Orientalis" (being a biographical dictionary of Frenchmen who have successfully studied Hebrew and other Oriental languages), and "Rome Protestante," a collection of statements, involuntarily approving Protestant faith and practice, from Roman authors. Paul Colomiez, clerk, was naturalized at Westminster, 21st March 1688 (see List XV.); the epistle prefixed to his works, and dated 21st March 1708, states that he was lately deceased.

Notes to Chapter XVI.—Peter Auriol, Esq., "father-in-law of the Bishop of St Asaph," died on 28th Oct. 1754.

Under De Gastine, the name of the clergyman, who winds up the paragraph, is Anthony Aufère. (See Chap. XXII.)

Under *Du Four*, it may be noted that a Mr Matthew Le Maitre died at Carlow 7th Dec. 1782, aged 90. In 1758, July 8, Mrs Mary La Chapelle was buried in Carlow churchyard.

Among names connected with the French Hospital, Dargent is included. Dargent was a

family long eminent in Sancerre. Some of its principal members remained in France and braved imprisonment and various other forms of persecution, firm in their Protestantism. Others took refuge in England.

Notes to Chapter XVIII.—Louise Boileau, sister of the refugee, was born 7th Nov. 1683, and was brought up in France. She became the wife of Noble Abel Ligonier, Seigneur de Moncuquet et de Castre, and died at Castre, 9th Oct. 1748. (I copy this from an old Boileau pedigree; I follow its spelling of the Ligonier titles.) In my Memoir of Mary Balfour, Mrs Brunton, where Viscountess Wentworth is mentioned, the date ought to be “before 1798.”

Notes to Chapter XXI.—There is a private Act of Parliament, No. 37, of the 2d year of Queen Anne, naturalizing Henry Boisrond de St Leger, Peter De La Grange, Lewis Wadden, John Cotton, and others, professing the true Protestant religion, &c. It is stated that Henry Boisrond de St Leger is son of René Boisrond de St Leger by Benine his wife, born at St Siers, in the Province of Saintonge in France (Aufrière MSS.). One of the subscribers to Laval’s History of the Reformed Church of France was Henry St Leger of Trunkwell, Esq. A Mr Théophile Boisrond settled at Youghal, where his daughter, Ann Henrietta, was baptized, 28th Sept. 1755; and where, on February 17, 1757, Mr Legardere married Miss Benin Boisrond. Hector Boisrond was a lieutenant-colonel in our army in 1760.

The manuscript Memoir of JEAN MIGAULT, of which a French imprint and two English translations have been published, was found in the possession of a poor man in Spitalsfield, who said that it had been written by one of his forefathers. It fully and affectingly relates the trials of a Protestant family in Poitou, and their escape and settlement as refugees in Holland. At page 42 (of Professor William Anderson’s translation), Migault says of the Refugees, “The fear of losing their children, if they remained in the country, was what decided the greater number of them to emigrate.” The children of Protestants in France were to be taken from their parents and shut up in monasteries and convents, to be brought up as Papists. In *Household Words*, vol. VIII., No. 194, there is an admirable article on the French Protestants, and it has only one blot. Writers, if they are of liberal politics, when they narrate persecuting deeds done by Roman Catholics, think that they ought to insert a single comment, here and there, in order to propitiate Roman Catholic readers. Accordingly, the above writer fixes on the horror of parents at a daughter being carried off to a convent; and he says sneeringly, “A convent to the Huguenots’ excited prejudices implied a place of dissolute morals as well as of idolatrous doctrine.” Surely this writer is a bachelor, who thinks that parents should cheerfully give away their own children to Mother-Church or to any applicant, if the house to which it is proposed to transport them be a comfortable one.

Major Foubert, who was at the victory of “The Boyne,” was a son of the founder of the Riding Academy, as appears from the obituary notice in the *Gentleman’s Magazine*:—“Died, 13th Feb. 1743, Major Foubert, who signalized himself at the Battle of the Boyne and to the end of that war, when by King William’s command he took on him the management of the Royal Academy”

N. Giberne, Sieur de Valotte, was a Protestant gentleman, resident at Saint-Germain-de Calberte; but at the Revocation he and his youngest son, styled Le Seigneur de Gibertain, recanted and staid in France. His wife, with four daughters and two sons, adhered to the faith, and took refuge in Lausanne. The latter Messieurs Giberne afterwards came to England with William of Orange; they seem to have been military officers.

Among the clergy I ought to have mentioned the Messieurs Roussel (two brothers), refugees in Ireland. One of them had been condemned in France to be broken on the wheel for preaching in the ruins of his temple; and it is believed that King James II. had promised the French Ambassador to give him up to be executed according to the fearful sentence.

Whether the following graduate, described by Anthony A’Wood, was a clergyman or not, I am not informed:—“1689, June 21. JOHN DEFFRAY, a French Protestant, M.A. of

Saumur, was incorporated M.A. of Oxford. He was lately forced out of his country on account of religion."

Rev. P. F. de la Rivière, Minister of the London French Church in the Savoy, seems to have been eminent. He was chairman, in Queen Anne's reign, of one of the meetings of refugees, to concert with statesmen and diplomatists, concerning the desired toleration of Protestants in France; there is an engraved portrait of him by Van Somer.

Notes to Chapter XXII.—With reference to the family of Girardot (page 252), I quote the following:—Married, 12th May 1747, Captain Hamilton, nearly related to the Duke, to Miss Girardot, only child of John Girardot, of Tilleux, near Greenwich, Esq., with £30,000.

With regard to other families, I note some marriages:—

In 1706, in Swallow Street French Church, Sir Anthony Planck married Mary Du Barry.

In the French Church of Bristol, Isaac Montmayeur, Sieur de L'Aigle, native of Montandre, in Xaintonge, was married to Marie, daughter of Monsieur Bellet, also a native of Montandre.

In the Register of *Les Grecs* is the following:—"Copy of a certificate by Saville Bradley, Chaplain of the Duke of Richmond, and Rector of Earnly, Sussex, that on the 22d Nov. 1719 he married at Lord Stair's house, in Paris, Captain Charles Theodore de Maxwell and Mdlle. Martha Susanne Degennes."

In the *Aufrère MSS.* I find James Olliviers Deslauriers, who, dying in 1723, left £1000 to each of his nieces, Elizabeth Hersant (wife of Jacob Godard) and Mary Hersant; their mother, Mrs Mary Hersant, a widow, was the testator's sister and residuary legatee. He left £15 to each godson or god-daughter, being Protestant reformed, found in England at the time of his decease. To his brother, David Deslauriers, and wife, he left £50 a year, the principal to revert to his two nieces; and the interest of £200 to his sister Sarah, wife of John Martin. His other legacies were £50 to poor French refugees, £50 to apprentice poor French orphans, or children of French Protestant refugees, £50 to the poor of Leicester Fields French Church, and 50 guineas in gold to Rev. Israel Antoine Aufrère, with a request to him to act as executor.

The family of Le Quesne, in Jersey, is said to be of pre-reformation descent, the Channel Islands being ours as a remnant of the Norman dominions of William the Conqueror; and this family, like most of the neighbouring gentlemen, claims to be old Norman, and does not wish to be thought a refugee family. This I do not dispute; but I do dispute their claim to two persons whom I am about to name. John Le Quesne and David Le Quesne were naturalized in 1700 (see List XXIV.); if they had been Jersey-men, naturalization would not have been requisite. There died in London in 1741 Sir John Le Quesne, and in 1753 David Le Quesne, Esq., brother of the late Sir John (see *Gentleman's Magazine*). Sir John, who was an Alderman in 1735, was knighted in 1737; in 1738 he married Miss Knight of Hampshire with £20,000; he was Sheriff of London and Middlesex in 1739-40; he was a subscriber to Laval's History of the Reformed Church of France, and a Director of the French Hospital.

Notes to Chapter XXVI.—The younger brother of the famous Garrick, Lieutenant Nathan Garrick (born 1755, died 1788), married Martha, daughter of Sir Egerton Leigh, Bart., and left an only child, Nathan Egerton Garrick, born in 1781.

The name of Desclouseaux and Captain Alexander Desclouseaux appear in Mr Dufour's Will (see Chap. XVI.) Wolfe's biographer mentions Captain Charles Desclouseaux, "an officer of skill and capacity," who was wounded at Fontenoy; he was made Fort-Major of Berwick in 1755.

The Marquis de la Forêt, a French refugee from Poitou, commanded the Danish Auxiliaries under King William III., but did not settle in Britain. The pedigree of the Laforey family states that his brother, Louis de la Forêt, was a refugee in England in 1688, and was the father

of Colonel John Laforey, Governor of Pendennis Castle, who died in 1753. The latter, who married Mary, daughter of Lieut.-General Jasper Clayton, had an only son, born in 1729, of whom Beatson says:—"Admiral Sir John Laforey, Bart., greatly distinguished himself at the siege of Louisburg in 1758 by boarding and taking the French ship the *Prudent* of 74 guns; in 1779 he was appointed one of the Commissioners of the Navy, resigning which in 1789 he was promoted to the rank of Vice-Admiral of the White, and created a Baronet of Great Britain." In his patent he is styled "of the Island of Antigua and of Stock-Dammerel in Devonshire;" Lady Laforey was Elinor, daughter of Francis Farley, Esq., one of the Judges of the Island of Antigua. Sir John died on the 14th June 1796, and was succeeded by his only surviving son, Admiral Sir Francis Laforey, Bart., K.C.B. (*born 1767, died 1835*), at whose death the title became extinct.

Note to Chapter XXVII.—Among refugee literati, though not proved to have taken up his abode in Britain, the anonymous author of the following book may be recorded: "A New SYSTEME OF THE APOCALYPSE, or Plain and Methodical Illustrations of the Visions in the Revelation of St. John. Written by a French minister in the year 1685, and finisht but two days before the Dragoons plunderd him of all except this Treatise. To which is added, this Author's Defence of his Illustrations concerning the Non-effusion of the Vials, in answer to Mr Jurieu. Faithfully Englished. London, printed in the year 1688."

Final Note.—Although but few refugees came so far north as to Scotland, yet the Scottish people yielded to none in affectionate sympathy. Dr Lorimer in his "Protestant Church of France" (p. 375) says—"On 13th June 1689 there was a collection, made in the parish church of Dunfermline, of £52, 16s. 10d. for the French and Irish Protestants. . . . £50 Scots were contributed by the parish of Haddington. At a later day the same parish sent a sum of £48 for the use of the Protestants that fled from France into Saxony. (In 1622 the Presbytery of Glasgow contributed for the relief of the French Protestants.) The General Assembly in 1707 presented an Address to the Queen thanking her for her gracious answer to the address of their brethren, the distressed and persecuted Protestants of France."

We have seen how, in 1685, Savile dreaded that England under its Popish king would cease to be a safe home for Protestants. Scotland felt the same forebodings. Sir Patrick Home wrote from Geneva, 17th May 1686—"Our religion is now banished from France, all forced to change, and, when changed, yet cannot get out of the kingdom, especially the women and children; and now their grief and complaint is that they had delayed to fly in the beginning while they might, and had sit their time, out of a fancy that such things could never come to pass as have since. I wish others may take a lesson, if the case draw near them." (*Lady Murray's Memoirs*, p. 133).

