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ANTHONY HAMILTON
HIS LIFE AND WORKS AND HIS FAMILY





Photo Emery Walker

ANTHONY HAMILTON

From a painting in the National Portrait Gallery

ANTHONY HAMILTON

(AUTHOR OF MEMOIRS OF COUNT GRAM-
MONT) HIS LIFE AND WORKS AND HIS
FAMILY BY RUTH CLARK WITH
TWO PORTRAITS ⌘ ⌘ ⌘ ⌘

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PREFACE

MADAME NECKER once remarked that there were three works characteristically French—the *Letters of Madame de Sévigné*, *La Fontaine's Fables* and the *Mémoires de Grammont*.¹ And the last-named of these characteristically French works was written, as we know, by an Irishman of Scottish extraction. It is the story of his life that the following pages propose to relate, it is his book—"of all books the most exquisitely French, both in spirit and in manner"—the phrase is Macaulay's—that this essay intends to discuss, along with his other works, less well known, but not less rich in that graceful wit and light irony which were Saint-Évremond's before him and Voltaire's after him.

Hamilton's life was a long and adventurous one; on a childhood of poverty and privation, on a dashing youth, followed years of responsibility and work not always successful, and an old age that brought with it disappointment and bitterness; and yet singularly little is known about this life, the last twenty or thirty years excepted. It has therefore been necessary to include an account of his brothers, interesting in varying degrees, to bring in more family history than may at first seem justified, for thus only was it possible to write a fairly continuous chronicle, and thus it is, for instance, that George Hamilton's military career in France is very fully described, because we know that Anthony accompanied him and served with him in the régiment d'Hamilton, even though contemporary accounts mention him only twice or thrice.

¹ *Mélanges*, II, p. 33 (Paris, An. VI, 1798, vieux style).

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Considerable space has been devoted to the régiment d'Hamilton, for it seemed interesting, at a time when our army and the French were fighting side by side, to give the story of this Irish regiment serving in France, and although mention is made of the regiments Royal Anglais (horse and foot, also called Monmouth) and Douglas, much more might be said about them. Possibly this sketch may suggest to some one more qualified to undertake it a history of the English, Scottish and Irish regiments serving in France from 1671 to 1678.

I know that some of the periods I have touched upon in this Life have already been very fully treated, e.g. the Revolution in Ireland and the exile in France; in those cases I have endeavoured to be brief and to make use especially of less well-known sources, in order to avoid producing what William Beckford once described as "literary aliment already reduced to a caput mortuum by repeated stewings."

The introductions to the various editions of the *Mémoires de Grammont* usually give some space to the life and works of Hamilton, but the best account of Hamilton's life is to be found in the *Dictionary of National Biography*, and as regards a critical estimate of his works, I have derived most benefit from Professor Saintsbury's article in the *Fortnightly Review* for October, 1890,¹ and Mr. Stephen Gwynn's article in *Macmillan's Magazine* for May, 1898. The only monograph that has been written on Hamilton is a German thesis, *Antoine d'Hamilton, sein Leben und seine Werke*, by Wilhelm Kissenberth, Rostock, 1907 (114 pp.), and while it may satisfy a German public to whom Hamilton is scarcely a figure of paramount importance, the discussion of Hamilton's works is superficial and the biographical part brings us nothing that we do not know from the *Dictionary of National Biography* or from M. de Boislisle's notes in his admirable edition of *Saint-Simon*,² Dr. Kissenberth not having consulted or not

¹ And reprinted the year following in *Essays on French Novelists*.

² I confess myself greatly indebted to these notes.

having been able to consult the archives of the Ministère des Affaires Étrangères and of the Ministère de la Guerre, or any of the English manuscript sources. Moreover, the Hamilton brothers, especially Anthony and Richard, are frequently confused.

A word of explanation is necessary to justify my use of the spelling Gramont and Grammont. Gramont is the correct spelling, and whenever I have spoken of the family I have used it ; but Hamilton's *Memoirs* were first published as *Mémoires de la Vie du Comte de Grammont*, and as this spelling has been retained in almost all subsequent editions, I have found myself obliged to use this spelling when alluding to the work.

In quoting Hamilton, I refer to the *Œuvres complètes*, Paris, A. A. Renouard, 1812, 3 vols., and to Mr. Gordon Goodwin's English edition of the *Memoirs*, 1903, 2 vols.

My very sincere thanks are due to M. G. Reynier, Professor of French Literature at the Sorbonne, who, some years ago, first suggested this subject to me and was always ready to counsel my inexperience ; to Professor Saintsbury, Professor Sir Richard Lodge, and Professor Sarolea of Edinburgh University ; to Mr. Tilley of Cambridge and to Dr. Hedgcock, formerly English lector at the Sorbonne, who all gave me the benefit of their kind advice ; to the Marquis of Ormonde for a copy of a letter of Hamilton's in his possession ; to M. C. Magnier, Conservateur de la Bibliothèque de Saint-Quentin, who himself copied out for me a lengthy letter attributed to Hamilton ;¹ and

¹ This is a letter written from Tunbridge, partly in prose and partly in verse, as most of Hamilton's letters are. It shows the very pronounced influence of Voiture that is to be found in Hamilton's letters. The allusions to Amadis and Oriana are very characteristic of Hamilton. ' Comme il plaît à Dieu ' is a favourite phrase of Hamilton's, and it is used in this letter. " Je ne vous diray rien des dehors, ils sont comme il plaist à Dieu qui en scait bien plus que Mr. Mansard."

On the other hand the writer writes as a Frenchman would have written from England, and when all is said, the letter is coarse. Now the charge of coarseness can certainly not be brought against Hamilton, of whatever else he may be accused. I do not reproduce the letter as I do not believe it to be by Hamilton ; had it been by Hamilton, his reputation would have gained nothing from publication of the document in question.

to Miss Symonds ('George Paston'), Baron Sackville, Mr. D. C. Boulger, Mr. Forde of Seaforde, Co. Down, Mr. David Hannay, Mr. J. D. Milner of the National Portrait Gallery, Mr. W. M. Nolan of Limerick and Mr. R. L. Praeger of the Royal Irish Academy for various information.

I have met with much kindness in the different libraries where I worked. I should like, however, to make special mention of the unfailing courtesy shown to me at the Archives, both of the Ministère de la Guerre and the Ministère des Affaires Étrangères.

And, lastly, I owe everything to the Carnegie Trust for the Universities of Scotland. It was as a Research Scholar of the Trust that I undertook this work, it is with the aid of a grant that it is being published, and if anything has been accomplished, it is entirely due to the assistance of the Trust, which has done so much towards the promoting of original research in Scotland.

RUTH CLARK.

September, 1916.

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From a painting in the National Portrait Gallery. Photo by EMERY WALKER.	
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PART I

ANTHONY HAMILTON

CHAPTER I

1610-1660

FAMILY HISTORY

ANTHONY HAMILTON was born about 1645, perhaps in the county of Tyrone, perhaps in the county of Tipperary. Not much is known about the first part of his life, and the scantiness of detail which his biographers have to acknowledge makes itself felt from the very beginning. It is, however, possible to say something about his father and grandfather and to explain how the Abercorn branch of the great Scottish house of Hamilton was at this time settled in Ireland.

The reign of James I will be for ever memorable in Ireland for the Great Plantation in Ulster. The circumstances that led up to this measure need not be discussed here ; 1610 it will be sufficient to say that a certain proportion of the escheated lands was set aside for Scottish undertakers, and that amongst the most important and influential of these undertakers was Anthony Hamilton's grandfather James, first Earl of Abercorn, a special favourite of the King's. He received in 1610 two grants of land amounting to 3000 acres in the Precinct of Strabane, county Tyrone. Of the seven other Scottish undertakers settled in the precinct, two were his brothers, Sir Claud and Sir George Hamilton, who held adjacent lands, one was a kinsman, Sir George Hamilton of Bynning, and another was his brother-in-law, Sir Thomas Boyd, all men of some standing and representing not a little of the power of Renfrewshire.¹

¹ Hill, *The Plantation in Ulster*, pp. 288-292.

It had been intended originally to divide the land by lot, but the Lord Deputy, Sir Arthur Chichester, had wisely pointed out that the arrangement would prevent persons wishing to 'plant' together from undertaking at all; this was abandoned and the more satisfactory arrangement of establishing communities of relatives and friends adopted.

The Hamiltons proved to be amongst the most successful of the undertakers, and though the Earl of Abercorn speaks about the 'hardnes' of his 'beginningis in this kyngdome,'¹ they prospered above all others in that part of the country,² a prosperity which was largely due to the energy with which the settlers undertook their new duties. In 1611, the year after the allotment of the lands, when many of the undertakers had not yet even appeared, the Earl of Abercorn had already taken up residence with his wife and family; his tenants, 'all Scottishmen,' had built sixty houses and preparations for the building of a fair castle were being made.³ In 1614 his portion of lands had doubled.⁴

When the Earl died in 1617 James, his eldest son, was about sixteen, and George, the fourth son, who was to be Anthony Hamilton's father, not more than eleven or twelve years old.⁵ The family gradually seems to have identified itself with the cause of the Catholics, though the settlement was certainly intended to be a Protestant one. There is nothing to prove that the Earl was a Catholic, but his father, Lord Claud Paisley, had joined the Church of Rome, his brothers Sir Claud and Sir George, held the same faith, and his wife, Marion Boyd, on whom the education of the children devolved, got herself into serious trouble with the Privy Council of Scotland for her indiscreet zeal as a 'Papist.'⁶ And gradually the Lord Justice of Ireland and others came to the conclusion that King James's policy of planting civilization and Protestantism in the county of Tyrone had not had the good effect expected

¹ *Letters and State Papers of the Reign of James VI*, p. 239.

² Stewart's MS. History of Ireland, quoted in Hanna, *The Scotch Irish*, I, p. 550.

³ *Cal. St. P.*, Carew, 1603-1624, p. 77.

⁴ *Registers of the Privy Council of Scotland*, X, p. 263.

⁵ Archdall Lodge, *Peerage of Ireland*, V, pp. 110-111 and note.

⁶ *Registers of the Privy Council of Scotland*, I-IV, New Series, *passim*.

from it ; the Hamiltons, very different from some of the settlers who had 'planted' their estates with pious ministers from their county, were accused of harbouring the Papists ejected from Scotland and of drawing Priests and Jesuits to Strabane. Sir George Hamilton the elder, uncle of our George Hamilton, was considered a dangerous man, and various orders were given to remove him out of the kingdom if he continued to be a recusant Papist. The Barony of Strabane, it was said, had become the sink into which all the corrupt humours purged out of Scotland ran.¹

As for George Hamilton the younger, he had in 1627 obtained Sir Roger Hope's Company of Foot,² and in 1629³ he married the third daughter of Thomas Viscount Thurles, the Hon. Mary Butler, who for fifty years was to be his faithful companion. Though little enough is known about her, it would seem that she was not unworthy of her brother, the Duke of Ormonde, at that time Lord Thurles. Six sons and three daughters were born to them—James, George, Anthony, Thomas, Richard and John, Elizabeth, la belle Gramont, Lucia, married to Sir Donogh O'Brien of Lemineagh, and Margaret, married in January, 1688, to Matthew Ford of Coolgreney in the county of Wexford.⁴ According to some authorities George Hamilton was created a baronet of Nova Scotia in 1634 and a baronet of Ireland in 1660 ; there is some difficulty about his title,⁵ but in

¹ *Cal. St. P., Ireland, 1611-1614, p. 483 ; 1625-1632, pp. 499, 509-513 ; 1625-1660, Addenda, p. 173. Hist. MSS. Comm. Reports, N.S., Franciscan MSS., Dublin, p. 18.*

² Archdall Lodge, *Peerage of Ireland, V, p. 117.*

³ *Ib.*, p. 118 note.

⁴ *Ib.* pp. 119-20.

⁵ Cf. G.E.C.'s *Complete Peerage*, under Strabane. "In Wood's Douglas (Vol. I, p. 6) this George Hamilton is said to have been 'cr. a Baronet of Ireland in 1660,' but in the first edition (1764) of Douglas's *Peerage* it is merely stated that he was created a Baronet, neither the date nor the kingdom being specified. In Lodge's *Peerage* he is called a Baronet of Nova Scotia, as he is also in the first edition of that work. This last is the earliest mention of any baronetcy, for neither in 'Crawford,' 1716, nor 'Crossley' is such a dignity mentioned. No record of any such creation appears in either kingdom, and it is stated in Lodge (V, 121) that Sir George's grandson and heir, James Hamilton, 'declined after his grandfather's death to use the title of Baronet, being usually called "Captain" Hamilton, till in 1701 he succeeded as Earl of Abercorn.' He in his marriage licence 24 Jan., 1683-4, is called James Hamilton, Esq. In the absence of any proof of creation, any recognition, or indeed any authentic proof of the user of this Baronetcy, the inference seems to be that it never existed."

contemporary accounts, and long before the Restoration, he is always alluded to as Sir George Hamilton. He is described as a man of steady loyalty and great gallantry, though he suffered both imprisonment and loss of his commission on account of his faith.¹

During the Rebellion Hamilton made himself very useful to Charles, though the precise nature of his services is not known, nor do we know how his property fared in those troublous times, except that sixteen persons were cruelly murdered at Doonally where Sir George employed some English families to work the silver mines.² Strabane Castle was also burned by Phelim O'Neill, who carried off Claud Hamilton's widow, Hamilton's sister-in-law.³ Throughout this time of stress Sir George was a staunch ally to Ormonde and was employed by him on confidential missions.⁴ During Ormonde's Viceroyalty he was governor of Nenagh Castle. In September, 1646, Owen O'Neill, at the head of his Ulstermen, took Roscrea (which had formerly belonged to Sir George Hamilton the elder) and according to Carte⁵ 'put man, woman and child to the sword except the Lady Hamilton, sister to the Marquis of Ormonde, and a few gentlewomen whom he kept prisoners.' It is on the strength of this statement, probably, that Anthony Hamilton's biographers have assigned to Roscrea the honour of being his birth-place, as Anthony was supposed to have been born in 1646. He was, however, at this time at least a year old,⁶ but it is quite possible, of course, that he was born at Roscrea. Lady Hamilton was still living there in 1649;⁷ Sir George may have inherited the property from his uncle.

¹ Crawford's *History of the Shire of Renfrew*, p. 288; Archdall Lodge, V, p. 117; Carte's *Life of Ormonde*, I, pp. 209-10; *Hist. MSS. Comm.*, 5th Report, Appendix, p. 352.

² Carte, I, p. 270.

³ Archdall Lodge, V, p. 114 n.; Hickson, *Ireland in the 17th Century*, I, p. 332.

⁴ Carte, I, pp. 571, 601; II, pp. 23, 38; III, pp. 178, 179, 214. *Hist. MSS. Comm.*, Ormonde MSS., New Series, I, pp. 57-58. Castlehaven, *Memoirs*, p. 79. Thirty-Second Report of the Deputy-Keeper of Public Records, App. I, p. 20.

⁵ Carte, I, p. 584.

⁶ In his Acte d'inhumation, dated April 22nd, 1719, he is described as being seventy-four years old.

⁷ Thirty-Second Report of the Deputy-Keeper of Public Records, App. I, p. 85.

In January, 1649,¹ after the peace between the Lord Lieutenant and the Confederates, Sir George was appointed Receiver-General of the Revenues for Ireland, in the place of the Earl of Roscommon, who had died,² no easy post at a time of such financial difficulties, the multiplicity of receivers in no wise lightening the task. The weekly applotments of money, corn, bread, matches, etc., levelled on the counties had often to be brought in by the troops which Ormonde sorely needed elsewhere, and we find Sir George 'going abroad with some horse' to bring in what he can, excusing himself for not sending his own company of foot to Ormonde, they being employed in the same way.³

With Cromwell's successful campaign in Ireland Ormonde's authority waned among the Confederates, and the clerical reaction and the condemnation of the Protestant Viceroy by the Catholic clergy were not without affecting the position of Sir George Hamilton, Catholic though he was. When Ormonde left the kingdom in December, 1650, Sir George would have accompanied him with his family, but the clergy having unjustly questioned his honesty as Receiver-General, he was obliged to stay and clear his name, which he did successfully.⁴

In the spring of 1651 took place, at last, the event which 1651 had such a determining influence on the fate of the young Hamiltons. Sir George Hamilton left his country for France with his family, just as in happier circum-

¹ New Style. All the years throughout this narrative are made to begin in January.

² *Cal. Clarendon Papers*, II, p. 36. Thirty-Second Report of the Deputy-Keeper of Public Records, App. I, p. 77.

One of the letters Sir George wrote at this time to Lauderdale is preserved at the British Museum:

"MY DEAR LORD, I send this att hazard in hope itt may feind you yitt in holland, Itt shall onlye bee the conveyor of my most obliged service, with the assurance of the peace concludued here, butt iff itt bee aprehended anye graette use can be made of itt elswhaer withoutt monye bieng otherways provydid for, the mistaeke may prouve greatt and the inconveniense graeter. The bearer Byron a person of greatt honor goeth fully instructid of our condicioun and resoloucion. E. Lanwick hath laetlye sent collonel Johne Hamilton hither to Lo. Ormond from whome you nou have a letter, ther are good harts still in Scotland and money will get them help from freinds. My Lord, your most faithfull humble servantt G. HAMILTON. Kilkennye 26th of Janauarij 1648." (MS. 23,113 f. 24.) The last part of the letter is in cypher.

³ *Hist. MSS. Comm.*, Ormonde MSS., New Series, I, pp. 133, 136.

⁴ *Carte*, II, p. 138,

stances his father had taken his young family from Scotland to Ireland. Hamilton was accompanied by his wife, his seven children—Anthony must then have been about six years old—Lady Clanricarde and ‘other persons of quality’; he probably encountered no great difficulty or danger in his departure, for Cromwell had extended to him the great regard he professed for Ormonde and particularly for Lady Ormonde.¹ In France they were to live for the next nine years, and it is almost unnecessary to add that without this boyhood spent in France, Anthony Hamilton would not have given us these works which make of him one of the minor French classics, nor would his brother have raised a *régiment d’Hamilton* for the French service.

After the Restoration the Hamiltons, who so frequently returned to France, were considered to be as much French as English, and one often finds references to Monsieur Hamilton, M. d’Hamilton, the Count d’Hamilton in English letters of the time; on one occasion the Countess of Arran, a cousin of the Hamiltons, mentioning the arrival of two of these kinsmen, remarks ‘Ye Monsieurs have now come.’²

Lady Hamilton must have been glad to find some more peaceful abode, for during the protracted absences of her husband her position had been rather a defenceless one at home. In December, 1649, for instance, a regiment of horse belonging to the Ulster army had passed through Roscrea and had spent two days and two nights there; Lady Hamilton complains bitterly of the ravages they perpetrated. Besides ‘excess of meat and drink’ the troopers took ‘whole ricks of oats, hutches full of beare and oaten malt,’ and, not content with houses and stables, filled the barns with their horses, nor would they leave their quarters till each had received a sum of money. Not yet satisfied, they threatened they would undo the town, so Lady Hamilton to pacify them gave them an additional £7 and at length they departed, carrying with them ‘liveries, saddles, bridles, horselocks, pots, pans, gridirons, brandirons, plough-irons, spades, bedding, carpets, women’s gowns and petticoats,’ in a word whatever came in the way of these

¹ Carte, II, pp. 121, 138.

² *Hist. MSS. Comm.*, Ormonde MSS., N.S., IV, p. 6.

Rabelaisian gentlemen, 'and there was no restoring of it, unless the owners would buy it again from them.'¹

Caen was doubtless the place where Sir George settled his family at first,² he himself being continually travelling about in the King's service. The Marchioness of Ormonde had already gone there with her family in the spring of 1648, and Ormonde was spending a few months in quiet retirement with his wife and children. The two youngest Hamiltons, probably John and Margaret, were born abroad,³ possibly at Caen, and this would in a measure explain why Voltaire (and Voltaire alone) gives Caen as Anthony Hamilton's birthplace.⁴ Later on the family lived in Paris.

The Hamiltons, at no time well off, shared the general poverty and the privations of the exiles who had crowded to France; moreover, Sir George Hamilton, always something of a speculator and not averse to a good bargain—Ormonde's mother, Lady Thurles, calls him 'that exigent Sir George Hamilton'⁵ in connexion with money matters—had sustained various losses before leaving Ireland. He had purchased an interest in all the royal mines of Ireland and had done a good deal to perfect these mines, in Munster particularly. The Rebellion cost him £20,000, besides the loss of most of his workmen whom he brought from England. He had also supplied the army with lead and bullets at his own cost, for above £3000.⁶ Nor was this all. He had invested what remained of his fortune in a frigate which he sent out for 'adventures,' but which was seized by the Governor of St. Malo for having captured as a prize a ship which was not really one, "by which," writes Sir George, "I am totally ruined, having no other stock of substance left me than what was there adventured in setting forth that frigate."⁷ Ormonde was just leaving definitely for the Continent, and Hamilton, prevented by the 'clamours' of the clergy from accompanying his brother-in-law to France, put matters into his hands, but even

¹ Thirty-Second Report of the Deputy-Keeper of the Public Records, App. I, p. 85.

² See especially *Hist. MSS. Comm.*, Ormonde MSS., N.S., I, p. 201.

³ *Cal. St. P.*, Dom., 1660-1661, p. 413.

⁴ *Œuvres*, XIV, p. 78 (Siècle de Louis XIV).

⁵ Ormonde MSS., N.S., III, p. 44.

⁶ *Cal. St. P.*, Ireland, 1660-1662, pp. 431-432.

⁷ *Hist. MSS. Comm.*, Ormonde MSS., N.S., I, p. 161.

Ormonde's help could not shorten the lengthy lawsuit that ensued.¹ In France attempts to fit out vessels for an expedition to Ireland or to send arms and ammunition to Scotland, with a view to 'advantaging' himself in a most certain way, involved Hamilton in more financial losses,² and waiting long months in attendance on Charles for money towards a mission that ultimately did not take place, brought him to so low an ebb that he was forced to apply for relief to the French court through Jermyn.³

The young Hamiltons, the elder children at least, did not remain very long in Caen. Thanks to Ormonde, always mindful of his relatives' welfare, George, the second son, was made a page to Charles II, and James, the eldest, also joined the wandering court, though the precise nature of his connexion is not known.⁴ Elizabeth was sent with her cousin Helen, Lady Muskerry's daughter, to Port Royal, where, as she herself was not ashamed to relate many years afterwards, the daughter of the penniless refugee was charitably received and sheltered during seven or eight years.⁵ Of Anthony's doings during this period there remains, unfortunately, no trace whatever. That he received a good education while he was in France is certain. One wonders whether he was placed under the tuition of the French minister at Caen who had charge of his Ormonde cousins, Lord Ossory and Lord Richard Butler, and whether, when his mother and his aunt, Lady Muskerry, had apartments at the Couvent des Feuillantines in Paris, he attended M. du Camp's Academy, where his cousins had also received instruction.⁶ He must have been a good Latin scholar and probably at this time learned to love the *curiosa felicitas* of the poet he always admired.

Meanwhile Sir George was continually travelling in the King's interest though Lady Hamilton would fain have

¹ *Hist. MSS. Comm.*, Ormonde MSS., N.S., I, p. 201.

² *Ib.*, pp. 186, 189, 299, 304, 311.

³ *Ib.*, pp. 195, 259; *Clanricarde Memoirs*, Appendix, p. 55.

⁴ At one time, about 1655, he seems to have been with Prince Rupert in Heidelberg. Ormonde MSS., I, pp. 201, 301; *Cal. Clarendon Papers*, III, pp. 34, 60.

⁵ Sainte-Beuve, *Port Royal*, II, p. 167, V, p. 184. Sainte-Beuve says they came before 1655. A certain Father Callaghan, probably Callaghan MacCarthy, a family connexion, also became an inmate about this time.

⁶ *Carte*, II, pp. 180, 502.

prevented him. Sir George has to use all kinds of subterfuges to circumvent her anxious solicitude. 1651- In order to get away he has to request a few lines 1657 containing the King's commands to wait upon him, or he has to pretend that the journey is for the sake of the absent sons; her 'womanish apprehensions' have to be allayed before he can get away.¹ In the summer of 1651 he was sent to Clanricarde in Ireland.² In 1654, at the suggestion of Middleton who had invaded Scotland, he was despatched thither to dispose his Hamilton kinsmen to union in the King's service, but only arrived after Middleton had been defeated.³

Back in Paris he set out with Ormonde to accompany the little Duke of Gloucester to Cologne,⁴ and the next two years find him travelling to and from Cologne, where the wandering court was established, now at Antwerp, now at the Hague, now at Breda, now at Brussels, now back in France and now at Bruges, whither the court had migrated.⁵ In 1655 he was to have gone on a new expedition to Scotland to relieve Middleton, but he does not seem to have been sent eventually.⁶

A little later Charles, who was taking various steps to raise an army of his own in the Low Countries and was planning a further expedition to Scotland, despatched Sir George Hamilton and his brother-in-law, Lord Muskerry, to Madrid to find out whether it would be agreeable to the King of Spain that the Irish now in Spain and those who would come over from the French should be sent immediately into Ireland. Sir George, leaving various 1657 debts behind him at Antwerp and at Bruges, borrowed more money for the journey, and finally arrived with Lord Muskerry in May at Madrid, where Arlington, then Sir Henry Bennet, was established as the King's agent. Repeated expressions of friendship and

¹ *Hist. MSS. Comm.*, Ormonde MSS., N.S., I, pp. 301, 302.

² *Ib.*, p. 191.

³ *Ib.*, pp. 299-304, 311; *Cal. Clarendon Papers*, II, pp. 306, 309, 310, 314, 378, 457; *Nicholas Papers*, II, p. 183; Firth, *Scotland and the Protectorate*, pp. 141-143.

⁴ *Nicholas Papers*, II, pp. 151, 166.

⁵ *Ib.*, III, 36; *Cal. Clarendon Papers*, III, pp. 1, 9, 11, 34; *Thurloe State Papers*, IV, p. 298; Scott, *Travels of the King*, pp. 97, 114, 248.

⁶ *Nicholas Papers*, II, 116, 129, 138, 140, 183, 195 n.

affection were not hard to obtain from the Spanish court, but beyond this the court would not go, and after five months of waiting they were given an evasive answer. Meanwhile, they had lived in the greatest poverty, they had nothing to hope for from Paris, they pressed the King for the funds without which they would be driven 'to quit the designe they were upon,' but Charles was living on borrowed money and the Chancellor was owing for every piece of bread he had eaten; had it not been for Sir Henry Bennet, writes Sir George, they would have starved, a kindness which Anthony Hamilton ill repaid by remarking that Arlington, although unsuccessful in his master's affairs, had not misspent his time in Spain, "for he had perfectly acquired in his exterior, the serious air and profound gravity of the Spaniards, and imitated pretty well their tardiness in business."¹ Bennet was badly off himself, he had hired 'a quarter of a house' and set up the King's arms though he had not ten pistols left. Into this house Muskerry and Hamilton moved, depending upon him for their maintenance whilst pursuing their fruitless errand. 'A great cordial in this sad time' was the news given to Hamilton that Charles took a personal interest in his sons James and George.

In July of the next year the two envoys returned, stopping for a space in Paris, where Ormonde, a short time ago, on his way back from England, had lain concealed
1658 in Lady Hamilton's apartment at the Feuillantines.

Then they joined the court at Hoogstraeten, a melancholy company; the country round about was desolated by constant warfare, Dunkirk had just been lost to France and England by the Spanish army in which were fighting some royalist regiments, Charles was embittered by family quarrels, money was a commodity conspicuous by its absence, and no one knew whether 'the Spaniard' was going 'to answer their design' by giving them men or not.²

But better times were at hand. Scarcely eighteen months later Pepys could write, "Everybody now drinks

¹ *Memoirs of Count Grammont*, ed. Gordon Goodwin, I, p. 138.

² *Cal. Clarendon Papers*, III, *passim*; Carte, II, p. 180; *Hist. MSS. Comm.*, MSS. of the Marquis of Bath, II, p. 123. T. Ross to Col. Gervase Holles, a letter which gives a vivid account of the state of affairs.

the King's health without any fear."¹ "The same people," says Anthony Hamilton, recalling the events of his youth, "who by a solemn abjuration 1660 had excluded even the posterity of their lawful sovereign, exhausted themselves in festivals and rejoicings for his return."²

¹ *Diary*, I, p. 83.

² *Memoirs of Count Grammont*, I, p. 90.

CHAPTER II

1661-1667

JAMES HAMILTON. THE CHEVALIER DE GRAMONT

IT was in the beginning of 1661 that Sir George Hamilton brought his wife and younger children to England. His elder sons had already preceded him. The King was pleased to remember his faithful services. His old lands were restored and new lands were allotted him ; his grant of all the mines of Ulster was renewed ; he was to enjoy for life all the penalties and forfeitures accruing to the Crown by reason of ploughing, drawing, harrowing and working horses by the tail.¹ But in spite of these and other royal favours, the Hamiltons were continually in financial difficulties ; in fact, Sir George was once actually arrested for debt in 1665, but having been set free by the Lord Chamberlain of the Household, the debt did not trouble him much, nor did the letters which Ormonde and the Lord Chamberlain despatched after him to Ireland.² Practically nothing more is known about him beyond the fact that he continued in the King's service, employed on 'the King's special affairs,'³ and that he squandered what little fortune remained to him in experiments that were to put him in possession of the philosopher's stone.⁴

The family, the six sons and three daughters, lived for some time in a large comfortable house near Whitehall, so Anthony relates. The Ormondes were there constantly and all that was best in English society, for the Hamiltons

¹ *Cal. St. P., Ireland, 1660-1662*, pp. 246, 431-432 ; Archdall Lodge, *Peerage of Ireland*, V, p. 118.

² *Cal. St. P., Ireland, 1669-1670*, Addenda, 1660-1670, p. 671.

³ *Cal. St. P., Dom., 1664-1665*, p. 455.

⁴ Madame, *Correspondance*, II, 105. Madame says she had this story from Madame de Gramont.

seem to have been an attractive family according to the standard of the times—brave, handsome, lively, very witty, keeping an open house in spite of their poverty and withal arrogant, scornful of the bourgeois and with the proper contempt for the bourgeois morality. Of his own doings Anthony never makes any mention, though the intrigues of James and George form a considerable part of his story. One fancies, however, that one catches a glimpse of him as one of the authors of the Princess of Babylon's discomfiture, familiar to readers of the *Grammont Memoirs*. Elizabeth Hamilton's little counsel which helped to plan out the affair was composed of one of her brothers and a sister, "qui se divertissaient volontiers aux dépens de ceux qui le méritaient." One cannot but identify this mischievous brother with the writer of the *Mémoires de Grammont*, though it must be confessed that he did not limit his witticisms there to those alone who deserved them. One imagines that he was always very good friends with this sister, but three or four years his senior, so like him in temperament, so quick to see men's failings, and so ready to hold them up to ridicule.¹

Whatever Sir George may have been about, the younger generation, James and George at any rate, plunged deeply into the pleasures of life. They intrigued with Lady Castlemaine, they flirted with Miss Stuart, they ogled the maids of honour, they made love to other men's wives, they ranked amongst the best dancers at court, they dressed in silk and lace, they went to Tunbridge and to Newmarket, they accompanied the court to Bath, they played fast and lost heavily, they drew swords at the slightest provocation—and they were, of course, *gens d'honneur*, no less than Arran, Jermyn, Talbot and Killegrew.²

As is only natural, the most outstanding of the Hamilton brothers at this time is the eldest, James. It is late before Anthony comes into his own. James Hamilton seems to have been a typical Restoration Cavalier, a gentleman of mirth and fashion, to use Macaulay's phrase. "He was the man who of all the court dressed best," says Anthony ;

¹ A less well-known story of a *divertissement aux dépens des autres* is told by Sir John Reresby, *Memoirs*, p. 51.

² *Memoirs of Grammont*, *passim*; Pepys, IV, p. 18; *Hist. MSS. Comm. Report*, Twelfth Report, Appendix, Part VII, pp. 62, 85; the Earl of Egmont's MSS., p. 10.

"he was well made in his person and possessed these happy talents which lead to fortune, and procure success in love; he was a most assiduous courtier, had the most lively wit, the most polished manners and the most punctual attentions to his master imaginable; no person danced better nor was anyone a more general lover,"¹ a description which somehow reminds one of Sir Fopling Flutter's character of a compleat gentleman.

The accomplished James Hamilton was certainly fortunate enough, no doubt by virtue of these happy talents; he was among the intimates of Charles, who heaped pensions, favours and grants of land on him,² employed him as his private messenger to the French court, especially to Madame, and occasionally as an envoy extraordinary to other courts,³ appointed him Ranger of Hyde Park,⁴ groom of the Bedchamber,⁵ Provost Marshal-General of Barbadoes⁶ and obtained the hand of one of the Princess Royal's maids of honour for him,⁷ not to mention a discarded mistress, when he himself did 'doat' on Mrs. Stuart only.

Like most favourites James Hamilton was not without his enemies; citizens such as Pepys and Mr. Alsopp, the king's brewer, classed him with Lauderdale, Buckingham and a few others who led away the King so that none of his 'serious' servants and friends could come near him.⁸ Arlington and Ralph Montague, when the latter became ambassador to the French court, were displeased at the

¹ *Memoirs of Grammont*, ed. Gordon Goodwin, I, p. 94.

² *Cal. St. P., Dom.*, 1664-1665, p. 53; Ellis Correspondence, I, p. 79; Cunningham, *Story of Nell Gwyn*, p. 207.

³ *Hist. MSS. Comm.*, MSS. of J. M. Heathcote, p. 78; Twelfth Report, Appendix VII, p. 56; Fifteenth Report, Appendix, Part II, p. 12; Various Collections, II, p. 139; *R.O. St. P.*, Foreign, France, 130, ff. 15, 16; *Cal. St. P., Dom.*, 1670, pp. 391, 421, 455. *Affaires Etrangères, Mémoires et Documents Angleterre*, Vol. 26, *passim* (these are the ninety-three letters written by Charles to Madame, his sister. A number of them were taken across by James Hamilton. They are printed in Mrs. Cartwright's *Madame*).

⁴ *Cal. St. P., Dom.*, 1660-1661, pp. 270 and 368. His name survives in Hamilton Place, formerly Hamilton Street. Cf. *Notes and Queries*, Feb., 1908, p. 94; *Cal. St. P., Dom.*, 1663-1664, pp. 564, 572; Thornbury, *London Old and New*, Vol. IV, pp. 380-381.

⁵ *Cal. St. P., Dom.*, 1664-1665, p. 49.

⁶ *Cal. St. P.*, Colonial, America and West Indies, 1661-1668, p. 493.

⁷ Cunningham, *Story of Nell Gwyn*, p. 206.

⁸ *Diary*, IV, pp. 49-50.

influence he exerted over Charles's favourite sister Madame ;¹ the Earl of Antrim and his friends disliked him as a supporter of Ormonde,² while Cominges, the French ambassador at the English court reproached him with meddling in French affairs—"Amilton, jeune homme sans expérience, cabale contre la France."³

The matter which roused Cominges's resentment deserves a brief mention. With the Restoration the question of precedence at the Entrées of the ambassadors had become a very important one. Readers of Pepys will remember the fight that took place at the entry-in-state of the Swedish ambassador in September, 1661, between the French and the Spanish ambassadors, and how it was decreed that the ambassador of the Most Christian King should henceforth precede the ambassador of his Catholic Majesty. The entrée of the English ambassador in France gave rise to a difficulty of somewhat different type. The French insisted that all the coaches of the Princes of the Blood should go next to the King's and should precede that of the English ambassador. Charles proposed as an expedient that Holles should have an audience without a public entry, but Louis refused. Feeling ran high in England. Precedents existed for the ambassador's precedence to the Princes of the Blood and Charles vowed that he would not bate an ace of what his predecessors had enjoyed.⁴

"L'affaire que nous avons présentement dans cette court," Lionne is informed by Cominges, the French ambassador in January, 1664, "se rend tous les jours de plus 1664 difficile accomodement, le Roy n'en est plus le maistre et le Conseil se trouve si pressé par les cris publics qu'il ne faut pas esperer qu'il change de resolution, ni qu'il admet aucun autre tempérament que celuy de ne point faire d'entrée, . . . les raisons que nous pouvons alleguer pour ne pouvoir l'admettre les rendent plus envenimez contre nous, croiant que nous ne voulons nous prévaloir de la cession du Roy catholique que pour en tirer

¹ *Hist. MSS. Comm.*, MSS. of the Duke of Buccleuch at Montague House, I, pp. 421, 424, 426.

² MSS. of the Marquis of Ormonde, N.S., III, pp. 89-90, 119, 138-139 ; Carte, II, p. 294.

³ *Aff. Etr., Mém. et Doc. Angleterre*, Vol. 29, p. 234.

⁴ *Hist. MSS. Comm.*, Ormonde MSS., N.S., III, p. 134, Jan. 5th, 1663-4.

des conséquences contre tous les autres Roys. Vous seriez estonné de voir le Roy de la Grande Bretagne assiégé par des gens de vingt ans qui ne luy parlent d'autre chose que de l'injustice que l'on veut luy faire et du joug honteux que l'on veut imposer à la Nation." (What follows is in cypher.) "Entre tous ces conseillers d'estat de nouvelle impression le S^r Amilton, beau frère du chevalier de Grandmont, a ralié force gens de la chambre basse de mesme aage et de mesme capacité qui ont veu le Chancellier Heyden pour faire valoir leur zele impertinent et on les escoute sans oser ou ne vouloir les remettre à leur devoir."¹

Cominges has nothing but contempt for these political adventurers, the forward young men led by the Sieur Amilton. According to him they are light-headed flatterers who have no knowledge of affairs nor would have any participation in them were it not for the impudence with which they interfere, without being asked to do so. It is amidst the pleasures of the table and the hunt that they propound their devices, that they unfold the most hidden mysteries of politics and that they deliberate upon peace and war, a cabal which though not widespread is not without being influential, for the ladies have their say in it.² The audience finally took place in March without a public entry, thanks to the intervention of Madame.

James Hamilton's marriage to Elizabeth, daughter of Sir John Colepeper or Culpeper, which has been alluded to, took place as early as 1660 or 1661.³ As the lady was a Protestant, James Hamilton left the Church of Rome shortly before his marriage, to the great sorrow and anger of his devout mother who had prayed much for the spiritual welfare of her headstrong boy 'Jamie.'⁴ It was Ormonde who broke the news to her, very gently and kindly, in a long letter, begging her not to think hardly of her son who had taken this step in a sincere desire for salvation.⁵ Lady Hamilton did not, however, share her brother's good opinion of James. "I must confess," she replies in a letter that

¹ Aff. Etr., *Cor. Pol. Angleterre*, Vol. 82, f. 11, Jan. 28th (N.S.), 1664.

² *Ib.*, f. 13, Feb. 4th (N.S.), 1664.

³ Cunningham, *Story of Nell Gwyn*, p. 206.

⁴ *Hist. MSS. Comm.*, Ormonde MSS., N.S., I, pp. 201, 301.

⁵ Carte Papers, Vol. CCXXXII, ff. 11-12, quoted in Burghclere's *Life of Ormonde*, I, pp. 525-526.

incidentally throws an interesting light on the fairly austere upbringing the Hamiltons seem to have had, as long as they were with their mother, "I was never more afflicted or surprised then when I found in your letter the unworthiness of James, who I know too well to believe from him that he had any other dislike to the religion he has left, then that he could not profess it liveing so great a libertin as he did ; and the assurance he had that it would be an obstacle to his marriage with Mrs. Culpeper, for whom he had this unhappy affection about four years ago ; and at that time did he resolve to become an apostat, rather than not have her. He has a dear bargaine of her, if she be so unfortunat as to be ingaged to him, and I am confident that she would never have much satisfaction in on(e) that has forsaked God for her. I am most certaine that it was no apprehension of being out of the way of salvation made him thus base. He has no such tender consience as you will finde in a little time."¹ When one remembers the account that Anthony gives of his brother in the *Memoirs*, one is inclined to think that his mother had formed a rather better estimate of his character than his uncle had.

Not long after James Hamilton's marriage, another marriage took place in the Hamilton family, one which was to count for a good deal in the Hamiltons' subsequent connexion with France. There comes upon the scene that strange figure whom Anthony's *Memoirs* have invested with a peculiar glamour, the Chevalier de Gramont,² adventurer and nobleman, the 'hero' of Saint-Evremond, the *vieux sacripant* of Saint-Simon. To give an account of his life³ would require a volume in itself, as Saint-Simon has already remarked. Born in 1621 and possibly a descendant of Henri IV, whose character he recalls after a fashion, he was first intended for the Church, but speedily preferred the army. He was present at the siege of Trino with that

¹ Carte Papers, Vol. CCXIV, p. 192, quoted in Burghclere, I, p. 527.

² Although the name is given as Grammont in the first and most subsequent editions of the *Memoirs*, and although one finds in letters and papers of the time Grammont, Grandmont, Gramond, as well as Gramont, the last only is the correct spelling. The name is not, as it is often stated to be, a corruption of Grandmont, but comes from the Spanish Agramunt. A different family, the Grammonts of the Franche Comté, spell their name with two m's.

³ An excellent article on Gramont is given by M. de Boislisle in the 14th Volume (Appendix IX) of his admirable edition of Saint-Simon.

very delightful Matta in 1643,¹ when Hamilton's *Memoirs* take up his story, and as the aide-de-camp of Condé, then Duc d'Enghien, he was at Fribourg, Paris, Nordlingen and Lens and in no wise seems to have deserved the reputation for cowardice which some of his contemporaries emphasize. He was Condé's *premier écuyer*² from 1648 to 1651, and remained with him when he went over to the enemy until 1654, when he thought it advisable to make his peace with the court.

At court Gramont was liked by the King, whom he amused, and disliked by Mazarin, whom he amazed by his insolence.³ He moved in the society of the *Précieuses*—the *Grand Dictionnaire* mentions him as the chevalier Galerius;⁴ like the rest of the courtiers he wrote gallant verses⁵ to the

¹ The late Mr. Vizetelly in his edition of the *Memoirs* gives the date as 1639. As a matter of fact Trino was taken a first time in 1639, but by the Spaniards under the command of Prince Thomas de Carignan who, reconciled with France in 1642, wrested Trino from Spain again in 1643.

² Gramont's appointment as *premier écuyer* to Condé was not without political importance, as will be seen from the following account: "Au milieu de tant d'épines qui environnoient M. le Cardinal Mazarin, il eut une faible consolation qui luy causa quelque calme. Il appréhendoit autant la bonne intelligence de Monseigneur (Gaston d'Orléans) et de M. le Prince (Condé) que la liaison de l'un et de l'autre avec les frondeurs et le parlement et il les vit sur le point de se brouiller; ils gardoient pourtant les apparences quoique le cœur fut blessé, car ce dernier se voulant rendre comme égal au premier empiétoit toujours quelque chose et Monseigneur luy faisoit sentir qu'il s'offensoit de ses entreprises. M. le Prince voulut avoir un premier écuyer comme son Altesse royale et donna cette charge à M. le chevalier de Gramont. Monseigneur logeait au château neuf de St. Germain où cet officier nouveau se présentant en carrosse pour entrer dans la cour, les gardes le refusèrent. Il dit qu'il entroit dans le logis du Roy et eux qui avaient leur ordre et que l'on avait instruits repliquèrent que la Reyne faisoit ce qui luy plaisoit au Palais Royal et au logis du Roy, mais que pour luy entreprenant une chose nouvelle chez monseigneur, elle luy seroit refusée. Il se retira fort piqué et M. le Prince le fut encore davantage sans se plaindre. . . . Ces pointilles estoient des presages de tempeste." (Nicholas Goulas, *Mémoires* (Paris, 1879, 3 vols.), II, pp. 392-393).

³ "M. le comte de Gramont parloit au roi de quelque chose qui s'était passé du temps de la guerre de Paris. Le roi demanda, 'Quand cela arriva-t-il?' M. de Gramont lui répondit, 'Sire, c'est du temps que nous servions votre Majesté contre le Cardinal Mazarin.'" (*Menagiana*, II, p. 35.)

⁴ Somaize, *Le Dictionnaire des Précieuses* (éd. Ch. L. Livet, Paris, 1856, 2 vols.), I, p. 236.

⁵ e.g. the following lines addressed to Madame de Fiesque, known at that time as Madame de Pienne:

Marquise de Pienne, mon cœur,
J'admire si fort votre belle humeur
Que je n'ay point de plaisir plus parfait

lady of his casual choice, and, on the whole, managed to divide his time equally between the gaming-table and the court beauties, with rather more success in the first case than in the second, for, if he chose to honour or to persecute certain ladies with his assiduities,¹ it was chiefly, if not entirely, for the sake of the displeasure he gave his unlucky rivals. All this was well and good, as long as his rivals were his peers, but when Gramont, 'insolent en prospérité,' chose to cross the paths of a royal rival, the results were rather disastrous.

Ordered away from court, Gramont betook himself to England, where, it would seem, he had already been in the lifetime of Cromwell. He had, moreover, already met the chief personages of the English court in France, and had even, on one occasion, danced with the Duke of York and the Duke of Buckingham in the same ballet.² There had also just come to London an old friend and faithful admirer of his, Saint-Evremond, exiled for his imprudent letter on the Peace of the Pyrenees, and destined to exert, through Gramont, a fairly marked influence on Anthony Hamilton.

Gramont arrived in London on the 14th of January, 1663, and the day after his arrival the Ambassador Cominges

Que votre cabinet.
 J'ose vous supplier,
 Ma reyne Gilette,
 Que de la moquette (her furniture was covered with
 'moquette')
 Je sois chevalier.
 Si vous me faites cet honneur
 Je seray toujours votre serviteur
 Et je lairray Madame de Maulney
 Avec que son Mary.
 Si vous voulez m'aimer
 Belle Marquise,
 Je veux employer
 Tous mes bénéfices
 Pour votre service
 Jusqu'à un denier.

(*Airs et Vaudevilles de Cour*, Paris, 1665. See also *Recueil de Sercy*, Paris, 1653, I, p. 31, and *Recueil des Portraits et Eloges*, Paris, 1659, II.)

¹ The Princess Palatine, Madame d'Olonne, Madame de Villars, Madame de Fiesque, Madame de Mercœur, the celebrated Marion Delorme and doubtless many others. *Mémoires de Grammont*, *passim*; Mme de Motteville, *Mémoires* (Paris, 1855), IV, p. 70; Bussy Rabutin, *Histoire Amoureuse des Gaules*, II, p. 533; Primi Visconti, *Mémoires*, pp. 159-160, etc.

² Benserade, *Œuvres* (Paris, 1697, 2 vols.), II, pp. 62-65. Ballet Royal de la Nuit.

is able to inform Louis that the exile is admitted to all the pleasures of the King and is on intimate terms with 'Madame de Castelmene.'¹ The irresistible chevalier apparently came and saw and conquered. His brother-in-law gives us one interesting reason for his popularity. So far, says Hamilton, the French who had appeared in London were of the kind that despised everything not like themselves and thought they introduced the '*bel air*' by treating the English as strangers in their own country. "The Chevalier de Gramont, on the contrary, was familiar with everybody: he gave in to their customs, eat of everything and easily habituated himself to their manner of living, which he looked upon as neither vulgar nor barbarous."²

How the exile spent his days is set forth in the pages of the *Memoirs*. Well aware that he was a conspicuous and brave figure at court, the chevalier left nothing undone that might add to the legend already then gathering round his name. The ladies he honoured with his attentions—"aux heures permises et un peu aux déffendues," Cominges remarks³—received perfumed gloves, pocket looking-glasses, apricot paste and other such articles from Paris every week, not to mention the diamonds and guineas procured nearer home. The King was presented with a magnificent coach. To the pleasure parties on the Thames the chevalier contributed delightful surprises such as "complete concerts of vocal and instrumental music which he privately brought from Paris," or banquets which likewise came from France and which surpassed the King's collations. A pension from Charles was gracefully refused, though the chevalier had nothing to live on but what he made at cards. No wonder Gramont was '*le seul étranger à la mode*.'

His mentor and philosopher, Saint-Evremond, is loud in his praises of him, the one thing he has to criticise is a rather dangerous admiration for Elizabeth Hamilton. Saint-Evremond much prefers the shallow attentions paid

¹ Aff. Etr., *Corr. Pol. d'Angleterre*, Vol. 79, f. 119. (This and other extracts from Cominges's correspondence were printed in Lord Braybrooke's edition of *Pepys* and are reprinted in Wheatley's edition (Vol. X, 288-303). They were made from copies, not the originals, preserved at the Bibliothèque Nationale, then Bibliothèque du Roy.)

² *Memoirs*, ed. Gordon Goodwin, I, p. 98.

³ Aff. Etr., *Corr. Pol. Angleterre*, Vol. 79, pp. 214-215 (undated but written towards the middle of Feb., 1663).

to a Mrs. Middleton or to a Mrs. Warmestry. The description of Elizabeth by her brother is well known,¹ and the Hampton Court portrait by Lely, one of Lely's best, confirms all he says. In Paris, when she had scarcely left school, she had become one of the attractions of the Queen-Mother's court at the Palais Royal and made a deep impression there on Sir John Reresby, who described her as the finest woman in the world and thought seriously of marrying her.² The Duke of York could not conceal his admiration, the Duke of Richmond and the Duke of Norfolk were unsuccessful suitors, the two Russells, Jermyn, Richard Talbot and Lord Falmouth aspired in vain to her hand, so her brother relates.³ Gramont alone found favour in her sight, a man with no fortune to speak of, at least twenty years her senior and not of an attractive exterior. Only ten years after this marriage he is described by a contemporary as "un vieillard au nez d'arlequin, bossu, dissipateur, facétieux et maussade."⁴ It says much for his wit and elegance that Elizabeth Hamilton and her no less fastidious brother were drawn to him.

Hamilton describes Gramont as being very much in love with Elizabeth, as very reluctant to leave her when his sister the Marquise de Saint-Chaumont somewhat overhastily informs him that there is nothing to hinder his return to France; it requires all Miss Hamilton's powers of persuasion to make him go and when he finds out that his presence is not yet desired in France, he is more than glad to hasten back to England; the *Memoirs* are most careful to emphasize this. And yet, just about this time, the mystery begins to gather round Gramont's relations with Elizabeth Hamilton. On the 8th of September Charles tells his sister Madame, that he is doing his best to find a rich wife for the Chevalier de Gramont, who

¹ Curiously enough, an abstract of this description is preserved amongst some genealogical matter at the Bibliothèque Nationale, Département des Manuscrits, Cabinet des Titres, Vol. 345, dossier 8904, f. 30.

² Reresby, *Memoirs*, pp. 43, 45-47, 50. As he, however, forsook Elizabeth Hamilton for 'Mistress Brown' he is of course not mentioned in the *Mémoires de Grammont* any more than Gramont's forgetting to marry the lady who eventually became his wife.

³ For the Duke of Richmond's admiration cf. *Hist. MSS. Comm.*, Reports on MSS. in Various Collections, Vol. VIII, p. 65. Cf. also *Aff. Etr., Corr. Pol. Angleterre*, 79, p. 215, where Cominges describes 'Mlle d'Amilton' dancing with the King.

⁴ Primi Visconti, *Mémoires*, p. 52.

begins his journey to France on the next day or the day following.¹

A few days before or a few days afterwards Cominges informs Louis that Gramont has cast his eyes on a beautiful young demoiselle of the house of Hamilton, niece to the Duke of Ormonde, adorned with all the grace of virtue and nobility, but so little with mere material wealth that, according to those who give her most, she has none. "I think," he continues, "that at first the chevalier did not mean to go so far in this business, but, be it that conversation has completed what beauty began, or that the noise made by two rather troublesome brothers may have had something to do with it, certain it is that he has now declared himself publicly."² If Cominges's letter precedes that of Charles, then it is strange that Charles who had just given his consent to the Gramont-Hamilton marriage,³ should nevertheless consider Gramont's 'declaration' as not binding and should look out a rich wife for him; if Charles's letter is the earlier in date, then it might seem as if the two 'troublesome brothers,' alarmed by the chevalier's sudden departure for France, had delayed his expedition and exacted a public engagement. If there is any truth in the well-known, often quoted and much discussed anecdote of the chevalier overtaken on his way to Dover, *immemor amorum*, by the two brothers and forced to return with them, one might be inclined to assign the above date to the incident.⁴ The unnecessary pains

¹ Aff. Etr., *Mém. et Doc. Angleterre*, Vol. 26, Letter 7. (This and all the other letters of Charles quoted are printed in Mrs. Cartwright's *Madame*.)

² *Ib.*, *Corr. Pol. Angleterre*, Vol. 80, f. 73. I have utilized M. Jusserand's translation (*A French Ambassador*, pp. 94-95). Cominges has unfortunately not dated this sheet of Court News. As a rule he dates his letters very carefully O.S. and N.S. at the end of his letter, and his date. (N.S.) is always entered by the recipient, presumably for the sake of convenience, at the left-hand top corner of the first sheet of the letter. This letter is endorsed le 13 septembre, 1663; it would therefore seem that it was written on the 1st/₃ Sept. M. Jusserand dates it August in his book.

³ Cf. Cominges's letter just quoted.

⁴ And from the correspondence of Cominges it would seem that the anecdote is not without some foundation. According to the brothers François and Claude Parfaict (*Histoire Générale du Théâtre François* [1734-1749, 15 vols.], Vol. IX, pp. 254-255) the anecdote first appeared in print in 1732 in a collection of stories entitled ****Ana ou Bigarrures Calotines*, I, p. 18. Saint-Simon (XIV, p. 264) says: "Le chevalier de Grammont s'alla promener après en Angleterre et y épousa Mlle Hamilton dont il était amoureux avec quelque éclat et que ses frères qui en furent scandalisés, forcèrent d'en faire sa femme, malgré qu'il en eût." A very garbled version

Hamilton took to prove that if the chevalier went to France, it was only after consulting his mistress, would confirm this hypothesis. But there are difficulties in this theory, for according to the anecdote the chevalier returned and at once married the lady whom he had so lightly abandoned, whereas the marriage only took place in the end of December and amidst circumstances which would completely

of the anecdote is given by the Abbé de Voisenon (*Œuvres*, IV) and one hardly recognizable in a manuscript preserved at the Bibliothèque Sainte Geneviève (MS. 3208, *L'aventure du Chevalier de Grammont*). In the apocryphal 'Letters supposed to have passed between M. de St. Evremont and Mr. Waller,' Saint-Evremont is made to tell the story. "Though Grammont," he says, "believed himself that he intended absolutely to espouse the fair Hamilton, yet when everything seemed to be settled and the critical event drew near, the Dæmon of Gallantry took up his part. He played the character of Hymen and rendered it so insupportably ridiculous that Grammont could no longer bear the idea of marriage. The time appointed for the nuptials was at hand. The Lover flew upon the wings of the wind to the coast of France. This Desertion was received with proper indignation. A brother of the fair Hamiltons, a youth about sixteen or seventeen, pursued and overtook him almost as soon as he had arrived. 'Grammont,' said he, 'you blush to see me. You have reason. You know me well. Return this moment with me to England and do yourself the honour to espouse my sister. If that is an Honour you chuse to decline—I am the youngest of seven brothers, and if I fall by your hand, know that there are still six living whose Arms are stronger and more experienced than mine and who scorn as much as I do to survive the Honour of a sister.' The Count stood silent for a while and smiled upon the beardless champion. But it was not a smile of contempt. I have heard him say that he never felt the Sense of Honour more strongly as at that moment. The Phantom of false Gallantry disappeared. 'Let us return,' said he, 'my brave Friend. I deserve not the Honour of being allied to your family but I will hope to be indebted for it to your kind intercession.'" (Vol. I, pp. 26-28.)

The exaggerations are obvious. The brothers were only six in number, and at the time of the marriage, John, the youngest, could not possibly have been sixteen or seventeen; this was the exact age of Anthony.

The incident is supposed to have furnished Molière with the plot of his *Marriage Forcé*, first performed in 1664. There is, however, no direct proof of this, and as M. Paul Mesnard says in his Introduction, "Il faut être bien déterminé à chercher partout un sujet de rapprochement pour en trouver un ici entre le bourgeois Sganarelle, grossier et maladroit et le brillant et spirituel chevalier." (Molière, *Ed. des Grands Ecrivains*, Vol. IV, p. 8.)

In connexion with this anecdote there is an extraordinary statement made in the *Dictionary of National Biography*. The author of the article on Elizabeth Hamilton relates the inevitable anecdote and explains: "The story is told in a letter from Lord Melfort to Richard Hamilton, dated 1689 or 1690," a statement which has been copied by the *Cambridge History of English Literature*, M. Boislisle's edition of Saint-Simon (*Edition des Grands Ecrivains*) and many other works. In 1689 and 1690 Richard Hamilton was Lieutenant-General of King James's Irish Army and Melfort Secretary of State. They were not on particularly good terms, and besides Melfort had more serious things to discuss in the letters he sent to Londonderry than to relate to Richard Hamilton, twenty-five years after it happened, an event which, if known to anyone, must have been known to

justify one in placing the anecdote there.¹ The wedding present from Charles was a jewel brought from the Earl of St. Albans for £1260.²

During the next few months Gramont, though paying several visits to France, continued to live in England 1664 very much taken up with his young wife and not a little jealous of a handsome cousin, Lord Arran, no doubt.³ On the 7th of September (N.S.), their

Richard Hamilton. What gave rise to the above statement is the fact that when Melfort's letters were printed in the Appendix to the 8th Report of the *Hist. MSS. Comm.*, the editor remarked that these letters were not only important from an historical point of view, but interesting as being addressed to the brother of the author of the *Mémoires de Grammont*, the anecdote then follows (p. 493a) and the hasty reader failed to see that it was only a part of the editor's introduction.

¹ On the 20th of December (N.S.) Cominges, describing the delight with which Gramont received the good news of his recall, mentions that he is making his plans to leave in four days and that perhaps he will introduce a fair English lady to the French court. (Aff. Etr., *Corr. Pol. Angleterre*, 80, f. 132; Pepys, X, p. 298.) On the day fixed for the departure, Dec. 24th (N.S.), Cominges relates that the chevalier's journey has been delayed for a day and that he leaves numerous debtors behind him, but will attend them when he returns to explain about the matter of Miss Hamilton 'qui est si embrouillé que les plus clairvoyans n'y voient goutte.' (Aff. Etr., *Corr. Pol. Angleterre*, Vol. 80, f. 135.) A week later, on the 31st of December (N.S.), Cominges informs the King that the marriage of the chevalier and the conversion of Lady Castlemaine were made public on the same day, and Pepys (III, p. 388) hears for certain on Dec. 22nd (or Jan. 1st, N.S.) that my Lady Castlemaine is turned Papist. The marriage had been brought about with wonderful despatch between Dec. 24th and Dec. 31st, probably on Dec. 30th. (Aff. Etr., *Corr. Pol. Angleterre*, Vol. 80, f. 147.) "Le mariage du chevalier de Gramont et la conversion de Madame de Castlemaine se sont publiés en mesme jour, et le Roy d'Angleterre étant prié par les parents de la Dame d'apporter quelque obstacle à cette action, il répondit galamment que pour l'âme des Dames il ne s'en mêlait point." Some commentators have imagined that this last statement referred to Miss Hamilton and that the relatives of the bride-elect were opposed to the marriage. Cominges is, however, clearly speaking about Lady Castlemaine's relatives. Elizabeth Hamilton's brothers were determined that she should marry Gramont. Lescure, in the Introduction to his edition of the *Mémoires* (1876), makes the quotation serve his purpose by changing it to "Le Roi étant prié par les parents de la dame d'apporter quelques obstacles à cette union répondit galamment que pour l'amour des dames il ne s'en mêlait point."

A note preserved at the Bibliothèque Nationale, Dép. des Manuscrits, Cabinet des Titres, Vol. 345, dossier bleu Hamilton 8904, f. 8, says that E. Hamilton married the chevalier de Gramont 'par contrat du 9 décembre, stile d'Angleterre,' but the more reliable letters of the French Ambassador put this out of the question.

² *Cal. St. P., Dom*, 1663-1664, p. 438.

³ Aff. Etr., *Angleterre, Mém. et Doc.*, Vol. 26, letters 30, 31, 40; *Corr. Pol. Angleterre*, Vol. 82, p. 34 (Cominges to Lionne 1st Jan., 1664—a despatch printed by M. Jusserand on p. 224 of his book—'M. le Chevalier de Gramont est arrivé depuis deux mois,' is wrongly given instead of 'depuis deux jours'). Pepys, X, p. 299.

first child, a boy, was born,¹ 'handsome like the mother and gallant like the father.' Two months later the Gramonts left England for France,² and Charles recommended them warmly to Madame. The peculiar talent of the Count—for thus the chevalier was now styled—would always make him welcome in England, and the Countess he considered as good a creature as ever lived.³

The Gramonts were well received in France; the Count was probably welcomed back with rather mixed feelings by some at court, too much in fear of his merciless wit to show their dislike openly, but the *belle Anglaise* who had been able to fix the attentions of the fickle chevalier was an object of interest. Madame soon admitted her to her intimacy and told Charles that she was really one of the best women she had ever known in her life.⁴ Possibly the relationship between the Gramonts and the Comte de Guiche had something to do with this. The Comte de Guiche, a son of the Maréchal de Gramont, the half-brother of our Gramont, had ventured to raise his eyes to Madame Henriette and employed his youthful English aunt as an intermediary when Madame refused to have anything to do with him. Finally, Madame consented to meet De

¹ Pepys, X, p. 300 (Cominges' correspondence). The boy died in September, 1671. (*R.O. St. P.*, Foreign, France, Vol. 132, f. 14.) Two daughters were also born to the Gramonts, Claude Charlotte and Marie Elizabeth, the latter in December, 1671. (Bibliothèque Nationale, Manuscrits, Pièces originales, Vol. 162, dossier 3645.)

² Gramont took across with him 16 horses (*Cal. St. P.*, Dom., 1664-1665, p. 37). Forneron in his *Louise de Kéroualle* (p. 17) and Vizetelly in his edition of the *Memoirs* (Vol. II, p. 166 n.) remark that Gramont was no judge in the matter of horses, that, according to Algernon Sidney, 'he is such a proud ass that he neither knows what is good nor will believe anyone else.' This statement of Sidney's (Letters of the Hon. Algernon Sydney to the Hon. Henry Savile in the year 1679, London, 1742, pp. 57-58) does not, however, refer to Gramont but to 'the Duke de Gramont's Esq.' whom his master had sent to England to purchase some horses.

³ Letters 42 and 43, *Aff. Etr.*, *Mém. et Doc. Angleterre*, Vol. 26, Letter 43 (Oct. 24th, O.S. [1664]), is the well-known letter from Charles, first printed in the Appendix to Dalrymple's *Memoirs* (II, pp. 26, 27). The year is there wrongly given as 1669 and has misled countless annotators of the *Mémoires de Grammont*, from Sir Walter Scott downwards. 1669 has been taken to be the terminus *ad quem* of the Count's stay in England, his marriage has been placed in 1668, and Cunningham (in the Appendix to his *Story of Nell Gwyn*) bases his whole proof of the correctness of the chronology of the *Memoirs* on the fact that the Count came to England in 1663 and left in 1669. The year in which this letter was written, 1664, is easily fixed by the date of the preceding letter (Oct. 23rd, 1664) to which Charles alludes.

⁴ Cartwright, *Madame*, p. 218.

Guiche at the Gramonts' house, but the rather pitiful little love story was soon brought to a close. The Comte de Guiche was persuaded by his father to leave the court, and though he lived some years longer, he never saw Madame again.¹ At the special request of Charles the Gramonts had their apartments for a short time in 1667 at Monsieur's court, though Monsieur, suspicious by nature and possibly aware of the rôle that the Gramonts had played between Madame and De Guiche, disliked Gramont and consented merely in order to be agreeable to his brother-in-law.² Some months before, in February, 1667,³ the Countess had been made *dame du palais* to the Queen Marie Thérèse; it is not altogether easy to see how she could be attached to one court and hold a kind of office at another.

The English who came to Paris naturally sought out the Gramonts. Lady Anne Palmer, Lady Castlemaine's eldest daughter, was guided about in Paris by Madame de Gramont, and they were 'all day long at shops buying everything that is fine,' the youthful Lady Anne being so pleased with this aspect of the capital that she had scarcely time to see a play.⁴ Again when Lady Sunderland, 'my Lady Ambassadrice,' made her visit to court, the Master of the Ceremonies conducted her first to the lodgings of Madame de Gramont, where, by order of the Queen, dinner was provided for her previous to her entry.⁵ It was Gramont who presented the future Duke of Marlborough to Louis. Lord Sunderland had really undertaken to do it, but Colonel Churchill and two brother officers, also serving in the French army, had missed the opportunity by delaying over their dinner and not appearing at the appointed hour, though Sunderland had warned them that Louis was a king of 'not over easy accesse.' The three officers were disappointed and very unreasonably displeased with Lord Sunderland, and though the latter offered to present them some other time, they returned to St. Germain the very next day and got Gramont to perform that office, somewhat to the disgust of Sunderland.⁶

¹ Cartwright, *Madame*, *passim*; Mme de La Fayette, *Henriette d'Angleterre*, pp. 95-97.

² *R.O. St. P.*, Foreign, France, Vol. 123, f. 244, Monsieur to Charles, October, 1667.

³ Bussy, *Lettres*, I, p. 17.

⁴ *R.O. St. P.*, Foreign, France, Vol. 135, f. 60. October, 1672.

⁵ *Ib.*, Vol. 136, f. 124. March, 1673. ⁶ *Ib.*, f. 101. March, 1673.

The Comte de Gramont had returned from his exile with very warm feelings, it would seem, for the country in which he had sojourned, and he always identified himself with the English interest. When war broke out between England and Holland in 1665, he was 'the most English of men,' so Henrietta tells her brother, and she wonders that he does not get into trouble a thousand times a day for so warmly espousing the English cause ; it was he who brought her the news of the victory off Lowestoft that June, and the news made him almost 'mad with joy.'¹ When France, as an ally of the Dutch, declared war against England in 1666, Gramont still championed the English interest to such an extent that he ran the risk, so he tells Arlington, of being made to return to the country he esteemed so much.² And so on. A very slight part of the close connexion between English and French aristocracy in the seventeenth century is due to the Hamilton-Gramont marriage ; an extremely slight part, it is true, but still it is one.

¹ Cartwright, *Madame*, p. 217.

² *Hist. MSS. Comm.*, Buccleuch MSS. at Montagu House, Vol. I, p. 491.

CHAPTER III

1667-1670

THE GENDARMES ANGLAIS. GRAMONT AND BUCKINGHAM

WHILE Gramont frequently came to the English court in various capacities, one of the Hamiltons was becoming known at the French court through his connexion with the French army. This was the second son, George Hamilton, without doubt the ablest and the best-beloved of the six brothers, 'that valiant and worthy gentleman,' as Evelyn calls him.¹ Kind-hearted, modest and unassuming in spite of his achievements, he had none of James's frivolity, Anthony's cynical contempt for humanity or Richard's blustering swagger. He had been page to Charles, it will be remembered, when the court was still in exile, after the Restoration he gave up this office, and some time afterwards entered the King's Life Guards. Readers of the *Memoirs* will recall his intrigues with pretty Mrs. Wetenhall and his admiration for Miss Stuart; they will also remember that he finally married one of the Duchess of York's maids of honour, la belle Jennings, the most handsome young lady in England, according to the Ambassador Courtin, and sister of Sarah, the future Duchess of Marlborough. The marriage took place in 1665,² and was a very happy one.

This marriage too, like James Hamilton's, involved a change of religion, but this time it was the bride who changed, becoming a Roman Catholic.³ From the point of view of worldly prosperity it would have been better

¹ *Diary*, II, p. 387.

² Wolseley, *Life of Marlborough*, I, p. 161. Charles gave Hamilton a pension of £500 at the time. Cunningham, *Story of Nell Gwyn*, p. 208.

³ Evelyn, *Diary*, loc. cit.

if George Hamilton had followed his brother's example ; for, in spite of, or rather because of, the King's leanings to the Church of Rome, it was a hard time for Catholics. If Nonconformists were odious to the people, Papists were incomparably more so. The King's cautious attempts to favour Popery under the cover of toleration for Protestant Dissent had nevertheless excited suspicion and put Parliament on its guard. When Charles claimed the power of dispensing with the provisions and penalties of the Act of Uniformity, the Houses replied not only by the Conventicle Act, but also by requiring Charles to issue a proclamation banishing all Jesuits and Catholic priests. This was in 1663. With the great fire, feelings became still more bitter, for the blame was fastened upon the Catholics. Again, if the Dutch advanced into the mouth of the Thames in 1667, the Catholics were equally to blame, Sir Edward Spragge, the Vice-Admiral in command of the squadron there, being an ' Irish Papist ' and places of importance having been put ' out of faithful men's hands into Papists '.¹ The proclamation against Priests and Jesuits was renewed. All laws against Papists were strictly enforced, and the Commons obtained the disarming of all who refused the Oaths of Allegiance and Supremacy.²

It therefore became necessary to cashier all Roman Catholics serving in the Royal Guards, and, on the 28th of September, 1667, on the ground that they refused 1667 to take the Oath of Supremacy, they were dismissed.

There was nothing open to these men in England, so the most of them chose to leave the country. Charles had declared that they should have leave to go abroad whither they pleased, and little groups of ten or twelve banded together to seek their fortune beyond the seas, in France or Flanders, there meaning to ' earn their bread by their swords ' until His Majesty had occasion for their further service.³

Amongst those who had been turned out of the army was George Hamilton. He was approached secretly and given to understand that he and his men would be welcome in the French service,⁴ for Louis, who had invaded the

¹ *Cal. St. P., Dom.*, 1667, pp. 206-207.

² *Ib.*, pp. 220, 231, 251, etc.

³ *Ib.*, 1667-1668, pp. 28, 54, 82, 110; *Arlington Letters*, I, p. 185.

⁴ *Arlington Letters*, loc. cit.

Spanish Low Countries which he claimed to be the inheritance of his wife, needed men. He had just granted a three months' truce, but was not the man to rest upon that. Two other regiments were going to France at this time,¹ one under the command of Colonel Henry Staniers, the other the so-called Scottish Regiment which had been brought to France in 1633 by Sir John Hepburn and had finally passed into the hands of Lord George Douglas.² When France declared war against England in 1666 Charles sent for this regiment, but 'the People murmuring at them and complaining of the Government for imploying Papists' Lord George Douglas was given permission to return to France.³

Hamilton was naturally very glad to accept the offer made to him, though it gave rise to some jealousy at the English court and to not a little bitterness at the Spanish. Ruvigny, the French Ambassador, informed Louis that the 'affaire Amilton' was making much noise and was taken to be a kind of declaration.⁴ As a matter of fact, an understanding with France was the last thing Parliament wanted, the triumphal progress of Louis had been watched with jealousy; moreover, both the Dutch and the Spanish were contemplating alliances with Charles and could hardly view this step with equanimity. The Spanish Ambassador, the Condé de Molina, and the Baron de l'Isola, Austrian Ambassador, hastened to Charles, complained of Hamilton's plans, and drew his attention to the fact that Louis was giving money and lending ships for that purpose. They gave him notice of all these proceedings, they said, so that he, Charles, might put a stop to them if all this were being done without his permission, or, if he had authorized it, then Spain ought to have the same advantages as her enemy and should be given at least half of Hamilton's company.

Charles replied that as for Hamilton and his men, all that he knew was that he had given them leave to seek their fortune where they could find it, that having turned them

¹ *R.O. St. P.*, Foreign, France, Vol. 123, f. 199, Saint Albans to Arlington, Sept. 17th, 1677.

² Francisque Michel, *Les Ecosais en France*, II, pp. 305-18.

³ *Savile Correspondence*, p. 22; *Arlington Letters*, loc. cit.

⁴ *Aff. Etr.*, *Corr. Pol. Angleterre*, 89, p. 265, Ruvigny to Louis XIV, Sept. 1st, 1667.

out of his Guard, he was unwilling to proceed with any further severity towards them by constraining them to serve against their liking, that if he, the Spanish Ambassador, could prevail with them to go to Flanders, they should have passports accordingly given them.

The Ambassador and his ally next proceeded with their complaints to the Duke of York and spoke to him with great vehemence, for Charles had not allayed their suspicions. As a matter of fact Charles was quite aware of the offer made to George Hamilton and had even charged Ruvigny to thank Louis for his kindness and especially for the name, *les Gendarmes Anglais*, which Louis was going to give the new regiment.¹

The Dutch, too, wished to secure the men leaving the English service and sent most favourable offers, promising to treat the men well; only, they were not all to be sent over at the same time but in little groups so that all 'éclat' might be avoided. This news caused Ruvigny to hurry in his turn to Charles to ask him whether he knew anything of the manœuvres of the Dutch. Charles replied in the affirmative, but said that the men did not wish to take service with them.²

Meanwhile Louvois was counselling haste, since the Spanish Ambassador was leaving nothing undone to secure the débris of the English troops,³ and Ruvigny was urging these would-be French regiments to prepare with all possible speed to leave the country for fear that Parliament, which was to meet about the middle of October, should prevent their exodus, especially as L'Isola was doing everything in his power to bring this about.⁴ Ruvigny's suspicions were not without foundation, for, a few days later, some Members of Parliament came to see Arlington, complained of the permission given to the Scottish regiment and to the Reformed Guards and intimated their intention of speaking

¹ *Ib.*, pp. 343-345, Ruvigny to Louis, Oct. $\frac{8}{15}$, 1667; *Arlington Letters*, loc. cit.

² *Ib.*, pp. 285-286, Ruvigny to Louis, $\frac{23 \text{ Sept.}}{3 \text{ Oct.}}$, 1667.

³ *R.O. St. P.*, Foreign, France, 123, f. 188, Louvois to St. Albans, Sept. 13, 1667.

⁴ *Aff. Etr.*, *Corr. Pol. Angleterre*, 89, p. 292, Ruvigny to Louis, $\frac{23 \text{ Sept.}}{3 \text{ Oct.}}$ 1667.

to Charles about the matter before Parliament assembled to beg him to send these troops rather to Flanders.¹

When Parliament met it directed that no more men or horses were to leave the kingdom.² This, of course, was a serious thing for George Hamilton; he tells Louvois that he has the greatest difficulty imaginable in completing his company, and that the order of Parliament has virtually put a stop to his endeavours.³ Ruigny advised him to postpone his preparations for a while, but Louvois remarked that he could, it seemed to him, send men across daily in very small groups and buy them horses in France, adding quite kindly that he thought George Hamilton would find French horses just as suitable as English ones.⁴

On the 1st of February, 1668, at last, and aided by a new gift of five hundred pistols from Louis, George Hamilton managed to sail from Dover to Ostend, with one hundred men and horses; eighty-three more horses were got across in spring.⁵ He can therefore hardly, as is sometimes said, have led his company to the war in the Franche-Comté which Louis, still at war with Spain, had overrun. In his pass, dated January 14, he is for the first time styled Sir George Hamilton, and would thus seem to have been knighted by Charles before his departure, though there is no record of the matter.⁶

It is more than likely that Anthony accompanied him to France at this time, since we know that the two brothers served there together. Anthony was now between twenty-two and twenty-three years old; Catholics, as we have

¹ *Aff. Etr., Corr. Pol. Angleterre*, 89, p. 358, Ruigny to Louis, 17 Oct., 1667.

² *Guerre*, 245, No. 241. George Hamilton to Louvois, 14 Nov., 1667.

³ *Ib.*

⁴ *Ib.*, Vol. 207, No. 316, Louvois to Hamilton, Dec. 14, 1667.

⁵ *Cal. St. P., Dom.*, 1667-1668, p. 207; *Guerre*, 202, f. 178, Louvois to Hamilton and Louvois to Ruigny, Jan. 13, 1668.

⁶ *Cal. St. P., Dom.*, 1667-1668, p. 167. His father did not die till 1679, nor was he the eldest son, so that his title was in no wise inherited. As for Anthony, who is so often styled 'Count' Hamilton, there is no evidence whatever to show that he bore this title during his lifetime. Like all his brothers he is called 'M. d'Hamilton'; he could not well be called 'M. Hamilton' as he was 'noble.' Souches, it is true, styles all the Hamiltons indifferently as 'les comtes d'Hamilton,' and the Hamilton, be it Anthony or Richard, who danced in a ballet, is called 'le comte d'Hamilton' by the *Dictionnaire des Théâtres*, but it is far more significant that Berwick should in 1713 speak of Anthony as plain 'M. Anthony Hamilton.' (*Hist. MSS. Comm.*, Stuart Papers, I, p. 267.) It is the early publishers of Hamilton's works who are mainly responsible for the title of count.

seen, had no prospects in the Army—possibly Anthony was amongst those who were dismissed; money he had none to lead a leisurely existence at court; three of his brothers had some kind of occupation—James, the Protestant, held an appointment in the King's Household; George had accepted service in the French army; and Thomas, Anthony's junior, had entered the Navy in 1666 or earlier.¹ So Tony Hamilton, as his friends called him, probably buckled on his sword, bid farewell to Whitehall and its Etheredges, Sedleys and Killegrews, and returned, a gentleman adventurer, to the country in which he had spent his youth; not perhaps with much enthusiasm for soldiering, a profession in which he never shone, but certainly with no reluctance to mingle once more with the courtiers of Paris and Saint-Germain. He took with him the memories of the court which he was later to describe, of the 'inexpressible luxury and prophaneness, gaming and all dissoluteness and as it were total forgetfulness of God,'² to use the words of a less indulgent judge than Hamilton; the scandals he had witnessed and watched with the impressionable interest of youth were to live again, though not the disasters that had befallen his country without moving the dissolute aristocracy—the Fire, the Plague and the humiliating war with the Dutch.

The soldier portrait of Anthony Hamilton preserved at the National Portrait Gallery, must have been painted not long after this; it is less attractive than the better known one of Anthony in his old age. The calm, the dignity, the penetrating gaze, the sphinx-like smile are hardly yet discernible; handsome, dashing, extremely complacent and with a touch of that scornfulness which is properly his, it is probably a true likeness of what he was before the years of misfortune.

English, Scottish and Irish regiments were by no means an unknown thing in France. Saint-Louis had had a small bodyguard of Scottish archers, an institution which was kept up by the other kings, and these Gardes du Corps Ecossais took precedence of all the other companies composing the Maison du Roi, though by the time of Louis XIV, they were Scotch in nothing but the name. Charles VII, had

¹ Charnock, *Biographia Navalis*, I, p. 310.

² Evelyn, *Diary*, III, pp. 144, 145. Evelyn is, of course, alluding to a somewhat later period, but his words are none the less applicable.

created the Gendarmes Ecossais, who ranked immediately after the household cavalry. The nominal captain was always a Scottish noble of very high birth until in 1667 Louis honoured the Gendarmes Ecossais by becoming himself their captain.¹ Various other regiments had served for shorter periods and had mostly been disbanded by this time.²

When George Hamilton arrived in France, where his men were considered fine and well built, Louis incorporated those who were Scotch in the Gendarmerie Ecossaise and formed the others into the Compagnie des Gendarmes Anglais. Their uniform³ was similar to that of the Gendarmes Ecossais, who, as the older company, were to take precedence. Louis himself was Captain and George Hamilton was 'Capitaine-Lieutenant.'⁴ Their standard showed the sun towards which eight eaglets were soaring, with the motto, 'Tuus ad te nos vocat ardor,' a kind of flattery not distasteful to the Roi Soleil.⁵

Very soon after his arrival in France George Hamilton, in the hope that Charles would never require "gans qui vallent si peu que moy," as he says, applied for and obtained permission to become a French citizen.⁶ One would like

¹ Fieffé, *Troupes étrangères au service de la France*, I, pp. 33-35, 169 175-176, etc.

² Susane, *Histoire de l'Infanterie Française*, I, pp. 191 seq.; V, pp. 285-288, 294.

³ "L'uniforme de ces deux compagnies était : habit, doublure et parements de drap rouge, bordé d'argent sur le tout, les manches de l'habit galonnées d'argent, veste cramoisie, culotte de la couleur de l'habit, bottes à revers, chapeau bordé d'argent, boutons argentés, cocarde noire. La première (the Gendarmes Ecossais) avait une bandouillère de soie jaune, le ceinturon et les ornements chamois, tandis que le violet avait été affecté à la seconde. Les armes étaient le mousqueton, l'épée et les pistolets. Equipage du cheval : Rouge, bordé d'argent avec le chiffre de la compagnie brodé du même métal." (Fieffé, I, p. 173.)

⁴ Daniel, *Histoire de la Milice Française*, II, pp. 247, 248. In connection with the formation of this regiment General Susane (*Histoire de la Cavalerie Française*, I, p. 251) has the following interesting remark : "En agissant ainsi, le roi avait, croyons-nous, la pensée de rappeler la suzeraineté de la France sur l'Angleterre, et ce serait dans la même intention qu'il aurait imposé aux deux compagnies suivantes les titres de Gendarmes bourguignons et Gendarmes flamands, qui rappelaient le retour à la couronne d'anciens apanages qui en avaient été détachés."

⁵ Daniel, II, p. 257. A reproduction of this and the Scottish standard is to be found in the Appendix of Moullart's *Régiments sous Louis*, XV (1882). The uniforms there shown are those worn by the gendarmes in the middle of the eighteenth century.

⁶ *R.O. St. P.*, Foreign, France, 124, f. 48, March 22nd, 1668; *Cal. St. P.* Dom., 1667-1668, p. 277.

to be able to quote this letter to Arlington in full, for the light it throws on his affectionate loyal nature. The services of the English Gendarmes seem to have given Louis satisfaction.¹ About a year after they came to France they were reviewed, along with the King's other Guards, at the Bois de Boulogne in the presence of the King, the Queen and the whole court. The King commended them highly and gave Hamilton a pension of two thousand crowns a year beside his pay.² On another occasion hearing that Hamilton was in great financial difficulties—as the Hamiltons usually were—and about to set out to England to try to obtain the pension given to him by Charles after his marriage, he sent him six hundred pistols and told him it was to help in his journey, and that he hoped the King of England would do his part and that between them they might help him to subsist.³

The society of their sister, Madame de Gramont, now *dame du palais*, must have done much to make the Hamiltons' stay in France pleasant. They were very much attached to her, and, moreover, through her position and the marked favour of Louis which both she and her husband enjoyed, she could exert her influence in behalf of her brothers, particularly the younger ones who stood more in need of it than George. Just about this time there occurs an amusing episode in her husband's extraordinarily varied career, which, as it is relatively unknown, may be set forth here briefly.

Confronted by the Triple Alliance, England, Holland and Sweden, Louis made peace with Spain at Aix-la-Chapelle in May, 1668, and Europe enjoyed quiet for a brief space. The Triple Alliance had not, however, the loyal support of Charles, who disliked the Dutch, and a secret alliance with France and Catholicism was sought

¹ The only complaints brought against them were by Condé, who objected to their hunting in the grounds of Chantilly, and by one M. de la Garde, who accused them of a similar offence. *Guerre*, 231, f. 129, Louvois to Hamilton, Feb. 12th, 1669; 235, f. 32, the same to the same, Oct. 4th, 1669.

² *R.O. St. P.*, Foreign, France, 126, f. 23, Feb. 13th, 1669. Cf. *Perwich Papers* (Royal Hist. Soc. Publ.), pp. 20-21.

³ *Hist. MSS. Comm.*, Buccleuch MSS. at Montagu House, I, p. 459 Jan. 19th, 1670. Of the possible loss of this pension Hamilton remarks earnestly on one occasion, "Ce me serait un coup et plus a crindre qu'auquun que me puice doner les imperiaux." (*R.O. St. P.*, Foreign, France, 138, f. 32, August 25th, 1673.)

after. This alliance, securing to Louis the co-operation of Charles in a future war with the Dutch, was brought about, it will be remembered, by Madame through 1670 the Treaty of Dover in June, 1670, a treaty signed only by the Catholic members of the Cabal Ministry and Arundel, since it contained an article referring to the King's conversion and the subsidy offered in return by the French.

Amongst those who came with the Duchess of Orleans to Dover were the Count and the Countess de Gramont; they with their train of three women, one squire, two valets, two pages and four footmen, formed part of the suite d'honneur. George Hamilton and his wife were also to have accompanied her, but they are not mentioned in the final list preserved amongst the French papers at the Record Office.¹

Shortly after Madame's return to France her tragic and mysterious death took place. Its suddenness gave rise to the belief that she had been murdered, and at the post-mortem examination, James Hamilton, who had so often brought her letters from her brother, was present.² As for Gramont, he had not accompanied Madame on her return journey, but had remained in England. He was to have come away, somewhat reluctantly, in the end of June with his brother-in-law, James Hamilton, on his way to Florence to carry 'compliments of condolence' from Charles to the Grand Duke of Tuscany,³ and had received a parting gift of £1000 from Charles. The present was originally to have taken the shape of a jewel, but the Count must have hinted that ready money was more acceptable.⁴ When, however, the news of Madame's death came, Gramont changed his plans. Henry Savile relates

¹ *R.O. St. P.*, Foreign, France, 129, ff. 189, 240; Daniel de Cosnac, *Mémoires*, I, p. 417.

² Mrs. Everett Green, *Lives of the English Princesses*, VI, Appendix No. 2, p. 586.

³ For James Hamilton and the Grand Duke of Tuscany see Magalotti, *Travels of Cosmo the Third, Grand Duke of Tuscany* (London, 1821), p. 195; Steinman, *Althorp Memoirs* (privately printed at Oxford, 1868-1869); Addenda, pp. 4, 5; *Hist. MSS. Comm.*, 15th Report, Appendix, Part II, p. 12; *Various Collections*, II, p. 139; *R.O. St. P.*, Foreign, France, 130, ff. 15, 16; *St. P.*, Dom., 1670, pp. 391, 421, 455. In Cartwright's *Madame* (p. 382) it is stated that James Hamilton was present at Madame's funeral service, but he was in Italy by this time.

⁴ *Cal. St. P.*, Dom., 1670, p. 296.

that Gramont had 'made a shift to find arguments' for staying on in England, 'and at last will not go.'¹ So he was left in London and watched the development of affairs with some curiosity: the French Embassy surrounded by a howling mob, the rioters bent on visiting what they considered to be Henrietta's murder on the first Frenchman unlucky enough to fall into their hands, the coming and going from court to court, Monsieur's envoy coldly received, Arlington demanding a declaration of war, the Maréchal de Bellefonds despatched by Louis, and Buckingham beside himself with anger, for Buckingham continued to show his resentment longer than the other Ministers, because by that means, so the Ambassador Colbert de Croissy suggests,² he hoped to gain popularity.

When finally Buckingham became pacified Gramont took to himself the credit of having brought about this change of feelings. "Vous scaurez donc, Monsieur," he informs Lionne, "que la mort de Madame ayant mis M. de Bouquinkam dans un emportement extraordinaire il fut plus de quatre jours sans voir M^r l'Ambassadeur et jugeant que cela feroit du bruit et n'avanceroit pas leurs affaires je le ramenay le mieux que je pus et fis tant par mes agrémens et mon éloquence que je le conduisis moy-mesme chez M^r l'Ambassadeur."³

From having been the most violent enemy of the French Buckingham now passed to the other extreme and insisted on an offensive treaty being made with France—for of the treaty that Madame had negotiated at Dover, he, of course, as a Protestant, knew nothing. He now offered to go to France to reply to the compliments of the Maréchal de Bellefonds and to bring about closer relations between the two nations, and since it was, after all, necessary to have some treaty in which the Protestant Ministers of the Crown could participate, the mission took place, to the infinite amusement of the initiated, with Gramont as Buckingham's companion—'gouverneur,' Gramont calls it, and he tells Lionne full of pride that it is at Charles's request. In fact, Gramont feels he is the man of the hour, the diplomatist who has brought England and France together and who

¹ *Savile Correspondence*, p. 25.

² *Aff. Etr., Corr. Pol. Angleterre*, 99, f. 231, July 7th, 1670 (N.S.), to Lionne.

³ *Ib.*, f. 245, July 12th, 1670,

would delight in provoking a rupture between England and Holland. Van Beuninghen, the envoy of the Grand Pensionary, is 'furious' at the projected expedition, so Gramont notes with satisfaction,¹ and he proceeds to treat him with a studied insolence which he considers a further diplomatic achievement. On one occasion, "Après tous nos complimens"—the story is told by the Count himself with great complacency in one of his rare letters—"je luy dis M^r de Vanbeuning, vous souvient-il lorsque vous me disiez à Paris que ces Messieurs (the English) étoient des misérables et que les Holandois les batioient partout; avec son esprit il fut embarrassé, se mit pourtant à rire, et me dit qu'il avoit veu à Amsterdam M^r le grand M^r de Ragny. Je luy dis que je luy croyois mais qu'il ne faloit pas changer de discours. Il s'en alla en me disant que je ne changeois pas et que j'estois aussy mauvais qu'à Paris, voilà ses propres mots, c'estoit au cercle assez proche du Roy devant quelques Anglois qui estoient avec nous qui ne regardèrent pas de bon œil le Ministre extraordinaire lorsque je leur disois qu'il assuroit à Paris que les Holandois les batioient toujours."²

Gramont and his protégé, as he was pleased to consider him, left London in the beginning of August.³ He doubtless shared in the royal entertainments with which the Duke was honoured and probably felt that the Duke's zeal in negotiating the mock treaty was in no little measure due to his influence.

When Buckingham was about to return, Colbert de Croissy, the Ambassador in England, heard that Gramont intended to accompany him. He was not a little dismayed, for Gramont, it would seem, had not been all that could be desired during his stay in London. Colbert had not thought it necessary, at the time, to trouble Lionne, but now he regretted his indulgence. For some unknown reason Gramont had tried first of all to sow dissension between

¹ *Aff. Etr., Corr. Pol. Angleterre*, 99, f. 245, July 12th, 1670, to Lionne.

² *Ib.*, f. 220, July 1st, 1670, to Lionne.

³ En dépit du vieux Saint Alban
Et d'Arlington et d'Haliface
Et d'une nymphe encore à séduisante face
Il enleva le Buckingham.

Hamilton, *Œuvres*, I, p. 12. Hamilton was not aware that the opposition of Arlington was feigned in order to increase the Duke's desire. The nymph is, of course, Lady Shrewsbury.

Colbert and Arlington, but finding his efforts of no avail, he had tried, 'with all the skill imaginable,' to bring about a rupture between Colbert and Buckingham, and might have succeeded had not a chance meeting in the park of 'Richemont' cleared up the misunderstanding between the two. Colbert had thereupon taken the Count to task, with the result that the latter bore him a grudge for some time.¹

Arlington, too, was no less anxious that the Count, 'capable de nous brouiller tous,' should be made to stay in his own country.² But it was too late now; Gramont was already on his way to England, Louis having somewhat reluctantly permitted him to go. When, however, Louis heard of Gramont's misdeeds, he at once sent a letter for him to Colbert which the latter was to use if Gramont made himself at all disagreeable.

"ST. GERMAIN, le 24^e jour de septembre, 1670.

Mons. le Comte de Gramont, je vous fais cette lettre pour vous dire qu'en quelque temps elle vous soit rendue par le Sr Colbert mon Amb^{eur} en Angleterre, mon intention est que vous partiez de Londres sans delay pour revenir en France toutes autres affaires et considérations cessantes a quoy m'assurant que vous ne manquerez de satisfaire, je ne vous la feray plus expresse, priant sur ce Dieu qu'il vous ayt,"³ etc.

No necessity, however, arose for using the letter. Gramont had evidently come back in a better disposition; as a matter of fact, a quarrel which had taken place between him and Buckingham on the eve of their departure, had rather a sobering effect on him. Louis had presented the Duke with some very fine horses, and Gramont, who considered himself privileged to say anything he liked, remarked that if a stranger in England had commended any of the horses in the King's stables, the King would have sold them to him as dear as he could, but would never have presented them. The Duke was naturally indignant and Louis was not less displeased at Gramont's indiscretion, saying, so it was reported, "you have lost my favour once through

¹ Aff. Etr., *Corr. Pol. Angleterre*, 99, f. 310, Sept. 15th, 1670, to Lionne.

² *Ib.*

³ *Ib.*, f. 332.

your disrespect, have a care of doing it a second.”¹ The Countess de Gramont managed to reconcile them, outwardly at least and for the sake of appearances, but not even Arlington’s intervention could bring the two friends to a good understanding again and Gramont left England about three weeks after his return with Buckingham. The treaty which Buckingham had so energetically promoted in Paris, the *traité simulé*, as it was styled by the initiated, was almost completed and Gramont was to have taken it to France if it had been ready in time.²

In spite of the present of £1000 which Charles had given him earlier in the year, Gramont considered that the King was still somewhat in his debt, so, in a month or two, he proceeded to pen the following curious long-winded letter to Arlington :

“ Le mareschal de Gramont quy connoist bien nostre Cour m’a dit quil ny auoit pas grande chose a faire pour les courtisans sils n’estoient recommandés par certaines puissances ; et qu’il estoit persuadez que sy le Roy d’Angleterre vouloit parler au Roy en faueur de la Comtesse de Gramont et de moy, que nos affaires en yroit mieux. Je luy ay respondu que cestoit assuré que le Roy d’Angleterre auoit assés de bonté pour faire les choses quy pourroient servir a me faire du bien. ‘ Je vous conseille,’ me dit-il dy trauailler auec empressement, et ne laissés pas perdre cette ocasion quy me paroist fauorable.’ Il fault a ce quon dit que le Roy parle a Mr. Colbert, Ambassadeur, afin quil escriue ici l’amitié quil a pour moy, et combien les interestz de la Comtesse luy sont cher par l’honneur qu’elle a de luy appartenir et par les services que luy ont rendu tous ces (ses) proches, et par la tendre amitié que Madame auoit pour elle.

“ Enfin, mon cher Milor, c’est a vous a faire que la chose reussisse autement pour vostre amy. Je vous prie de dire au Roy quil est obligé a quelque chose de plus pour moy que pour les autres, puisque toute la France c’est (sait) bien que je pris autement ces (ses) interestz durant la

¹ *R.O. St. P.*, Foreign, France, 130, f. 121, Sept. 16th, 1670, Francis Vernon to ? Williamson.

² *Aff. Etr.*, *Corr. Pol. Angleterre*, 99, f. 325, Lionne to Colbert, Sept. 17th, f. 358b, Colbert to Lionne, Oct. 2nd ; f. 365, the same to the same, Oct. 6th, 1670.

guerre (de) Holande et que je failly a estre chassé. Conclusion, il fault que M. Colbert escriue ici apres que le Roy luy aura parlé dans des termes trespessantz, et que le Roy vostre maistre enuoye vostre lettre a son Ambassadeur dans le meme sens, adressante au Roy. Il a de lesprit ; il tournera cela comme il voudra. Encore une fois, le Roy y est obligé par tous les services que je luy ay rendu.

“ Mon petit neuveu Mr. de Lauzun espouze dimanche la grande Mademoiselle. Vous croirés peut estre que je suis deueuus foux de vous mander cela, mais il ny a rien de sy vray. Cela fait un grand bruit icy. Jay dy toutes les particularités a vostre Ambassadeur, quy vous le mandera. Ne dittes pas que c'est moy quy vous a mandé cette nouuelle.

“ Pour le Milor Arlinton.”¹

The letter seems to have brought him some help ;² in any case Gramont was soon back in England as envoy from the French court,³ and could claim in person, very much more effectively than in any letter, the reward due to his merits.

¹ *Hist. MSS. Comm.*, MSS. of the Duke of Buccleuch at Montagu House, I, pp. 490-491 (Dec. 16th, 1670).

² *Ib.*, p. 495, Jan. 28th, 1671.

³ Charles had sent Lord Bellasis to Dunkirk to compliment Louis on his arrival there, and the Marquis de Vergest and Gramont carried back compliments in return (*Cal. St. P.*, Dom., 1671, pp. 212, 236, 271). On this occasion Evelyn met Gramont at dinner at 'Mr. Treasurer's,' but he records nothing beyond the mere fact (*Diary*, II, p. 322).

CHAPTER IV

1671-1674

THE RÉGIMENT D'HAMILTON

PREPARATIONS—diplomatic and military—for war with the United Provinces were going on all this time in France, ever since the signing of the Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle in 1668. The allies and possible allies of the Dutch were skilfully detached. Instead of disbanding the regiments which with the peace had become unnecessary, Louvois kept them on, increased them in size and raised new regiments. For the war in the Spanish Low Countries Louis had had 72,000 men at his disposition; on the 1st of February, 1672, their number was 120,000.¹ Of the 87 cavalry regiments 9 were foreign, one of them being the English regiment of Sir Henry Jones which, after the death of Sir Henry in 1673 was given to the Duke of Monmouth, and known by his name or also as Royal Anglais² (not to be confused with the Duke's regiment of foot, Royal Anglais). Of the 58 infantry regiments 12 had been raised in other countries, two of these in Ireland by George Hamilton and Wentworth Dillon, fourth Earl of Roscommon, one in Scotland, Lord George Douglas's regiment, already mentioned; and one in England, the above regiment of the Duke of Monmouth.³

According to the Treaty of Dover Charles had agreed to furnish 6000 men and to support them in the French army in the case of war with Holland; one of the secret articles

¹ Lavissee, *Histoire de France*, VII (Part 2), p. 238 and note.

² *R.O. St. P.*, Foreign, France, 136. In his *Histoire de la Cavalerie Française*, III, p. 250, Susane says that the regiment 'Johns' was raised on Nov. 9th, 1672, but by this time it had been at least a year in existence. Cf. *St. P.*, Dom., 1671, p. 532, and *Guerre*, 294, No. 106, Bussièrre to Louvois, Aug. 16th, 1672.

³ Lavissee, op. cit., p. 308; *Cal. St. P.*, Dom., 1671, pp. 278, 572, 575; 1671-1672, pp. 6, 316, 391; *Guerre*, 271, No. 19, Colbert to Louvois, Feb. 1st, 1672.

annexed, however, reduced this number to 4000 if the circumstances of Charles did not permit of his sending the larger number. The *traité simulé* signed on December 31, 1670, retained both the articles referring to the 6000 and 4000 men respectively.

But as the time for fulfilling this promise drew near Charles, hampered by his eternal financial difficulties, begged Louis to relieve him of his obligations; the money that would have been required for the maintenance of these auxiliary forces would be used towards the improving of the fleet, and, if Louis wished, Charles would raise 8000 or 10,000 men in England, to be, of course, supported by Louis. Louis consented to set him free and availed himself of his offer of men to the extent of 2000. These were the men brought over by Monmouth; the régiment d'Hamilton, however, and probably also the régiment de Roscommon were raised at Louis's expense. A third treaty signed at Whitehall on February 12, 1672, declared in a secret article that Charles was free of all obligations for the year 1672, but would be expected to furnish men, as stipulated, in the year following, as long as the war continued.¹

To return to the régiment d'Hamilton, in June, 1671, Charles directed the Lords Justices of Ireland to permit

Hamilton to raise a regiment of foot in Ireland of 1671 1500 men besides officers for the service of the Most

Christian King, and since it was not convenient for the matter to be made public, the said levies were to be made and men transported with all the secrecy possible.² According to the articles signed by George Hamilton in April, 1671, the regiment was to consist of fifteen companies of 100 men each, all the men to be of proper age and strength, well clothed and armed only with a good sword and belt. On landing in France the officers and men were to take an oath that they would do the King good and faithful service against all except the King of Great Britain. In the event of a rupture between the said King and Louis, the latter promised to allow the regiment to march to any port and embark.³

¹ Mignet, *Négociations*, III, pp. 192-193, 198, 259, 264-265, 653-654, 701.

² *Cal. St. P., Dom.*, 1671, pp. 311-312.

³ *Ib.*, p. 312. For the full French text of the capitulation see Appendix I, p. 277.

In this regiment Anthony and his younger brother Richard served, as well as their relative, Gustavus Hamilton,¹ the defender of Enniskillen, and the gallant Sarsfield.² Their youngest brother, John, never served in France, though this is often stated to have been the case.³ In spite of all researches very little is known of Anthony's life up to the Revolution in Ireland, but here, at least, can be recounted an act of gallantry on his part. Both George and Anthony Hamilton were in Ireland in the summer of 1671, when their men were being got together. On the 19th of May, between two and three o'clock in the morning a fire broke out in the storehouse of Dublin Castle, and the whole building eventually burned down to the ground. In order to save the castle itself the Lord Lieutenant ordered the storehouse and some adjoining buildings to be blown up, and for this purpose Anthony Hamilton and his cousin, Lord John Butler, rashly entered the burning place and at great peril to their lives brought out a barrel of powder with which they demolished the buildings through which the fire could have spread.⁴

By September the regiment was ready to embark. An Irish correspondent praises the men and informs Joseph Williamson, Arlington's secretary, that George Hamilton's diligence and discreet conduct have been extraordinary, and that their greatest fanatics pay him great respect for his civil carriage to all sorts of people.⁵

With whatever secrecy the raising of these troops may have been carried on, the Condé de Molina, the Spanish ambassador, heard of it, just as he had heard of the *Gendarmes Anglais* in 1667, and again expressed his displeasure. He even wrote, in August, to the Spanish resident at Paris that he had caused the permission granted for the raising of men in Ireland to be revoked.⁶ Louis' intentions were not known, but the growth of the French army could not but be a menace to Spain, and in particular to the Netherland possessions. Yet though Charles may have led the

¹ *Guerre*, 269, No. 158, Louvois to Gustavus Hamilton, Nov. 14th, 1672.

² *Avaux, Négociations*, p. 519.

³ *Sourches, Mémoires*, III, Appendix VIII, p. 516.

⁴ *Cal. St. P., Dom.*, 1671, p. 256.

⁵ *Ib.*, p. 468.

⁶ *R.O. St. P., Foreign, France*, 131, f. 192, to Arlington, August 9th, 1671.

Ambassador to believe that his wishes would be carried out, no stop was put to the raising of the regiment and a month later he was still complaining of the levies. Charles assured him that Hamilton had no express licence, and Arlington coldly told him that he must not think it strange if a gentleman who had been the King's page abroad and had lost his employment at home for being a Roman Catholic should have some more than ordinary connivance from his friends and relatives in Ireland, and, taking the matter in the worst sense he could give, it would not amount to the breach of any article between the King, his master and the Crown of Spain.¹

Louis, according to an anonymous authority, considered Hamilton's regiment very good, especially the officers, who were all men of good birth, fine stature and *fort magnifiques*.² George Hamilton served at the head of this regiment during the following campaigns, though the *Compagnie des Gendarmes Anglais* still belonged to him as well.

In March, 1672, war was at last declared against Holland by England and France. The rendezvous of the French king's troops was Charleroi, where they met in the 1672 beginning of May. Perwich, the English agent in Paris, relates about this time that Louis was so ill satisfied with the *régiment d'Hamilton* as to order its being left in garrison in Liège.³ If this was really the case, the disgrace can only have been of short duration, for, according to the very reliable *Chronologie Militaire*,⁴ George Hamilton and his regiment joined the French army after the famous passage of the Rhine in June, where Gramont's nephew, the young Comte de Guiche, showed such bravery, and where Condé received a wound which, slight as it was, incapacitated him for the time being. Hamilton was not therefore present at the taking of the Rhine fortresses of Buderich, Orsay, Rheinberg and Wesel, but Gramont was with the King, and it was he who was sent to the commanders of Orsay and Rheinberg, to invite them to capitulate; just as he had been sent to Dôle in the Franche

¹ *Arlington Letters*, II, pp. 332-333, Sept. 7th, 1671.

² Bibliothèque Nationale, Cabinet des Titres, Vol. 345, dossier bleu Hamilton, 8904, f. 39.

³ *Perwich Papers*, p. 220.

⁴ Pinard, *Chronologie Militaire*, VI, p. 429.

Comté in 1668.¹ While Turenne remained to take Arnheim and the towns on the Yssel, Louis with his army, including now the régiment d'Hamilton,² proceeded to Utrecht, which fell on the 20th of June.³

The Dutch, ill prepared and taken by surprise, had made a poor defence. Now, as a last resort, the dykes were cut so that the province of Holland might at least be saved, and the country between Utrecht and Amsterdam being under water there was little more to be done for the present. Louis, therefore, rejecting the Dutch offers of peace, withdrew from the Republic, but left a small army, which included the régiment d'Hamilton under the Maréchal de Luxembourg, and from the autumn of that year till the

¹ Pellisson, *Lettres Historiques*, I, pp. 105, 114; *R.O. St. P.*, Foreign, France, 134, f. 32; Saint Maurice, *Lettres sur la Cour de France*, II, pp. 310, 312; Rousset, *Histoire de Louvois*, I, pp. 135-136.

Grammont dedans la ville
Capitulés diligemment,
Car tout vous est facile.
Ou comme amant,
Ou comme amant,
Ou comme habile,
Tout est utile,
Tout se rend à votre agrément.

(Bibl. Nat. MS., fr. 12618, p. 177.)

² *R.O. St. P.*, Foreign, France, Vol. 134, f. 110, George Hamilton to (Williamson), June 29th, 1672.

³ Amongst the Englishmen who accompanied the army was Sidney Godolphin, Envoy Extraordinary, and from his pen we have a most interesting account of Louis and his officers. The letter is directed to Clifford.

"From ye Camp within 2 daies march of Utrecht. June 28, '72.

Instead of talking to you of y^e conquests of y^e Army w^{ch} in themselves are vast (yet little if you saw y^e pitifull defence that was made by y^e Dutch) I will entertaine you wth y^e greatnesse of y^e court here w^{ch} in my opinion is at least as considerable. For, my Lord, 'tis not to be imagined y^e infinite number of brave and knowing officers that are about y^e King nor what a world of young Gentlemen of Quality there are in y^e Army perpetually ready to seek all occasions where 'tis possible to get any reputation or learne any experience; besides that y^e King himselfe does really distinguish very well of men's merits and seldome fails to reward those that deserve it before they expect it; hee is very carefull to provide for y^e convenience and for y^e subsistance of y^e souldiers and very painful in his own person, alwayes marching on horseback in y^e heat and in y^e rain, all this that I say is really due to him and more of this kind, yet I am of opinion that if y^e Prince of Condé had not been hurt, y^e Army had been yet farther advanced then it is, y^e Army when y^e King commands in person seeming most commonly but to receive these places w^{ch} before had yielded upon y^e summons of y^e Prince of Condé or M. de Turenne." (*R.O. St. P.*, Foreign, France, 134, f. 93, June 28th, 1672.)

spring of the following Hamilton's men were stationed in Zutphen on the Yssel.

Life was not altogether easy for George Hamilton. Letters came to him from Louvois, reproaching him that most of his soldiers had neither shoes nor swords, reproaching him for the disorderly conduct of his regiment, "—your soldiers steal everything that comes near them." To make good all the losses the double of what the soldiers' thefts were worth was to be taken off the captains' pay.¹ One of his men killed a burgher of Zutphen 'by mistake.'² A captain of the régiment d'Hamilton and another of the régiment de la Vallette came to blows.³ Difficulties arose from the fact that Louvois had ordered a Frenchman to preside over a council of Irish officers that was to judge one of the soldiers. "These gentlemen," Louvois is informed by the Comte de Montauban, "have declared that no one under any consideration could preside over their councils. They are not easy to deal with in the matter."⁴ Dissensions were rife in the regiment itself. Gustavus Hamilton, at this time a captain, like Anthony Hamilton, quarrelled with the Lieutenant-Colonel Dongan.⁵ George Hamilton suspended Dongan temporarily for refusing to apologize in presence, of the officers of the garrison;⁶ some of the officers, however, took Dongan's part and the regiment continued for some time to be divided into factions, an unsatisfactory state of affairs.⁷

Recruits had not to be raised this winter as George Hamilton had been given the choice of 400 men out of the régiment de Roscommon. The King on granting Hamilton

¹ *Guerre*, Vol. 269, pp. 235, 297, 299, Oct. 24th, 28th, 29th, 1672.

² *Guerre*, Vol. 269, p. 121, Louvois to Montefranc, Nov. 11th, 1672.

³ *Ib.*, Vol. 303, p. 94, Louvois to Gaffard, April 6th, 1673.

⁴ *Ib.*, Vol. 333, No. 120, March 14th, 1673.

⁵ A brother of the Earl of Limerick (Avaux, *Négociations*, p. 520).

⁶ "Cela fera très grand bien au corps qu'il ay le temps de ce remettre l'esprit dans l'asiet ou un homme le doit avoir qui est a la test d'un nouveau regiman. . . . Son absence pour quelque temps fera du bien au regiman que vous veres par le soin des capitains assurement en estat de vous donner tout sorte de contentement, les hommes estant très bons et les compagnies fort complectes et quent les habits que iay commandé à Paris seront arrives et que jatans au premier jour, il y aura deux bons batallons et bien en estat de servir." (*Guerre*, 333, No. 266, George Hamilton to Louvois, March 30th, 1673; cf. Vol. 294, No. 387, Gaffard to Louvois, Sept. 25th, 1672; Vol. 269, p. 158, Louvois to Gustavus Hamilton, Nov. 4th, 1672; Vol. 303, p. 104, Louvois to George Hamilton, April 6th, 1673.)

⁷ Cf. Fitzgerald, *Irish Popish Plot*, p. 5.

permission remarked publicly that he had never seen any regiment of foreigners subsist so well and in such good order as Hamilton's.¹

Great preparations were being made for next year's campaign. A story is told that Corneille having asked the King to honour a new play, *Cléodate*, with his presence, received the following answer "Corneille, il faut songer à la guerre."² The Orange reaction had been strengthened by the murder of the De Witts, and the most grim resistance was to be expected from William, now the undisputed head. The Grand Elector of Brandenburg and the Emperor had with the States-General formed a first Coalition against France. The war was no longer a mere affair with the Dutch.

In spring Louis ordered Hamilton's regiment to the Rhine, to join Turenne's army which had been fighting the imperial troops and the troops of the Grand 1673 Elector the whole winter. Condé was sent to Utrecht and Louis proceeded to Maestricht. Little enough was done by the French in that summer of 1673 except the taking of Maestricht by Louis.

By the end of May Hamilton and his men reached Turenne, who thought the regiment very good and in good condition for service.³ George Hamilton writes very contentedly from the army in June; his one regret is their enforced idleness, but he foresees great things when the time for action comes; they are only 21,000 or 22,000 men, it is true, but the finest troops in the world, and, moreover, "la iuste confiance que nous avons en nostre generale nous rend ie croy invincible," he concludes enthusiastically.⁴

July still finds them in as great a calm as if they were in Paris, awaiting eagerly news of the enemy's army, and yet, what interests the Hamiltons even more, is the Duke of York's conversion and its possible consequences.⁵ Montecuculi with the Imperial army began to move in August, and the desire of the French to engage in action was

¹ *R.O. St. P.*, Foreign, France, 134, f. 181, Godolphin to Arlington, August 12th, 1672, and f. 190, Perwich to Williamson, August 26th, 1672.

² *R.O. St. P.*, Foreign, France, 135, f. 149, Francis Vernon to Williamson, Dec. 7th, 1672.

³ Turenne, *Lettres et Mémoires*, II, p. 282.

⁴ *R.O. St. P.*, Foreign, France, 137, f. 127, George Hamilton to Williamson, June 22nd [1673].

⁵ *Ib.*, f. 234, July 25th. To Williamson, probably.

indescribable, and nevertheless the elusive and cautious enemy always managed to avoid battle.¹

England in the meantime was waging war on the sea with no great glory. The battle of Southwold Bay in 1672 was, if anything, a Dutch victory, and in the summer of 1673 the Anglo-French fleet was again defeated. While George, Anthony and very likely also Richard Hamilton were fighting or waiting to fight for France, Thomas Hamilton, the sailor, was serving in the English navy, along with the eldest brother James, who acted as one of the Lords Commissioners for Prizes, and latterly as colonel of a regiment of foot which was carried on board the *Royal Charles*. His work as a Lord Commissioner was hampered by a number of disadvantages, he complains of the 'intolerable crowd' on his ship and the fact that they had not a single boat to send with men to board the prizes nor a place in which to examine a prisoner or to keep their papers. Being at sea he also found it very difficult to recruit his regiment,² but he served his country cheerfully until he received a fatal wound on May 28th at the naval fight of Schonvelt, his leg being shot off. He was struck down so near Prince Rupert that those who saw him fall called out that the Prince was slain.

After two or three days he was sent on land by a yacht, but he died on the 6th of June and was buried on the day following in Westminster Abbey.³ According to the surgeon of another ship, the surgeon of James Hamilton's regiment had refused to obey orders to go on board ship, and Hamilton had died for want of sufficient medical attendance.⁴ The Duchess of Ormonde, his aunt, who was with him in his last hours, relates that he "showed the greatest patience in the pain that he endured that was possible for a man to do and said nothing that was ill in his ravings but of the business of the sea and would be silent when he was desired." His death was a great sorrow to

¹ See Appendix II, p. 279, for an interesting letter of George Hamilton's describing their vain endeavours to make the Imperialists fight on Sept. 12.

² *Cal. St. P., Dom.*, 1671-1672, *passim*; 1672, pp. 74, 156, etc.; 1673, pp. 182, 279, 280.

³ *Cal. St. P., Dom.*, 1673, p. 309; *Letters Addressed to Sir Joseph Williamson* (Camden Soc. Publ.), I, p. 17; *Camden Soc. Miscellany*, VIII, p. 22; Cunningham, *Nell Gwyn*, p. 207.

⁴ *Cal. St. P., Dom.*, 1673, p. 570.

all his relatives, particularly the Ormondes, and many others mourned in him a friend generous and ready to serve all those who needed his kindness.¹

Madame de Gramont was overwhelmed with grief at the news of her brother's death, and, like George Hamilton, she wrote to Arlington begging him to do his best for the widow and children. "Je says que vous avez l'ame belle," she adds diplomatically.² In any case a good pension for life was settled on Elizabeth Hamilton and her sons.³

In August a second coalition was formed against Louis. The latter part of 1673 was not very favourable to Turenne, partly on account of Louvois's failing to send sufficient reinforcements, partly on account of Turenne's plans being upset by the treachery of the Bishop of Würzburg, who opened his gates to the Imperial army. The Prince of Orange outmanœuvring Condé was able to join Montecuculi and took Bonn. All this time the English, Scottish and Irish regiments had given Turenne satisfaction,⁴ while the letters the officers write home from France emphasize how very kind and considerate Turenne is to them.⁵

In England the war and the French alliance were rapidly becoming more and more unpopular. Was it not highly scandalous to the Protestant religion, asked the English, that the King of England, king of a Protestant religion, should stand obliged to make war with a Protestant state till they would grant a free toleration of the Popish religion, restore the Church lands to the Popish clergy, erect public churches for Popish idolatrous worship and admit Papists to an equal share in the Government?⁶ The marriage of James to a Catholic princess increased the hostility. The Cabal had fallen, and Danby, now the leading Minister,

¹ Ormonde MSS., III, p. 452.

² *R.O. St. P.*, Foreign, France, 137, f. 210, July 13th, 1673. Cf. George Hamilton's letter, Vol. 138, f. 32, August 25th, 1673. The Comte de Gramont received congratulations from his friend Bussy (*Correspondance*, II, p. 270).

³ *Cal. of Treasury Books*, 1672-1675, p. 163. There were three sons, James, who became 6th Earl of Abercorn, George, who fell in the battle of Steinkirk, and William, captain of an Infantry regiment, who was murdered in Ireland in 1686. (Ormonde MSS. (N.S.), VII, pp. 439, etc.)

⁴ Turenne, *Lettres et Mémoires*, II, pp. 339, 351.

⁵ *R.O. St. P.*, Foreign, France, Vol. 138, f. 92, Crofts to Arlington, f. 84, G. Hamilton to Williamson, Sept. 21st, 1673; ff. 99-100, Lord Arlington to Williamson, Sept. 28th, 1673.

⁶ *Cal. St. P.*, Dom., 1673-1675, pp. 128-134.

was an enemy to France. On February 19th, 1674, Charles was compelled to make peace with the Republic, in spite of his engagements with Louis, to whom the loss of the English alliance was a serious matter, confronted as he was by a second hostile coalition. England and the 1674 Republic were pledged not to aid each other's enemies, but Charles did not withdraw his troops serving in France, and though the Prince of Orange pressed him to do so, he assured the French Ambassador that he would leave them, whatever instance was made to him by the Dutch, by Spain or by the Parliament.¹

¹ Dalrymple, *Memoirs*, II, p. 108.

CHAPTER V

1674-1685

THE RÉGIMENT D'HAMILTON (*continued*). DEATH OF GEORGE HAMILTON. RICHARD HAMILTON

BEFORE peace had been made with the Republic Charles had sent in January a warrant to Lord Essex, the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, directing him to permit George Hamilton to raise 600 foot soldiers, adding that if there were "any Felons or others in any of the Gaoles convicted and designed to be transported to forraigne Plantations," Hamilton might have as 1674 many of them as he liked.¹ Both George and Anthony Hamilton, the latter a captain in the regiment, were in Ireland in February and March raising men to be shipped from Waterford in vessels that Louis was sending across.² According to a doubtful authority³ they had difficulties enough to contend with; upon information to the Lord

¹ B.M. Stowe MSS., Vol. 204, f. 28.

² *Ib.*, f. 88.

³ Fitzgerald, *Narrative of the Irish Popish Plot*. Fitzgerald has a good deal to say about the régiment d'Hamilton. He knew most of the officers who had come across in March, 1674 (he gives the date as 1673, which is obviously O.S.), to raise recruits, viz. Captain David Macnamara, Captain John Lacy, Captain Con O'Neale (a son of Owen Roe O'Neill), one Macmahan and Lieutenant Hurly. He asked Lacy "whether there was any probability of the French invading Ireland, to which Lacy replied that if the Dutch were once subdued the French would establish the Roman Catholic religion in all the northern part of Europe, and as far as he could understand by Marshal Turenne the same laws were to be established in Ireland as in France. He also gave Fitzgerald an account of the Irish who were being trained in France, and said that welfare in Ireland did greatly rely on the success of their forces in France, and that he did much admire that any person of quality that did understand the design of that war should stand so much in their own light as to slip so good an opportunity and so just a cause, being altogether to destroy heretics."

The same was confirmed to him by Captain O'Neale, who said that "he did prevail with a great many young gentlemen to venture their fortunes abroad, and that he did believe if they did generally know in Ulster how the game was playing for them, that there would be hardly any left in the whole country, but would all go unanimously to France" (pp. 5-6). The whole narrative is written with the fevered imagination of the Popish plot tracts.

Deputies of Ireland special orders were sent to secure the officers and to stop the men, which obliged the officers to return to France alone. There is, however, nothing in the French archives to confirm this, and the letters that George Hamilton wrote at this period contain no allusion to any such misfortune.¹

Hamilton with his recruits joined Turenne about the middle of May. Turenne's army, which included the regiments of Monmouth, Douglas, Hamilton and Churchill, was to fight the Imperialists, and the Duke of Lorraine on the Rhine, Condé was to oppose William in Flanders, while Louis proceeded to the Franche-Comté, which he again took easily. Condé was semi-victorious in the battle of Seneffe. Turenne's campaign is, of course, the only one which concerns this narrative. It was to be a much more eventful campaign than that of 1673.

With a small army Turenne crossed the Rhine at Philippsburg, and on the 16th of June scattered an army of Imperialists at Sinzheim before Bournonville had arrived with the main forces. George Hamilton was at the head of his own regiment and of Royal Anglais (or Monmouth). A curious little incident took place during the day. After the city and the castle had been taken, the fight was continued with great violence on a plateau. The forces were all drawn up in readiness to meet the enemy's charges, when Turenne, the beloved general, passed on his way to examine a narrow gorge where he had posted some dragoons. Hamilton's Irish and English seeing him come shouted and threw their hats in the air and some even discharged their muskets 'en signe de joye,' which demonstration, by the way, hastened on the enemy's attack. The different 'Relations' of the battle are full of praise for Hamilton and Douglas.²

The Palatinate was cruelly ravaged that summer. Five towns and twenty-five villages were burned,³ but by this

¹ Cf. also Turenne, *Lettres et Mémoires*, II, pp. 460, 479, from which it would appear that everything had gone on normally. Fitzgerald, writing from memory, probably misdated the event, viz. March, 1673-1674, instead of March, 1674-1675, when regulations were much more stringent and the recruits for the régiment d'Hamilton were really dispersed.

² *Gazette de France*, 1674, pp. 600, 609, 628, 650-652.

³ De Quincy (*Hist. Mil.*, I, p. 396) makes the English soldiers chiefly responsible for the burning of the Palatinate. Cf. Courtitz de Sandras *Vie de Turenne* (1685), pp. 363-364. He is by no means a reliable authority, but was probably in Turenne's army at the time.

time the number of the Imperialists had increased so considerably that Turenne was forced to recross the Rhine. Bournonville entering Alsace and taking possession of Strasbourg, Turenne fought him at Entzheim, near by, on the 4th of October. Turenne had taken possession of a small village called Holtzheim and left Douglas and de Lorges there. The enemy's army was massed about Entzheim. Between Holtzheim and Entzheim there lay a small wood. It was round and in this wood that the battle raged the whole day long, though Turenne's army was worn out by a march of forty hours across fields sodden with rain. Monmouth's foot and Churchill's regiment, led by the young colonel, were there from the beginning. As the struggle grew hotter in the wood other regiments, Anjou, Turenne, Bretagne, Hamilton, etc., were sent in. George Hamilton's men slaughtered a battalion of Bournonville's in a hand-to-hand fight, felling down the enemy with the butt end of their muskets. The regiment was cruelly shattered; George and Anthony were both wounded,¹ George in three places, and his horse was shot under him; for one moment the régiment d'Hamilton gave way and fell back on the régiment d'Anjou and the enemy pressed forward, but the Marquis de Vaubrun led the men on again. Three times the wood was taken from the French and three times it was recaptured. They fought till night separated them and the Imperialists retired to Strasbourg. The action was not decisive. "Monsieur d'Hamilton," writes Turenne, "a fait tout ce qui peut s'imaginer," in fact he was heard to say that if Hamilton had not been wounded, victory was theirs in that very moment.²

The Imperialists receiving continual reinforcements, there now follows that memorable march of Turenne's in wintry weather, away from the enemy in Alsace into Lorraine, southwards down the western slope of the Vosges, eastwards across the trouée de Belfort and up again north-

¹ *R.O. St. P., Dom., Car. II*, 361, No. 247, Oct. 5th, 1674. Churchill to Monmouth.

² Turenne, *Lettres et Mémoires*, II, p. 587; *R.O. St. P., Dom., Car. II*, 361, No. 248, Duras to the Duke of York, Oct. 6th. For the above battle see the *Gazette de France*, 1674, especially pp. 1066-1067, 1077, 1088-1091, 1095; *R.O. St. P., Foreign, France*, 139, f. 121 (Liste des morts et blessés); the letters from Churchill and Monmouth (which are calendared); Turenne, *Lettres et Mémoires*, II; *Hist. MSS. Comm.*, 4th Report, p. 238; 7th Report, App., p. 492a. Cf. also Legrand Girard, *Turenne en Alsace*, and Des Robert, *Les Campagnes de Turenne en Allemagne*.

wards into Alsace to the utter consternation of the enemy scattered in their quarters throughout the province. Turenne defeated them at Mulhouse on the 29th of December and at Turkheim on January 5th.

George and Anthony Hamilton did not, however, take part in these operations, though their regiment doubtless did. The time for raising their recruits had come 1675 again and obliged them to go to England in the end of December.¹ With them came their brother-in-law Gramont, though not engaged on any such serious business. "He is doing his duty," Ruvigny, the French ambassador, tells Pomponne; "he is winning money and will bring the King a portrait of Madame de Portsmouth which she wishes to send to His Majesty."² As Ruvigny remarks elsewhere, Gramont's expedition was truly a 'joly voyage'—he arrived from Paris with a hundred pistols in his pocket, he left two months later with five thousand.³

Immediately on his arrival George Hamilton went to see Charles to obtain his consent for the raising of 500 men in Ireland. A proclamation had been issued on the 25th of April, 1674, forbidding subjects to enlist in the service of any foreign power without licence,⁴ and later on, in November, a circular letter had been sent to the Lord Lieutenants of the maritime counties requiring them to seize and secure all persons who enlisted or caused others to enlist in foreign service.⁵

Charles replied that according to the treaty with Holland he ought not to permit any levies, but that Hamilton could see to his recruits, provided it was 'sous main et à la dérobée,' and provided that he embarked them from a port where there was no castle or garrison. He was especially cautioned that stringent orders had been given to imprison all soldiers who attempted to take service abroad. Moreover, the Dutch Ambassador, if he heard of the proceedings, 'would loudly complayne,' and Parliament, which was sure to demand the withdrawal of the English troops serving in France, was to meet in April, irritated by a prorogation of more than a year.

¹ *Cal. St. P., Dom.*, 1673-1675, pp. 479, 484.

² *Aff. Etr., Corr. Pol. Angleterre*, 115, p. 214, Feb. 4th, 1675 (N.S.).

³ *Ib.*, p. 390, March 11th, 1675.

⁴ *Cal. St. P., Dom.*, 1673-1675, p. 230.

⁵ *Ib.*, p. 414.

Hamilton had previously arranged with Louvois for ships to be sent to Waterford in March, but as there was a castle in Waterford, it now became necessary to change this plan. The Duke of York himself suggested Dingle as being a very good port without a garrison or anything 'that might incommode,' and accordingly Louvois was asked to send the ships there on the 15th of March, *Style d'Angleterre*, when the recruits were to be there 'infallibly.'¹

George Hamilton did not himself go to Ireland, as his affairs, so he said, required an early return to France. He left in the very beginning of March, but Anthony was put in charge of the difficult expedition, and with him was his younger brother Richard, who must have entered the French service some time before. They waited on Lord Essex, the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, brought him George Hamilton's thanks for his kindness to the officers the year before and were very well received. Lord Essex was given to understand from England that Charles wished him to favour the undertaking in every way.²

In spite of all this royal protection things did not go smoothly. "It is impossible to be more unfortunate than we have been in what we have undertaken for the service of His Majesty," writes Anthony Hamilton to Ruvigny in some distress. All had been well at first. Nine hundred and thirty good men had been brought together at Dingle. The men were well disciplined by the officers, so that no disorders were committed in the country round about, and everything was carried on as carefully as possible to prevent news of the proceedings reaching the Lord Lieutenant officially from outsiders and thus compelling him to take action. Hamilton expected the French ships on the 8th of March, but they did not appear. For a fortnight the men were kept waiting and still there was no sign of the ships. Anthony Hamilton borrowed a thousand crowns for their subsistence. Finally, on March 27th, he saw himself compelled to disband them until the ships should come. He himself seems to have gone away. All of a sudden, in the

¹ *Essex Papers* (Camden, 1890), pp. 304-305; *Guerre*, 467, No. 4, G. Hamilton to Louvois, Jan. 6th (O.S.), 1675. On the 25th of Jan. (O.S.) Hamilton wrote another letter in case the first was lost. *Ib.* No. 12, Louvois' reply is in Vol. 422, No. 220, Feb. 13th (N.S.).

² B.M. Stowe MSS., Vol. 207, ff. 70 and 176, George Hamilton to Lord Essex, Jan 19th (O.S.) and Feb. 20th (O.S.), 1675.

first week of April, the French ships arrived unexpectedly at Kinsale. Instead of the men being quickly and quietly marched there, Hamilton had first to send orders to the officers to reassemble the men. The presence of the French ships became known and created a great sensation. The officers were arrested at Essex's orders. Essex had given them all possible connivance, "not seeming to believe y^e news for a Packett or two," but at last, "when it was too much y^e publick discourse," he was obliged to take measures.

News of the disaster was sent to Anthony Hamilton, and he hastened to Dublin, where he obtained orders for the release of the officers on making himself responsible for them. Borrowing more money from Ruigny, he made them get as many men together as they could, to be embarked under cover of night, in spite of the strict watch kept at all the ports. That they did finally manage to set sail was only due to the fact of Lord Essex's sending word to the Earl of Orrery to give the recruits time to make good their escape, for new and urgent complaints had been sent to Essex.¹

What blame, if any, attaches to Anthony Hamilton is hard to determine. The French ships, not arriving at the appointed time or at the harbour chosen, put him into an exceedingly difficult position; on the other hand, he ought probably not to have left the officers as he seems to have done.²

The campaign of 1675 was not a very favourable one to France though it began well. Louis proceeded to Flanders and took a number of towns, which prevented a junction of the Imperialists and the Spanish. Condé and William moved warily about each other. Turenne was, as before, fighting the Imperialists in Alsace. George, Anthony and Richard Hamilton, with their regiment and the regiments

¹ *Guerre*, 467, No. 92, Anthony Hamilton to Ruigny, April 13th (O.S.), 1675 (this letter is given in full on 281, 282, *infra*, Appendix III); *ib.* No. 103, Ruigny to Louvois, April 29th, 1675; *Aff. Etr., Corr. Pol. Angleterre*, 115, p. 619, Ruigny to Pomponne, April 28th, 1675; *Cal. St. P., Dom.*, 1675-1676; p. 56, *Essex Papers*, p. 313.

² George Hamilton had arranged for ships to arrive on the 15th of March, whereas Anthony expected them on the 8th. There may have been some later change in the arrangements so that Anthony Hamilton was quite justified in expecting them earlier; but even if there was a misunderstanding on his part the ships were more than a fortnight behind the time. In fact Essex says they were twenty days late. (*Essex Papers*, p. 313.)

of Monmouth, Churchill and Douglas, were serving in his army. George Hamilton had been made a brigadier on the 12th of March, in recognition of his services.¹

On the 27th of July Turenne had drawn close to Montecuculi's army. The Imperialists seemed unwilling to engage in action, and towards midday Turenne was under the impression that they were retreating. At two o'clock the Comte de Roye noticed the advance of a column of German infantry, and despatched Saint-Hilaire to Turenne to inform him of their approach. Hardly had Saint-Hilaire returned when de Roye sent again, this time the Duc d'Elbeuf, to ask the general for more infantry and to request his presence. Turenne sent him two battalions, but said, as if moved by a kind of presentiment, that he would remain where he was. A third message was carried by George Hamilton. Turenne, yielding, asked for a horse and rode off with Hamilton. This is the account given by Saint-Hilaire the younger,² brother of the above-mentioned Saint-Hilaire, who, with his father, was an eye-witness of Turenne's death. The rest of the story may be told in Madame de Sévigné's often-quoted words, though she makes Turenne meet Hamilton on the way. "Il trouva M. d'Hamilton près de l'endroit où il alloit qui lui dit, 'Monsieur, venez par ici; on tirera où vous allez'—'Monsieur,' lui dit-il, 'je m'y en vais: je ne veux point du tout être tué aujourd'hui; cela sera le mieux du monde.' Il tournait son cheval, il aperçut Saint-Hilaire, qui lui dit, le chapeau à la main: 'Jetez les yeux sur cette batterie que j'ai fait mettre là.' Il retourne deux pas, et sans être arrêté, il reçut le coup qui emporta le bras et la main qui tenaient le chapeau de Saint-Hilaire. . . . On crie, on pleure, M. d'Hamilton fait cesser ce bruit là³ et ôter le petit d'Elbeuf qui étoit jeté sur ce corps. . . . On jette un manteau, on le porte dans une haie, on le garde à petit bruit; un carosse vient, on l'emporte dans sa tente: ce fut là où M. de Lorges, M. de Roye et beaucoup d'autres pensèrent mourir de douleur."⁴

¹ *Chronologie Militaire*, VI, p. 430.

² *Mémoires*, I, pp. 207-208.

³ Cf. Ramsay, *Histoire de Turenne*, II, p. 583. "Le saisissement de ceux qui le virent tomber fut inexprimable: Hamilton qui scut mieux se posséder que les autres, jugeant de quelle conséquence il étoit de dérober à la connaissance des soldats un accident si funeste, jeta promptement un manteau sur le corps et l'on tint d'abord ce malheur secret."

⁴ *Lettres*, IV, pp. 97-98.

Amongst the soldiers who mourned for their 'father,' none were more sincere than the English. Madame de Sévigné relates elsewhere¹ that they told M. de Lorges, on whom the command devolved for a space, that they would continue this campaign in order to avenge Turenne, but thereafter they would return to their own country as they could obey none but M. de Turenne.²

Meanwhile the Imperialists had taken new courage and the French army retreated to the Rhine. Near Altenheim, on the 1st of August, they turned to face the enemy and fought them desperately. Two days before the Imperialists had already attacked the rearguard, but had been repulsed by the Chevalier de Boufflers and George Hamilton.³ This time the régiment d'Hamilton was posted with five other regiments to defend the crossing of a stream, and during three hours they held their own against 6000 or 7000 of the enemy until the latter fell back. According to De Quincy, author of the voluminous *Military History of the Reign of Louis XIV*, the English and Irish soldiers accomplished wonders,⁴ and Madame de Sévigné exclaims warm-heartedly, "Les Anglois surtout ont fait des choses romanesques."⁵

Condé, leaving his own command to the Maréchal de Luxembourg, had now joined Turenne's army and guided it very prudently during the rest of the campaign. By September the Allies evacuated Alsace. At Trèves, however, Condé had been utterly beaten in the beginning of the month.

In October Louvois directed George Hamilton to see to his recruits for the next campaign.⁶ Louvois was giving him no easy task, as a brief summary of certain past events will show. Intense hostility marked our relations with France. Parliament had met on the 13th of April after

¹ *Ib.*, p. 52.

² The day after Turenne's death eight marshals, ironically known as la monnaie de Turenne, were appointed. It was on this occasion that Gramont wrote to the newly appointed Maréchal de Rochefort: "Monseigneur, la faveur l'a pu faire autant que le mérite. Monseigneur, je suis votre très humble serviteur. Le Comte de Gramont." (Sévigné, IV, 12.)

³ De Quincy, *Histoire Militaire*, I, p. 447.

⁴ *Ib.*, p. 448.

⁵ *Lettres*, IV, p. 31. The King was extremely satisfied with the conduct of the régiment d'Hamilton. *Guerre*, 427, Nos. 179 and 286, Louvois to Hamilton, August 12th and 15th, 1675.

⁶ *Ib.*, Vol. 429, No. 130, Oct. 7th, 1675.

a prorogation of more than thirteen months. Its assembly was watched with some anxiety by France. Foreign Powers had come to realise the important rôle played by Parliament, and their envoys, particularly Ruvigny, had liberal grants towards the bribery of members.

In the House of Commons it was at once moved that all the English forces in the French service be recalled and none be permitted to go over into that service in future. Ruvigny urged Charles to reply very firmly, if he did not on this occasion declare his intentions clearly and resolutely, he must not doubt but that the House would undertake even greater things.¹ On the 5th of May (O.S.) the King was addressed for a Proclamation to recall his subjects,² and, greatly to Ruvigny's displeasure, Charles's answer on the 8th did take the shape of a Proclamation commanding the immediate return of all subjects who had gone into the service of the French king since the last treaty of peace with the States-General, and forbidding all subjects to enter the said service in future. Those of his troops, however, who had been in the Most Christian King's service before the last treaty, he could not, he considered, recall without derogation to his honour.³

On the 10th the Commons debated on his answer,⁴ they thought it a 'very ill' one, and said that if they thanked the King for it they would be thanking him for sending men into France. Nevertheless, thanks to Ruvigny's liberality no doubt, when the question whether a further address should be made to the King was put and the tellers differed in their account, both parties, about equal in number, thought themselves wronged, and a scene of indescribable disorder ensued, which is carefully reported to France by Ruvigny, "ils sont venus jusques à se pousser les uns les autres, se cracher au visage et mettre la main sur

¹ Aff. Etr., *Corr. Pol. Angleterre*, 116, ff. 24-25, Ruvigny to Pomponne, May 1st, 1675.

² Grey's *Debates*, III, p. 104; *Commons Journal*, IX, 330.

³ Grey, III, 116; *Commons Journal*, IX, p. 333; *Cal. St. P., Dom.*, 1675-1676, p. 125; Aff. Etr., 116, f. 30, Ruvigny to Pomponne, May 1st, 1675.

⁴ It is interesting to note that in the debate some exception was claimed for the 'Scotch Guards' (but the régiment de Douglas is meant) as a thing 'particular in this nation' and as having been in France for sixty years at least. All the rest, however, were to be obliged to return. 'Sometimes we are forced to be quit of the Irish, now we must recall them.' (Grey, III, 119).

la garde de l'épée."¹ The further address was moved next day, but not presented ultimately on account of prorogation. The resolution for an address to recall *all* the English troops was defeated by one vote. What would have happened had the resolution been carried Ruvigny cannot foresee, but he assures Pomponne that there was a talk of giving Charles £2,000,000 provided only he would make war with France.²

The proclamation in its original form was published on the 19th of May (O.S.), but recruits continued all the same to pass into France. The Commons remonstrated with the King.³ But a dispute between the Houses on the right of appeal to the Lords arose and in June Charles prorogued Parliament till October. On the 9th of November (O.S.) the Lords agreed to join with the Commons in asking the King to renew his proclamation, but meeting with the Commons next day they fell out because the Commons had ordered those who disobeyed the proclamation to be punished, and, as Ruvigny explains to Pomponne, the Lords held that the Commons could inflict no penalties.⁴ In any case Charles had promised Ruvigny—as far as his promises went—that he would not issue another proclamation recalling his subjects from the service of France.⁵

The tension between the Houses on the subject of appeal became so great and all business being impossible, Parliament was prorogued, very fortunately for France, on November 22nd (O.S.) for fifteen months to February, 1677, Charles claiming the French subsidy promised to him if he would dissolve Parliament, since this would relieve France of the risk of hostile action on the part of England. The payment which was not strictly due, Parliament having

¹ Aff. Etr., *Corr. Pol. Angleterre*, 116, ff. 33-34, Ruvigny to Pomponne, May $\frac{1}{2}$ ^o, 1675. A full description of the disorder is also given in Grey, III, pp. 128-129, whereas the *Commons Journal* passes it over in silence. Cf. *Essex Papers* (Camden, 1913), pp. 9-11 and Schwerin's despatch in Orlich's *Briefe aus England*, p. 24.

² Aff. Etr., *Corr. Pol. Angleterre*, 116, f. 37, Ruvigny to Pomponne, May $\frac{1}{2}$ ^o, 1675.

³ *Ib.*, ff. 57, 59, 79, the same to the same, June 3, 6 and 13 (N.S.).

⁴ Aff. Etr., *Corr. Pol. Angleterre*, 117, f. 76, Nov. $\frac{1}{4}$ ^o, 1675. "Ne s'opposant pas, ce seroit consentir à une espèce de juridiction qu'ils ne veulent pas souffrir." *Commons Journal*, IX, pp. 362-367, 371; Grey, III, pp. 334-336.

⁵ Aff. Etr., *Corr. Pol. Angleterre*, 117, f. 81, to Pomponne, Nov. $\frac{1}{3}$ ^o, 1675.

been only prorogued, was nevertheless a profitable investment for Louis, especially as Charles entered into a defensive agreement with him, in spite of his engagements with Holland and the fact that he was posing as mediator.

It was therefore easier than it would have been a few months ago to raise men for France, and George Hamilton's task, though not a simple one and requiring the utmost tact and vigilance, was not quite so impossible as it had seemed at first. He was to raise 1100 men,¹ and while Anthony or possibly Richard remained in Toul with the regiment,² he proceeded to England in the end of December with his usual companion Gramont,³ and then on alone to Ireland, returning to France again in April, rather delayed on account of bad weather but otherwise successful.⁴ Recruits kept going to France all through spring, in spite of protests from the Allies' envoys.⁵

What exactly brought Gramont to England again is not known, but Charles banteringly professed to treat him as the envoy of the Duke Mazarin and as a plenipotentiary charged with negotiating a reconciliation between the Duke and his wife, the beautiful Hortense who, according to popular rumour, was about to land in England. Gramont entered into the spirit of the thing and with his usual wit and raillery proceeded to act the part of envoy to that curious monomaniac, and when the duchess really arrived in England, he assumed a kind of guardianship over her just as he had on one occasion done it in the case of the Duke of Buckingham.⁶

The campaign of 1676 was not an important one. The fighting on the sea was more remarkable. Louis with his army went to Flanders, Condé had retired from active service, Luxembourg had succeeded Turenne in his command of the army in Alsace. The Hamiltons were with

¹ Bibl. Nat., *Pièces Originales*, Vol. 1472, No. 19 (a receipt for the necessary funds signed by George Hamilton and dated Dec. 11, 1675).

² *Guerre*, 431, No. 560, Louvois to M. d'Hamilton, capitaine au rég't. d'Hamilton, Dec. 26th, 1675.

³ Aff. Etr., *Corr. Pol. Angleterre*, 117, f. 107, Ruvigny to Pomponne, Dec. 13, 1675; *Cal. St. P., Dom.*, 1675-1676, p. 491.

⁴ *Guerre*, 473, No. 59, Louvois to Hamilton, April 3rd, 1676; *Cal. St. P., Dom.*, 1676-1677, p. 71; *Essex Papers* (Camden, 1913), p. 41.

⁵ Orlich, *Briefe aus England*, p. 59.

⁶ Aff. Etr., *Corr. Pol. Angleterre*, 117, ff. 107, 115, 117, etc.; Vol. 118, f. 19, Ruvigny to Pomponne; *Perwich Papers*, p. 111.

him, George Hamilton having been made Maréchal du Camp or Major-General in February.¹ The English Parliament, as we have seen, did not meet this year.

In May Luxembourg was expecting some reinforcements from Flanders, and, fearing that the Duke of Lorraine might cut them off from him, he marched to meet them. Near Saverne Lorraine attacked his rear-guard, commanded by George Hamilton, but was driven back after a fierce combat, in which Hamilton and his regiment fought with all possible bravery, though the Imperialists spread a report that all the English and Irish in the French service had surrendered. In the moment of victory George Hamilton fell.² This was on the 1st of June, 1676. Pellisson, writing from the camp of Néer Hasselt, whither he had accompanied Louis as historiographer royal, describes the universal regret with which the news of 'Amilton's' death was received, and remarks that he has scarcely ever known of a person on whose merit people were more agreed and who was praised for such dissimilar qualities—great gentleness, modesty, courage, audacity and firmness. "Le Roi y perd et le connait bien," he concludes his very sincere appreciation.³ Charles and the Duke of York were no less grieved.⁴

The Compagnie des Gendarmes Anglais, serving in Flanders under Louis, was still in George Hamilton's possession, though he had been intending to sell the charge,⁵ preferring the regiment which bore his name.⁶ It was now sold and the King ordered La Guette, Hamilton's successor, to pay the widow 10,000 crowns, and besides this she was to receive a pension of 2000 crowns.⁷ The régiment d'Hamilton, it was supposed, would go to one of the brothers,⁸ but as Charles and the Duke

¹ Pinard, *Chronologie Militaire*, VI, p. 430.

² *Gazette*, 1676, pp. 433, 456; *Guerre*, 508, No. 114, Luxembourg to Louis, June 2nd, 1676.

³ *Lettres Historiques*, III, p. 112.

⁴ Orlich, *Briefe aus England*, p. 58, "Inzwischen wird Mylord Hamilton . . . seiner sonderbaren Tapferkeit wegen vom Könige und vom Herzoge von York über alle Massen beklagt."

⁵ *Guerre*, 375, No. 72, Louvois to Hamilton, Oct. 3rd, 1674.

⁶ Bibl. Nat., Cabinet des Titres, Vol. 345, dossier bleu Hamilton, f. 39.

⁷ Pellisson, *op. cit.*, p. 120. *Aff. Etr., Corr. Pol. Angleterre*, 119, f. 48, Courtin to Pomponne, July $\frac{1}{2}$, 1676. Gradually Frenchmen were admitted among the Gendarmes Anglais, and when the company was disbanded in 1788 it was entirely French. Fieffé, *Troupes Etrangères*, I, p. 174.

⁸ *Hist. MSS. Comm.*, 4th Report, p. 245.

of York requested Louis to give it to the Lieutenant-Colonel Dongan, Gustavus Hamilton's old adversary and no particular friend of the Hamiltons', their wish was gratified.¹

As for poor Lady Hamilton, she was overwhelmed with grief and distracted with worries.² She was left with six young children.³ She had no fortune whatever; the 10,000 crowns she had received for the Gendarmes Anglais were not sufficient to pay the debts her husband had left.⁴ George Hamilton had been very anxious for his wife to be made *dame du palais* like his sister, Madame de Gramont, as then, he said, he could go away to war with a lighter heart, knowing that if he fell, she would be secure in an honourable appointment, but his request had not been granted.⁵ After Hamilton's death Charles repeatedly urged the Ambassador Courtin, Ruvigny's successor, to entreat the King his brother to do all that was possible for the poor widow, adding that he himself did what he could, but that Courtin must know how unsatisfactory his 'affairs' were, and Courtin, in turn, desired Charles to 'reflect' on the continuous and enormous expenses the King, his master, had to bear. Charles, always liberal where titles were concerned, raised Lady Hamilton to the rank of Baroness of

¹ Aff. Etr., *Corr. Pol. Angleterre*, Vol. 118, f. 178 and Vol. 119, f. 48, Courtin to Pomponne, June 15 and July 2 (N.S.).

² Sévigné, IV, p. 507, cf. *Hist. MSS. Comm.*, 4th Report, p. 245.

³ Sévigné, IV, p. 517. One of them died within a year. *Guerre*, 567, p. 143, Lady Hamilton to Louvois, October, 1677.

⁴ Aff. Etr., *Corr. Pol. Angleterre*, 119, f. 48.

⁵ The first time the favour was requested for Lady Hamilton the post was given not to her but to the Marquise de la Vallière, Louis, however, giving Charles to understand that he had received the Marchioness because it had been the last request of Mademoiselle de la Vallière before she retired to the Carmelite nuns, and that otherwise he would not have taken her; as there was no vacancy among the Dames du Palais he had to make one by creating an additional post. In 1675 Lauderdale had been sent to Ruvigny with a letter from Charles to Louis, again urging him to consider the matter, and the year following, just two months before George Hamilton's death, Ruvigny again reported that the King and Duke of York desired 'passionately' that it would please Louis to make Lady Hamilton a *dame du palais*, and that he, Ruvigny, had replied that His Most Christian Majesty would doubtless have done so already had there been a vacancy. To which Pomponne made answer that Ruvigny had no right to make this statement as Louis had no intention of admitting Madame d'Amillon among the ladies-in-waiting. (Aff. Etr., *Corr. Pol. Angleterre*, Vol. 115, pp. 453, 454, Ruvigny to Pomponne, March $\frac{1}{11}$, 1675; Vol. 118, f. 6, Pomponne to Ruvigny, April 1, 1676, ff. $\frac{2}{24}$, Ruvigny to Pomponne, March $\frac{1}{13}$, 1676.)

Ross and Countess of Bantry and Berehaven in Ireland;¹ she remained, however, in Paris till 1679, the most unhappy person in the world, she assures Louvois, and harassed by a thousand creditors.² In that year her old lover, Richard Talbot, appeared on the scene and married her. A few months before George Hamilton's death Evelyn had seen her and described her as a 'sprightly young lady,'³ in spite of her six children.

The régiment d'Hamilton was now known as the régiment de Dongan. It is somewhat uncertain whether Anthony Hamilton continued to serve in the regiment, for the Hamiltons bitterly resented Dongan having been preferred to them.⁴ Richard, however, remained. The new colonel showed great zeal at first, and arrived in England as early as October to raise men for the next campaign. Parliament was to meet in February, so the step was a wise one. Courtin at once hastened to Charles, expressing a hope that, as he had caused Dongan to be made colonel he would prosper the work of his hands and that for this it was necessary to give permission for the raising of recruits. Nothing could be more characteristic than Charles's answer. "Il m'a repondu en riant," writes the Ambassador to Louis, "et en mettant la main devant les yeux, les doigts entrouverts et m'a dit ' nous scaurons bien faire ce qu'il faudra la-dessus.' Ainsi je crois la chose en bon chemin si le Vice Roy d'Irlande ne la traverse pas."⁵ Charles gave Dongan a letter for Essex, the Lord Lieutenant, and as Essex was 'well-intentioned' all things seem to have gone well.⁶ Lord George Douglas, now Earl of Dumbarton, met with greater

¹ "This will procure for Madame d'Hamilton the following advantages," Courtin explains to Pomponne with the French regard for etiquette, "she will be styled cousin when she comes here, she will be allowed to enter the Queen's coach, the Queen will rise when she arrives and embrace her, and when she leaves she may hope for some pension on the Irish Establishment." (*Ib.*, Vol. 119, ff. 48, 49, July 1st/₂^o. Cf. *Cal. St. P.*, Dom., 1676-1677, p. 210; 1677-1678, pp. 236-254.)

² *Guerre*, 567, p. 143, Lady Hamilton to Louvois, October, 1677.

³ *Diary*, II, p. 387.

⁴ *Hist. MSS. Comm.*, Ormonde MSS., N.S., VII, p. 85.

⁵ *Aff. Etr., Corr. Pol. Angleterre*, 120, ff. 74, 75, Courtin to Louis, 1st/₂ Oct., 1676.

⁶ *Ib.*, f. 85, Courtin to Pomponne, Oct. 1st/₂, 1676; *Guerre*, 513, No. 114, Dongan to Louvois, Dublin, Oct. 31st, 1676, and Vol. 543, No. 1, Courtin to Louvois, Feb. 1st, 1677, No. 23, the same to the same, Feb. 4th, 1677; *Essex Papers* (Camden, 1913), p. 119. It was given out that the men were being shipped to Virginia.

difficulties in Scotland. Parliament was not yet sitting, but the Envoys of Spain and the Republic were ever on the alert.¹

The year 1677 was fortunate to the French arms. Louis took town after town in Flanders, and Monsieur, his brother, defeated William at Cassel. Créquy, who commanded the eastern army, captured Fribourg in November after a skilful campaign. The régiment de Dongan had spent the winter of 1676-1677 under one of the Hamiltons at Vitry and Saint Dizier, where its disorderly behaviour again called forth reproaches from Louvois.² It served on the Rhine and the Moselle that year along with Douglas's and Monmouth's regiments and was present at the taking of Fribourg,³ but after the death of George Hamilton it is rarely mentioned in the *Gazette* or the despatches. The fact is that Dongan and the younger Hamiltons were not equal in leadership to George Hamilton, and there is little to be said about Richard Hamilton for the next few years, and Anthony disappears almost altogether.

In the autumn of 1677 Dongan went as usual to Ireland to see to his recruits while the regiment was left in Richard Hamilton's charge. All of a sudden, in December, Dongan and the officers in England and Scotland were ordered by Louvois to return at once to France. The reason is to be sought in the extraordinarily fluctuating and complicated relations existing between England and France. Parliament had met in February, 1677, and watched with growing consternation the progress of the French. Nothing would have pleased it better than war with France. Amongst other matters it passed,⁴ of course, a Bill for the recalling of His Majesty's natural born subjects out of the French service, yet the Bill had no effect whatever, and more and bitter complaints were made by the Dutch and Spanish Ambassadors.⁵ All this was nothing new and repeated itself year after year; orders to raise the above recruits were given as usual by Louvois, who had, moreover, an

¹ Cf. especially *Guerre*, Vols. 542 and 543.

² *Guerre*, 481, Nos. 41 and 531, Louvois to Hamilton (Anthony or Richard ?), Dec. 9th and 30th, 1676.

³ Fieffé, *Troupes Etrangères*, I, p. 225; Quincy, *Histoire Militaire*, *Ordre de Bataille*, facing p. 545, Vol. I.

⁴ On the 20th of May (O.S.); Cf. *Commons Journal*, IX, pp. 385, 387, 400, 401, 426; Grey, IV, pp. 98, 133-134, 256, 259, 361, 388.

⁵ *Cal. St. P., Dom.*, 1677-1678, pp. 278, 341.

additional reason for security in the fact that Charles, left without subsidies by his own Parliament which he had adjourned for presuming to control foreign alliances, had accepted a huge subsidy from France in return for which Parliament, adjourned to January, was not to meet till April.

But things did not remain thus favourable to France. Danby prevailed upon Charles to arrange a marriage—solemnized in November—between William and James's eldest daughter Mary. Everything pointed to an Anglo-Dutch alliance. The proposals for peace which came from England and Holland having been haughtily rejected by

France, an agreement between England and Holland 1678 was signed on January 10. Parliament was to meet after all in January. War between England and France seemed not improbable.

This, however, was a thing which Louis was determined to avoid, and amongst other measures of precaution he ordered the immediate stopping of recruiting, anxious, he said, not to furnish the English Ministers with the slightest legitimate pretext for bringing about a union between England and the Allies. The order was repeated several times. All officers in the French service were to have left England before Parliament met.¹ Another reason was that he did not wish to spend any more than he could help on regiments that might now be recalled at any time,² and, indeed, their recall was made public in the middle of January.³ Charles was, however, very anxious that Louis should not look upon this as a sign of rupture, and with his usual duplicity requested the Ambassador Barillon to write and assure Louis of his goodwill.⁴ A week later he spoke again to Barillon 'very gently' on the subject of the return of the troops, excusing himself by saying that he was obliged to show his subjects that he was preparing for war; and added that, as far as he was concerned, he was not hastening the return of the regiments.⁵ Louis merely answered that he intended to keep to the agreement,

¹ *Guerre*, 534, pp. 184, 250, 260, Louvois to Barillon, Dec. 18th, 1677, Jan. 5th and 10th, 1678.

² *Ib.*, p. 221.

³ *Cal. St. P.*, Dom., 1677-1678, p. 563.

⁴ *Guerre*, 584, p. 22, Barillon to Louvois, Jan. 24th, 1678.

⁵ *Guerre*, 585, f. 21, the same to the same, Feb. 3rd, 1678.

according to which the men were not to return until thirty days after war had been openly declared.¹

Meanwhile these regiments were watched with great distrust in France,² and measures were taken to prevent their doing anything prejudicial to the French service, but in spite of incessant complaints from the Duke of York and the Duke of Monmouth and even from Charles, they were not allowed to go until it pleased Louis to have them cashiered—a different thing from sending them back formally to Charles—Royal Anglais (horse) in April,³ the services of its colonel, Lanier, having given Louvois dissatisfaction, and Royal Anglais (foot), or Monmouth, and Douglas in July on account of their insolent behaviour.⁴ The dismissal of the last two regiments caused Charles as much displeasure as their enforced stay had given him earlier in the year. The very uncertain relations between France and England, as represented by Louis and Charles, had alternated between marked hostility and offers of alliance, and the above affair took place at a time when there seemed once more a good understanding between the kings. Louvois' explanation that the order dated from a period of enmity hardly pacified Charles, who was again drifting to an alliance with the Dutch. The signing of a treaty with the Dutch in July, a treaty to force Louis to make peace, may have been hastened on in part by the cashiering of the regiments, since Charles argued that the lack of consideration shown the English proved that the French were contemplating war with him.⁵

As for the *régiment de Dongan*, being a Catholic regiment, it was treated with marked favour and consideration at a time when the English and Scottish regiments were objects of suspicion. Dongan himself, it is true, had forfeited Louvois' goodwill by showing little inclination to side with France and spreading reports in England that he

¹ *Guerre*, 534, pp. 708–709, Louvois to Barillon, April 16th, 1678.

² *Guerre*, 534, *passim*.

³ *Guerre*, 534, p. 671, Louvois to Duras, April 10th, 1678. Cf. Vol. 585, f. 58, Duras to Louvois, Feb. 8th.

⁴ *Guerre*, 582, f. 223, Louvois to Barillon, July 13th, 1678; 588, p. 49, Barillon to Louvois, July 18th, 1678; pp. 118–119, Duras to Louvois, July 22nd, 1678.

⁵ *Guerre*, 582, ff. 146, 240, 256, Louvois to Barillon, June 19th, July 18th and 23rd, 1678; Vol. 588, p. 49, Barillon to Louvois, July 18th; Orlich, *Briefe aus England*, pp. 284, 292, 308.

was being ill-treated in France and that the pay which was due to him was not forthcoming.¹ Moreover, the officers of his regiment complained of the way in which he was managing, or rather mismanaging, the regiment's² finances. The command was therefore taken from him in April and bestowed on the Lieutenant-Colonel, Richard Hamilton, the King, Louvois said, being aware of his merit.³

The fact that Richard was second in command⁴ leads one to believe that Anthony, who had been one of George Hamilton's chief officers, was no longer in the French army, or at any rate in the régiment d'Hamilton. He seems to have left France just about this time.⁵ Richard Hamilton accepted the command, making it, however, very clear that it was on condition that he and his men might leave the country in the event of war with England. He was quartered at Aix for a short time with his regiment, and M. de Grignan, Madame de Sévigné's son-in-law, who was responsible for this garrison, after having known him only a fortnight, reported to Louvois that the Sieur d'Amilton had a thousand good qualities and applied himself very closely to the discharge of his duties. Later on in summer he and his regiment joined the Maréchal de Navailles in Roussillon.⁶

After lengthy discussions and negotiations peace was signed between France and the Republic on the 10th of August at Nimeguen. In December Louis, who was reducing the number of his troops, disbanded the régiment d'Hamilton, and though a number of the men were drafted into the German régiment de Fürstenberg, not a few of the poor Irish soldiers roamed about the country in extreme poverty.⁷ Richard Hamilton fared better than they, for,

¹ *Guerre*, 534, pp. 708-709, Louvois to Barillon, April 16th, 1678.

² *Guerre*, 597, No. 144, Richard Hamilton to Louvois, April 6th, 1678.

³ *Guerre*, 573, Nos. 88 and 236, Louvois to Hamilton, April 10th and 15th, 1678.

⁴ And a Sieur de Lacy third in command. He was made Lieut.-Col. in Richard Hamilton's place. *Guerre*, 574, p. 78; *Hist. MSS. Comm.*, 7th Report, Appendix, p. 335a.

⁵ Sévigné, V, p. 434.

⁶ *Guerre*, 597, pp. 73, 195, Grignan to Louvois, March 23rd and April 15th, 1678; p. 196, Richard Hamilton to Louvois, April 15th, 1678; Vol. 534, p. 738, Louvois to Hamilton, April 23rd, 1678; Vol. 567, p. 697, Louvois to Navailles, April 14th, 1678; Vol. 587, p. 194, Navailles to Louvois, June 20th, 1678.

⁷ Fieffé, *Troupes Etrangères*, I, p. 175; *Hist. MSS. Comm.*, 4th Report, p. 242.

in exchange, he received the command of the régiment de Navailles which had become vacant through the death of the Marquis de Navailles' only son, the Marquis de Montaut.¹ Madame de Gramont attributed the dismissal of the regiment to jealousy and intrigues in England.²

He commanded this regiment for six years, up till 1685.³ Unfortunately, hardly anything is known about him during this period, but it seems that he was respected and beloved in his French regiment.⁴ On the strength of a statement of Louvois' quoted by Macaulay,⁵ viz. "si c'est celui qui est sorti de France le dernier qui s'appeloit Richard, il n'a jamais vu de siège, ayant toujours servi en Roussillon," the *Dictionary of National Biography* and other authorities say that Richard Hamilton's service in France was accomplished in the regiment of Royal Roussillon. Louvois, with his memory for all things relating to his administration, could not have forgotten that Hamilton had served in the regiments, Hamilton, Dongan and Navailles; he seems to mean here that from the time Hamilton had a regiment of his own, he was stationed in the south of France, and, as a matter of fact, the régiment de Navailles, now styled régiment d'Hamilton, did serve mainly in Roussillon, yet, under Hamilton, it took part in the war waged against Spain in the Low Countries, was present at the siege of Luxembourg in 1664 and was commended for its valour.⁶

Louvois, as will be shown later on, had no particular affection for the Hamiltons, and was quite capable of deliberate falsehood, if it suited his purpose. His ill-will possibly dates from 1678, when Madame de Gramont, a haughty and imperious woman, upbraided him somewhat unreasonably in the Queen's chamber for not advancing one of the younger Hamiltons to the rank of brigadier.⁷

¹ *Mercurie Galant*, Jan., 1679, p. 301.

² *Hist. MSS. Comm.*, Ormonde MSS., N.S., VII, p. 85.

³ Susane, *Histoire de l'Infanterie Française*, IV, p. 384.

⁴ *Hist. MSS. Comm.*, Ormonde MSS., N.S., VII, p. 85.

⁵ *History of England*, III, 198 n.

⁶ Susane, *Histoire de l'Infanterie Française*, IV, p. 385, where he is wrongly called Antoine; *Gazette de France*, 1684, p. 348; Dangeau, I, p. 22.

⁷ Bussy, *Correspondance*, IV, pp. 22-24. Madame de Scudéry, who relates this to Bussy, fears that Louvois will make the Countess suffer for the slight she has put upon him. Bussy replies characteristically, "Le Comte ni la Comtesse de Gramont ne se soucient guère de Louvois, car tout ce qu'il peut leur faire de mal, c'est de ne pas avancer quelqu'un de leurs parents, et le Comte de Gramont lui peut donner des bottes auprès du roi."

Hamilton's friends continued to think that he did not advance well enough in his service, without considering that in a period of relative calm promotion could not be very rapid, so Charles wrote in his favour to Louvois in 1683, adding by way of inducement that the relatives of Colonel Richard Hamilton, who had urged him to do this, were the two greatest families of Scotland and Ireland.¹ The letter, however, had no effect.

In January, 1681, there was danced before Louis at Saint Germain en Laye a ballet of Quinault's, entitled "le Triomphe de l'Amour." In the nineteenth entrée 1681 figured the Dauphine as Flora, some ladies of high rank as nymphs, the Dauphin, the Prince de la Roche sur Yon, several other gentlemen and the Comte d'Hamilton as Zephyrs.² From Walpole onwards, who first mentions the fact in his edition of the *Mémoires de Grammont*, this Comte d'Hamilton is supposed to have been Anthony. But Anthony seems to have left France for good in 1678. In the summer of 1681 he was definitely established at Dublin, and was now, as the eldest survivor, one of the heads of his family, his father having died in 1679 and his mother in 1680. He took a lease of his uncle's property of Nenagh, but succeeded no better than in the army, and, after the manner of the Hamiltons, was beset with endless financial difficulties. "Anthony is absconded, there being many writs out against him," remarks his cousin, the Earl of Arran, on one occasion; he believes Anthony has betaken himself to England, away from his numerous creditors. Later on, when certain regiments returned to Ireland in 1684 after the evacuation of Tangier, Ormonde, always a faithful friend to his sister's family and, moreover, fond of Hamilton, whom he describes as a valued relation, resolved that 'Tony' was to have one of the vacant captaincies, but for some reason or other, probably on account of Ormonde's ceasing to be Lord Lieutenant, Tony Hamilton was never appointed.³

¹ *Hist. MSS. Comm.*, Ormonde MSS., First Series, I, p. 35.

² *Dictionnaire des Théâtres* (Paris, 1756), V, p. 538. Richard is occasionally styled le Comte d'Hamilton, e.g. Souches, I, p. 256, Depping, *Correspondance Administrative*, II, p. xxxviii.

³ *Hist. MSS. Comm.*, Ormonde MSS., N.S., V, pp. 557, 613; VI, p. 71; VII, pp. 2, 3, 12, 250. Seventh Report, Appendix, p. 744b, and a letter from Anthony Hamilton, dated August 10 (1681), a copy of which I owe to the kindness of the Marquis of Ormonde.

It would thus seem that the above Count Hamilton was Richard, who, besides, more amiable than Anthony and with a more winning manner, was much more of a 1685 courtier than Anthony ever was. In fact, his assiduity at court brought his downfall. Louvois remarked to him one day—in 1685—that he was not satisfied with him, because his regiment was not as it ought to be. Hamilton replied that with the exception of a few companies the regiment was in quite a good condition, and were it in an unsatisfactory state he was not the person to be blamed, by which he meant that the Inspectors, who at that time were almighty in the army, were to be held responsible. Louvois understood the implication and said that all colonels had sufficient authority to enable them to look after their regiments, to which Hamilton haughtily made answer that he saw his services were no longer agreeable to the King, and that since the Duke of York had become king he would go and serve him ; he knew whence he had come and knew well whither to return. Louvois retorted that the King retained no man against his will in his service, and at once went and reported the conversation to Louis, who, highly incensed, told Hamilton he might instantly return to England, and had it not been for the sake of his sister, the Comtesse de Gramont, he would have straightway sent him to the Bastille. He allowed him, however, to sell his regiment that he might pay his debts, and, with some trouble, Hamilton disposed of it to the Marquis de Jarzé.

The well-informed gave out that his disgrace was due to his having found favour in the sight of a high-born lady who was none other than Louis' daughter, the Princesse de Conti. When he returned to France, an exile, after the battle of the Boyne, the wits made up a chanson which says not a little for the personal charms of Richard Hamilton.

Roche Guyon, Albergoti,
 Vous allez reperdre ces dames,
 Vous ne plairez plus à Conti,
 Villeroi n'aura plus de charmes,
 Adieu, pauvres amours, et La Châtre et Tracy,
 Richard revient ici.¹

Two or three days before he left Paris, in disgrace, a curious thing happened. Richard Hamilton and his friend, the

¹ Bibl. Nat. MS. fr. 12690, p. 426.

Marquis d'Alincourt, having dined not wisely but too well, walked in the gardens of the Palais Royal. Meeting four *bretteurs*, d'Alincourt hailed them derisively, and they replied in no ambiguous fashion. Hamilton threatened them, one of them dealt him a blow in the face, and in a moment the two noblemen had drawn their swords. But being two against four they had to call for help, and the affair coming to Louis' ears, he was exceedingly annoyed by such disorderly behaviour in the Palais Royal gardens. The well-informed again offered another explanation; the encounter with the *bretteurs*, they said, was only a story invented to cover up a fight that had taken place between Hamilton and d'Alincourt, because they both loved the same great lady.¹

Be that as it may, Richard Hamilton left many friends at the French court. The annotator of the *Mémoires de Sourches*—he, by the way, is as little known as Sourches himself—describes Hamilton as very brave, gallant, handsome and kind-hearted, and remarks that there was no one at court who did not regret his departure.²

¹ Dangeau, I, pp. 131, 137, 146; Sourches, I, pp. 188-189, 203; Depping, *Correspondance Administrative sous Louis XIV* (Paris, 1851), II, p. xxxviii.

Madame de Lafayette, *Mémoires de la Cour de France*, p. 252, relates: "On l'avait chassé de la cour parce qu'il s'étoit rendu amoureux de la Princesse de Conty, fille du Roy, et qu'il paroissoit qu'elle aimoit bien mieux lui parler qu'à un autre."

² Sourches, I, p. 188 n.

CHAPTER VI

1685-1692

THE HAMILTONS AND THE WAR IN IRELAND

ANTHONY and Richard Hamilton had lived more or less in exile during the reign of Charles. With the accession of James and the changed situation of the Catholics they began to take part in the public life of their country. Richard had hardly arrived in England when James appointed him colonel of a regiment of dragoons which he was to raise there.¹ 1685 The regiment arrived in Ireland in the autumn of 1685, and the Lord Lieutenant, Clarendon, who saw it a year later, describes it as very fine.² Anthony also took service in Ireland as Sir Thomas Newcomen's Lieutenant-Colonel in his regiment of foot.³ John, the youngest brother, was lieutenant in Lord Mountjoy's regiment.⁴ The husband of George Hamilton's widow, Dick Talbot, was given a regiment in Ireland, to the great displeasure of the Protestants, who said that this was advancing Popery and destroying the Protestant religion.⁵ A bounty of £200 was granted both to Anthony and to Richard Hamilton, and a bounty of £100 to Thomas Hamilton,⁶ the fourth of the six Hamilton brothers (but the second of the four brothers living), who, at the time, rendered James no small service in capturing, off the west coast of Scotland, some

¹ *Hist. MSS. Comm.*, Report on the MSS. of the Earl of Egmont, VI, 155.

² *Clarendon Correspondence*, II, pp. 1-2, cf. p. 4.

³ *Hist. MSS. Comm.*, 14th Report, App., Part VII (Ormonde MSS., I), p. 409. The Army List for March, 1684-1685 (p. 404) contains neither the names of Anthony nor Richard Hamilton. Anthony's name is first given in the Army List for September, 1685 (p. 409), and Richard's in the Army List for March, 1685-1686 (p. 415).

⁴ *Ib.*, p. 404.

⁵ *Campana di Cavelli*, II, p. 39.

⁶ *Secret Service Money* (Camden), pp. 104, 116, 123.

of the ships which the Earl of Argyle had equipped to aid Monmouth in his rising.¹

From 1686 onwards Richard Hamilton was a member of the Irish Privy Council, and in the beginning of the same year was made Brigadier when Tyrconnel 1686 was made Lieutenant-General and Justin Macarthy Major-General.² Anthony, though his senior, was in a subordinate position as Lieutenant-Colonel; he was, however, appointed Governor of Limerick in 1685, in place of the Protestant Governor, Sir William King, who was deposed, and his company was quartered in Limerick. The new Governor went publicly to Mass, an event unheard of since 1650. A Catholic was substituted for the Protestant Mayor, twelve Roman Catholic merchants were made free of the Common Council of Limerick, and Mass was said in the Citadel, whither the Army marched every Sunday in order, with drums and hautboys, a thing which had not been done for the last forty years. The new régime was emphasized in every possible way. The appointment was

¹ Thomas Hamilton had commanded successively the *Deptford Ketch*, the *Nightingale*, the *Mermaid*, the *Constant Warwick*, the *Mary Rose*, the *Charles Galley*, the *Dragon* and finally, on this occasion, the *Kingfisher*. Part of his service had been accomplished in the Mediterranean, where he had captured a very large Algerine ship of war. (Cf. *Biographia Navalis*, I, pp. 310-312, where he is partly confused with his brother James Hamilton; Bodleian Library, MS. Rawl. A. 181, f. 110; Ormonde MSS., N.S., V, p. 326; VII, p. 160.)

Argyle, returning from Holland, had taken possession of the castle of Ellengreg (Hamilton calls it Elandgray) on the West of Scotland, off the Kyles of Bute, had fortified it, as well as time and circumstances would permit, intending it as his 'grand magazine and place of final retreat,' and had left it in charge of some of his men. Thomas Hamilton, who commanded the small squadron of ships ordered off to the West of Scotland, sailed up to the castle, intending to drive out the men. The latter, however, did not await his arrival, but ran their ships aground and abandoned the castle, after having set '4 or 5 inches of match' to a barrel of powder 'where there was 5 or 600 barrels more.' Hamilton, having been warned at once, managed to prevent the explosion taking place, and secured the powder, as well as arms and ammunition, on board Argyle's ships, enough, he said, to arm 30,000 men. The spoil taken included "armes of a new invention, wth double barrels and a dagger to fly out beyond the muzzle, and a great many books printed to publish (*sic.*) upon occasion setting forth y^e reasons of Argyle's landing . . . two stands of colours, the one blew wth a white cross on w^{ch} was writt, 'God forward us,' the other white with a black cross in w^{ch} was writt, 'From popery, herecy and scism, deliver us.' (R.O. St. P., Ireland, 1685, Thomas Hamilton to Lord Granard, June 16th, 1685; The Ex^a of Francis Warter, cap. of y^e Arran yacht, *Hist. MSS. Comm.*, 12th Report, App., Part XII, p. 17; Souches, I, p. 263.)

² *Hist. MSS. Comm.*, Ormonde MSS., First Series, I, p. 415; II, p. 386. *Clarendon Correspondence*, I, pp. 343, 400.

not, however, of long duration, for in 1687, or earlier, Anthony Hamilton was succeeded by Sir John Fitzgerald, also a Roman Catholic.¹

Richard stood exceedingly well with the Commander-in-Chief of the Irish Army and the real director of Irish affairs, Talbot, or rather Tyrconnel, as he should now be called ; very much less favour was shown to Anthony, who seems to have been of a more quiet and retiring disposition ; on the other hand, Clarendon, who had no great love for Richard, speaks very kindly of Anthony Hamilton, and describes him as a man who understands the regiment better than the Colonel, ' for he makes it his business.'² His Colonel, Sir Thomas Newcomen, it may be added, was not an easy man to live with, false and treacherous in the highest degree, according to Clarendon, and hated beyond words.³

Possibly Anthony Hamilton's relatively subordinate position was due to the fact that he did not enter into Tyrconnel's plans with the necessary zest and zeal, for, Catholic though he was, Anthony did not share his brother's and Tyrconnel's enthusiasm for the remodelling of the Irish Army on a Catholic basis which threw so many men out of employment. He admitted to Clarendon that he was ' in great trouble ' on account of these reforms, especially as they took place in his regiment. Men, he said, were put out of that regiment who were as good men as were in the world, and he did not think so of those who replaced them. Every one of the officers whom he particularly recommended to Tyrconnel and to Newcomen were made to leave, and their successors, he considered, were not likely to bring honour to the service.⁴ This, at least, is Clarendon's story, and Clarendon, sore from the daily slights to which he is subjected, cannot disguise his pleasure at the dissensions that are manifesting themselves in the opposing camp.

¹ Ferrar, *Limerick*, pp. 39-40 ; Lenihan, *Limerick*, pp. 210-211. Ferrar's *Limerick* was published in 1767, but the fact of Anthony's receiving the government of Limerick is mentioned as early as 1731 in the biographical sketch, prefixed to all old editions of the *Mémoires de Grammont*, and printed for the first time in the 1731 edition of *La Haye. Hist. MSS. Comm.*, Ormonde MSS., First Series, I (14th Report, Appendix, Part VII), p. 409.

² *Clarendon Correspondence*, I, p. 423.

³ *Ib.*, I, p. 218.

⁴ *Ib.*, I, p. 421.

Richard, it would seem, was responsible for a great many of the men discharged. Tyrconnel, it was said, gave him a free hand and sent orders to the Captains to put out such men as Hamilton should mark.¹ In no regiment was the substitution carried to such an extent as in Sir Thomas Newcomen's; in September, 1685, out of a total of 850 soldiers and non-commissioned officers 102 were Catholics; about a year later their number had increased to 721.²

And so Anthony Hamilton lived through another year of a life that was never very successful or very happy; out of sympathy with his relatives, in a subordinate position at which he chafed, changes of which he heartily disapproved undoing his efforts to make the regiment efficient, struggling for promotion which, when it came, excited jealousy, he was beset with all the inevitable difficulties of a transition period. Clarendon, not displeased that one of the Catholic party and a connexion of Tyrconnel's should owe something of his advancement to him, recommended him warmly for a colonelcy and a Privy Councillorship,³ and when, in the early autumn of 1686, Anthony obtained permission to go and plead his cause in England, Clarendon wrote in his behalf to the Earl of Rochester, his brother, desiring him to advance Hamilton's claims in any way he could. "He is a very worthy man," is Clarendon's verdict, "and of great honour, and will retain a just sense of any kindness you shall do to him; he has been in very good employments and esteem when he served abroad, and men of honour cannot always brook the having little men put over their heads who in the judgment of all the world are not equal to their stations. This gentleman has lived as he ought to do towards me, which I cannot say of everybody here; I would therefore be glad he should receive some countenance, if it were possible, upon my account."⁴ In October a report came from England that Hamilton was to be given a certain Colonel Russell's regiment,⁵ but whether this was the particular regiment Anthony Hamilton received is not

¹ *Ib.*, p. 436.

² *Hist. MSS. Comm.*, Ormonde MSS., First Series, I, p. 426. According to another estimate (*ib.* and p. 434) out of 780 privates, 663 were Catholics, viz. 85 per cent, a larger percentage than in any other regiment.

³ *Clarendon Correspondence*, I, pp. 488-489.

⁴ *Ib.*, I, p. 533.

⁵ *Ib.*, Vol. II, p. 38.

known. In January, 1687, he was still a Lieutenant-Colonel with a pay of £200, but the first commission for a colonelcy delivered in Ireland after Tyrconnel's becoming Lord Lieutenant was Anthony Hamilton's. This was in February of the same year, and in 1688, the year following, he was certainly commanding a regiment of foot which went by his name. Towards the end of 1686 he had also been made one of the Privy Councillors.¹

As for Richard Hamilton, he does not appear in an altogether estimable light at this period, and one cannot wonder if Clarendon had his misgivings with regard to this officer who had served all his life in France, and, leaving in disgrace, now suddenly assumed control with Tyrconnel and Macarthy over the Irish army, discharged whom he would, and, with the complacency born of sudden elevation showed him but scant deference. Moreover, on one of his visits to England Hamilton did not act in an altogether upright way over against Clarendon, if Clarendon may be believed, and there is no reason to doubt his story. An arrangement had been made in the Irish army according to which a certain sum was deducted from the men's pay for their clothing. When Richard Hamilton came to take leave of Clarendon, he told him that some men complained they had only ninepence a week subsistence money on account of the great deductions. Clarendon assured him that this was impossible, as no deductions had yet been made, "which he seemed a little startled at in regard of my being so positive," and offered to satisfy him by giving particulars, but Hamilton declined, replied evasively when Clarendon asked what men had been complaining, went to England and related that the men at Coleraine had only ninepence a week, and his complaint was transmitted back to Clarendon. Further, Justin Macarthy, the Major-General, wrote to Hamilton that the army was in such want of subsistence that, by the living God! they should all be ruined, which letter Hamilton circulated, though Clarendon remarked that there was not a man in Ireland but who could prove the falsehood of the statement. He called Macarthy to account; Macarthy professed great amazement, said that if he were to be crucified he could

¹ Dalton, *English Army Lists and Commission Registers*, Vol. II, p. 221; D'Alton, *King James' Irish Army List*, I, p. 10; *Ellis Correspondence*, I, p. 226; Archdall Lodge, *Peerage of Ireland*, V, p. 119.

not remember what he had written, that it was strange he should write the army would be ruined for want of subsistence, since he knew they had subsistence and, after some more lame excuses, exclaimed, "Lord, if Dick Hamilton has showed all my letter he has made brave work; for I wrote a great deal of stuff in that letter concerning Madam Mazarine and other people."¹

As Clarendon remarked, he had little cause to believe these two gentlemen his friends; their thinly veiled disregard foreshadowed what was coming—in February, 1687, Clarendon received his letters of recall. The charge of the government was now given to Tyrconnel, who already controlled the army; leaving London, accompanied by his wife and Anthony and Richard Hamilton,² he proceeded to Dublin to assume his new duties as Lord Lieutenant. The Hamiltons could count on further promotion. About this time Richard's regiment of Dragoons was given to the Lieutenant-Colonel, John Butler, a cousin of the Hamiltons', and in exchange, Richard received a regiment of horse.³

The clouds were gathering slowly but surely on the horizon. When the Prince of Wales was born in the year following, Louis despatched Gramont as his envoy, 1688 but Gramont came not merely as the witty and brilliant courtier, charged with the King's compliments; he carried with him very definite secret instructions from Louis according to which he was to find out exactly what measures James was taking against a possible attack from the Prince of Orange, what was the strength of the army and navy, the condition of the strongholds, the disposition of the commanding officers; further, he was to discover who were the leaders of the party opposed to the King and the Catholic religion; he was, if possible, to enter into conversation with them, and, using his 'insinuating manners,' to get some knowledge of their plans

¹ *Clarendon Correspondence*. II, pp. 34, 35, 48, 58, 61, 62, 85, 93, 100, 130, etc. Clarendon afterwards discovered that Sir Thomas Newcomen had deducted a sum of money from his regiment, and that in another regiment the officers had not been honest in paying their men, but in both these cases the state of affairs was due to the officers and not to any mismanagement on the part of Clarendon, as was implied by his detractors.

² Bishop Cartwright, *Diary* (Camden), p. 26.

³ Dalton, *English Army List*, II, p. 95.

and of the means by which they proposed to get the better of James.¹

For Louis was much more aware of the peril than James was or professed to be. "While tempests were on all hands gathering round King James, he interested himself only in reconciling the King of France with the holy see and in the fate of a war against the infidels."² When Gramont returned in September with a present of a thousand guineas,³ he reported, so Dangeau at least relates, that all was quiet in England, in spite of the Prince of Orange showing some inclination to sail to England with his fleet.⁴

In August, however, James, no longer sure of his own army, had brought over 3000 soldiers from Ireland, in spite of warnings from his friends; amongst these troops, whose arrival occasioned such murmurs and discontent, were Anthony Hamilton's regiment of foot, the regiment of dragoons Richard had raised and the regiment of horse that Richard was commanding at the time. The Dutch warships approached the English coast in the first days of November. Four regiments of horse commanded by Arran, the Hamiltons' cousin, Sir John Lanier, who had been at the head of the cavalry regiment Royal in France, Colonel Conner and Richard Hamilton, were sent to Ipswich and three other regiments to Colchester, but the Prince of Orange passed westward and landed at Torbay. It afterwards transpired that Lanier had resolved to declare for the Prince of Orange, had he landed at Ipswich, and had agreed with the other officers to secure Richard Hamilton and the two other colonels.⁵

On the 12th of November Richard Hamilton was appointed Major-General over all the forces.⁶ Englishmen, even unto the newly appointed Lieutenant-General Churchill, were joining the Prince of Orange on all sides. On December 9th the Queen and the Prince of Wales were sent to France; James, attempting to join them

¹ *Aff. Etr., Corr. Pol. Angleterre*, 165, ff. 382, 383. The text in full is given on p. 284 *infra* (Appendix V). Gramont had already been once to England in the reign of James II, viz. in 1685. Dangeau, I, p. 156.

² Dalrymple, *Memoirs*, II, p. 185.

³ *Secret Service Money* (Camden), p. 267.

⁴ Dangeau, II, p. 156.

⁵ Dalton, *English Army List*, II, p. 221; Macpherson, *Original Papers*, I, pp. 158, 159.

⁶ Dalton, *op. cit.*, p. 200.

next day, was taken, brought back to London, then evicted from Whitehall and sent to Rochester. Only five persons of distinction accompanied him in the barge that took him to Gravesend, Lord Arran, Lord Litchfield, Lord Dumbarton, who had commanded in France as 'Milord Douglas,' Lord Aylesbury and Richard Hamilton. As James was rowed down the Thames he reflected, as well he might, on the instability of all human things, and how from amongst twelve millions of subjects he had only five friends to attend him.¹ From Rochester James was finally able to make good his escape, leaving England for ever on the 23rd of December (O.S.).

Anthony Hamilton's regiment was disbanded by the Prince of Orange, along with some other regiments. Richard was a kind of prisoner of war, and his men were kept for some time in the Isle of Wight; finally the regiment was incorporated in the English army, where it figures to-day as the 5th Dragoon Guards.² Meanwhile, trouble had broken out in Ireland, Derry and Enniskillen had closed their gates; and though five-sixths of the country was Roman Catholic, yet the Protestant settlers were determined to hold out in the interest of William, who hardly yet realized the gravity of the resistance in Ireland. He did not go there in person, but John Temple, Sir William Temple's son, was assured that if Richard Hamilton were sent to Ireland with advantageous proposals, Tyrconnel would deliver up the kingdom and the expense of 1689 sending men would be saved.³ "Hamilton was a papist," says Burnet, "but was believed to be a man of honour, and he had certainly great credit with Tyrconnel."⁴ He was accordingly charged with the mission and promised that he would either negotiate an understanding with Tyrconnel or return to England. His return was awaited anxiously,⁵ but they might expect him long in England; when Hamilton did actually return it was as a prisoner of war two years later.

¹ Dalrymple, *Memoirs*, II, p. 247.

² Dalton, *op. cit.*, p. 13; Burnet, *History of his Own Times*, III, pp. 371-372.

³ *Hatton Correspondence*, II, p. 133.

⁴ Burnet, *op. cit.*, *ib.*; Foxcroft's *Supplement to Burnet*, p. 306. Cf. H. C. Foxcroft, *Life of Halifax* (London, 1898), Vol. II, p. 211.

⁵ *Hist. MSS. Comm.*, 14th Report, Appendix, Part II, p. 422.

The case of Hamilton's desertion was investigated in August. A certain Major Done declared that he had been in Dublin in January and, hearing that a vessel had arrived from England, he went to see who the passengers were. He counted seventy men in red coats, and amongst them Colonel Richard Hamilton together with eleven other officers. The Colonel, whom he knew well, went with several others to a tavern, and from the next room he, Done, heard their conversation plainly. After salutations the Colonel broke into loud laughter, saying he could not forbear it, thinking how finely he had shammed the Prince of Orange into a belief that he had interest and inclination enough to prevail with Tyrconnel to lay down the sword and to submit to him. Colonel Dempsey, who had come to congratulate him, replied, "What interest could you have in the Prince or how got you it, to persuade the Prince to believe you?" Hamilton answered, "I wanted not friends to persuade him into a confidence of me, on which account I got my liberty and this" (pulling out a pass from the Prince which, he said, was for himself, 11 officers and 140 soldiers, which were all he could get account of to be in Liverpool, Chester and Holyhead, else he believed he could have got a pass for 700 as well as for seven score, adding, "Had King James been so well advised as he might, he need not have come out of England for want of friends to support him"). After much discourse to the same effect a coach came to the door with Sir Richard Nagle and Secretary Ellis. Hamilton said jokingly to Ellis, "How, Brother Sham, are you there? The kingdom of Ireland is beholden to you and I, for averting this storm off from them; else you had had ere this an enemy in the bowels of the kingdom."¹

Other witnesses deposed that before Hamilton's arrival Tyrconnel would have been quite willing to submit. Sir Robert Colvill declared that Tyrconnel had told him he was weary of the sword and he would throw it down with as much satisfaction as he had received it, but what was he to do with it, since there was nobody to receive it—was he to throw it into the kennel? Others stated that Tyrconnel had pulled down all the hangings at the castle, had laden about sixty carts with his goods, had sent all his best

¹ *Hist. MSS. Comm.*, 12th Report, Appendix, Part VI, pp. 189-190.

goods on board ship and had bought up all the guineas at high rates. His Popish neighbours desired him to inform them if any proposals came over from England, for they would accept them. But when Richard Hamilton came everything was changed. The 'English' were dejected because Hamilton was a Popish general. The Archbishop of Dublin and others considered him an unfit man and wondered how he came to be sent. The Papists of Dublin, however, made bonfires and said that Dick Hamilton was worth 10,000 men. All the commissions for raising men were issued after Hamilton arrived. One witness declared that methods were taken to destroy the Protestants as soon as Hamilton came over, and another added that at the time of the changes in England Tyrconnel was observed to be much kinder to the Protestants than formerly, but on the coming over of the Marquis de Pont (*sic*) from France and Colonel Hamilton from England he was strangely altered, and said he would lay the kingdom in ashes before he would give up the sword.¹

All this, of course, gives us just one side of the story, and there are doubtless many exaggerations in the foregoing statements. Nevertheless the fact remains that John Temple took the unfortunate issue of the action he had advocated so much to heart that when some "hasty and inconsiderate persons did say . . . that all y^e blood shed in recovering Ireland wou'd call for vengeance for him and his family," he drowned himself in the Thames—in the quaint expression of a contemporary writer, "he took occasion by water to goe into another world."²

The Marquis de 'Pont' above mentioned—de Pointis to give him his real name—and Captain Michael Roth had come to Dublin from the French court in January to investigate the state of affairs. The ship that had brought them to Ireland returned two days later and carried Lord Mountjoy and Sir Stephen Rice to France;³ the former was to advise James to let Ireland come to terms with the Prince of Orange, the latter was to assure James of Ireland's loyalty and to urge him to prevent Mountjoy, the Protestant leader, from returning to Ireland. Mountjoy was accord-

¹ *Ib.*, pp. 138-143, 191.

² *Hatton Correspondence* (Camden), II, 132, 133, April 20th and 23rd, 1689.

³ Boulger, *Battle of the Boyne*, p. 44.

ingly lodged in the Bastille, and there he remained until 1692, when he was exchanged for another prisoner of war, namely, Richard Hamilton.

On the 5th of February, John Hamilton, the youngest of the brothers, arrived in Paris, possibly the bearer of some letters from Tyrconnel, and on the 17th he left again with the English and Scottish officers who were moving towards Brest.¹ He was one of the 83 officers who sailed with James to Ireland on the 7th of March (O.S.).² James landed at Kinsale on the 12th and entered Dublin on the 24th. On the 14th Tyrconnel had met him at Cork and had told him amongst other things that he had sent 'Lieutenant-General' Hamilton with 2500 men to Ulster against the rebels. According to Melfort, Richard Hamilton and some others had been thus advanced in rank by the Duke of Tyrconnel before the King's arrival and without the King's knowledge.³ It was probably at this time that Anthony Hamilton was made Brigadier, since he commanded with that rank in 1689. These various promotions cannot have been altogether agreeable to James, who was bringing several French general officers with him—Rosen, commander-in-chief; Maumont, a lieutenant-general; Pussignan, a brigadier, and others.

Besides these officers there had come with James the Comte d'Avaux, as a representative of the French Government, and one of the first things that Avaux did on his arrival was to urge 'assez inutilement' the sending of reinforcements to Richard Hamilton.⁴ What Avaux's advice could not accomplish was brought about by the news of Hamilton's being repulsed at Coleraine, after having so far successfully driven back the 'rebels,' routing them at Dromore.⁵ Not only were troops sent north, but James resolved to go there in person, in spite of all Avaux and Tyrconnel could say. The men who were to march to

¹ Dangeau, II, pp. 324, 344.

² Gilbert, *Jacobite Narrative*, p. 316.

³ Macpherson, *Original Papers*, I, p. 177. A marginal note to the French text in Melfort's hand.

⁴ Avaux, *Négociations*, pp. 49, 52. The copy of Avaux preserved at the Bibliothèque Nationale has the following interesting autograph note: "Ce volume m'a été donné par Lord Aberdeen, qui en avait fait faire le travail par son fils Arthur Gordon, alors âgé de seize ans. Il n'en a été tiré que dix exemplaires. Haddo House, 13 août, 1858. Guizot."

⁵ *Ib.*, p. 53, 1st April, to Louvois.

Ulster were to be under the command of Pusignan, because, Avaux explains, he was not major-general, the King of England being unwilling to set anyone above M. Amilton.¹ 'M. Amilton' was already beginning to lose favour in Avaux's sight. The defeat at Coleraine, the Ambassador explained to Louvois, was entirely due to mismanagement on the part of the besiegers. M. Amilton had advanced without taking any precautions, imagining that his arrival would suffice to strike terror into the inhabitants of Coleraine, and, besides, he had not had provisions enough with him to last him for one day. A single battalion of Frenchmen would have settled the *affaire* of Coleraine and Londonderry.² Great was the regret of Avaux that there were no French soldiers to do the work efficiently, and having succeeded in convincing James of the necessity of their immediate presence in Ireland, he opened up the negotiations with Louvois that were to result in the exchange of troops.

As a matter of fact, Richard Hamilton was very badly off for arms, ammunition and trained men. "I am sencible," writes Tyrconnel to him about this time. "You want . . . [nece]ssaryes fitting to take in such places, [and what] is yet worss, all sortes of officers, but . . . n[oe] remedy, you must do as well as you can." How much Tyrconnel was attached to the Hamiltons is shown in the letters he wrote to Richard, while the latter was besieging Londonderry. "As for your brothers, Anthony and Jack," the same letter goes on to say, "you . . . for theyr owne sakes as well as . . . [I will] doe by them as if they wear my owne. Anthony has a regiment and is Brig[adier and] will very soone be a Major-Generall. Jack has Mountjoy's regiment and I hope . . . brigadyer as soone as Anthony is [advanced to a higher post]. Adieu Richard. You know how [I love] you and them and that I will [doe all] in my power for them."³

"Je nay jamais douté de uostre tendresse, mon cher frère," he writes at another time, "et rien ne me fait tant de peine que le peu d'apparence qu'il y a que nous nous

¹ *Ib.*, p. 73, $\frac{1}{4}$ April, to Louvois.

² *Ib.*, p. 76. The same letter.

³ *Hist. MSS. Comm.*, 8th Report, Appendix, Part I, p. 496. These letters are unfortunately almost falling to pieces.

uoyons bien tost. . . . Adieu, dear Richard, tell [Don]gan and Sheldon that I haue not writ to you all this whyle and then they will not wonder I haue not writ to them. Au reste, I haue noe more to say, but that I would faine haue those two damnde places, Derry and Coolraine, as soone confounded as you could."¹

"[If you] knew, he writes from Kilkenny, on the 17th of April, how ill I have been of late, . . . I am woorryed and hurried about [you wo]uld easily excuse my not haueing of . . . [wr]it so oftne with my owne hand . . . assure your self, Richard, that I loue . . . much as euer and that I will euer do so. . . . Would to God you . . . [r]educer that same Derry which giues us so [much tro]uble . . . wreyt to me constantly."²

Meanwhile, James had set out northwards and, after having once retreated, finally arrived before Londonderry, which was now besieged by Hamilton. The 'rebels' had abandoned Coleraine, some others had been scattered at Strabane—Rosen, Maumont and Lery had joined Richard Hamilton and Pusignan, and the Duke of Berwick had written to James that according to the general officers, he had only to appear before Derry and its gates would be opened to him.³ Four times James summoned the town and when he saw that it was of no avail he returned to Dublin, 'very much mortified,' with Rosen and Léry, leaving the other general officers with Hamilton.⁴

For the sake of peace amongst the officers besieging Londonderry, it was a good thing that James took Rosen away with him; few generals have been less beloved by their inferiors.⁵ Friction between the French and English was almost inevitable. The Irish soldiers, Walker relates, "express'd great prejudice and hatred of the French, Cursing those Damnd Fellows that walked in Trunks

¹ *Hist. MSS. Comm.*, 8th Report, Appendix, Part I, p. 496.

² *Ib.*, p. 495.

³ Avaux, p. 102, 17 April, 1689.

⁴ *Ib.*, p. 100, 15 April, 1689.

⁵ "Hamilton s'est expliqué," writes Pointis, who was in charge of the artillery, "qu'il ne serviroit point sous Mr. Rozen, non pas par difficulté de lui obéir mais parce que, en servant bien, il ne veut pas être querellé. Quatre ou cinq Brigadiers et Colonels qui sont icy sont dans le même sentiment, mais la présence du Roy d'Angleterre les oblige à prendre patience." (*Guerre*, 963, No. 16, May 11th, 1689, to Seignelay.)

(meaning their Jackboots), that had all Preferments in the Army that fell, and took the Bread out of their Mouths.”¹ Avaux informed Louvois that there was a kind of cabal in the army between Hamilton and his friends, against the French officers, because M. d’Hamilton regretted the presence of these officers, imagining that they would rob him of his glory. “If M. d’Hamilton continues to act as he has done up till now, there is little enough likelihood of his winning fame,” Avaux concludes.² If intrigues there were, Hamilton was probably not the only one to be blamed. Tyrconnel writes to him in a very kindly strain about this time: “Richard, I will [not] onely share . . . fatic[u]e and hazard with you, but . . . [your]self all the honor I do assure you.”³

Hamilton’s French rivals did not fare as well as he at Londonderry; Maumont, attacking the fort of Culmore, was killed; Pusignan died from the effects of a wound; Pointis was wounded. “Après avoir fait perir deux généraux et deux ou trois autres officiers françois, ils sont réduit a convertir le siège en blocus,” is Avaux’ comment.⁴ Hamilton tried to gain the leading men of the city by bribing them, and some, according to Pointis, were quite willing to listen to his proposals, but the General was too much hampered by the fear that James would not enjoy a treaty that cost him so much money. “Sa Majesté Britannique est d’une telle réserve sur les dépenses.”⁵

All things considered, it would seem that Hamilton showed little skill during the siege. It is true—since Avaux admits it—that through the fault of Pointis there was great delay in getting ammunition to the army;⁶ it is true that Hamilton was altogether insufficiently equipped for a siege of any description; it is true that he did something to prevent English ships bringing relief—by placing a boom across the river, but, as the very critical author of *Light to*

¹ Account of the Siege of Londonderry, p. 38.

² Avaux, p. 159, $\frac{8}{15}$ May, 1689.

³ *Hist. MSS. Comm.*, 8th Report, Appendix, Part I, p. 494, May 1st, 1689.

⁴ Avaux, p. 137, $\frac{2}{12}$ May, 1689.

⁵ *Guerre*, 963, Pointis to Seignelay, $\frac{1}{11}$ May, 1689.

⁶ Avaux, p. 114, $\frac{26 \text{ April}}{6 \text{ May}}$, 1689. The siege had begun in April and in June not half of the soldiers were yet in possession of swords. (Avaux, p. 209.)

the Blind remarks, "Why [if the siege was carried on to famish the town] were the besiegers exposed from time to time to danger and actual slaughter, first, by having no lines of defence, especially for the greatest part of the duration of the siege; and, secondly, by sending the men upon attacks with extraordinary disadvantage, as in day advanced, and against the enemies covered altogether with entrenchments?"¹ Avaux again and again expressed his opinion that Hamilton was not the man to conduct such an important affair,² and complained that the general, in spite of his intentions of starving the town, allowed fifty to a hundred people to leave Londonderry almost daily.³ July came and the besiegers were no further advanced.

Letter after letter was sent by James, emphasizing the extreme necessity of the taking of the town.⁴ "Sir," writes Melfort to Hamilton on the 2nd of July, "thers something in this mater of Derry we can[not] at this distance understand, but the taking of it is of such importance to the King [that] nothing can be mor, and therefor I doubt [not] that you will press it all you can. . . . Pray send us some good news [at] least that the folks are working."⁵ And again, a fortnight later: "I hope you shal see the effect . . . how all the King's affaires depends. . . . [th]is one place, and if you have the good [fortune] to take it before the threatned suce[ours] come you will have ane honour that . . . men wold be fond of."⁶

Hamilton had twice been severely repulsed in attempting to take a piece of waste land that the besieged had secured, and James, thoroughly alarmed, once more sent Rosen to Londonderry to assume the chief command,⁷ greatly to

¹ Gilbert, *Jacobite Narrative*, p. 65. Cf. p. 67, 'The ridiculous siege of Londonderry.'

² Avaux, pp. 186, 221, $\frac{1}{2}$ May and $\frac{1}{8}$ June, 1689.

³ *Ib.*, p. 159, 8-18 May, 1689.

⁴ These letters, preserved at the Royal Irish Academy, Dublin, are printed *infra* pp. 285-295 (Appendix VI).

⁵ *Hist. MSS. Comm.*, 8th Report, Appendix, Part I, p. 495.

⁶ *Ib.*

⁷ "Le 10 [juillet] on eut nouvelle que le siège de Londonderry n'avoit jamais été bien formé, mais qu'enfin le Roi d'Angleterre y avoit envoyé quinze mille hommes, sous les ordres de M. Rosen, qui devoit attaquer cette place dans toutes les formes, et que le Comte d'Hamilton qui jusqu'alors y avoit commandé avoit refusé d'obéir à M. Rosen. Il y eut des gens qui trouvèrent à redire qu'il eût fait cette démarche, parce que

the dismay of the Irish officers, for Rosen, who considered them lazy, threatened that he would have their heads cut off. "They are not accustomed to such manners," Pointis pleasantly explains to Seignelay.¹ About this time Hamilton had offered some easy terms to the garrison of Londonderry, the garrison, however, though living on horseflesh and worse things, had unanimously resolved to eat their prisoners first and then one another, rather than surrender, and answered in return, "That they much wonder'd he shou'd expect they cou'd place any confidence in him that had so unworthily broke Faith with their King, that he was once generously trusted though an enemy yet betray'd his trust and they cou'd not believe he had learned more sincerity in an Irish camp."²

Rosen swore, so Walker relates, that by the Belly of God he would demolish the town and bury all under its ashes ;³ he at once issued a proclamation, summoning the garrison to surrender and declaring that no mercy would be shown if Hamilton's proposals were refused ; he would, besides, have all the Protestants of the country surrounding driven before the gates of Londonderry to be admitted or to starve in the sight of their friends. In a letter of the same day, June 30th (O.S.), he announced to Louvois his intentions of 'exterminating the rebels of the whole district.'⁴ The inhabitants of Londonderry retaliated by threatening to hang all their prisoners unless Rosen let their friends go, and the Jacobite prisoners sent word to Rosen to save them by liberating the Protestants, but receiving no answer they wrote to Richard Hamilton, asking him to exert his influence, knowing, they said, he was a Person who did not delight in shedding innocent blood. "We are all willing to die (with our Swords in our hands) for His Majesty," they wrote, "but to suffer like Malefactors is hard." They received the following letter in reply :

M. Rosen étoit maréchal de camp en France, dans le temps que M. d'Hamilton n'y étoit que capitaine d'infanterie ; mais cette raison que auroit été fort bonne s'ils avoient tous deux servi en France, n'étoit pas de mise parce qu'il étoient en Irlande au service du Roi d'Angleterre et que M. d'Hamilton étoit lieutenant général du Roi d'Angleterre avant que M. Rosen fût au service de ce prince." (Sourches, III, p. 116.)

¹ *Guerre*, 963, Pointis to Seignelay, $\frac{26 \text{ June}}{6 \text{ July}}$, 1689.

² Walker, p. 34.

³ *Ib.*, p. 32.

⁴ *Guerre*, 895, No. 93.

"Gentlemen, In answer to yours; What these poor people are like to suffer, they may thank themselves for, being their own fault; which they may prevent by accepting the Conditions which have been offered them; and if you suffer in this it cannot be help'd but shall be reveng'd on many thousands of those People (as well innocent as others) within or without that City. Yours, R. Hamilton."¹

But the sight of the gallows on the ramparts and the importunity of the friends of those who were to suffer forced Rosen to relinquish his barbarous plans which, as will be remembered, found no favour with the army and least of all with James, who was furious, while Melfort added that if Rosen had been one of His Majesty's subjects he would have been hung.² To Hamilton Melfort wrote:

"The King is very well satisf[yed] with all your proceedings and wee doubt not [but] you shall after all have yet the honour to finish the business of Derry with succes and

¹ Walker, p. 36.

² Avaux, p. 309, 1^{re} July, 1689.

La Fontaine has touched upon the siege of Londonderry in a letter to the Prince de Conti, dated August 18th, 1689.

Londonderry s'en va se rendre,
Voilà ce qu'on me vient d'apprendre :
Mais dans deux jours je m'attends bien
Qu'un bruit viendra qu'il n'en est rien.
J'ai même encor certain scrupule :
Ce siège est-il un siège ou non ?
Il ressemble à l'Ascension,
Qui n'avance ni ne recule.
Jacque aura monté sa pendule
Plus d'une fois avant qu'il ait
Tous ces rebelles à souhait.
On leur a mené pères, mères,
Femmes, enfants, personnes chères
Qu'on retient par force entassés
Comme moutons dans les fossés.
Cette troupe aux assiégés crie :
"Rendez vous, sauvez nous la vie !"
Point de nouvelle, Au diantre l'un
Qui ne soit sourd. Le bruit commun
Est qu'ils n'ont plus de quoi repaître ;
A la clémence de leur maître
Ils se devoient abandonner.
Et puis allez moi pardonner
A cette maudite canaille !
Les gens trop bons et trop devots
Ne font bien souvent rien qui vaille.
Faut-il qu'un prince ait ces défauts ?

Œuvres (Edition des Grands Ecrivains), IX, pp. 440-441.

[w]ithout employing any of these extraordinary [m]eans the King has expressly commanded to forbear."¹

Avaux, however, about the same time, complained to Louis that Richard Hamilton was taking no pains with the siege and that not a shot had been fired for a week. Acting on a suggestion of Louvois, he told James all that he knew of Hamilton's 'misconduct,' and found that James had been informed of it and was almost persuaded of Hamilton's guilt, "mais il vouloit me le cacher et il tache de se le cacher a luy mesme, aussi bien que tout ce qui luy peut faire de la peine."² Hamilton's incapacity, according to the Ambassador, was so marked that some doubted of his loyalty.³

A letter from Louvois, dated June 13th, arrived about this time, and suggested that if the siege had not yet been raised it ought to be done at once, so that the troops might be in a better condition to oppose Schomberg's army.⁴ Avaux submitted the suggestion, but James would not hear of it until an intercepted letter from Schomberg to Kirke announced Solms' arrival shortly with troops, and even then James was reluctant and there was some delay in sending letters to Londonderry.⁵ "I [con]fess," writes Melfort to Richard Hamilton on the 22nd of July, "its hard to leav a town so near starved and [of so] much consequence to the King to hav, but if it be so, that mortificatione must be swallowed."⁶

But before the siege was raised, the English ships that had lain outside Londonderry and had once already attempted

¹ *Hist. MSS. Comm.*, 8th Report, Appendix, Part I, p. 495, July 4th (O.S.).

² Avaux, p. 258, $\frac{6}{15}$ July, 1689; p. 298, $\frac{30 \text{ June}}{10 \text{ July}}$, 1689.

³ *Ib.*, p. 295, the same letter. Fumeron says the same. "Les troupes soupçonnoient M. d'Hamilton d'intelligence avec les assiégés ce qui les a fait (avec le peu de précaution que la Cour a pris pour leur payement et leur subsistance) désertre en Bande." (*Bibliothèque Mazarine*, MS. 2298, f. 49, to Louvois, July 8th, 1689.)

Rumours of what was being alleged against him must have reached Hamilton, for we find Melfort writing to him: "I cannot questione you in thes matters and I am sure I never bla[med] you for anything thats past. I wish to [God] all others did so." (*Hist. MSS. Comm.*, 8th Report, Appendix, Part I, p. 495.)

⁴ Avaux, p. 281.

⁵ *Ib.*, p. 316, $\frac{13}{15}$ July; p. 323, $\frac{18}{15}$ July; pp. 350, 356, $\frac{30 \text{ July}}{9 \text{ August}}$, p. 376,

$\frac{4}{14}$ August, 1689.

⁶ *Hist. MSS. Report* quoted.

to force their way up the river, got past the fire of the forts, crashed through the boom, sailed into the town and the famine was at an end. On the morning of the day following, August 1st, the investing army had disappeared.¹

At the time of the siege it had been proposed to Richard Hamilton to sink a barge in the river, but he refused, saying that it would afterwards spoil the commerce of Londonderry and thus lessen the royal revenue, and it appears that he had the King's authority for this.² In any case, it proved to be a short-sighted view, and an even greater mistake was the insufficient strength of the works that were to prevent the enemy sailing up the river. Pointis had begun to construct a second boom, but Hamilton made him interrupt his work, saying that he no longer thought the enemy likely to come that way, and that their attentions must be concentrated on the spot where the English might land and be joined by the Protestants of the country round about.³

The same day that Richard Hamilton was forced to give up the siege of Londonderry, Anthony Hamilton experienced a misfortune just as great, perhaps even greater because more unexpected. The other stronghold of the Protestants of Ulster, Enniskillen, had closed its gates against James and had elected Gustavus Hamilton governor. The war was truly one in which brother fought against brother and

¹ The besiegers of Londonderry moved slowly to Dublin, arriving there in a thoroughly disheartened and enfeebled condition. Rosen, discouraged and disgusted, took an altogether pessimistic view of the state of affairs. "Vous ne scauriez vous imaginer, Monseigneur," he writes to Louvois, "la negligence et paresse de cette nation-cy et le peu d'aplication qu'elle a pour le service et sans vous parler de leur inclination basse et lasche qui ne tend qu'a piller et voler jusqu'aux milords et aux autres seigneurs, je ne m'arrête qu'à vous assurer avec vérité que je n'y connois pas deux personnes sur qui on puisse compter et que l'on puisse dire officiers, mesme parmi ceux qui ont plusieurs années de service, n'ayant ni intelligence ni conception, vous pouvez juger de l'embarras ou je me trouve avec une cohue de paysans ramassez ou pour mieux dire des ours sauvages, d'ailleurs aucun officier général pour m'aider et secourir, l'esprit du prince, le genie du ministre et le pitoyable Gouvernement qui surpasse l'imagination met M. d'Avaux et moy dans une peine d'inquiétude que je ne scaurois exprimer . . . par ma foy, Monseigneur, le cœur me saigne de me voir embarqué dans un si mauvais party." *Guerre*, 893 (the letters are not numbered), 1st August, 1689.

² Gilbert, *Jacobite Narrative*, p. 66.

³ *R.O. St. P.*, Ireland, William and Mary, Vol. 352, No. 6, Pointis to Louvois, June 22nd (N.S. presumably), 1689. The letter goes on to say, "M. d'Hamilton ne fait faire aucun travail contre elle [la place] persuadé qu'il faudra lever le siège pour marcher aux ennemis."

friend against friend. The Hamiltons owned a divided allegiance and the Parliament of Dublin attainted forty-six of that name.¹ Anthony Hamilton was amongst those sent against Enniskillen and against his cousin, Gustavus Hamilton, who, not so long ago, had fought by his side and by the side of Sarsfield, in the régiment d'Hamilton, and had since been John Hamilton's superior in Lord Mountjoy's regiment. With Anthony, in the same expedition fought his cousin, Claud Hamilton, the fourth Earl of Abercorn.² The Captain James Hamilton who had brought arms and ammunition to Derry in March, was a nephew of the Hamiltons, the eldest son of their late brother James, and the Captain Hamilton who, in May, seized all the small boats cruising between Ireland and Scotland, and in June destroyed a number of boats in the Highlands and captured a French privateer and another vessel on its way to Ireland with arms and ammunition was none other than their own brother Thomas.³

Anthony Hamilton had been appointed Major-General in the early part of summer.⁴ When it was rumoured that arms had been sent to Enniskillen and that as soon as the inhabitants were able to attack the rear of the army besieging Londonderry, Kirke, who had come from England on the 15th of June, would land and join them, steps were taken to prevent any raiding skirmishes on the part of the Enniskilleners. The Duke of Berwick was posted between Derry and Enniskillen, 'Antoine Amilton' at Belturbet and 'un nommé Sasphilt' at Sligo.⁵ They were slowly to close in around Enniskillen. Macarthy, or rather Mountcashell as he was now called, promoted to the rank of Lieutenant-General, joined Hamilton at Belturbet and they proceeded to move north towards Enniskillen.

¹ D'Alton, *King James' Irish Army List*, I, p. 193.

² He was really a son of their cousin George Hamilton (son of Claud, second Lord Strabane.)

³ Charnock, *Biographia Navalis*, I, p. 312, *Hist. MSS. Comm.*, 12th Report, Appendix, Part VII, pp. 241, 246. This is the last time one comes across Thomas Hamilton. He is supposed to have died in the West Indies.

⁴ Avaux, p. 311, $\frac{5}{15}$ July, 1689.

⁵ *Ib.*, pp. 257, 311, both letters of $\frac{5}{15}$ July. That Avaux and other Frenchmen write the name Amilton, Amilthon or Amileton is not surprising, but it is curious to find Tyrconnel, in a letter to Louvois, speaking of Anthony Hamilton as Monsieur d'Amilton. *Guerre*, 962, No. 172 (holograph).

On the 30th of July, Lieutenant-Colonel Berry, one of Kirke's officers commanding at Enniskillen, was sent to Lisnaskea, a castle ten miles from Enniskillen towards the enemy. He was to place a garrison there if the castle was tenable ; if not, he was to burn it. Berry found the Castle so dilapidated that he did not even trouble to burn it, and the next morning, he marched two miles further towards the enemy who were said to have invested the castle of Crum. Mountcashell, hearing of his approach, ordered Anthony Hamilton to march with his Dragoons towards Lisnaskea, to drive back the enemy, and then to occupy a narrow pass where, it would seem, an hundred men could stop ten thousand. Berry retreated before Hamilton, but instead of remaining Hamilton followed on, until he had left the pass five miles behind him. When the Enniskillen men had crossed a bog with only a very narrow causeway through it, they halted and, Captain Cathcart from Enniskillen having joined them with a detachment of foot, Berry resolved to face the enemy. He placed a certain number of men in ambush, in a thicket of underwood from where they could conveniently fire at the enemy's flank, but ordered them not to fire until after he and the men whom he stationed along the bank of the bog had begun.

Presently Anthony Hamilton rode into sight with his dragoons. He alighted from his horse, made his men do likewise and led them on, advancing ' very bravely ' (these are the enemy's words). His dragoons fired very thickly as they came on, but with no great success, according to the *True Relation of the Action of the Inniskilling Men*, " for it pleased God that after a great many vollies of shot which they made at us, not one of our men were killed." When Hamilton's men were within forty yards of the bog (or river, as one authority calls it) the men of Enniskillen began to fire and at the same time those in ambush who were close to the enemy's flank let fly. Many were killed and Anthony Hamilton was wounded in the leg. He retreated a little to mount his horse, sending another officer to take his place. But a few minutes later this second-in-command was killed. No chief officer being present to lead them on, Hamilton sent an order to a Captain Lavallin to make the men wheel to the left to get them out of the double line of fire pouring upon them. Lavallin, however, it would seem, ordered the men to the left about.

In a moment the men who, though a fine regiment, were new and raw levies, galloped off the field, in spite of all Hamilton could say or do to stop their disorderly flight. Nothing remained for him but to go with them; wounded as he was and having a horse shot under him, he escaped with difficulty. The enemy pursued them three miles and the road was strewn with the bodies of the dead.

Hamilton and what was left of his dragoons rejoined Mountcashell at Newton Butler, while the pursuers retired to Lisnaskea. In the afternoon the Enniskillen men, emboldened by the success of the morning, came on again in a larger body. The cannoneers were soon cut to pieces, the dragoons, who had been defeated that morning, fled once more and without striking a blow; the rest of the cavalry followed their example panic-stricken and the infantry ran for their lives. Anthony Hamilton, it must be confessed, fled with his dragoons, reached Cavan, and, not thinking himself in safety there, hurried on to Navan, miles and miles away from the battlefield. Mountcashell was taken, fighting bravely, and carried to Enniskillen. The losses of his army were enormous, and those who had survived were scattered in all parts of the country.¹ "Un fort brave homme," the critical Avaux remarks of Anthony Hamilton, "mais qui ne mérite pas d'estre nommé officier et que l'on n'a fait Maréchal de Camp que pour complaire à M^e Tirconnel."²

The Hamiltons were reproached on all sides for their conduct. "For what's past," writes Melfort to Lord Waldegrave, "it is in vain to talk to you about it, nor to tell you the blame thrown on the two Hamiltons, or the diffidence the natives have of them. All we must look to

¹ Hamilton, *A True Relation of the Action of the Inniskilling Men*; MacCormick, *A Farther Account*; *Jacobite Narrative*, pp. 81-82; Avaux, pp. 377, 384-386; *Guerre*, 893 (the documents are not numbered), a letter from Avaux to Louis, 1st August, 1689. The same letter is printed in Avaux, pp. 383-390, but with considerable omissions. According to Story (*Impartial History*, p. 5), at the battle of Newton Butler Mountcashell ordered his men to move to the right, and in the confusion the officer who delivered the order commanded the men to face right about, with disastrous results. This is very likely another version of the event that had taken place earlier in the day at Lisnaskea.

Fumeron writes to Louvois: "On blame extrêmement la conduite que Milord Montcassel a eu dans cette occasion . . . et encore plus celle d'Antoine Hamilton qui a mal apropos engagé l'affaire." (*Bibliothèque Mazarine*, MS. 2298, f. 65, 1st August, 1689.)

² *Guerre*, 893, the letter above mentioned.

now is what's to come and that depends on what the King of France will do."¹ "The Hamiltons," Avaux tells Louvois, "are exceedingly hated in this country,"² and speaking of Richard Hamilton he writes at another time, "Hamilton who commands the first line of infantry is hated and despised by the troops and they suspect him more than I can tell."³

Three weeks after the defeat Anthony Hamilton and Captain Lavallin were tried before a court-martial in Dublin for their flight at Lisnaskea. Rosen presided over the court. His relations with Richard Hamilton had been none of the best, nor was Anthony on very cordial terms with him;⁴ nevertheless, Anthony was acquitted and Lavallin, who to the end protested that he had repeated the order as it had been given to him, was put to death. He was believed by not a few, and the private soldiers murmured that he did not deserve to die so well as some of his accusers.⁵

Ever since the arrival of James there had been constant friction and dispeace among his various advisers and councillors. Melfort wrote to Paris against Avaux, Tyrconnel wrote against Melfort, James complained of Melfort to Avaux and Tyrconnel and yet was swayed by him alone. Lady Tyrconnel took it upon herself to interfere. Lauzun spoke against Avaux to Queen Mary of Modena, and accused him of having said that James was governed by the Duke of Berwick and Berwick by the Hamiltons, and these rumours being transmitted to James, he in turn reproached Avaux.⁶ But the Irish were at least unanimous in their hatred of Melfort. In August they drew up a petition, asking James to remove him from his service, and Melfort retired to France. He was pleased to consider himself the victim of certain intrigues, and told Avaux, in confidence, that the petition could be traced to the influence of some ladies and a gentleman, a friend of Avaux'; meaning Lord and Lady Tyrconnel and her daughters, the Viscountesses Ross, Kingsland and Dillon; and that the real reason

¹ Macpherson, *Original Papers*, I, p. 313, August 10th, 1689.

² *Guerre*, 1082, No. 37, Avaux to Louvois, $\frac{20}{10}$ October, 1689.

³ *Ib.*, No. 6, the same to the same, $\frac{10}{10}$ Sept., 1689.

⁴ *Ib.*, Vol. 893, Rosen to Louvois, $\frac{15}{10}$ July, 1689.

⁵ Gilbert, *Jacobite Narrative*, p. 82; Archbishop King, *Diary*, p. 39.

⁶ Avaux, *passim*, especially p. 250.

for their acting against him was their desire to save Anthony and Richard Hamilton, lest he, Melfort, should accuse the one of his flight at Lisnaskea and the other of his disgraceful conduct at Derry.¹

Richard Hamilton had come back from Londonderry in a very precarious state of health; his lungs had suffered from the exposure he had undergone, and at one time he thought he could not spend another winter in Ireland but resolved to go to Montpellier for his health.² No doubt his misfortunes and his unpopularity contributed not a little to this resolution. Ultimately, however, he stayed on.

Schomberg, with his army, had landed in the middle of August, captured Carrickfergus and occupied Newry, but refused to accept battle with James. Anthony and Richard Hamilton were in Dublin most of the autumn, and John Hamilton, now brigadier, was with the much-increased and improved army that James and Rosen commanded.³ The regiment mentioned in various army lists by the name of Hamilton was John's. At an early date the Jacobite army went into winter quarters; "the young commanders," so says the author of *Macariæ Excidium*, "were in some haste to return to Salamis (Dublin), where the ladies expected them with some impatience. . . . And now the winter season, which should be employed in serious consultations, and making the necessary preparations for the ensuing campaign, was idly spent in revels, in gaming and other debauches unfit for a Delphican (Roman Catholic) court."⁴

It was arranged that Rosen and Avaux should return to France early in spring, and the very unsuitable Lauzun was to take Rosen's place. With Lauzun were to come some superior French regiments, and the ships that brought these were to take back the newly raised Irish regiments, five in number, that James was sending to Louis in exchange,

¹ Avaux, p. 430, $\frac{20}{10}$ August. At the same time Melfort told Tyrconnel that Avaux had declared to him that he, Avaux, was not in the least to blame for his removal, and that it was due to Lord and Lady Tyrconnel's anxiety to save the Hamiltons (p. 509).

² *Guerre*, 1082, No. 37, Avaux to Louvois, $\frac{20}{10}$ Oct., 1689.

³ *Ib.*, No. 5, Girardin to Louvois, $\frac{4}{25}$ Sept. 1689, Avaux, pp. 460, 591.

⁴ p. 34. In this narrative Anthony Hamilton is known as Antenor, Richard as Monganes and John as Amilcar,

under the command of Mountcashell, escaped from Enniskillen. The possible exchange of troops had been mentioned by Avaux as early as April, 1689, shortly after his arrival; the same letters had mentioned Richard Hamilton's lack of skill at Coleraine; others spoke of his unsuccessful operations before Londonderry. In reply Louvois agreed to the exchange of troops; along with his official despatch, one of great length, he enclosed a private note to the effect that His Majesty did not wish as commander of the Irish troops or even as colonels any of the Hamiltons who had served in France. Avaux was to keep this secret as long as possible, and if any explanations became necessary he was to see the King of England in private and beg him not to speak of the matter to others.¹

Louvois had by no means forgotten Richard Hamilton and the circumstances of his departure from France. Avaux himself wrote to Louvois that Richard Hamilton was unworthy for many reasons to serve His Majesty, besides, Richard Hamilton had been heard to declare that he had been unjustly treated in France, and that he would have his revenge.² All this only confirmed Louis and Louvois in their dislike of the Hamiltons. In September Louvois directed Avaux to select only the most trustworthy officers for the service of France, "people in whom you think the King may place his confidence and in whom he does not need to fear that instability which is only too common in the nation," and he concluded by remarking that the King did not desire any of the Hamiltons.³ The order was repeated in November, "surtout Sa Majesté ne veut point aucun Hamilton."⁴ Avaux and the Irish regiments innocent of any Hamiltons left in April, 1690. Curiously enough, the capitulation of these regiments was based on the agreement signed by George Hamilton in 1671 when about to raise the régiment d'Hamilton.⁵

¹ Avaux, p. 287, Louvois to Avaux, June 12th, 1689.

² *Guerre*, 893, Avaux to Louvois, $\frac{30 \text{ June}}{10 \text{ July}}$, 1689. Nor had Richard Hamilton much sympathy for Avaux. Fumeron describes him saying, "Des choses très désobligeantes et d'un ton fort aigre et méprisant" to the Ambassador. (*Bibliothèque Mazarine*, MS. 2298, f. 87.)

³ Avaux, p. 515, Louvois to Avaux, Sept. 17, 1689.

⁴ *Ib.*, p. 584.

⁵ *Ib.*, pp. 531, 538, 591-594.

As soon as Lauzun set foot on the Irish soil, his difficulties began. James had sent Lord Dover to Cork to assist Lauzun in disembarking his troops and ammunition, but, according to Lauzun, no help was forthcoming from Dover, no efforts were made to procure the necessary horses and oxen, the roads were impossible, the governor of Cork was a 'wretch,' who did not love the French, and finally Lauzun, in despair, set off alone to Dublin. The Marquis de la Hoguette, whom he had left behind, fared no better with Lord Dover. When La Hoguette ventured to remonstrate, Dover replied by 'mille duretés,' said that he was tired of being persecuted by the French and that he was going back to the King. The French reinforcements were not entering upon their new service under favourable auspices.

When James was informed of Lauzun's grievances he directed Anthony Hamilton to proceed at once to Cork with Brigadier Maxwell. They were hailed with relief by the French regiments; insufficient provisions, enforced inactivity and increasing illness made them anxious to leave Cork. "The arrival of Monsieur d'Amilton in this place makes us hope that perhaps we may be enabled to get out of it," writes an Intendant. A week later, on the 21st of April (N.S.), La Hoguette writes that Hamilton and Maxwell are doing their best, but things do not advance very much, "all orders âre so badly carried out in this country."¹

After much delay King James's army was at last got together. William landed at Carrickfergus on the 14th of June, and on the 1st of July the Battle of the Boyne was fought. The three Hamilton brothers took part in it.

¹ *Guerre*, Vol. 961, Nos. 104, 109-111, 120, 121, 127, 135. Letters from Lauzun, La Hoguette and Desgrigny to Louvois; Dangeau, III, p. 108. On Hamilton's arrival the harassed La Hoguette writes: "Monsieur D'Amilton . . . me paroît vouloir prendre l'affaire en officier et en homme qui ne voudra pas envoyer des ordres inutiles comme a fait tous les jours le Milord Douvre," 961, No. 120, April 15th, 1690. As for 'Milord Douvre,' shortly before the Battle of the Boyne, "après avoir continué de tenir toujours une conduite fort haineuse contre la France," he asked for a passport so that he might go and make his peace with the Prince of Orange. "Le Roy d'Angleterre dit à Milord Tyrconnel qu'il ne pouvoit pas lui donner un passeport pour aller dans le Camp de l'Ennemy ou il pourroit rendre compte de l'Estat present ou estoient toutes ses affaires, mais que tout ce qu'il pouvoit faire, puisqu'il vouloit se retirer, c'estoit de permettre qu'il demande un passeport pour aller en Flanders. Ce que Milord Douvre accepta, disant que pourveu qu'il ne vist jamais ny la France ny l'Irlande, il estoit content d'aller en Flanders en attendant qu'il pust passer en Angleterre." (No. 163, Lauzun to Louvois, $\frac{1}{2}$ ⁶/₈ June, 1690.) Dover is 'little' Jermyn of the *Mémoires de Grammont*.

It will be remembered that William ordered his army to cross the Boyne in three places, roughly speaking, his right wing under young Schomberg at Rosnaree and Slane, the centre under Schomberg at Oldbridge, and his left further down the river towards Drogheda, under his own command. On his left James had an insufficient force under Sir Neil O'Neil,¹ Lord Dungan was on the right, and in the centre at Oldbridge were Tyrconnel, Richard Hamilton and Berwick. Early in the day Sir Neil O'Neil fell and Lauzun, thinking that the fight was to centre round the bridge of Slane, moved with James and La Hogue, Girardin (Léry), Famechon, Anthony Hamilton and Sarsfield to the left so that the centre remained altogether insufficiently protected. Girardin and Anthony Hamilton commanded the cavalry, the former was in charge of the first line, the latter, of the second. The enemy had crossed the Boyne and was approaching. It was determined to make a stand, but meanwhile news came of disaster in the centre and on the right, and Sarsfield reported that a ditch and a morass prevented any move towards the enemy. Lauzun exclaimed that the only thing now to be done was to save the person of the King and the retreat towards Dublin began. Altogether it would not seem that Anthony Hamilton was exposed to any very great risks that day. "Our French troops did not even have the advantage of firing a shot," writes an officer of that nationality.² John Hamilton was commanding a brigade of the infantry of the second line, somewhere amongst the men who proceeded to the left, it would seem, and also reached Dublin in safety.³

Richard fared otherwise. The fight was thickest at Oldbridge and Richard led his men, seven regiments of foot, to the brink of the water to oppose Schomberg's men struggling up through the Boyne. After half an hour's hard fighting the Irish infantry fell back. "Nos irlandais n'ont rien fait qui vaille," writes Boisseleau, a reliable

¹ According to Leland (*History of Ireland*, Vol. III), in the council of war held by James the day before the battle Hamilton proposed that eight regiments should be sent to secure the bridge of Slane (on James's left). James proposed to employ fifty dragoons in this service; the general, in astonishment, bowed and was silent.

² *Guerre*, 961, No. 179, Zurlauben to Louvois, Limerick, $\frac{1}{2}$ July, 1690. Berwick remarks, "Dans le combat de la Boyne nous ne perdîmes qu'environ mille hommes et il n'y eut que les troupes de M. Hamilton [Richard] et les miennes qui combattirent." (*Mémoires*, p. 330.)

³ *Guerre*, 963, Lauzun to Seignelay, $\frac{3}{4}$ July, 1690.

authority, and with Hocquincourt the only French officer who helped Hamilton, "ils ont tous lâché le pies. Le roy et bien a pleindre après avoir pris tens de peines pour des maleureux comme ceux-là. . . . Ces sauvages y sy qui ne sont pas acoutumés à se métier ont été bien surpris."¹ It would seem, however, that the Irish infantry, unsupported by any cavalry, held out until the enemy's cavalry began to cross the river. Hamilton was wounded and made a prisoner. Tyrconnel and Berwick, arriving with the cavalry and charging with great bravery, made it possible for the foot to retire. Further down the river, towards the right, William had crossed. Lord Dungan had been killed and his dragoons routed. The whole army was in retreat.²

According to Burnet and Story, Richard Hamilton at the head of the horse attempted to retrieve the fortune of the day ; Dalrymple even goes so far as to say that Hamilton excited his dragoons to a pitch of frenzy by causing brandy to be distributed amongst them ; but Hamilton was an infantry general, and it is rather doubtful that he put himself at the head of the cavalry when he saw the infantry give way. Anthony Hamilton, as we have seen, was in charge of part of the cavalry, but the above authorities are not alluding to him, as he had no chance of engaging in battle. From the same sources comes the anecdote of William's question whether the men would still fight and Hamilton's reply, "Upon my honour, I believe they will." "Your honour, your honour !" William is said to have muttered.

English news-letters noted with much satisfaction that General Hamilton, "who run over so basely to King James," was taken prisoner.³ Various were the rumours that spread after the battle. Anthony and John were convinced he was dead, and Boisseleau, who had been with him at Old-bridge, confirmed their report. Some said that he had joined

¹ *Guerre*, 961, No. 171, Boisseleau to his wife, Cork, 15th and 16th July. He adds, however, in the same letter, "Presentement ille sont si fâché de n'avoir pas fait leur devoir que je suis bien persuadé qu'il feront mieux à l'avenir."

² *Guerre*, 961. Various letters to Louvois describing the battle of the Boyne, especially Girardin's letter (No. 178), dated July 9th ; Gilbert, *Jacobite Narrative*, pp. 98-103 ; Clarke, *Life of James II* ; Berwick, *Memoirs*, pp. 329, 330 ; Murray, *Revolutionary Ireland*, pp. 156-162 ; Boulger, *Battle of the Boyne*, pp. 148-182.

³ *Hist. MSS. Comm.*, Twelfth Report, Appendix, Part VII, p. 276.

William, and there were not wanting those who declared that they had seen him enter Dublin, then in William's possession, with his arms. He was accused of not having opposed sufficient resistance to the enemy at the passage of Oldbridge and of having made some important disclosures to William, in connexion with a conspiracy in England, to the effect that the French were assured of the help of twenty thousand English Jacobites.¹ And so on. In the long run Richard Hamilton's breach of honour had cost him very dear, it brought him nothing but distrust, even from those for whom he had broken his word.

In the retreat to Dublin which, on the whole, was very orderly though the enemies followed hard, Lauzun had sent the King ahead with some dragoons and cavalry, then came the Irish infantry, then the French and Tyrconnel and Lauzun formed the rearguard with the rest of the cavalry. Anthony Hamilton rode with them, and on the way they picked up John Hamilton with his infantry.² The above is Lauzun's own account of the retreat, but from some other letters it would seem that he was by no means the last to enter Dublin, and that Zurlauben, with his regiment, abandoned by the General, was far behind this so-called rear-guard.³

James retired to France,⁴ Dublin was invested by William and Anthony and John Hamilton moved to Limerick with the other Jacobites.⁵ After Athlone had been besieged in vain by the Williamites, it was the turn of Limerick, the

¹ *Hist. MSS. Comm.*, Twelfth Report, Appendix, Part VII, p. 279; *Guerre*, 961, No. 94, Bouridal to Louvois, $\frac{1}{4}$ July; No. 177, Boisseleau to his wife, $\frac{5}{16}$ July; No. 180, Desgrigny to Louvois, $\frac{1}{11}$ July, 1690. "Richard Amilton," writes Lauzun, "a été fait prisonnier faisant fort bien son devoir." (*Guerre*, 963 (the documents are not numbered), July $\frac{1}{2}$, to Seignelay.) Unfortunately Lauzun's own behaviour at the Boyne was not such as to invest his praise or blame with any great authority.

² "Antoine et Jean Hamilton," says Lauzun, "ont toujours demeuré à l'arrière garde avec le Duc de Tirconel et moy, où ils se sont conduits en braves gens." (*Guerre*, 963, to Seignelay, $\frac{1}{8}$ July, 1690.)

³ *Guerre*, 961, Nos. 179 and 180, Zurlauben and Desgrigny to Louvois, $\frac{1}{10}$ and $\frac{1}{11}$ July, 1690.

⁴ And in France public opinion was not ambiguous at his return.

Jacque en partant de Dublin (bis)

Dit à Lauzun du matin (or 'sans chagrin')

Prenez soin de ma couronne,

J'auray soin de ma personne.

Lampon, Lampon, Camarade, Lampon.

(Bibl. Nat. MS. fr. 12690).

⁵ *Guerre*, 961, No. 180, Desgrigny to Louvois, $\frac{1}{11}$ July, 1690.

town that, according to Lauzun, could be taken with roast apples. This first siege lasted from the beginning of August till the end of the month, when William and his army departed. John Hamilton was one of the general officers inside Limerick; whether Anthony, the former Governor of Limerick, was with him is not certain but would seem natural; still, Boisseleau's 'Relation' of the siege only mentions the younger brother. Possibly Anthony had accompanied Tyrconnel and Lauzun when they retired prudently from Limerick to Galway, while Boisseleau was covering himself with glory, Sarsfield winning undying fame by his daring capture of the English guns, and the whole garrison repelling the attacks of the besiegers with great bravery. As for John Hamilton, he did his duty with marked ability and courage, and was warmly praised by Boisseleau.¹

Intrigues and dissensions were rife among the Irish. Lauzun exclaimed that he was suffering the pains of purgatory, and rather than serve in Ireland he would occupy the meanest post in the French army.² He, for one, was not sorry to leave Ireland with Tyrconnel and the French troops shortly after the raising of the siege of Limerick. They were preceded by Anthony Hamilton, who was sent to James with the official news of the raising of the siege; at the same time he was to explain the reasons for Tyrconnel's coming. With him had sailed Boisseleau,³ the gallant defender of Limerick, worn out with the cares of the past month, heartily tired of his responsible task, and, not unlike Lauzun, declaring that he would rather be a simple foot soldier in France than a general in Ireland.⁴

Before Tyrconnel left for France he proceeded to Limerick to arrange for the conduct of affairs in his absence. Berwick was appointed Commander-in-Chief, to be assisted by a

¹ Sourches, *Mémoires*, III, Appendix VIII, p. 516 (Relation de ce qui s'est passé au siège de Limerick faite par M. de Boisseleau).

² *Guerre*, 962, No. 162, to Louvois $\frac{1}{2}$ ⁸, August, 1690.

³ *Ib.*, Nos. 62, 172, 174.

⁴ "J'aimerois mieux porter le mousquet en France que d'estre general en ce païs, car ils m'ont pensé faire devenir fol. . . . Plus je souffrois de leurs impertinences ne songeant qu'à sauver la place, plus ils s'estudioient de me donner tous les chagrins possibles. . . . Ces gens-là n'aiment la guerre qu'avec du desordre et sans discipline." (*Ib.*, No. 61, to Louvois, 22 Sept. 1690.)
2 Oct.

council of twelve officers, while a similar council was to control civic affairs. Of the officers who were to assist Berwick one was John Hamilton ;¹ Sarsfield was another. The mention of these two names is sufficient to show that peace could not possibly reign within the council ; John Hamilton was naturally in Tyrconnel's interest ; Sarsfield disliked Tyrconnel and his friends. Sarsfield's name was last on the list and Tyrconnel would fain have avoided appointing him, so it was said. The Irish army was divided into two parties ; one for Tyrconnel ; the other for Sarsfield. " Opposite interests and different prospects induced conflicting councils. Natives . . . hopeless in the event of an accommodation, had no fair prospect but from a continuance of war and a separation from England, which they calculated might be effected by French aid and Irish valour. The O'Neals, Maguires, M'Guinnesses, M'Mahons, O'Ferrals, the Irish bishops and the discontented officers, Sarsfield, the Luttrells, the Purcells formed the strength of this party and were supported by the common soldiers, enthusiasts in the cause of their country and religion. Lord Tyrconnel headed the peace party, supported by the Hamiltons, Talbots, Nugents, Dillons, Burkes, Rices, Butlers, Sheldons, all of English descent."² The Hamiltons, who had come to Ireland as recently as the beginning of the seventeenth century, were considered New Interest men, and the author of *Macariæ Excidium* expressly calls John Hamilton Berwick's ' Cilician ' (English) director.³

Arriving in France, Tyrconnel asked for help to enable him to continue the war in Ireland, though it was alleged by some that he had not set out with this intention. Things went none too well in his absence. Cork and Kinsale fell before Marlborough. Dispeace reigned at Limerick. Shortly after Tyrconnel's departure the Irish officers decided that the present form of government was illegal and a deputation, which included the officers Luttrell and Purcell, was sent to France to ask for men and arms and to express great dissatisfaction with Tyrconnel and the state of affairs in Ireland. Amongst other things they accused Tyrconnel

¹ *Macariæ Excidium*, p. 58.

² O'Conor, *Military Memoirs of the Irish Nation*, p. 114.

³ *Macariæ Excidium*, loc. cit.

of being ruled solely by his personal inclinations and not at all by the interest of the King's service when appointing men to important offices, an opinion which O'Kelly echoes in his narrative, "to be a creature of Coridon's (Tyrconnel's) was the only qualification requisite in those days to make a compleat captain or an able statesman."¹ Avaux, it will be remembered, once remarked that Anthony Hamilton did not deserve to be called an officer and had only been made Major-General to please Tyrconnel. The Luttrells and Purcell disparaged Tyrconnel's 'creatures' to James, and expressed particular dissatisfaction with Anthony and Richard Hamilton.²

James would fain have retained the dissatisfied officers, as Lord Mountjoy had been retained, but it would have created too great hostility in Ireland. Before their return two small vessels were sent to Limerick in October, "with salt and some other necessaries, but without money, clothes or shoes." The captain of one of the ships brought letters, one for John Hamilton from James in the name of Louis, the other for the Duke of Berwick, both promising further relief,³ and, in truth, the place was much in need of it. A deserter from Limerick gave information that the Irish were in so great distress that above two-thirds of them would be glad to surrender,⁴ and a letter written in December by John Hamilton to King James said that the men were ready to mutiny because of the want of all things necessary.⁵

In November Sarsfield was warned by his spies that the enemies, aware of the enfeebled state of the Irish, were intending to cross the Shannon and to possess themselves of Limerick and Galway. Information came from the same source that there was an understanding between William's army and some of the Irish who had promised to deliver up the strong places. "Et à la vérité," says Sarsfield in a letter to Louvois, "il n'y a pas d'apparence que les ennemis voulussent tenter au cœur de l'hyver une entreprise qu'ils n'estoient pas capables d'exécuter au plus beau de l'été, à moins que d'y estre encouragés par quelques

¹ *Macariæ Excidium*, p. 51.

² Clarke, *Life of James II*, Vol. II, p. 423; O'Connor, *Military Memoirs*, p. 117.

³ *Historical MSS. Comm.*, Twelfth Report, Appendix, Part VIII, p. 303.

⁴ *Ib.*

⁵ Luttrell, *Relation of State Affairs*, II, p. 149.

traîtres parmi nous." According to Sarsfield those accused of corresponding with the enemy were John Hamilton, Lord Riverstown, Judge Daly and Colonel Alexander Macdonnell, and as far as these last three were concerned Sarsfield was convinced of their guilt.¹ Riverstown and Macdonnell were dismissed and Daly imprisoned; the enemy's attempt was unsuccessful.

In January Tyrconnel arrived with provisions, ammunition, clothes and money, but no men. Some French officers, including the new commander, Saint-Ruth, followed him, but whether Anthony Hamilton came back to Ireland is uncertain; it would seem natural enough, especially as he was not wanted in the Irish brigade serving in France; on the other hand, he had never been much of a soldier and his unpopularity in Ireland may have kept him in France.² The outlawries of the year 1691 include the names of Anthony, Richard and John Hamilton, 'of Dublin.'³

Tyrconnel's return and Berwick's departure for France did nothing to improve matters within the Irish camp. Tyrconnel was 'mortally hated' by the army and would have been 'massacred' without Sarsfield's intervention, so Sarsfield assured Louvois.⁴ The provisions that had

¹ *Guerre*, 1066, No. 187, Sarsfield to Louvois, 14 Feb., 1691. Cf. *Macarix Excidium*, pp. 70-72, which agrees altogether with Sarsfield's letter.

² The capitulation of Limerick in October was signed by the following general officers: D'Usson, Le Chevalier de Tessé, Lucan (Sarsfield), Jo. Wauchope, Mark Talbot, La Tour Montfort, D. Sheldon, Carol. If Anthony Hamilton had been at Limerick, he would have been one of the signatories. (*Guerre*, 1081, No. 178, Limerick, $\frac{3 \text{ Oct.}}{23 \text{ Sept.}}$, 1691.)

³ D'Alton, *King James Irish Army List*, I, p. 194. Richard Hamilton's name figures in the English Attainder Bill of 1689. Anthony with some others was to have been 'put into a proclamation' to be issued in pursuance of a clause then agreed to be added to the Attainder Bill, providing that if the persons named in the proclamation surrendered themselves by the 30th of September they should be received under the protection of the Government. The proposal seems, however, to have been dropped. (*Hist. MSS. Comm.*, 12th Report, Appendix, Part VI (House of Lords), pp. 228-233.)

⁴ "Tyrconnel me fait mille caresses et professions d'amitié, mais il y a trop longtemps que je le connais pour ne savoir pas le peu de foy que je dois adjouter à ses fausses paroles. . . . Il est très jaloux et au desespoir de mon crédit et de l'influence que j'ay sur l'armée . . . mais ce perfide et ingrat scait dans son âme que durant le siège de Lymerick on l'aurait massacré sans moy et il n'ignore pas que j'ay empesché et me suis opposé aux sollicitations pressantes de toute l'armée qui voulut absolument saisir

come in the French ships were insufficient. Tyrconnel, writing to Louvois in April for help, exclaims that if the fleet does not arrive within a week they will all surely die of hunger.¹

Athlone was besieged in June and taken by surprise at the end of the month. Saint-Ruth, hastily informed of the enemy's unexpected attack, detached two brigades under John Hamilton, now Major-General, to reinforce the garrison, but John Hamilton found the enemy already in possession of the ramparts and was forced to retire.² On the 12th of July the battle of Aughrim was fought. John Hamilton with Dorrington commanded the centre of the infantry; he was severely wounded and sent, a prisoner, to Dublin, where Ginkel asked he might be well treated.³ The unknown author of the Latin poem on the battle of Aughrim, comparing John Hamilton with his brothers, considers him 'utilior Mavorti,' and describes him as 'natu minor, actis major.'⁴ Dangeau records his death on the 29th of October.⁵ It had probably taken place some time before this.

Meanwhile, Limerick had been besieged for a second time. Tyrconnel had died in August, and in October the treaty of Limerick was signed. The French officers withdrew to their own country, and with them and Sarsfield came quite an army of Irish soldiers, henceforth to serve in France. Richard Hamilton had been imprisoned in Dublin from the battle of the Boyne until January, 1691, when he

sa personne et me proclamer général en sa place. . . . Il est mortellement hay de toute l'armée à la réserve de trois majors-généraux et quelques uns de ses neveux." (*Guerre*, 1066, No. 211, March, $\frac{1}{2}$ ³ 1691.)

¹ *Ib.*, No. 222, $\frac{1}{2}$ ³ April, 1691.

² Berwick, *Mémoires*, p. 335. It must, however, be remembered that B. was no longer in Ireland and therefore not an eye-witness of these things.

³ *Guerre*, 1080, No. 168, Fumeron to Louvois, $\frac{1}{2}$ ³ July, 1691; Gilbert, *Jacobite Narrative*, pp. 138, 148; *Hist. MSS. Comm.*, 4th Report, Appendix, p. 322.

⁴ Hinc alacer adverso generosum vulnere pectus
De tribus, utilior Mavorti, fratribus unus
Abripitur natu minor, actis major, Hamilton
Captivus, medicoque datur curandus inerti.

(Printed in S. T. Gilbert's *Jacobite Narrative*, p. 279.)

⁵ *Journal*, III, p. 424. John Hamilton left a widow, Elizabeth Macan (de l'ancienne et illustre maison de Macan seigneur du Clanbrazil dans le Comté d'Armac en Irlande) and one daughter, Margaret, who married a Comte de Marmier in France. (*Bibl. Nat.*, *Pièces Originales*, Vol. 1472, No. 33,357, f. 17, verso and ms. fr. 32964, f. 85.)

was brought across to Chester guarded by two files of musketeers. In Chester he was so strictly confined that, according to a news-letter of the time, he was not even allowed to write to his friends. Every precaution was taken to prevent his escape. In April of the next year, 1692, he was at last allowed to go to France and was there exchanged for Lord Mountjoy.¹

James was now hopefully planning a descent into England, and even before Richard Hamilton arrived in France it had been decided that he was to be one of the two 1692 Lieutenants-General who were to command the expedition. The Irish soldiers under Sarsfield, the other Lieutenant-General, and the Brigadiers Sheldon, Galmoy and Wauchope, were encamped off La Hogue and Havre de Grâce. Richard Hamilton, arriving in Paris, had only time to make his obeissance to Louis, who received him very graciously—the enemy, Louvois, was dead—and to spend two days with his sister, Madame de Gramont, who complained bitterly of the shortness of the visit.² Then he joined James and his forces.

Unfortunately, after some enforced inaction, Tourville and his fleet were beaten in a desperate fight off La Hogue, all hopes of an invasion were at an end, and James finally returned to Saint-Germain-en-Laye in June with Richard Hamilton, while the other general officers joined the French army. The birth of his daughter on the 28th gave him 'at least some domestick comfort.'³

¹ *Guerre*, 1066, No. 188 (Nouvelles d'Irlande, Feb., 1691); *Cal. St. P., Dom.*, 1690-1691, pp. 220, 229, 232, 233, 248, 249, 260; 1691-1692, pp. 197, 207. Luttrell, *Relation of State Affairs*, II, p. 307.

² Dangeau, IV, pp. 61, 73; Fénelon, *Correspondance*, VI, p. 240.

³ Clarke, *Life of James II*, Vol. II, p. 496.

CHAPTER VII

MADAME DE GRAMONT.

IF Richard Hamilton was exchanged for Lord Mountjoy, it was chiefly due to the exertions of Madame de Gramont. The Countess was passionately attached to her brothers and unwearied in their interest. It was she who pressed Madame to speak to Charles II in favour of James Hamilton; when James died, she urged Arlington to make some provision for his children; she jealously resented that Dongan, and not one of her brothers, should be given George Hamilton's regiment, and later on, she made Ormonde obtain a letter of recommendation from Charles in behalf of Richard Hamilton, to whom Charles had done so great a wrong, she said, in putting forward Dongan; she quarrelled with Louvois for not advancing her brothers in the French service; and, at the time of the war in Ireland, her anxiety left her no repose, though the gentle Fénelon urged her to accept this trial as sent from God, and though no less a personage than Louis himself took an interest in her troubles and went so far as to send her himself the earliest news available that came from Ireland.¹

As soon as it became known that Richard had been made a prisoner, she sent a petition to England in her own and her husband's name, asking that her brother might be exchanged for Lord Mountjoy. Her request was not immediately granted, for as long as there was any chance of prolonging the war in Ireland, Louis was not willing to let his prisoner go.² Bitter were the complaints she poured

¹ Cf. *supra*, p. 50; Cartwright, *Madame*, p. 218; *Hist. MSS. Comm.*, Ormonde MSS., N.S., VII, pp. 84, 85; Fénelon, *Correspondance*, VI, p. 235; Maintenon, *Correspondance Générale*, III, pp. 208-209.

² *Cal. St. P., Dom.*, 1690-1691, p. 91; Dangeau, III, p. 431.

out to her spiritual director Fénelon, and bitter were the words she spoke against the dethroned King and Queen, whom she accused of heartless indifference, of abandoning her brothers, the one a prisoner, the others facing death in Ireland. At the court of Saint-Germain feelings had completely turned against the Hamiltons. "God," replied Fénelon, "is trying you. Whosoever loveth father or mother or brother more than Me is not worthy of Me. Be silent, worship the hand that chastens, let your lips but uncloseto say, 'I have deserved it all.' " "True," said the Countess, "God has stricken down my pride, but ought not the guilty alone to suffer? Why must the same blow level the innocent?" "Know, Madam," wrote back Fénelon, "that there is none just before God, and how can you tell but that the disgrace which humiliates you will not also lay low your brother under the almighty hand of God? Some day perhaps you will rejoice together in that which is now affliction. Blessed is he who would be comforted only so far as God is willing to give comfort."

And so the once haughty Countess de Gramont endeavoured to bear the disgrace of her brothers with Christian humility and resignation. Those who were familiar with her knew how foreign anything like humility was to her character. 'Fière à outrance,' her brother describes her, and two anecdotes recorded in 1669 in the letters of the Marquis de Saint-Maurice bear out this observation. On one occasion when the ladies were playing in the Queen's apartment, Madame de Gramont took the tabouret of the Comtesse de Soissons who had just gone out. When Madame de Soissons returned she demanded her seat, but Madame de Gramont refused haughtily to give it up. Madame de Soissons replied by a sneering laugh which roused the Count de Gramont to exclaim: "Madame, on ne cloue pas ici les chaises, ma femme demeurera là, nous sommes d'aussi bonne maison que vous." This temporary victory was not, however, the end of the affair; the King blamed the conduct of the Gramonts and obliged them to apologize to Madame de Soissons. On another occasion the Queen was going out in her coach and Madame de Gramont got in after her. The Queen asked her to take a seat in the second coach, but the Countess boldly refused to let herself be displaced, declaring that she was not of a rank to go in the coach of the suite, and the good Queen let

her have her will without saying anything more.¹ It is not surprising to find Madame de Sévigné noting about the same time that Madame de Gramont no longer enjoyed the public favour she once did.²

Young and beautiful she had come to France, young and beautiful at the French court, clever and witty as well, she could not escape being talked about. Living largely in Madame's society at first, her name was soon linked with Monsieur's.

La Gramont prétendoit donner
De l'Amour à notre grand prince,

ran one of the numerous chansons that circulated at court in 1666.³ Monsieur, according to the same source did not choose to figure as the lover of Madame de Gramont, and failing Monsieur, La belle Gramont took to his first *écuyer*, D'Effiat. Seignelay, though savouring of the bourgeois, was next mentioned as having found favour in her sight;⁴ the gallant Cavoie was supposed to be violently in love with her;⁵ the Comte du Charmel, according to the public, was an over-intimate friend,⁶ and the Maréchal de la Feuillade made her the object of a cautiously dissimulated passion, dissimulated because Louis, he said, did not like 'les amoureux'—the reign of Madame de Maintenon was at hand.⁷

¹ "La comtesse de Gramont est anglaise," so Saint-Maurice explains, "elle le porte haut parce qu'elle est parente du roi, mais on s'en moque ici; cela lui fait faire bien des pas de mauvaise grâce." (*Lettres sur la Cour de Louis, XIV*, pp. 374-375.)

² *Lettres*, II, p. 285.

³ Bibl. Nat., ms. fr. 12618, p. 67.

⁴ The abbé Primi Visconti ascribes Gramont's hatred of all the ministers to the fact that Seignelay's father was one of them. (*Mémoires*, pp. 52-55.)

⁵ Bussy-Rabutin professed inability to understand Cavoie's feelings, "De la manière dont on m'écrit de la Comtesse de Gramont, il faut être un fat pour avoir une passion pour elle, ce n'est pas par sa beauté qu'elle en est indigne mais par sa conduite." (*Lettres*, IV, pp. 102-104, May, 1678.)

⁶ "De la Comtesse de Gramont
Plaignons la décadence,
Jady rien n'étoit assez bon
Pour sa rare excellence,"

is the chansonnier's comment (Bibl. Nat. ms. fr. 12688, p. 235). Du Charmel, it is true, came of no great family, but he had managed to make his way at court and was greatly esteemed by the King, even the most important ladies, says Saint-Simon (V, p. 382), were not averse to his homages.

⁷ Primi Visconti, who records his confidences, adds, "La mode veut maintenant qu'un courtisan amoureux soit considéré comme ridicule. . . . Ainsi, peu à peu, par la politique du roi, la cour devient un couvent." (*Mémoires*, pp. 219, 220.)

All these friendships of the Countess were a source of interest to the curious, but none would have dared to allude to them in her presence. "C'étoit une femme," says Saint-Simon, "qui avoit eu ses galanteries, mais qui n'avoit pas laissé de se respecter et qui, ayant bec et ongles, l'était fort à la cour et jusque par les ministres qu'elle cultivait même très peu."¹ But it was not only her attitude of proud independence which kept all insolence at bay, it was doubtless to the King's friendship that she owed her unassailable position in part. Louis had made her *dame du palais* and had heaped on her and her husband pensions and favours of all kinds.² Such proceedings could hardly fail to rouse jealousy. At the time of that extraordinary Affaire des Poisons which spread a superstitious panic in France, not unlike the one caused by the Popish Plot in England, it came to light that many women—Madame de Montespan was one of them—resorted to witchcraft, as it was styled, and obtained from a woman named Voisin mysterious drugs when they wished to succeed in any particular enterprise. Some of these drugs would win a person's affection, others could bring about the person's death in a few days. Le Sage, the accomplice of this woman, when tried, confessed amongst other things, that a certain Madame de Polignac had asked him to help her get rid of Mademoiselle de la Vallière, because she wished to succeed her in the affections of the King. The lady, he added, told him that the Comtesse de Gramont had the same intentions as she, and besought him not to pronounce any 'magic words' in her favour.³

¹ *Mémoires*, XI, p. 110.

² M. Boislisle enumerates them in full (Saint-Simon, XIV, pp. 563-565). In spite of all these favours the Gramonts were constantly in financial difficulties. Things were slightly better after the death of the Marquise de Saint-Chaumont, Gramont's sister, who left them all her money. Cf. Souches, III, pp. 194-195. "Août, 1688 . . . elle institua [le Comte de Gramont] son légataire universel; mais en même temps, elle donna à la Comtesse sa femme une pension viagère de 3000 livres [Fort sagement, says the unknown annotator, car si le Comte de Gramont étoit venu à mourir ou si le Roi eût retiré les pensions qu'il leur donnait, la pauvre comtesse auroit été en danger de mourir de faim] à chacune des deux Mlles de Gramont 60,000 livres pour les marier [Fort sagement encore, says the annotator, car elles n'avaient pas un sol de bien] le tout néanmoins sans qu'aucun des légataires put aliéner le fonds [Encore plus sagement car le Comte de Gramont étoit homme à tout dépenser]."

³ Ravailion, *Archives de la Bastille*, VI, p. 33; cf. Sévigné, VI, p. 97 n., and Funck Brentano, *Le Drame des Poisons* (Paris, 1907).

In 1679 Madame de Sévigné hints at her being a kind of rival of Madame de Montespan's,¹ and from 1685 onwards Dangeau's journal shows us Madame de Gramont constantly in the King's society. When he went to Marly she was invariably among the privileged few that accompanied him, when he went to Fontainebleau or to Compiègne she was in his carriage; at Versailles, she lodged in the palace, was present at his suppers, shared in the lotteries, drove about the park with him and accompanied him to Trianon.² Her daughters and her niece, George Hamilton's daughter, were maids of honour to the dauphine and often admitted to the King's society.³

She was no longer beautiful when Saint-Simon knew her. The portrait by Lely in the National Portrait Gallery is a melancholy contrast to the Hampton Court portrait.⁴ She herself writes wistfully to the Duke of Ormonde in 1682: "ie n'aurois pour me mortifier qu'à regarder mon miroir qui me fait apercevoir chaque iour de quelque nouvelle iniure du temps."⁵ But Saint-Simon was impressed by her queenly presence, and the various portraits he has drawn of her show that he admired her as much as he despised her husband. "On ne pouvoit avoir plus d'esprit," he writes, "et malgré sa hauteur plus d'agrément, plus de politesse, plus de choix," and elsewhere he remarks that she had more wit and grace than any other woman at court. The King's admiration for her is mentioned again and again, "toujours très bien avec le Roi, qui goûtoit son

¹ *Lettres*, V, p. 363; VI, pp. 97, 98.

² Dangeau, I, 39, 196, 205, 217, 228, 229, 266, 348, 354, 365, 372, 380, 382, 390, 400, and so on through the first seven or eight volumes of the journal. Vol. XIX contains the Index.

³ *Ib.*, I, pp. 272, 332, 341, 356; *Maintenon, Corr. Générale*, II, p. 371; Saint-Simon, XIV, p. 73. When Madame de Gramont's second daughter became maid of honour in 1685 Louis gave the Countess 2000 crowns to help her equip her daughter, because the Count was absent in England, where, 'contrary to his habits,' he lost large sums of money. (*Sourches*, I, p. 311.)

⁴ The date assigned to the portrait is 'about 1669,' which would mean that it was painted only seven or eight years after the Hampton Court Lely. It hardly seems possible that the Countess should have changed so rapidly. In 1670 the Prince of Tuscany remarked that she and her sister-in-law were without doubt the most beautiful women at the French court (cf. *supra*, p. 36, n. 3). The portrait in no wise bears out his remark. In 1674 Primi Visconti describes her as 'blonde et belle, grande et femme de beaucoup d'esprit.' (*Mémoires*, p. 52.)

⁵ *Hist. MSS. Comm.*, Ormonde MSS., N.S., VII, p. 424.

esprit et qu'elle avoit accoutumé à ses manières libres . . . le Roi s'amusoit fort avec elle. . . . Le Roi avait pour elle un goût que la jalousie de Madame de Maintenon ni les tares de jansénisme ne purent jamais vaincre."

One cannot resist quoting Saint-Simon at length : " La Comtesse de Gramont qui avoit le port et l'air d'une reine, en avoit aussi toutes les manières. Rien de plus salé, de plus instruit, de plus digne, de plus trayé pour ses compagnies ni de plus recherché à la cour. Son dédain naturel étoit tempéré par une piété haute et éclairée qui en avoit fait une véritable pénitente. . . . Toute la cour la considéroit avec distinction et jusqu'aux ministres comptoient avec elle."¹

No wonder that Madame de Maintenon was jealous of her, as Saint-Simon delights to point out ; no wonder that Madame de Maintenon's niece, Madame de Caylus, remarked that she was 'souvent Angloise insupportable,' and that her haughty air was the only stable thing about her, though she prided herself on the firmness of her sentiments and the constancy of her friendships.² But even Madame de Caylus is forced to admit her wit. Madame de Maintenon, so her old enemy is pleased to tell us, did her best to undermine the King's friendship for her rival ; her endeavours were of no avail ; Madame de Gramont, on the other hand, was quite aware of Madame de Maintenon's dislike, but nothing in the world would have induced her to make any conciliatory advances to Madame de Maintenon,³ who, so we are informed, had to put up with her presence because she could not help herself. Her niece, on the contrary, tells us that she insisted on Madame de Gramont's company,

¹ " C'étoit une personne haute, glorieuse, mais sans prétention et sans entreprise, qui se sentait fort, mais qui savoit rendre, avec beaucoup d'esprit, un tour charmant, beaucoup de sel et qui choisissoit fort ses compagnies, encore plus ses amis." (Saint-Simon, VI, pp. 216-217 ; XI, pp. 110-111 ; XVI, pp. 72, 73, 501.)

² *Souvenirs*, p. 127.

³ Elle sentoit l'aversion et la jalousie de Madame de Maintenon ; elle l'avoit vue sortir de terre et surpasser rapidement les plus hauts cédres, jamais elle n'avoit pu se résoudre à lui faire sa cour. . . . Madame de Maintenon ne laissoit pas de lui montrer souvent sa jalousie par des traits d'humeur, quoique mesurés et la Comtesse qui étoit fort haute et en avoit tout l'air et le maintien . . . ne se donnoit pas la peine de les ramasser et montrait par son peu d'empressement pour elle qu'elle ne lui rendoit le peu qu'elle faisoit que par respect pour le goût du Roi." (Saint-Simon, XI, 111 ; XVI, 216-217.)

because she wished to please the King and because she was anxious to encourage the Countess in her piety and further her 'conversion,' a conversion founded on that of her friend, Du Charmel's.¹

Du Charmel had been leading a life of great prosperity and ease at court, he had friends and fortune in plenty, nothing seemed lacking to his happiness. One day there fell into his hands a book which even Bussy-Rabutin calls divine, namely, Abbadie's *De la Vérité de la Religion Chrétienne*. Henceforth he gave up everything and lived far away from court a life of penitence and good works.² Abbadie's book was first printed in 1684, and as Madame de Maintenon in a letter of 1683³ mentions the new attitude of the Countess, it is not impossible that it was she who caused Du Charmel to read the treatise. Under the auspices of Madame de Maintenon the court was beginning to enter into that phase of extreme piety which marked the last years of the reign of Louis XIV, a piety sincere in the case of many courtiers, but forced and diplomatic in a great many more. J. B. Rousseau was not the only one of whom it could be said that he was David at court and Petronius in town. "Apart from piety," exclaimed Madame de La Fayette, "there is now no hope of salvation either at court or in the life to come,"⁴ and, in the letter above mentioned, Madame de Maintenon thinks that the Queen (she had died that year), must have asked God for the conversion of the whole court. The King's conversion is admirable, and the ladies who seemed furthest away from such things do not leave church. Madame de Montchevreuil, Mesdames de Chevreuse et de Beauvilliers, the Princesse de Harcourt, in a word, all the dévotes, are not more often at church than Mesdames de Montespan, de Thianges, the Comtesse de Gramont, the Duchesse du Lude and Madame de Soubise. The plain Sundays are now as the Easter days used to be.⁵

¹ *Souvenirs*, loc. cit.

² Saint-Simon, V, pp. 382, 383.

³ *Correspondance Générale*, II, pp. 325, 326.

⁴ *Mémoires de la Cour de France*, p. 229.

⁵ Cf. Saint-Evremond's remark to Ninon de Lenclos, "Je n'attends que votre exemple pour être dévot. Vous vivez dans un pays où l'on a de merveilleux avantages pour se sauver. Le vice n'y est guère moins opposé à la mode qu'à la vertu." (*Œuvres* (Amsterdam, 1726), V, p. 195.) Some years later, in 1698, Matthew Prior, coming to Paris, wrote to the Earl of Albemarle: "Toute la cour est sombre et triste; la bigoterie et le ménage y regne à un point que les filles à genoux disent leur Paternostre

In the case of the Countess de Gramont there was no insincerity whatever. Her pride would have prevented her from stooping down to an artificial Christianity, to be adopted because it was fashionable. The years that she had spent at Port Royal had not failed to leave their mark on her.¹ "Il lui en étoit resté un germe," says Saint-Simon, "qui la rappela à une solide dévotion avant même que l'âge, le monde, ni le miroir, la pussent faire penser à changer de conduite."² But it was no easy thing for the Countess. Madame de Caylus, a severe judge, remarked that anything like piety was absolutely foreign to her character. She speaks of the continual struggle that took place between her reason and her inclinations, and she considers her conduct after her conversion unequal.³ Madame de Gramont was not one of those to whom a phlegmatic acquiescence, a good-natured submission, came easily.

About 1684 'the desire to give herself wholly to God' made her place herself under the spiritual guidance of Fénelon.⁴ He was not her confessor, but he undertook to direct her, and for long the Countess corresponded with him. The letters preserved—only those of Fénelon unfortunately—cover a period of fourteen years, up to the end of 1697.⁵ Fénelon knew all the difficulties that lay before

dans les galeries comme dans un couvent, et les gardes du corps, mettant leurs armes à part, nouent des franges comme les filles en Angleterre." (*Hist. MSS. Comm.*, MSS. of the Marquis of Bath, III, p. 195.)

¹ Her brother, after describing her, says: "Son esprit était à peu près comme sa figure. Ce n'était point par ces vivacités importunes . . . qu'elle cherchait à briller dans la conversation. Elle évitait encore plus cette lenteur affectée dans le discours dont la pesanteur assoupit; mais sans se presser de parler, elle disait ce qu'il fallait et pas davantage. Elle avait tout le discernement possible pour le solide et le faux brillant, et sans se parer à tout propos des lumières de son esprit, elle était réservée, mais très juste dans ses décisions." Sainte-Beuve quotes this account, and with his usual penetration adds, "N'est-ce pas là, trait pour trait, les qualités d'esprit voulues par Port Royal, bien qu'ici d'un usage un peu transposé?" (*Port Royal*, II, p. 108.)

² *Mémoires*, XI, p. 111.

³ *Souvenirs*, p. 129.

⁴ Fénelon, *Correspondance*, VI, Avertissement, p. 209.

⁵ After Madame de Gramont's death these letters passed into the hands of her daughter, Lady Stafford, and from her to the Empress Maria Theresa. Some of the letters are endorsed in the hand of the Empress, e.g. "Lettre de M. L. de F. sur les peines qui viennent de la part du prochain"; "Ecrit de M. L. de F. sur la sensibilité dans les croix." (*Corr.*, VI, pp. 210, 262, 270.)

For the above account of Fénelon and Madame de Gramont see Fénelon, *Corr.*, VI, pp. 211-278, and cf. Sainte-Beuve, *Causeries du Lundi*, X, pp. 23-25.

his penitent. She had much to fear both from without and from within. "Au dehors le monde vous rit, et la partie du monde la plus capable de nourrir l'orgueil donne au vôtre ce qui peut le flatter, par les marques de considération que vous recevez à la cour. Au dedans vous avez à surmonter le goût d'une vie délicate, un esprit hautain et dédaigneux avec une longue habitude de dissipation." He was fearless in the diagnosis of her failings; her pride, her exceeding intolerance, her lack of gentleness and charity—he forced her to acknowledge them all, "l'air de mépris et de hauteur, l'esprit de critique et de moquerie, . . . ce genre d'orgueil facile à blesser, moqueur, dédaigneux, fier, jaloux de vouloir tout pour soi et toujours implacable sur les défauts d'autrui." One can well imagine Anthony Hamilton's sister to have been thus, a woman of no common culture and understanding, quick-witted, critical, caustic, sharp-tongued, irritated by the mediocrity of those around her and delighting in the use of polite ridicule and polished sarcasm. It is to Anthony Hamilton's sister that Fénelon recommends silence before all things; silence, because, in the midst of the amusements at court, at table or in the company of one who delights to talk on, the heart can have its intercourse with God; but chiefly because it was a privation to her who enjoyed to the full the pleasures of a conversation, not charitable but seasoned with graceful irony and malicious wit.

He exhorts her to find time for prayer and meditation, to be courageous, to be patient, to accept the distractions of court life in all confidence as a trial sent from God. He himself lived at court, charged with the education of the Duc de Bourgogne, and he knew how hollow was all the pomp and splendour. "Il y faut un visage riant, mais le cœur ne rit guère. Si peu qu'il reste de désirs et de sensibilité d'amour propre, on a toujours ici de quoi vieillir : on n'a pas ce qu'on veut ; on a ce qu'on ne voudroit pas. On est peiné de ses malheurs, et quelque fois du bonheur d'autrui ; on méprise les gens avec lesquels on passe sa vie et on court après leur estime. On est importuné, et on seroit bien fâché de ne l'être pas, et de demeurer en solitude." There is one thing he would have her aim at, simplicity in all; he upbraids her gently for her excessive scruples, her false humility, for her desire to seek out great things to do in the service of God when nothing is small or paltry, if

done for His sake; above all he would have a greater simplicity of faith. "Je crains pour vous une dévotion lumineuse, haute, qui sous prétexte d'aller au solide en lecture et en pratique, nourrisse en secret je ne sais quoi de grand et de contraire à Jésus Christ enfant, simple, et méprisé des sages du siècle."¹

The worry and bitterness caused by her brother's fate, the humiliation of a disfiguring disease to which she would have preferred the severest pain, the anxiety from which she suffered during a serious illness of her husband's—all met with the immediate sympathy of her director, always ready to answer her letters or to meet her in the lodgings of Madame de Chevreuse or Madame de Beauvilliers, or to visit the Comte de Gramont during his ill-health. Not the least trial to her must have been the curious interest with which the courtiers observed the change and the endeavours of the masterful, haughty Countess to love all things for the sake of God. In the end of 1687 the conscientious Dangeau records that Madame de Gramont is wholly given up to piety, and that though she has concealed it for long, she now no longer makes a secret of it,² and in 1695, when she was suffering from another attack of her disease, people marvelled to see with what courage and cheerfulness she bore all her ills.³

With the necessarily waning influence of Fénelon, involved in the affaire du Quiétisme and now Archbishop of Cambrai, her relations with Port Royal grew much more marked. While she had an apartment in the convent of the Madeleine and while the English nuns of the Immaculate Conception counted her amongst their friends and benefactors,⁴ yet it

¹ One is reminded of Madame de Maintenon's remarks on Madame de Caylus' conversion which had, it should be added, taken place under the auspices of the Père de La Tour, known for his Jansenist sympathies: "J'aurais été ravie, si je l'avois vue simple, estimant la piété partout, lisant tout ce qui est bon sans prévention, et se tenant même à la plus grande simplicité, qui est ce qui convient à notre sexe." (*Corr. Générale*, IV, p. 390.)

² *Journal*, II, p. 53.

³ Sévigné, X, p. 329.

⁴ Cf. *Diary of the Blue Nuns* (Cathol. Record Soc. Publ., Vol. VIII, London, 1910), p. 35, cf. p. 52. "Our wall next to the Highway being very old and diffective And the musketeers who were established our neer neighbours for their conveniency had raised the highway that thos passed could with eas look in to our Inclosure which gave much paine to the last Abbess and the rest of the Religious, she often solicited the Cardinal de Noyle who promissed to give orders for it. This year having more leisure he spok to Md Mantenon and the Contesse of Grammon also had the last year laid

was to the community of Port Royal that she felt most drawn. With all her faults Madame de Gramont had some remarkable qualities. She may have been overbearing and imperious, but she never abandoned a friend. No disgrace of Fénelon's could diminish her affection and veneration, on the contrary, as Fénelon said, under circumstances which caused others to become oblivious of his existence she multiplied her attentions.¹ In the same way she had always defended Port Royal. She never forgot what she owed the gentle nuns² and her daughter, Marie Elisabeth, was sent to them for her education. After the death of the Duchess of Longueville in 1679, an influential friend of Port Royal, steps were once more taken towards humiliating and ultimately suppressing the community. The Archbishop of Paris, Harlay, suddenly appeared at Port-Royal des Champs and ordered all pensionnaires to be sent back to their parents within a fortnight. Amongst the girls who were sent home was Marie Elisabeth de Gramont, then aged eleven. At Versailles the courtiers, curious to see one who had been brought up in the famed establishment, were struck by the grave and quiet demeanour of the child; they plied her with questions and were amazed by her fearless answers.³

It was on this occasion that Madame de Gramont took upon herself to approach the King on the subject of the persecutions. She and others, she said, could not understand why these saintly women were made to suffer, nor was she ashamed to confess that the nuns had fed her, clothed her and educated her for seven or eight years when her family had been in the utmost poverty. But the only answer vouchsafed was that Port Royal was a place of 'assemblies and cabals.'⁴

before her the danger we were in and she at the same time joyning with him that she gave orders to her to let Mr. Chemilar with all diligence build the wall from our outer gat to the end of the garden. . . . She also maid two ovens and so accomodated the hen hous that we wash oure cloaths they maid a garet to dry them in also."

¹ *Corr.*, VI, p. 277. "C'est le pur amour, que d'aimer les gens qui ne sont plus à la mode."

² "Elle en avoit conservé tout le goût et le bon, à travers les égarements de la jeunesse, de la beauté, du grand monde et de quelques galanteries sans que la faveur ni le danger de la perdre l'aient jamais pu détacher de l'attachement intime de Port Royal." (Saint-Simon, XVI, p. 72.)

³ Sainte-Beuve, *Port Royal*, V, pp. 182-184.

⁴ *Port Royal*, loc. cit.

The friends of Port Royal were Madame de Gramont's friends. She corresponded with the Abbé de Rancé,¹ she sought out the pious Du Fossé, at that time continuing M. de Sacy's work on the Bible, and he was heard to remark that there was more to be gained than to be lost in conversation with the lady;² during Nicole's last illness she sent him some gouttes d'Angleterre which for a time alleviated his sufferings; for Racine she had a great esteem and a goodwill which she extended to his son,³ and through Racine she knew Boileau, with whom she corresponded and whom, like Racine, she received at her house;⁴ her old friends, Cavoie and Du Charmel, were firm partisans of Port Royal. When Racine died, in 1699, she mourned him sincerely; she had visited him almost daily during his last sickness, and meeting, shortly after, M. Willard, another adherent of the community, she exclaimed with tears in her eyes, "Alas, how much have we of this court lost in such a friend! For all of us here who thought seriously about our salvation, looked to him for advice and example."⁵ Louville, the confidant of Philip V, considered the Countess one of the chief supporters of the Jansenist cabal,⁶ and the second Madame confessed that her partiality for the nuns of Port Royal was entirely due to the influence of Madame de Gramont.⁷ It was a well-known fact that in her room, at the convent of the Madeleine, hung portraits of Jansenius, Arnauld, M. de Sacy and others.⁸

According to Saint-Simon Madame de Maintenon hoped greatly that this veneration for Port Royal would put an end to the friendship of the King and the Countess, but she tried in vain to bring about a rupture.⁹ In 1696, how-

¹ Of La Trappe. Maintenon, *Corr. Gén.*, IV, p. 120.

² *Port Royal*, II, pp. 108-109.

³ Racine, *Corr.* (*Œuvres*, Ed. des Grands Ecrivains, Paris, 1888, Vol. VII) pp. 185, 186, 243, 244, 297, 313, 318, etc.

⁴ *Ib.*, pp. 105, 106, 140. It should be added that the authenticity of the first letter has been questioned.

⁵ *Port Royal*, VI, pp. 258, 259.

⁶ *Mémoires Secrets* (Paris, 1818, 2 vols.), II, pp. 89, 90.

⁷ Maintenon, *Corr. Gén.*, IV, p. 190.

⁸ *Ib.*

⁹ "Elle y échoua toujours avec un extrême dépit; la Comtesse s'en tiroit avec tant d'esprit et de grâces, souvent avec tant de liberté, que les reproches du Roi se tournoient à rien, et qu'elle n'en étoit que mieux et plus familière avec lui jusqu'à hasarder quelque fois des regards altiers à Madame de Maintenon, et quelques plaisanteries salées jusqu'à l'amertume." (Saint-Simon, XI, pp. 111, 112.)

ever, the Countess requested Madame de Maintenon to ask the King to allow her to spend the Easter week at Port Royal. Madame de Maintenon—the story is hers—asked her what she meant by taking such a thing into her head and at that particular moment, and assured her that this request would meet with great disapproval. Madame de Gramont replied that she had never dared to do it in the lifetime of M. de Harlay, the late Archbishop of Paris, who had just been succeeded by M. de Noailles. Madame de Maintenon was about to answer that the new archbishop thought no more favourably of the Jansenists than Harlay had done, but she considered that, after all, it was better any opposition should come directly from the King. And as she had supposed, Louis was exceedingly annoyed that any one should dare to approach him with such a request.¹

Still, Madame de Gramont, as Fénelon points out,² had before her the example of Racine who frequently and openly went to Port Royal and never fared the worse for it. The year that Racine died, she resolved to take matters into her own hands and quietly went to spend a week at Port Royal. The King, who enjoyed her company, at once noticed her absence and was soon informed where she had disappeared to. In the case of anyone else, says Saint-Simon, it would have been a crime past forgiveness. As it was, the King was extremely angry. Meeting the Count de Gramont he told him ‘*fort aigrement*’ what he thought of the occurrence, and ordered him to repeat his words to his wife; Madame de Gramont apologized, her apologies were ill received; her name was struck off the list of the ladies who were to accompany the King to Marly, for the King remarked that Marly and Port Royal were incompatible; the Countess, who had always gone where the King went, had to repair to Paris. Her disgrace was the talk of the town. As the Count was not included in the sentence, Madame de Gramont sent him to Marly with a letter to the King in which she expressed her sorrow at having grieved him, but nothing would induce her to write to Madame de Maintenon. The King merely told the Count that his wife could not possibly have ignored his dislike of a community avowedly Jansenist, a sect which was an abomination to him like all other “novelties in

¹ Maintenon, *Corr. Générale*, IV, p. 90.

² *Corr.*, I, p. 81.

matters of religion." Nor was the Countess included in the next voyage de Marly. After a month, however, Louis resolved to pardon her and told her husband that she might come back to Versailles; there, he received her privately at Madame de Maintenon's, 'scolded' her, and though she refused to 'abjure' Port Royal, they became reconciled, on condition that she would indulge in no further 'disparades' to Port Royal, as the King expressed it. And so, says Saint-Simon, their relations were closer than ever, to the great displeasure of Madame de Maintenon.¹

Not that the King had forgotten Madame de Gramont's predilection for Port Royal, for if on one occasion he jestingly ordered the Comte de Gramont to read the *Augustinus* of Jansenius and to ascertain whether the five famous propositions were really contained in the book, it was not only because of the ignorance of the former Abbé. The Count, it may be added, never at a loss for an answer, replied forthwith that if they were actually in the book it could only be 'incognito.'²

When Félix, the surgeon-in-chief, died in 1703, a small property of his, les Moulineaux, which lay within the grounds of Versailles, fell vacant and the King at once gave it to Madame de Gramont, a present which caused no little talk and probably no little heart-burning. "It is certain," writes a lady of the court, "that the King treats the Countess de Gramont marvellously well, and that is sufficient to make all the world turn greatly to her."³ It became the fashion for the court to repair thither, in fact it was part of the *bel air* to be an habitué, and a disgrace not to have been there, for Madame de Gramont was not over easy of access; "n'y allait pas qui voulait," says Saint-Simon. The Duchesse de Bourgogne and the other princesses were there constantly, the English court honoured the Countess with its visits, and some who for Madame de Maintenon's sake would fain have refrained from making an appearance, did not dare to stay away, for the King kept himself informed of those who went and who did not, and openly commented on the conduct of

¹ Saint-Simon, XI, p. 112; XVI, pp. 217, 218; Dangeau, VII, pp. 104, 106, 120; Sainte-Beuve, *Port Royal*, VI, pp. 163-165; Fénelon, *Corr.*, I, p. 81.

² *Port Royal*, II, p. 110.

³ Mme de Coulanges, letter printed in Sévigné, X, p. 500.

the latter. Madame de Maintenon's displeasure is described with great satisfaction by Saint-Simon, who points out that the King, in acting thus, was determined to show he was not governed by Madame de Maintenon. So numerous were the visitors that Gramont, half in jest, half in earnest, remarked that he would soon be obliged to send the King the accounts for all the dinners that were given.¹

Félix had called his house les Moulineaux, the Countess changed the name to Pontalie. "Why Pontalie, Madam?" asked the courtiers. And her brother made answer in a story which explained the origin of the name and which, he said gravely, was based on the researches of the learned Mabillon. But this is anticipating.

¹ Saint-Simon, XI, p. 113; Sévigné, X, pp. 499, 500; Hamilton, *Œuvres*, III, p. 356.

CHAPTER VIII

1692

THE HAMILTONS IN EXILE.

THE two Hamilton brothers, Anthony and Richard, and their sister-in-law, the Duchess of Tyrconnel, belonged to the melancholy little court of 'the good man who had lost three kingdoms for the sake of a Mass.'¹ Lady Tyrconnel was one of the ladies of the Bedchamber, and Richard Hamilton, first one of the gentlemen of the Bedchamber, was soon, as early as 1695 at least, made Master of the Wardrobe with a salary of 400 pistoles.² Anthony had no functions at court, and, as the palace was not over large, he and many others had to lodge in the town of Saint-Germain. Melfort, their old enemy—he had spoken of Lady Tyrconnel as "*l'âme la plus noire que se puisse concevoir*"—was for a time the head of James's first Cabinet, until he came to be superseded by the Earl of Middleton. Melfort's brother, the Earl of Perth, and formerly Lord Chancellor of Scotland, was governor to the Prince of Wales. Sir Richard Nagle, whom the Hamiltons had known in Ireland as Melfort's successor, was a kind of Secretary of War. But, as Sourches remarks,³ the ladies were far more numerous than the men at the English court; many of the latter, all of them old acquaintances of the Hamiltons and more fortunate than they, the Duke of Berwick, the Butlers, Sheldons, Dillons, Galmoys, Lees, Nugents, O'Briens and others, were away at war, serving in the French army and

¹ La Fayette, *Mémoires de la Cour de France*, p. 228. Matthew Prior complains from Paris of the "notion that the people have that King James has lost his crowns merely for religion's sake." (*Hist. MSS. Comm.*, MSS. of the Marquis of Bath, III, p. 190.)

² Lart, *Jacobite Registers*, I, pp. 61, 71; Grew, *The English Court in Exile*, p. 269.

³ *Mémoires*, IV, p. 110.

with the Irish Brigade, gaining honour and reputation,¹ or at least forgetting the bitterness of exile amidst the clash of arms. The Hamiltons, accustomed to a life of activity and travel, now found themselves the inmates of a court that was noted chiefly for the piety and resignation of its head.²

The French court considered the pensioner of their King with an indulgent pity, somewhat akin to contempt; the Queen was much more appreciated though she repaired as frequently to the convent of Chaillot as James to La Trappe. The letters and memoirs of the time bear ample testimony to the kindness and solicitude which Louis extended to the royal exiles, even though, by the treaty of Ryswick, he acknowledged William as King of England and Anne as his successor. In fact, the frequent visits of James and Mary to Versailles, to Marly, to Fontainebleau, to Compiègne, to St. Cloud, made Matthew Prior exclaim that the court of France was making a ridiculous figure, halting thus between God and Baal. "They are very obliging to us one day and the same to King James the next."³ The situation is summed up in a few words at another time: "Things go in relation to us as they used to do, they are civil to us and hate us and they are civil to King James and despise him."⁴

It was about 1696 that Anthony Hamilton wrote the

¹ Dangeau, *passim*; Boulger, *Battle of the Boyne*, pp. 308-336.

² And long after James's death Saint-Germain was associated with the piety of the King of England.

C'est ici que Jacques second,
Sans ministre et sans maîtresse,
Le matin alla à la messe
Et le soir au sermon.

(Desmahis, *Voyage d'Eponne*, printed with the *Voyage de Chapelle et de Bachaumont*, Paris, 1826, p. 298.)

A lampoon of the time ran thus:

Quand je veux rimer à Guillaume
Je trouve d'abord un royaume
Qu'il a rangé dessous ses loix,
Et quand je veux rimer à Jacques
J'ay beau suer et resuer cent fois,
Je trouve qu'il a fait ses Pasques.

(Bibl. Nat. ms., fr. 12690.)

³ *Hist. MSS. Comm.*, MSS. of the Marquis of Bath, III, pp. 215, 272.

⁴ *Ib.*, p. 277. One cannot help regretting that space forbids quoting Prior at greater length. What, for instance, could be more delightful than his very correct estimate of Monsieur: "Monsieur est une petite marionnette d'une voix cassée qui cause beaucoup et ne dit rien" (p. 195).

well-known description of the exiled court,¹ on which Macaulay based his account of the life at Saint-Germain, accepting Hamilton's story uncritically, in fact not seeming to have realized that, in spite of his alleged ill-humour, Hamilton was not altogether serious, and that some of his statements were no more meant to be literally understood than the one about the French priest explaining to the English soldiers in Italian that all English Protestants were damned. One cannot deny, however, that the resulting impression is one of gloom. "Vous me demandez, Madame, une longue lettre et des particularités de notre cour ; vous allez être satisfaite. Je ne vous parlerai point de la situation du lieu, vous la connaissez, mais avec toute sa magnificence, c'est le poste du royaume qui nous convient le moins ; car le château a si peu de commodités, qu'il n'y a que trente ou quarante, tant prêtres que jésuites, qui y aient des appartements. Une chapelle et deux oratoires dans le corps de la place, une paroisse et quelques couvents dans les dehors, voilà tout ce qui s'offre à notre dévotion. Ce n'est pas contentement ; et dans un jour d'été on a dépêché cela avec les menus suffrages qui en dépendent avant le coucher du soleil. Il est vrai que la vue en est enchantée, les promenades merveilleuses, et l'air si subtil qu'on y feroit quatre repas par jour. C'est plus de la moitié qu'il ne nous en faut et nous serions bien mieux près de quelque endroit marécageux, où, toujours enveloppés d'un brouillard épais nos sens et nos appétits fussent plus assoupis. Quoiqu'il y ait parmi nos dames de quoi contenter le goût le plus difficile . . . il faut convenir qu'il n'en est pas de même à l'égard de l'autre sexe. A peine a-t-il pu fournir parmi nous quelques mérites distingués pour former la maison du Prince de Galles. Le reste consiste en certains esprits que l'exemple n'a pu rendre hypocrites, gens d'un caractère un peu méprisant, mais aussi fort méprisés ici, et plus connus ailleurs.

"Nos occupations paroissent sérieuses et nos exercices tout chrétiens ; car il n'y a point ici de quartier pour ceux qui ne sont pas la moitié du jour en prières, ou qui n'en font pas le semblant.

"Le malheur commun qui réunit d'ordinaire ceux qu'il persécute, semble avoir répandu la discorde et l'aigreur

¹ The tale of Zeneyde in which the description occurs can be dated through the reference to the death of the Archbishop of Paris, Harlay.

parmi nous ; l'amitié dont on fait profession est souvent feinte ; la haine et l'envie qu'on renferme, toujours sincères : et tandis qu'on offre en public des vœux pour le prochain, on le déchire tout doucement en particulier. La tendresse du cœur qui des fragilités est sans doute la plus excusable, passe ici pour la moins innocente."¹

The Marchesa Campana de Cavelli, in her monumental but unfortunately incomplete work on the court of Saint-Germain, has taken some pains to prove that the priests housed in the castle by no means approached the number of " thirty or forty." A list of King James's household made out for the Earl of Portland by Prior merely says, " a great many Chaplains and Servants below staires."² In any case, whatever may have been their exact number, they were too many for the taste of Anthony Hamilton, and their presence was a source of continual irritation to him.

Il n'est si triste compagnie
Pour les vers et pour l'harmonie
Que fantômes vêtus de noir,
Tels qu'ici le sort fait pleuvoir,

he exclaims impatiently in another letter, which seems to have been written in the lifetime of King James.³ James was not among Anthony Hamilton's favourites, he had no sympathy for the monarch's pious exercises, nor were there any attractions for him in " that beatitude which they call pauvreté d'esprit " ; the expression is his own.

" Devotion employs the week," writes Prior of the Stuart court, not without exaggeration ; " poor King James is running about, first to the Jesuits, then to the Benedictines." And elsewhere, " As to what I have from private correspondents, the bigotry and folly of those at St. Germain's is unexpressible. Poor King James is hardly thought on or mentioned, an Italian and a Scotch priest govern him and his whole concerns ; he is so directly the same man he ever was, persecuting the few Protestants that are about him, though they are ruined and banished

¹ *Œuvres*, II, pp. 399-402.

² *Hist. MSS. Comm.*, MSS. of the Marquis of Bath, III, p. 410 ; cf. the *English Court in Exile*, p. 269.

³ *Œuvres*, III, p. 237, *Épître à Mademoiselle de La Force* ; it contains an allusion to Mlle de La Force's being obliged to retire to a convent, an event which had taken place in 1697. Dangeau, VI, p. 72.

for their adhering to him and rewarding and encouraging any sorry creature that he can make a convert of. The child they call the Prince of Wales they breed up with all the abhorrence imaginable to heresy."¹

The discord and jealousy that Hamilton mentions are confirmed by Prior, though it must, of course, be remembered that the rumours of strife and intrigue were far more likely to reach him than the report of the hidden virtue and of much that was unselfish and noble in the sad life of the exiles. The court was divided into the factions of the compounders and non-compounders, the former wishing for a Restoration on the basis of a general amnesty and guarantees for the security of the constitution; the latter were averse to all compromise. The former party was headed by Middleton, a Protestant; the latter, by Melfort, who, after leaving Ireland had been in Rome and was now back at Saint-Germain. "The Melfordians and the Middletonians, who are the Whigs and Tories of that court, are always fighting," writes Prior in April, 1698; "one Beaujer, one of the former faction, killed Crosby in a drunken quarrel the other day in this town, and though these people all together make little more than a private family, they have as much faction and folly amongst them as we can have in England for the heart of us."² And in July of the same year: "Three or four fellows have been killed last week at St. Germain's by their countrymen and comrades; one Charles O'Neal was broke upon the wheel on Monday for robbing about St. Germain's on the highway. . . . Thus disorders and murders reign wherever this unhappy man lives and his domestic affairs are governed just as his three kingdoms would have been."³

After the peace of Ryswick James sank more and more into that kind of apathy that marked his last years, though Prior still wrote in 1698: "Persons and Letters come frequently from England to St. Germain's and . . . everybody is welcome that comes thither with a story from your side though it be never so ridiculous."⁴ Yet James was

¹ *Hist. MSS. Comm.*, MSS. of the Marquis of Bath, III, pp. 296, 305, 334.

² *Ib.*, p. 208. Some years later, in 1706, Madame writes, "Les Anglais se détestent entre eux, nous voyons bien cela à la cour de Saint-Germain, ils y sont tous comme chiens et chats." (*Corr.*, éd. Jaeglé, I, p. 354.)

³ *Ib.*, p. 236.

⁴ *Ib.*, p. 272.

now chiefly concerned "to reap a Christian frute from these seeds of affliction which Providence had sent." One last attempt to re-establish him had been made in 1696. Richard Hamilton was appointed Lieutenant-General of His Majesty's forces in England,¹ but the English Jacobites refusing to rise before the French troops landed, and the assassination plot against William being discovered, James was obliged to return to St. Germain after having remained for three months on the coast with his army.

In one way the Hamiltons were better off than the other exiles. They had spent so many years in France that the term exile is hardly applicable to them; they spoke the language as if it had been their own, they were familiar with the customs and the etiquette, they had numerous friends, and through their sister, the influential Countess de Gramont, they mixed, so Saint-Simon tells us,² with what was best in French Society. And so, since the piety of the English court was not to their taste, they were as often as not absent from Saint-Germain. They stayed with the Gramonts at Paris, and, later on, when the King had presented the Countess with Pontalie they were frequently to be found there; at Versailles, where the Countess had an apartment, Saint-Simon saw them and made up his mind that they had "un bon coin de singularité."³ The Gramonts, on the other hand, stood well with the English court. Mary of Modena liked Gramont, even though he used to take pleasure in assuring the pious queen that he could not find anything to say when he went to Confession. Madame de Gramont was considered a kind of link between the English and the French court, and certainly of all the ladies of Versailles it was she whom Queen Mary knew best and admitted most frequently to her intimacy. During her last illness the Queen visited her and showed her every kindness.⁴

Richard Hamilton spent a large part of his time with the Cardinal de Bouillon at St. Martin de Pontoise, where the

¹ *Hist. MSS. Comm.*, Stuart Papers at Windsor, I, p. 113.

² *Mémoires*, XV, p. 416.

³ *Ib.*

⁴ B.M., Add. MSS. 18966, f. 7, Falconer Madan, Stuart Papers, II, p. 316; Dangeau, II, pp. 390, 427; III, pp. 340, 341; Sourches, VIII, p. 257.

cardinal, a nephew of Turenne's, had a large domain. Pleasant, easy-going and very much more popular than Anthony, Richard seems to have enjoyed himself thoroughly in the society of this witty bon vivant. Madame de Sévigné's cousin, Coulanges, describes himself and 'the amiable Richard Hamilton' as the two faithful commensals of the cardinal.¹ There were many places where Anthony Hamilton, too, was a welcome guest; at Fitzjames, for instance, the property of the Duke of Berwick, to whom Hamilton was so much attached;² at Maintenon, where he enjoyed the company of Madame de Caylus and the Duchesse de Noailles;³ at Saint-Maur, where M. le Duc (grandson of the Grand Condé) was established,⁴ and once he went to Lorraine to visit his niece, Marie Elisabeth de Gramont, Abbess of Poussay.⁵ But one associates him especially with the Vendôme circle—the 'société du Temple'—and the court of Madame du Maine at Sceaux.

Both the Vendômes had served in Turenne's army at the same time as the Hamiltons; the Duke had been wounded in the retreat of Altenheim, commanded by George Hamilton with the Chevalier de Boufflers; the Hamiltons were therefore old acquaintances; in fact, it is the Grand Prieur who is supposed to have made the Chanson on Richard Hamilton's return, prophesying the defeat of all lovers upon the advent of the invincible Richard.⁶ The Duke spent much of his free time with his guests at the château of Anet, once the property of Diane de Poitiers;

¹ Sévigné, X, p. 358 (Coulanges to Mme. de Sévigné).

² The original name of Fitzjames was Warthi. Berwick's son, the Duke of Fitzjames, tells us that Hamilton "étoit de la société du maréchal et n'en bougeoit: il y trouvoit l'agrément et le plaisir qu'il savoit si bien y porter lui-même. (Berwick, *Mémoires*, p. 466.)

³ Hamilton, *Œuvres*, III, pp. 188, 192.

⁴ *Ib.*, pp. 30, 232. The Relation d'un Voyage en Mauritanie, the grave and solemn account of a sail to Mauritania "on the third day of March in the year of the great Omelet" (an allusion to the Cardinal de Noailles' instructions for the better observation of Lent; cf. Chaulieu, *Œuvres* (1757), II, p. 168) is nothing but a playful description of a visit to Saint-Maur. The reader will easily recognize what is meant by the Port Bastillan, the palace Vincenniate, the Isle Bouillonnante, the Princess Mainalide who sends manifestos in verse and, needless to say, le triste Marc Antonin, distraught with love, walking alone, talking to himself, asking for drink when hungry and for mustard when thirsty, is Anthony Hamilton himself.

⁵ Hamilton, *Œuvres*, III, pp. 171, 242.

⁶ Cf. p. 72 *supra*, and Sayons, *Histoire de la Littérature Française à l'Etranger*, II, p. 380.

just as frequently he took part in the festivities of the 'Temple,' where the Grand Prieur likewise received a company of pleasant Epicureans—wits and noblemen and those who combined both qualifications, for the Grand Prieur, the Altesse Chansonnière as Voltaire calls him,¹ delighted even more than the Duke, his brother, in witty and cultivated society, and though assuredly these gatherings were not feasts of reason, they were not mere drinking bouts. "Ces délicieux soupers du Temple," writes a somewhat indulgent contemporary critic, "où l'esprit n'était que sentiment, la plaisanterie gaieté, l'érudition amusement et la critique instruction badine ; où jamais il ne fut question, ni de ces dissertations pédantesques ni de ces propos affectés."² Saint-Simon's description of Chaulieu fits most of the habitués of the Temple, "un agréable débauché de fort bonne compagnie et qui faisoit aisément de jolis vers . . . et qui ne se piquoit pas de religion."³ And most of the habitués would doubtless have subscribed to the frank confession of faith with which Chaulieu honoured Hamilton :

Si j'étais moins libertin
Je serais plus mauvais poète.⁴

The Grand Prieur was in a way the patron of that small group of men who, far from the "conversions" and the piety of Versailles, cared little for religion and morals, and very much for the pleasures of the only life they could be sure of. To a man who had lived at the court of Charles II the Temple was certainly a more congenial place than the courts of Louis le Grand and "poor King James."

La Fontaine, a frequent guest at the Temple, has left us a curious picture of one of the gatherings ;⁵ from Hamilton we have, fortunately or unfortunately, no direct account, but most of the habitués of the Temple were his friends and correspondents ; the amiable Chaulieu, for instance, who "esteems him and has an affection for him that might be called adoration" ;⁶ the unworthy friend of Madame de La Sablière, the indolent Marquis de La Fare, whom his

¹ *Œuvres*, X, p. 240.

² Chaulieu, *Œuvres* (ed. 1730), I, Avertissement.

³ *Mémoires* (éd. Cheruel), XVII, p. 87.

⁴ Hamilton, *Œuvres*, III, p. 51.

⁵ *Œuvres* (Ed. des Grands Ecrivains), IX, pp. 449, 450.

⁶ Hamilton, *Œuvres*, III, p. 208.

intimates called Monsieur de la Cochonnière, and who, like Vendôme the elder, died from an attack of indigestion ; Campistron, the dramatist and protégé of Racine, La Chapelle, a versatile writer ; J. B. Rousseau, the author of pious odes for the Dauphin and licentious epigrams for the Temple ; M. de Nevers, the " duc poétissime, pindarissime, sénéquissime," and his sister, Madame de Bouillon, not the least charming of Mazarin's nieces, and only seven years older than the Vendômes, her nephews ; Mademoiselle de La Force, who, after a very chequered existence, was invited by Louis XIV to retire to a convent, much to Hamilton's indignation ; Mademoiselle Certain, a well-known harpsichord player, whom he used to visit at her lodgings, rue Villedo,¹ and many others, Ninon, doubtless, la moderne Leontium, and Mademoiselle De Launay, for whom Chaulieu, in his extreme old age, had a sincere affection, and probably also young Arouet. In a letter to the Grand Prieur, written in 1716, Voltaire expressly mentions Hamilton as one of his masters,² and the fact that in his *Temple du Goût* he places Hamilton with La Fare and Chaulieu shows that these three were intimately associated in his mind. To the very rare first-hand knowledge we have of Hamilton, we may almost certainly add the quatrain written twelve years after his death :

Auprès d'eux le vif Hamilton
Toujours armé d'un trait qui blesse,
Médissait de l'humaine espèce
Et même d'un peu mieux, dit on.³

And when Voltaire says of him, " il était fort satirique,"⁴ is it not like a far-off echo from one of the " délicieux soupers du Temple," where the young poet listened to the caustic remarks and the graceful cynicism of the elderly wit ?

There is one other place where Voltaire may have met Hamilton, for the Temple was not the only place of refuge for the " dégoûtés de Versailles " ;⁵ they went to Sceaux where there reigned the Duchesse du Maine, a kind of

¹ Hamilton, *Œuvres*, III, p. 209 ; cf. Desnoiresterres, *Cours Galantes*, III, p. 271 (and *passim* for the whole of this subject).

² *Œuvres*, XXXIII, p. 40.

³ *Ib.*, VIII, p. 573.

⁴ *Ib.*, a note that he added in explanation of the above lines.

⁵ Cf. F. T. Perrens, *Les Libertins en France au 17^e Siècle*, p. 369.

spoilt child, wilful, headstrong, clever, not without some of the eccentricity that marked the later Condés and with not enough 'religion' to satisfy Madame de Maintenon, who would fain have chosen a more pious wife for the prince she had brought up.¹ The Duchess wished to be amused and threw herself heart and soul into the 'Divertissemens' she organized; but, as Fontenelle remarks, "elle voulut que la joie eût de l'esprit."² In this respect Sceaux was not unlike the Temple, there, however, the resemblance ceases, for the Duchess was too fastidious to have tolerated the *bonne compagnie* of the Grand Prieur, and no accusations can be brought against the court of Sceaux, as far as manners and morals are concerned. Her ambition was to bring together a polite and lettered society, and to rule over it, an undisputed queen. Like the gatherings of the Hôtel de Rambouillet, Madame du Maine's assemblies consisted partly of the grand monde and partly of those who were received for the sake of their wit and culture, and on a footing of perfect equality. Among the latter we find Saint-Aulaire, La Motte Houdart, the presidents Hénault and de Mesmes, Fontenelle, Arouet, occasionally Chaulieu and La Fare, but above all the indispensable court poets and organizers of the Divertissemens, the Abbé Genest and the amiable Malézieu, "cet homme d'un esprit presque universel,"³ who taught Greek and Latin to the Duc du Maine, mathematics to the Duc de Bourgogne, astronomy and anything else she happened to be interested in to the Duchess, arranged her entertainments and composed more than his share of the letters in verse, chansons, madrigals, rondeaux and other works required of those belonging to the 'galères du bel esprit.'

Malézieu had a small property not far from Sceaux, called Chatenay. The Duchess often visited him there, and, once a year, Malézieu invited her and her whole court to the fête de Chatenay. Music, comedies, ballets, masquerades, illuminations, nothing was left undone that would amuse her. Anthony Hamilton was present at the fête of August, 1705, and the account which he gives of the proceedings in a letter to Henrietta Bulkeley deserves to be quoted; it may stand as a fairly good example of the

¹ Cf. Maintenon, *Corr. Gén.*, III, p. 384.

² *Œuvres* (Paris, 1818), I, p. 385.

³ The expression is Voltaire's, V, p. 81.

badinage with which he entertained his correspondents. The long list of guests conveys an idea of the society that used to meet at Sceaux.

“ . . . Avant de vous parler des préparatifs et du spectacle, il est bon de vous nommer les principaux de ceux qui s'étaient rendus à Sceaux pour y assister : c'étoient M. le duc, mademoiselle d'Enguien, M. le comte d'Harcourt, autrefois abbé de ce nom, madame sa femme, madame la duchesse d'Albemarle recommandable par son érudition, monsieur le duc et madame la duchesse de Nevers avec mademoiselle leur fille, madame la duchesse de La Ferté et madame de Mirepoix, madame la duchesse de la Feuillade, madame la duchesse de Quintin, madame la comtesse de Dreux, madame de la Vieuville, madame la comtesse de Lussan, madame la marquise de Moras, madame la comtesse d'Artagnan, M. le duc de Coaslin, M. le président de Mesmes, M. le marquis de Lassay, M. le baron de Ricousse, M. Caryll gentilhomme anglais et M. de Fimarcon. Remarquez, s'il vous plaît, Mademoiselle, que cette liste n'est qu'un très petit dénombrement de ceux qui étoient priés, et que la cour ordinaire de madame du Maine, avec l'ordre entier de la Mouche, dont je ne parle point, étoit de la fête. Toute cette compagnie partit dimanche, neuvième du mois, à une heure après midi, pour se rendre à Chatenay, distant de Sceaux d'environ quinze stades, il se trouva des voitures toutes prêtes pour la compagnie que je viens de nommer ; madame la duchesse de La Ferté, qui par hasard m'aimait ce jour-là, me fit l'honneur de me mettre avec elle et madame de Mirepoix, dans une calèche ouverte, où deux personnes des plus minces, dans la saison la plus froide, seroient en danger d'étouffer.

“ Il faut avouer que les faveurs du beau sexe seroient bien précieuses, si elles étoient plus durables ; les dames qui m'avoient distingué par cette préférence, s'en repentirent apparemment ; car elles dirent que j'avois été de très mauvaise compagnie pendant le voyage. Si je voulois vous mander en détail ce qu'il y avoit de rare et de magnifique dans la célébration de cette fête, je n'aurois jamais fait. Imaginez vous que le premier spectacle qui se présenta lorsque tout le monde fut arrivé, fut une galerie de plain pied au jardin, dans laquelle il y avoit une table de vingt-cinq couverts, où vingt-cinq dames, plus belles les unes que

les autres se placèrent ; dans la même galerie, une autre table de dix-huit ou vingt couverts fut servie en même temps pour M. le duc, M. le duc du Maine, et une partie des hommes ; mais il faut voir de quelle magnificence, de quelle profusion, et de quelle délicatesse tout cela fut servi.

“ . . . Au sortir de la table on se mit à jouer pendant que tout se préparoit pour la comédie. La salle où elle fut représentée étoit au milieu du jardin ; c'étoit un grand espace couvert et environné de toiles, où l'on avoit élevé un théâtre, dont les décorations étoient entrelacées de feuillages verts, fraîchement coupées, et illuminés d'une prodigieuse quantité de bougies. La pièce en trois actes est de M. de Malézieu ; elle étoit mêlée de danses, de récits et de symphonies ; et afin que vous ne puissiez douter qu'elle ne fût représentée dans toute sa perfection, vous saurez que madame la duchesse du Maine y jouoit ; mademoiselle de Moras, M. de Malézieu, M. Crom [Mayercron], M. Landais, M. Dampierre, M. Caramon, et un officier de l'Artillerie, dont j'oublie le nom, en étoient les acteurs : pour les intermèdes, c'étoient Balon, Dumoulin, et les Allards qui formoient les entrées : les paroles du prologue et des récits étoient de M. de Nevers pour l'italien, et de M. de Malézieu pour le françois, excellemment mises en musique par Matair ; et le tout exécuté par les voix et les instruments de la musique du roi. Le spectacle dura trois heures et demie, sans ennuyer un moment ; il est vrai qu'il fut interrompu vers le milieu de la représentation, par un laquais de madame d'Albemarle, qui pendant qu'on étoit le plus attentif, et qu'on suoit à grosses gouttes, fit lever tout le monde pour porter une coiffe et une écharpe à sa maîtresse, de peur du serein ; Dieu sait les bénédictions qu'on donnoit à son laquais et à la délicatesse de son tempérament ! Le souper fut encore plus magnifique que le premier repas ; les dames s'y présentèrent avec les mêmes charmes et quelquechose de plus ; les applaudissements fournirent les premiers entretiens ; on se mit de bonne humeur ; les faiseurs d'impromptus ajoutèrent quelques plats de leur façon à ceux de l'entremets ; M. de Nevers commença ; un homme qu'on prit pour moi, poursuivit, et ne fit rien qui vaille. Je ne vous envoie pas ces ouvrages, parce que vous avez assez mal reçu ceux que je vous ai déjà envoyés. Après le souper on tira force fusées, et à une heure après minuit le bal commença, je ne vous dirai point

à quelle heure il finit, car je me retirerai à la petite pointe du jour, qu'on ne faisoit que commencer les contredanses : je regagnai Sceaux, j'y dormis deux heures ; et quand j'en suis parti, je ne doute pas qu'on ne dansât encore à Châtenay."¹

Though Hamilton professes to despise some of the puerile amusements of Sceaux, he too submitted to the caprices of the despotic little duchess, wrote verses in her honour, composed impromptus for her, even if he had no love for "the monster commonly known as the Impromptu,"² and when Madame du Maine ordered her willing courtiers to write in the manner of Marot :

Or maintenant, en ce grand changement
Où notre Cour reprend la Vertugade
Reprendre il faut le style de Clement
Pour rimailier encor joyusement,
Le Virelais, chant Royal et Balade,³

M. d'Amilthon, as obedient a slave of the gallères du bel esprit as any other, composed for her the rather charming Rondeau Redoublé, "Par grand'bonté cheminoient autrefois," which is among the best things he has written. At times the Duchess instituted what she called a poetical lottery ; the letters of the alphabet were put into a bag and those present were all made to draw one. The person to whose share the letter A fell was obliged to produce an aria or an apotheosis, C required a comedy, F a fable, O an ode or an opera, R a rondeau, S a sonnet, etc.⁴ Childish though all this seems, there is little doubt that we have to thank Madame du Maine, in a way, for making Hamilton embark upon the career of a poet in his old age and for compelling him to overcome a certain indolence, since he rhymed, not because he had an over-mastering impulse to do so, but because he was made to rhyme, because it was the fashion and because it pleased the ladies with whom he professed to be so violently in love. Not one of his stories and poems but is composed for a lady of his acquaintance and usually at her command.

With the poet-laureate of Sceaux, Malézieu, he was on

¹ *Œuvres*, III, pp. 149-153.

² *Ib.*, p. 61.

³ *Divertissemens de Sceaux*, p. 8.

⁴ Caylus, *Souvenirs*, p. 510, a note by Voltaire.

the best of terms, at least, if one may judge from the compliments in verse which they exchanged. Malézieu called him a New Amphion and gallantly remarked :

Rien ne peut effacer un nom
Célébré par Amilthon.

Hamilton considered Malézieu more elegant than Voiture, and if he really meant that, it was the highest praise he could give. When Malézieu invited Madame du Maine to Chatenay, new verses were written in honour of the house, to which Malézieu replied :

Amilton par son art magique
Transforme en Palais magnifique
Cette misérable maison.

In fact, Hamilton was described at Sceaux as the Horace of Albion, and this title was given to him before any of the prose writings by which we remember him were known or had attained renown.¹ It was merely for some vers de société, poetry of a kind, some of which was doubtless allowed to fade away on its yellow paper amongst the letters and ribbons of the ladies for whom it was written and some of which has come down to us and strikes us as dull and insipid, because we never beheld those who inspired the poet's pen and because we no longer understand the hidden allusions.

¹ *Divertissemens de Sceaux*, pp. 370, 374, 376, 397, 471.

CHAPTER IX

THE POET OF SAINT-GERMAIN. DEATH OF GRAMONT

BECAUSE of these many absences from Saint-Germain it must not be thought that Hamilton found no pleasure there. Some congenial spirits were there at least: Middleton, according to Sir William Temple, "a very valuable man and a good scholar"; Sheridan, the historian; John Caryll, whom his epitaph describes as "præclaro et sublimi ingenio literatura omnigena expolito clarus";¹ and his nephew, John Caryll, immortalized in the *Rape of the Lock*. And above all there was a newer and happier generation growing up at St. Germain, a generation either born there or too young to remember the country they had left. 'Poor King James' had been gathered to his fathers in 1701, and the court of the young king and the princess, Marie Louise, could not but be something more light-hearted than the court of the deeply humiliated monarch with his penitence and his mortifications of the flesh. Not one of the letters that Hamilton writes from Saint-Germain between 1700 and 1710 approaches the pessimism of Zeneyde, rather we get the picture of a happy and united little kingdom that does not even lack its court poet.² For what Voiture was at the Hôtel de Rambouillet, what Malézieu and Genest were at Sceaux, what

¹ Guilhermy, *Inscriptions de la France* (Paris, 1873), I, p. 615.

² As at Sceaux, the inhabitants of the court of Saint-Germain went by nicknames, the Princess was called la déesse in nubibus; the Duke of Berwick, le brochet; the Countess Ploydon, la Piccioline; Miss Butler, a cousin of the Hamiltons, le petit violon; Henrietta Bulkeley, Mamzelle; Charlotte Bulkeley, Clarice; one of the gentlemen, possibly Richard Hamilton, Lysander; John Caryll, the younger, Cupidon; occasionally Anthony Hamilton calls himself le béliet, and doubtless there were other names that have not come down to us. (Cf. Hamilton, *Œuvres*, III, *passim*.)

Chaulieu was at Saint-Maur and at the Temple, that Hamilton was at Saint-Germain, and the Jacobite court had not the worst of these faithful and gallant poets. And whereas Voiture was a bourgeois, whereas Malézieu, Genest and Chaulieu were subordinates and obliged to direct most of their efforts *ad majorem gloriam* of M. le Duc and his sister Madame la Duchesse du Maine, except for the Princess Louise, Hamilton was the independent equal of the ladies he celebrated and wrote as much and more for 'Clarice' and his 'belle B.' as for Madame la Princesse d'Angleterre.

The list of his fair 'nymphs' of Saint-Germain is a long one; it would include the Duchess of Perth and the Duchess of Albemarle, the 'Marquise Arthur,' the Countesses Ploydon and Drummond, Mrs. Marischal, Mrs. Sheldon, Mrs. Bidle and a host of young beauties, the two daughters of the Earl of Melfort, Miss Skelton, Miss Strickland, the Misses Nugent, Miss Middleton, anyone of whom could command a thousand lovers and resembled her to whom on Mount Ida Paris gave the apple. But above all Hamilton admired the four Bulkeleys, Charlotte, Ann, Henrietta and Laura, the daughters of Lady Sophia Bulkeley, a lady of the Bedchamber to the Queen. Their aunt was la belle Stuart, familiar to readers of the Gramont *Memoirs*, and, if Hamilton may be believed, they had inherited no small share of their aunt's beauty. Charlotte was married to Charles, Viscount Clare, who lost his life in 1706; Anne became the Duke of Berwick's second wife in 1700; three years before Hamilton's death Henrietta was still living at Saint-Germain,¹ but nothing more is known of her and her sister Laura.

All these ladies could claim Hamilton's pen. The nymphs of Saint-Germain bathing in the river or attired for a hunt are described at great length; Madame Clare at her toilet, the Countess F. at her harpsichord, the Princess painted by Arlo, form the subject of gallant verses. During a thunderstorm Hamilton amuses the ladies by improvising a chanson; he writes fairy tales for them, *Zeneyde* for Madame Ploydon, *L'Enchanteur Faustus* for his niece Margaret Hamilton,² *Les Quatre Facardins* for the

¹ Hamilton, *Œuvres*, III, pp. 133-137. The letter is undated, but must have been written in 1716.

² Bibl. Nat. ms., fr. 32964, f. 85, shows that Margaret Hamilton is the niece for whom *L'Enchanteur* is intended.

Countess F., *La Pyramide et le Cheval d'Or* for Laura O'Brien de Clare; Henrietta Bulkeley considers *Le Béliet* as her own, and there is some one doubtless to whom *Fleur d'Epine* belongs. If one of them, Mrs. Nugent or Miss Skelton, for instance, is celebrating her fête or her birthday, Hamilton is sure to remember her with some complimentary song; a bunch of daffodils sent to 'Clarice' is accompanied by a poem; his empty snuff-box goes to the Duchess of Berwick with a poetic Placet. When the King, the Princess and the whole English court visit the Countess de Gramont at Pontalie, Hamilton is ordered to celebrate the event, and he writes a song that is sung to the tune of *Le Grand Condé terrible en guerre*; it is interesting to note that, with his usual mock gravity, he speaks pompously of this visit as *le second voyage de Pontalie*, just as Dangeau at Versailles speaks of *le voyage de Marly* and *le voyage de Fontainebleau*. He sups with James III, the young King calls on him for a toast, and though Hamilton does not love anything in the nature of an impromptu he responds gracefully. As his talent becomes known, others avail themselves of his skill. He corresponds with Chaulieu in the name of his niece, Lady Stafford, and with Saint-Évremond in Gramont's name, he writes for Gramont to the Duc de Berry, for the Sisters of Saint-Dominique de Poissy to the Sisters of Sainte-Marie de Chaillot, he composes verses for the Princess with Henrietta Bulkeley; others imitate him, madrigals and epigrams are the fashion at St. Germain.

Though Hamilton seems to have liked the young King well enough, he had more of an affection for the Princess Louise, and his preference was generally shared.¹ Almost regularly for her birthday, he sends her verses; during her frequent absences at the convent of Chaillot he writes her letters in the hope that they may amuse her, gallant descriptions of her abound. He praises her gracious manners which charm everybody, and the grace with which she moves and dances, for the young princess, though sharing her mother's gentleness and piety, seems to have enjoyed dancing with a juvenile whole-heartedness; she figures in a ballet with Laura Bulkeley, Miss Skelton and the 'Countess' Drummond, and she even composes a dance

¹ Cf. e.g. Maintenon, *Lettres inédites*, I, pp. 169, 172, 176.

called les quatre faces—you pirouette nine times to your right and eight times to your left, all in one breath, and when you come to that part of the dance which resembles the cotillon, you have but to jump fifteen times into the air, clearing the ground by five feet ; that, at least, is the way in which Hamilton saw her Royal Highness dance it.¹ The companions of the Princess, Anne Skelton and Marie Strickland were of about the same age as she ; Laura Bulkeley does not seem to have been much older ; Laura O'Brien de Clare and the little Nugents were very much younger.² There are many people who see in Hamilton only the cynical and uncharitable author of the *Mémoires de Grammont* ; in *Devereux* Bulwer Lytton makes Hamilton exclaim : " Compliments are the dullest things imaginable. For God's sake let us leave panegyric to blockheads and say something bitter to one another, or we shall die of ennui." Here, however, we have Hamilton in an entirely different aspect—the elderly beau writing poems and fairy tales for little girls in their teens, treating them with an exaggerated gallantry that must have been after the heart of those who aspired to be little girls no longer.

It was in the society of Lady Bulkeley's four daughters that Hamilton seems to have spent most of his time when he was at Saint-Germain, and when he writes to the Duke of Berwick his letters are full of what may be called family news. We get delightful glimpses of the ladies of Saint-Germain mending their falbalas, working at their tapestry under the trees, or washing their laces and hanging them up in the garden to dry, or, some other day, playing at bowls and at blind man's buff, and courageously scaling haycocks ' with a very advantageous disorder in their dress.' While Berwick is away at war, Hamilton and other elderly courtiers attend the ladies and endeavour to dispel their anxiety, " Vous êtes fort incommodes, vous autres gens de guerre qui vous rendez si terribles à vos ennemis et si chers à vos femmes ; vous ne sauriez croire la peine qu'elles nous donnent en votre absence. A chaque mouvement que font les armées nous les voyons tout éperdues ; elles s'imaginent qu'on ne marche que pour se battre et qu'on n'en veut qu'à leurs

¹ Hamilton, *Œuvres*, III, p. 116.

² The Princess was born in 1692, Miss Strickland in 1690, Miss Skelton in 1693, Laura O'Brien de Clare (Charlotte Bulkeley's daughter) in 1697, the eldest of the Nugents in 1697 and Louise Marie Middleton in 1701.

maris ; notre rhétorique ne fait que blanchir auprès de leur frayeur ; et le seul expédient que nous ayons trouvé pour étourdir leurs tendres inquiétudes, est de faire diversion par de petites parties de plaisir purement à vos intentions.”¹

The ladies are invited to partake of collations in the garden—tartlets, cheese-cakes, syllabubs and sackposset comfort the ‘afflicted beauties’ and make them forget the absent ones for a while, and then some one tactlessly mentions Villars’ campaigns or the officious Lindsey has nothing better to do than to announce Berwick’s march on Tongres and to congratulate the Duchess in advance on the reputation that her husband is sure to win. Henrietta Bulkeley pales, her tears drop fast on her tapestry, Hamilton allows her grief to take its course, but thinking it safer she should be disarmed, he takes away her scissors. As for the Duchess, he assures her that the Duke will probably not lose more than an arm or a leg or perhaps an eye, and that if worse comes to worse and the Duke is slain, Villars will avenge his death gallantly. Moreover, if it is the will of Heaven that she become a widow, there are other husbands in this world, but if she allows herself to die of despair there will be no more Nanettes left. Then Riva comforts her by relating how in the ancient wars of Italy fifty thousand Guelphs fought a whole day long against fifty-three thousand Ghibellines, and how between them they had but one killed and two wounded. All this has its effect for the time being, but the consolations have always to be begun over again. Last night the Duchess received a letter which made her weep during two hours. Why can these men of war not keep quiet and leave others to their repose ?²

On one occasion it is the Duchess herself who arranges a walk. In the wood of Saint-Germain there stands a chapel dedicated to Saint-Thibaut, a saint who is said to cure all manners of fever. The worthy Dicconson, the Queen’s Treasurer, has just been suffering from an attack, so the ladies, always charitable to their neighbour, resolve to undertake a pilgrimage to the chapel of St. Thibaut, to intercede for Mr. Dicconson, though they hardly know him. After accomplishing their devotions they spread dinner on the grass and all sit down except the Chevalier de La Salle, who is scolded, as usual, for his want of piety and ordered

¹ *Œuvres*, III, p. 77.

² *Ib.*, pp. 83, 84.

to go down on his knees before the chapel door whilst the others are dining. The chevalier complains that he has forgotten his hour book and that he knows no prayers by heart, so he is allowed to sit down, not with them, but at the foot of a tree and the ladies give him something to eat if he will promise to wash the glasses afterwards. Meanwhile they have quite forgotten about Mr. Dicconson and his fever, and suddenly Mr. Dicconson appears in person. The Duchess blushes and the others all joyfully cry "A miracle!" for they find that the fever left him just after they had put up their last prayer to the saint. And at night they return, and the poet cannot but be gay in their jocund company, and the shepherds and shepherdesses, the nymphs and dryads peep through the leaves to see them pass.¹

The Duke, though at the head of an army, finds time to write back long letters in prose and in verse. But one of the letters gives great offence to the ladies, and the worthy Hamilton, well versed in the code of chivalry and knowing that there is but one course of action to him who has deserved the wrath of his mistress, merely counsels Berwick, with great gravity, on the kind of death he is to choose. "Mon avis donc seroit, que vous mettant dans un fauteuil, en bonnet de nuit, la tabatière d'un côté, une plume et de l'encre de l'autre; et vous appuyant sur la table dans la posture d'un homme qui rêve, vous mourussiez d'apoplexie; car cela est fait dans un moment :

Ou bien que, montant à cheval,
La nuit, au milieu des ténèbres
Vous gagniez ces rives célèbres
Où le Rhin se perd dans le Whal;
Que là, sans aucune remise,
Vous défassiez votre ruban,
Que vous ôtiez votre chemise
Pour la laisser au bon Letang;
Et que la tête la première
Vers ses gouffres les plus profonds
Vous vous jetiez dans la rivière,
Et que vous restiez tout au fond
Une bonne heure tout entière.²

The ladies of Saint-Germain are convinced that the Duke has not survived the loss of their affections so they busy

¹ *Ib.*, pp. 118-120.

² *Ib.*, p. 92.

themselves with a cenotaph, a haycock is erected to his memory and they vie with each other in composing epitaphs, though Hamilton unkindly tells Henrietta Bulkeley that what she has composed is an elegy and not an epitaph. A letter arrives and it is from Berwick, who is still in life ! Hamilton is amazed, he writes back politely but not without some coldness. "Au reste," he concludes, "vous avez beau nous menacer de votre retour pour nous empêcher de profiter de votre absence, quand votre général et vous auriez des moustaches retroussées jusqu'aux yeux, nous irions toujours notre petit train auprès des dames puisqu'elles veulent bien de nous, et je crois que je ne ferai pas mal de les laisser dans l'erreur de votre mort encore un jour ou deux, c'est-à-dire, jusqu'à ce qu'elles vous aient entièrement oublié."¹

When Berwick goes to Spain with his army his letters are considered laconic, but, Heaven be praised, all Spaniards are not so, for did not the Comtesse de Gramont just the other day show Hamilton a letter from Don Thadeo Thadei de Burgo—six pages closely written and containing not one sentence which was not politic ? Berwick is not always away alone. On one occasion he takes his wife, la belle Nanette, and her sister Henrietta to spend the winter at Montpellier, where he is stationed. Perhaps he may take them on to Spain. Hamilton professes despair at Henrietta's departure. It has sometimes been stated that Hamilton was in love with her and that but for their poverty they would have married. It is true that he was anxious she should think well of him and that, not unnaturally, he felt aggrieved when she called one of his elaborate epistles to Berwick "the silliest letter in the world" ; it is true that his tale, *Le Béliar*, was dedicated to her, and that the letters to "Mademoiselle B." are amongst the most charming of his writings and full of professions of the most violent passion, but it is not likely that Henrietta took them to be more serious than her very elderly lover intended them to be.²

It was during her absence at Montpellier that Hamilton wrote the above-mentioned letters to her. In these letters she is made to play the part of a belle dame sans merci

¹ *Œuvres*, III, p. 99.

² He was about thirty years older than her eldest sister, who was born in 1674. (Cf. Dulon, p. 120.)

and he that of the faithful spurned lover, but, as the following extracts will show, he wanted to amuse her with his badinage and nothing more. "Que puis-je faire, Mademoiselle, pour ne vous être plus insupportable? J'ai honte d'être encore en vie, après avoir mérité votre indignation, et après les assurances que je vous ai données dans ma dernière lettre, de ne vivre plus que quelques jours; mais ce qu'il y a de plus extraordinaire à mon aventure, c'est que la violence du désespoir, qui fait chercher aux autres des solitudes pour gémir, des arbres pour se pendre, et des rochers pour se précipiter, m'a conduit au beau milieu de Sceaux le même jour que . . . toutes les beautés de l'Univers, excepté celles de votre famille s'y étoient rassemblées pour la fête de Châtenay. Je fus d'abord tenté d'en troubler la célébration par un événement tragique, car croyant bien que je ne trouverois jamais une plus belle occasion de me punir et de signaler mon repentir, j'étois sur le point d'assembler la compagnie autour de moi, de leur dire que vous étiez la plus charmante personne du monde et moi le plus grand coquin; et après vous avoir nommé trois fois, avec trois horribles soupirs de me donner trois coups d'épée au milieu du cœur: mais faisant réflexion que je suis à vous absolument, j'ai cru que je ne devois pas me tuer sans votre permission; et qu'en attendant que vous eussiez la bonté de me l'accorder, je ne ferois pas mal de donner toute mon attention aux magnificences de cette fête pour vous en faire une espère de relation."¹ Henrietta writes back quite graciously and Hamilton is charmed with the next few letters, but he is uneasy about one thing—"Au milieu des choses obligeantes que vous avez la bonté de me dire dans votre lettre, vous ne faites pas un mot de réponse sur les plaintes que je vous avois faites, de me voir faire des présents de Montpellier, sans y avoir ajouté la moindre chose de votre part; peut-être faites-vous faire une épée garnie de rubis et de diamants, ou quelque belle écharpe brodée de vos chiffres par vos belles mains, telles que la reine Thomyris ou la princesse Placidie envoyèrent au vaillant Spitridate ou à l'amoureux Constance. Je les recevrai avec le même respect et les mêmes transports."²

Unfortunately, as Henrietta is on her way home, she repents of her leniency and scrawls an unkind message at the

¹ *Œuvres*, III, pp. 148, 149.

² *Ib.*, p. 158.

foot of her sister's letter to Hamilton and the faithful lover is once more in disgrace. "Dieu veuille bien vous pardonner toutes vos injustices!" he writes back with mock humility, "Ce n'était pas la peine de vous faire tant importuner. . . . pour m'écrire des cruautés; je n'ai pas laissé de baisser ces inhumanités, et de vous en remercier, comme je fais bien humblement; car c'est toujours m'écrire que de m'écrire en colère, et c'est ce que vous ne ferez plus, dès que vos appas ne logeront qu'à trois pas de moi."¹

If we associate Anthony Hamilton more with Henrietta Bulkeley than with the other ladies for whom and to whom he wrote, it is because his prose works are infinitely superior to his poetry and his letters are thus more easily read than the far more numerous chansons and rondeaux written in honour of 'Clare,' 'Clarice,' 'Varice,' 'Laire,' in other words of Charlotte Bulkeley, Viscountess Clare. Needless to say, the 'adorable Varice' is cruel and unkind, and, like all the other nymphs to whom Hamilton presents his homages, she is a 'tigress.' One is more than once reminded of the complicated but superficial gallantry of Voiture, of Voiture posing as the hapless lover of Sylvie and Uranie. Like Voiture Hamilton delights to complain of the unjust harshness with which he is treated. "Pray, Madam," he writes very seriously to a lady in a note accompanying a copy of verses which he had composed in her name for her sister, Mrs. Nugent, "pray, Madam, be pleased to write out these verses with your own fair hand. I should be very loath that anybody should believe that I could be so ridiculous, as to be so bold, as to presume to go about, to take the liberty to endeavour to write anything for you, that were worthy to be own'd in a manner, as it were a thing proceeding from your own sweet judgment and imagination; and, moreover, let me tell you, that Mylady your sister would not touch this song or sonnet with a pair of tongs, so be that her Ladyship could suspect that I had a hand in the matter; the truth is that her mind and fancy does so run on a younger brother of mine, lately come from the wars, that it would pity your soul to see how she uses one."² His lot, he says elsewhere, is always to be much

¹ *Œuvres*, p. 159.

² *Ib.*, edition of 1776, Vol. VII, pp. 26-27, or edition of 1777, Vol. VII, p. 30. The only English letter ever printed and only in these particular editions.

more appreciated when he is at a distance than when he is present, especially by those whom he desires most of all to please,¹ and sometimes the ladies for whom he writes affect to despise not only him but his writings; he has no more authority as a poet than a prophet has honour in his own country.² At times he fixes on the walls of Venus' temple his arms and his useless lyre (*Regina, sublimi flagello tange Chloen semel arrogantem*), but it is not long before he forgets the decisive step he has taken.³

Through his connexion with the Gramonts Hamilton became known to other circles. In January, 1701, the *Mercure Galant* printed the letter he had written in Gramont's name to the Duc de Berry.⁴ A letter likewise written in Gramont's name to Boileau first roused the latter's curiosity as to the person of the author, "*Quis novus hic vestris successit sedibus hospes?*" he asks of the Duc de Noailles who had forwarded the letter.⁵ And though Hamilton was never willing to have his works printed⁶ (nor would he have applied the term 'works' to his writings), he sent his friends manuscript copies of whatever struck him as a pretty piece of wit. Dangeau received a copy of one of his letters to Berwick which, unfortunately, has not come down to us and he writes back to say that the letter has been "*du goût de tous les honnêtes gens de Marli.*"⁷ To Madame de Caylus Hamilton sent a manuscript of *Le Béliet* and two other volumes of his compositions.⁸ Madame, mother of the Regent, was honoured in the same way.⁹ Madame de Maintenon was well enough acquainted

¹ *Œuvres*, III, p. 157.

² *Ib.*, p. 144.

³ *Ib.*, p. 302.

⁴ "*Je suis bien aise,*" the *Mercure* remarks to the reader, "*de vous pouvoir envoyer une copie de la lettre que vous avez tant envie de voir. Elle est extrêmement recherchée et votre curiosité s'accorde en cela avec celle de toute la cour.*"

⁵ Hamilton, *Œuvres*, III, p. 192.

⁶ Avis du Libraire, *Fleur d'Épine*, 1731.

⁷ Hamilton, *Œuvres*, III, p. 54.

⁸ Bibl. Nat., ms. fr. 32964, Nos. 357 and 358. These letters from Hamilton to Madame de Caylus have been printed in Du Bosq de Beaumont et Bernos, *La Cour des Stuarts à Saint-Germain en Laye*, but for some reason or other the authors have not reproduced the remark on *Le Béliet* which is a postscript to the second of the letters.

⁹ *Lettres*, II, pp. 110, 111.

with his writings to declare that a certain " Histoire de la Poupée " had not and could not have come from his pen.¹ A set of verses that Hamilton had sent to Coulanges in answer to some he had received, was copied out by Coulanges and forwarded to Madame de Grignan. " Eh bien, Madame, n'êtes-vous pas contente de cette réponse et ne mérite-t-elle pas bien que je vous l'envoie ? " ² A translation of the *Essay on Criticism* reached Pope, who with great exaggeration remarked that Hamilton's verses were no more translations of his than Virgil's were of Homer, but that they were " the justest imitation, and the noblest Commentary. " ³ Boileau and others received copies of his famous " Epistle to Gramont, " and the great critic, pleased by a flattering allusion to himself, wrote back that everything in the Epistle had struck him as " fin, spirituel, agréable et ingénieux " and that the one thing he objected to was its shortness.⁴ It is this Epistle, written in the end of 1704 or in the very beginning of 1705, that first won Hamilton a certain amount of celebrity. Complimentary letters in prose and in verse congratulated him on his achievement, and these letters, copied and circulated in turn, contributed as much to the renown of him who was their object as to the fame of the ingenious authors.

With this letter we are not far off from the *Mémoires de Grammont*, for Hamilton is here considering the question of leaving to posterity an account of the chevalier's exploits. The *Memoirs*, as we know, appeared in print in 1713, six years after Gramont's death, but they seem to have been written during his lifetime, viz. in 1705 or 1706.⁵ There is a well-known anecdote to the effect that it was Gramont himself who sold the manuscript for fifteen hundred francs, and that it was Gramont who, after complaining to the Lord Chancellor, forced the unwilling Fontenelle, at that time censor, to license the book. Duclos, who tells this story, assures us that he had it from Fontenelle himself.⁶ There is probably a certain amount of truth in it ; not that Gramont sold the manuscript which appeared only some

¹ Geffroy, *Madame de Maintenon d'après sa correspondance*, II, p. 148.

² Sévigné, *Lettres*, X, pp. 495, 496.

³ Pope, *Works* (London, Elwin and Courthope, 1886), X, p. 103.

⁴ Hamilton, *Œuvres*, III, p. 48.

⁵ Cf. p. 202 *infra*.

⁶ Duclos, *Œuvres* (Paris, 1821), III, p. 462.

time after his death, not that he obliged Fontenelle to give his consent, since the book appeared under the rubric of Cologne and so needed no licence, but it is quite possible that Gramont wished to have the book published and that Fontenelle uncompromisingly opposed its publication.

In any case, Gramont cannot have carried on his struggle with Fontenelle long. His health for some time past had been critical; twice he had been on the verge of death, in 1692 and again in 1702. His friends called these recoveries 'resurrections,' and remarked that he crossed and re-crossed Cocytus with more ease than they could cross a brook.¹ During his illness in 1692 the pious Countess had been in great distress about her husband's salvation, for no one could pretend that Gramont had much 'religion.'

Allait-il souvent à la Messe ?
Entendait-il vêpres, sermon ?
S'appliquoit-il à l'oraison ?
Il en laissoit le soin à la Comtesse.²

Madame de Gramont read to her husband, prayed with him and seems to have instructed the one-time Abbé, the Chevalier du Saint-Esprit, in the rudiments of religion; at least, if Saint-Simon and Madame may be believed. The latter, and she gives the Countess as her authority, relates that when the Countess read the passage where the Apostles abandon Christ, Gramont began to weep and said: "Oh, the traitors! But why did He choose out varlets as His followers and common people like fishermen? Why did He not rather have Himself attended by Gascon noblemen? They would never have abandoned or betrayed Him."³ The Countess was not the only one who thought of his salvation. Dangeau is sent by the King. "Gramont, il faut songer à Dieu," and Gramont, amused at so much solicitude, turns with difficulty to his wife, "Comtesse, si vous n'y prenez garde, Dangeau vous escamotera ma conversion!" His philosopher, Saint-Evremond, is so charmed by this remark that he exclaims: "Je voudrois être mort et avoir dit en mourant ce que vous avez dit dans l'agonie."⁴

¹ Hamilton, *Œuvres*, III, pp. 193, 197.

² Saint-Evremond, *Œuvres*, V, p. 192.

³ Madame, *Lettres*, I, p. 128; cf. Menagiana (Paris, 1715), III, p. 14.

⁴ Saint-Evremond, V, p. 198.

We do not know—to follow out Gramont's train of thought—whether the Countess or Dangeau was successful, but, in any case, Gramont adopted a kind of piety which seemed to satisfy his contemporaries. We find Fénelon wishing him a long and happy life since he seriously intends to make good use of it,¹ and Saint-Évremond, who hears the news from Ninon, believes his 'conversion' to be 'honest and sincere.'² Neither Saint-Évremond nor Ninon can be said to dwell in the House of God, or even in the outer courts; but in the opinion of Saint-Évremond and the men of his time it was a natural, one would almost say the correct, thing to retire after a long period of riotous and careless living and to prepare oneself to 'die well.' In December, 1706, Gramont had an attack of apoplexy and in the end of January he died, though one of his last and very characteristic remarks was, "Il n'y a que les sots qui meurent."³ He had attained the age of eighty-five, retaining his energy and spirits to the very end, the only old man who could not be called ridiculous, according to Ninon.

With Gramont there disappears from the scene one of the most extraordinary of the great King's courtiers, a man famed for his 'grand air,' his extravagance, his adventures in love, his success as a gamester, his unabashed shamelessness, his familiarity with the King, his insolence to the great at court, known above all for his gifts of repartee, for his wit more often charitable than otherwise. The author of the supposititious Letters of Waller and Saint-Évremond is not far from truth when he makes Gramont remark to Rochester that if he could by any means divest himself of one-half of his wit, the other half would make him the most agreeable man in the world.⁴ "Diseur de bon mot mauvais caractère," wrote La Bruyère, and the manuscript keys to his book at once named the Comte de Gramont as one of the men he had in mind.⁵ Gramont's wit pleased those

¹ *Correspondance*, VI, p. 258.

² *Œuvres*, V, p. 195.

³ Maintenon, *Lettres inédites*, I, pp. 69, 75.

⁴ *Letters supposed to have passed*, etc., I, p. 1.

⁵ La Bruyère, *Œuvres* (Ed. des Grands Écrivains), I, pp. 330, 533. Gramont's numerous bon mots are, as a rule, too well known to be repeated here. One does not come across the two following anecdotes quite so often.

"Le comte de Grammont voyant que Louis XIV ne donnoit aucun bénéfice à l'Abbé de Feuquières, son neveu, lui dit, 'Sire, j'avois toujours cru que l'Abbé de Feuquières homme d'une conduite à engager Votre

who were not its victims, and for the sake of his wit much was forgiven him. Madame de Sévigné remarks, "M. de Gramont . . . est en possession de dire toutes choses sans qu'on ose s'en fâcher."¹ None delighted more in his brilliance than Bussy, that kindred spirit. It is Bussy, by the way, who describes him as a very good friend but a terrible enemy.² That much at least can be said to the credit of Gramont that he never abandoned his friends; after his disgrace Fénelon wrote gratefully to the Countess, assuring her that he would always remember that the Count had not been ashamed of him and that he had openly confessed him before the courtiers of Marly.³

But if Gramont's friends considered him one of the most original and delightful of men, his enemies hated him with most excellent hatred. Of his enemies none was more bitter and virulent than Saint-Simon,⁴ and it is the most passionate dislike that has inspired the following portrait or series of portraits, though doubtless there is much truth in what he says. "Le Comte de Gramont étoit un vieux sacripant de cour et de monde et qui avoit honte bue sur

Majesté de penser à lui, mais comme votre choix est la récompense du mérite et qu'il n'est point encore tombé sur lui, je suis porté à croire qu'il est sans mérite. Si Votre Majesté l'oublie dans la première nomination, trouvez bon que je le fasse enfermer dans un Séminaire pour le reste de ses jours.' Louis XIV ouvrit les yeux sur cet Abbé et lui donna une bonne abbaye.

"La musique de Louis XIV exécutait le 'Miserere magnifique' de Lully. Le Roy étant à genoux y tenait toute sa cour. Il demanda à la fin du Pseaume au Comte de Grammont comment il trouvait la musique. 'Sire, dit le Comte, elle est fort douce à l'oreille, mais elle est bien rude aux genoux.'" (Amelot de la Houssaye, *Mémoires Historiques, Politiques, Critiques et Littéraires* (Amsterdam, 1738), III, pp. 336-337.)

¹ *Lettres*, IV, p. 12. "Jamais homme n'a été plus agréable," says an unknown writer (Bibl. Nat., ms. fr. 12618, p. 177). The contemporary annotator of the *Mémoires de Sourches* has a great admiration for Gramont. "Le caractère de son esprit le rendoit inimitable; il étoit toujours nouveau quoiqu'il plaisantoit depuis cinquante ans et plus; il ne disoit jamais les choses comme les autres et leur donnoit toujours un tour infiniment agréable; la moindre bagatelle devenoit en sa bouche une plaisanterie charmante par le sel dont il savoit l'accompagner, et cela si naturellement qu'il sembloit qu'on ne pouvoit pas le dire d'une autre manière, quoique personne ne le pût dire de même." (Sourches, III, p. 303.)

² *Lettres*, II, p. 312.

³ *Correspondance*, VI, p. 277.

⁴ Saint-Simon had been brought up in an atmosphere hostile to the court of Louis XIV, and a courtier of the type of Gramont could not but be distasteful to him. There was another, more personal, reason. Saint-Simon had suddenly left the army in the middle of a campaign; his conduct was viewed very disfavorably at court, and Gramont's merciless wit had not failed him on this occasion. (*Histoire Généalogique de la Maison de Gramont*, p. 241.)

tout. . . . C'étoit un homme de beaucoup d'esprit, mais de ces esprits de plaisanteries, de reparties, de finesse et de justesse à trouver le mauvais, le ridicule, le foible de chacun, de le peindre en deux coups de langue irréparables et ineffaçables, d'une hardiesse à le faire en public en présence et plutôt devant le roi qu'ailleurs, sans que mérite, grandeur, faveur et places en pussent garantir hommes ni femmes quelconques. A ce métier, il amusoit et il instruisoit le roi de mille choses cruelles, avec lequel il s'étoit acquis la liberté de tout dire,¹ jusque de ses ministres. C'étoit un chien enragé à qui rien n'échappait. Sa poltronnerie connue le mettoit au-dessous de toute suite de ses morsures. Avec cela escroc avec impudence et fripon au jeu à visage découvert, et joua gros toute sa vie, d'ailleurs prenant à toutes main et toujours gueux, sans que les bienfaits du Roi, dont il tira toujours beaucoup d'argent aient pu mettre tant soit peu à son aise. . . . Il attrapa les premières entrées chez le Roi à qui il se rendit agréable par son assiduité, ses bouffonneries et se montrer valet à tout faire. . . . Nulle bassesse ne lui coûtoit auprès des gens qu'il avait le plus déchirés lorsqu'il avoit besoin d'eux, prêt à recommencer dès qu'il en auroit eu ce qu'il en vouloit ; ni parole ni honneur en quoi que ce fût, jusque là qu'il faisoit mille contes plaisants de lui-même et qu'il tiroit gloire de sa turpitude. . . . Ce ne fut pas une légère tache à notre cour qu'un aussi publiquement malhonnête homme. C'étoit un homme à qui tout étoit permis et qui se permettoit tout. De ses dits et de ses faits, on en feroit des volumes, mais qui seroient déplorable

¹ "Le comte avait une grande liberté de langage et le Roi riait de tout ce qu'il disait ; le jour pourtant où il résolut le siège de Maestricht le Roi demeura stupéfait de sa franchise. C'étoit à Tongres ; le Roi avait pendant trois heures conféré avec Louvois, qui l'avoit indisposé contre les courtisans parce que ceux-ci, à toutes les entreprises trouvaient quelque chose à rédire. Le Roi, venant s'asseoir à table avec les principaux courtisans qui ont coutume, en campagne de partager ses repas, déclara d'un ton assez dur, qu'il avait résolu le siège de Maestricht, qu'il n'avait cure des criailleries des courtisans et qu'il ne se souciait nullement de leurs personnes. Il revint à la charge, disant qu'il n'avait que du mépris pour eux ; tous se tenaient silencieux et tremblants lorsque le Comte de Gramont, se levant de table et mettant chapeau bas riposta : 'Sire, les courtisans sont pauvres ; ils sont les premiers de vos sujets ; c'est sur eux que tombe tout le mal. Ils dorment sur la terre, s'exposent, biens et personnes, pour le service de Votre Majesté, ne disent rien qui ne soit dans votre intérêt ; ils ne ressemblent pas à ceux qui viennent de s'entretenir avec Votre Majesté ; ceux-là dorment dans de bons lits, ne courent aucun risque, bien plus, ils sont tout couverts d'or et d'argent.' Le Roi ne souffla mot et tous les courtisans coururent embrasser le comte." (Primi Visconti, *Mémoires*, pp. 52-53.)

si on en rétranchoit l'effronterie, les saillies et souvent la noirceur. Avec tous ces vices sans mélanges d'aucun vestige de vertu, il avoit débelle la cour et la tenoit en respect et en crainte : aussi se sentit-elle délivré d'un fléau que le Roi favorisa et distingua toute sa vie. . . . Son visage étoit celui d'un vieux singe."¹

At Versailles it was supposed that the Countess would not feel great grief at the death of a husband who certainly had not numbered constancy among his virtues. His brother-in-law closes his *Mémoires* by remarking that Gramont at last received Mademoiselle Hamilton as the reward of a constancy which he had never known before or practised since. "On vous aura parlé sans doute de mes amours en ce pays-ci," writes Gramont on one occasion from England to Lionne, long after his marriage.² A chanson alluding to Gramont's love affairs is explained by the following naïve note : "It is impossible to know with whom the Comte de Gramont was in love at the time, for he is such an extraordinary man that perhaps he did not know himself."³ At the same time he was a most jealous husband. The Countess once confessed to the Abbé Primi Visconti that he was the only man the Count did not suspect. He would come home suddenly and unexpectedly ; when he was supposed to be away playing at 'brelan,' he would be in hiding behind a door or occasionally, in a fit of jealousy, he would carry off his wife to his country house in Béarn.⁴ The Countess seems to have borne it all with great dignity ; Saint-Simon says that she joined a wifely dutifulness and respect to the perfect knowledge of her husband's misdeemeanours and 'misères,' and a most sincere contempt for them.⁵

¹ Saint-Simon, XIV, pp. 262-268, 470-472 (Additions to Dangeau, IV, p. 206, and XI, p. 293). English editors of the *Mémoires de Grammont* have sometimes credited Dangeau with the remarks that Saint-Simon scrawled on the margin of Dangeau's journal. Dangeau is made to say of Gramont, "Son visage étoit celui d'un vieux singe." The excellent Dangeau—Saint-Simon finds his journal "d'une fadeur à faire vomir"—was incapable of any such highly coloured and uncharitable statement.

² Aff. Etr., *Corr. Pol. d'Angleterre*, 99, f. 246, July 12th, 1670.

³ Bibl. Nat. ms., fr. 12618, p. 177.

⁴ Primi Visconti, *Mémoires*, pp. 52-53, 137. Cf. p. 54, where the following explanation is given of the Count's jealousy : "Alors que la comtesse sa femme étoit encore à Londres, il l'avait trouvée si facile, avant même qu'il ne l'eût épousée, qu'il la supposait plus facile encore pour les autres."

⁵ *Mémoires*, XVI, pp. 73, 501.

But after the death of her husband those who knew her were amazed to see how downcast and discouraged she was for a while. Her ill-health added to the depression of her spirits; she was constantly in tears, the fear of death weighed heavily upon her, she thought herself abandoned by her friends; in short, as Madame de Maintenon remarked, her strength of character and her English courage seemed to have failed her completely.¹ She lived alone and intended to retire altogether from court, but the King would not hear of it.² When she reappeared at Versailles, the well-informed hinted mysteriously that the Countess had come back for certain reasons, and those who wished Madame de Maintenon to think them her friends, insinuated that the widow had certain 'pretensions.'³ Her ill-health, however, increased and she died in June of the next year, 1708, after two months of great suffering which she endured with no little courage and piety, so Madame de Maintenon herself tells us.⁴

Even before her death many had been anxious to secure Pontalie. The day after she died Pontalie was given to the Maréchal d'Harcourt and her rooms at Versailles to the Duc de Villeroy.⁵ One favourite disappears and there are twenty ready to fill the vacant space. A fleeting thought is given to those who disappear and the place wherein they dwelt knows them no more.

¹ *Lettres inédites*, I, p. 106. "On n'auroit pas cru autrefois," writes the Princesse des Ursins in reply, "que M. son mari eût pu si fort contribuer à sa consolation." (*Ib.*, III, p. 464.)

² Saint-Simon, XVI, p. 73.

³ "J'aurois de la peine," writes Madame de Maintenon to the Princesse des Ursins, "à vous écrire toutes les sottises qu'on lui imputait [à la Comtesse de Gramont], qui se réduisent pourtant à attendre ma mort avec impatience pour remplir ma place. Elle auroit pu l'envisager depuis quatre jours que j'ai eu une très violente fièvre." (*Lettres inédites*, I, pp. 142-143; cf. pp. 123-124.)

⁴ *Ib.*, p. 266. She seems to have passed through deep waters. "Elle avoit toujours vécu," we read in the *Mercurie Galant* for July (pp. 302-303), "d'une manière qui devoit empêcher qu'elle appréhendât les approches de la mort; cependant elle a fait connaître que les plus justes la doivent craindre dans ces terribles moments."

⁵ *Lettres inédites*, I, p. 265; Souches, XI, p. 93.

CHAPTER X

1706-1719

THE END

THE year in which Madame de Gramont died was an important one for the Jacobites of Saint-Germain. 'James III' had attained his majority in June, 1706, and the one great desire of the young king was to go to Scotland, though Louis was against the plan. In the end Louis gave in to public opinion,¹ and six thousand men were given to the Pretender, as his enemies now began to call him. Forbin was chosen to command the fleet and the Duke of Perth, Middleton, Skelton, Richard Hamilton and a few other English officers accompanied James to Dunkirk in March, 1708. According to Saint-Simon Anthony Hamilton also took part in the expedition, but Dangeau's *Journal* and Souches' *Memoirs* only mention Richard Hamilton, the oldest of the lieutenants-general.²

The ill-luck of the Stuarts attended them. After hindrances and difficulties of all kinds, including the ill-health of the King, they embarked on the 17th of March. Near the Firth of Forth they beheld a large number of English battleships, and Forbin, anxious to save his fleet, put out to sea again, in spite of all that Perth, Richard Hamilton and the other English officers could say or do. He would neither land James at Edinburgh nor sail to Inverness, as it was proposed he should do, but returned to France. James seems to have been the victim of the

¹ "Jamais entreprise n'a eu un si général applaudissement que celle-là . . . depuis M. le dauphin jusqu'au dernier galopin de la cour et aux harengères de la halle de Paris, tout vouloit qu'on allât en Ecosse." (Main-tenon, *Lettres inédites*, I, p. 243.)

² Cf. Luttrell, *Relation of State Affairs*, VI, p. 252. Besides the French general officers on board he has with him four of his own country, viz. Dorrington, Richard Hamilton, Skelton and Galmahoy.

jealousy existing between Pontchartrain and Chamillart, and the lack of zeal on Forbin's part ; moreover, if Saint-Simon is to be believed, Middleton's loyalty was not above suspicion. Forbin's *Memoirs* read like the apologia of a man anxious to prove that the expedition could not possibly succeed and who at the outset had remarked that the utmost they could hope for was to return in safety.¹

The despondency at Saint-Germain was indescribable. Mary of Modena, usually so brave, could not keep from sobbing when she attempted to speak.² She now wrote to Louis, asking him whether her son might enter his service and take part in this campaign, because, she said, she had heard that the Duke of Marlborough had remarked men were astonished in England that the Prince had not yet been to the army.³ Permission was granted ; the Chevalier de St. George served that year under the Duc de Bourgogne and was present at Oudenarde.⁴ Richard Hamilton accompanied him, and when Hamilton left Saint-Germain, the Queen entreated him to have every care of his young master. " In the dreadfull expectation wee are in of a battle," she writes on the 1st of September, " i can not say anything to you but coniure you to remember your promise to me not to quit the King one step in a day of action and also to tell him frankly and positively what is fitt for him to do, for he has promised the King of France and me at parting that he would upon such occasions do what you and Mr. Sheldon should advise, i relye extremely upon your judgment."⁵

The year following, 1709, accompanied by Richard Hamilton, Middleton and Sheldon, James again joined the army of Flanders, under Villars, and it was reported that the English had seen him at Malplaquet and were delighted with him and that Marlborough had drunk his health.⁶

¹ See St. Simon, XV ; Dangeau, XII ; Souches, XI ; Forbin, *Mémoires* ; Berwick, *Mémoires* ; Colbert (Torcy), *Journal, Mercure*, April, 1708, etc.

² Maintenon, *Lettres inédites*, I, 240.

³ Aff. Etr., *Mémoires et Documents, Angleterre*, Vol. XXIV, f. 108.

⁴ Berwick, *Mémoires*, p. 405.

⁵ B.M., Add. MSS. 18966, f. 7. The letter from which this and the following quotations are taken is given in full in Appendix VII, pp. 296-297.

⁶ Dangeau, XII, p. 434 ; Maintenon, *Lettres inédites*, I, p. 465. See also a *Lettre circulaire de la mère supérieure de la Visitation de Sainte-Marie* [de Chaillot], dated Chaillot, Oct. 30th, 1712, p. 6. "... Le tems de la célèbre et malheureuse bataille de Malplaquet. Comme Sa Majesté étoit en ce monastère avec la Princesse on luy manda que le Roy son fils,

In 1710 he left 'for the wars' in May, 'with much good will and very little health,'¹ to serve again under Villars, and the poor mother, before she retired to Chaillot to spend her time praying for her son's safety, recommended him earnestly to Hamilton's care and made him promise that he would write regularly to let her know how the King was. "The tre of the 10 brings news," she writes on the 12th of July to Hamilton, "that the enemys were marching and that if they will com to Arras ther must be a battle, wher i know the King will be, if he be able, and i praise him for it, but at the same time you can not but beleeve that my poor heart akes, I putt all my confidence in God who has given him to me and i hope in his mercie he will preserve him; after that i put my trust in you that you will be close to him and let him do no more than is fitt for him as you promised me when you took leave of me."²

This campaign was known as "the King's Third Campaign," and as in the preceding one, the English saw the young Chevalier de St. George. One morning when James was out riding with Richard Hamilton and Charles Booth, a groom of the Bedchamber, they came across a group of their own soldiers talking to the enemy across the river. Charles Booth and Hamilton rode forward and finding several English and Scots among the enemy, they inquired after their friends, and Hamilton sent his services to Marlborough and 'Lord George.'³ Then Hamilton showed them the King who was on the bank of the river.⁴ The King's health continued to be far from satisfactory, so, in August, Hamilton wrote to the Queen "the naked truth of the King's condition," and the Queen at once despatched her

qui avoit la fièvre tierce s'étoit fait porter au camp pour se trouver au combat. . . . Son Altesse Royale pleurait sans cesse, mais elle prioit en même temps sans relache. Deux jours après l'on seut que le Roy s'étant exposé en personne au plus grand feu de cette sanglante journée en étoit sorti glorieusement."

¹ Maintenon, *Lettres inédites*, II, p. 66.

² B.M., Add. MSS., 18966, f. 3.

³ Lord George Hamilton, no doubt, a lieutenant-general under Marlborough.

⁴ This is the incident which Thackeray describes in *Esmond*. "'There's a friend of yours, gentlemen, yonder,'" Thackeray makes Hamilton remark. "'He bids me say he saw some of your faces on the 11th of September last.' . . . We knew at once who it was. It was the King, then two-and-twenty years old, tall and slim, with deep brown eyes that looked melancholy though his lips wore a smile. We took off our hats and saluted him. (*Esmond* (Nelson's New Century Library), pp. 383-385.) Cf. Macpherson, *Original Papers*, II, p. 171.

surgeon to examine the King. His report reassured her, but she wrote and thanked Hamilton for writing so openly: "it is a satisfaction to me to have from you an account of the King, becaus i dare count upon it to be literally trew and that is what i would have, and for which and your having done it so constantly in this his last illnesse, i can never thank you enough, but i am sure i shall never forgett it."¹

In 1711 James spent the summer travelling in France, and Richard Hamilton doubtless accompanied him. In 1712 his health once more gave the Queen great cause for anxiety; he suffered from an attack of small-pox, but recovered happily; the Princess, his sister, however, died, and with her went the joy of St. Germain. Well might James write to the Pope, "*Nostrum inter tantas fortunæ angustias præcipuum decus periit et gaudium.*"² His illness delayed his departure from France on which the English were now insisting, but it was understood that as soon as he was well enough he would leave the country. Even his friends were anxious that he should go so that a conclusion of peace, which necessarily preceded any movement in his favour, might be brought about. He went to Châlons in September and spent the greater part of the winter there. Richard Hamilton, as the Master of the Robes,³ was one of those who accompanied him, but in the end of February, 1713, the French court saw Hamilton suddenly return to Saint-Germain while James went on to Bar in Lorraine. The Queen allowed him to occupy his old rooms at the palace and to retain his office, but as a matter of fact he was no longer in the service of the King. The reasons for his dismissal were not made public.⁴

What had happened was, briefly, this: Secret negotiations with England had been going on all the time, but in the very end of 1712 the Abbé Gaultier gave James to understand that he must part with his Secretary of State, for as long as Middleton remained with him, his friends in England would hesitate about disclosing their plans.⁵ Richard Hamilton was suggested as a suitable substitute. Both

¹ B.M., Add. MSS. 18966, f. 1.

² *Hist. MSS. Comm.*, Stuart Papers at Windsor, I, p. 244.

³ *Ib.*, p. 162.

⁴ Dangeau, XIV, pp. 129, 217, 349.

⁵ Salomon, *Geschichte des letzten Ministeriums Königin Annas von England*, p. 189.

James and the Duke of Berwick were under the impression that these proposals emanated from a cabal whose sole object was to raise Hamilton at the expense of Middleton, Gaultier being a great friend of the Hamiltons.¹ Father Innes writing from Paris in January to Middleton says: "I was never more surprised than when the Queen showed me some letters the King had sent her about Mr. Massey [Middleton], and the more I think of it the more I am convinced, that villainy must proceed originally either from the Irish, to remove one they generally look upon as none of their friends, and to make way for one of their friends, or else that it is a trick of the Whig's invention to ruin Jonathan [the King] by insinuating a correspondence with them to give jealousy to the other party."² Middleton expressed himself quite ready to go, but the Queen did not wish to hear of his leaving and James was most reluctant. He desired Torcy to find out through some channel other than Gaultier what Oxford and the English Jacobites really thought of Middleton, and finally, as a proof of his confidence in Oxford, he requested the latter to send him from England a person worthy of their confidence, to act as his adviser if Middleton must really go, Hamilton being out of the question for such a post.³ As for Hamilton, he was, as we have seen, dismissed for having attempted to get Middleton removed. In a letter the Queen calls him "the troublesome hero of this disagreeable scene," and remarks that the King is very sensible how much he was mistaken in this man.⁴

Torcy now wrote to Gaultier that the departure of M. Hamilton must not lessen the forwarding of the King's affairs, but that Gaultier must address himself directly to him.⁵ Hamilton's disgrace did not, however, make Middleton more popular, for the Jacobites in England

¹ *Ib.*, p. 328. The editor of the calendar of Stuart Papers (*Hist. MSS. Comm.*), referring in Vol. I, p. xliii to Salomon, translates inaccurately that "James wrote to M. de Torcy from Châlons, suspecting that Berwick was caballing in favour of Hamilton."

² Macpherson, *Original Papers*, II, pp. 371-372.

³ Salomon, pp. 328-329. He writes with some bitterness, "Ceux qui donnent à entendre qu'ils sont de mes amis attendent de moi une confiance aveugle . . . me tiennent dans une ignorance profonde, veulent ôter la seule personne autour de moi qui mérite et qui possède ma confiance, et me privent de tout conseil."

⁴ Macpherson, II, p. 382.

⁵ *Hist. MSS. Comm.*, Stuart Papers, I, p. 256.

"feared an ill character of Mr. Philips" [Middleton], because he was the cause of Mr. Hamilton's leaving Mr. Jenkins [the King].¹ Nor were all convinced of Hamilton's guilt; Berwick again and again assured James that he could not without certain proof suspect a man who for these sixty years past had always borne the character of an honest man² and subsequent correspondence revealed that Gaultier had not misrepresented things in Hamilton's favour when he insisted on the distrust with which the English Jacobites regarded Middleton. As Innes suggests, many probably thought that Mr. Massey [Middleton] had contributed to the King's being so firm in his religion and for that reason wished him removed.³ A Jacobite agent remarked to Lord Newcastle that "people in England were loth to shew themselves or venture any thing whilst he—the King—had so ill advisers," and Lord Newcastle realised that he was alluding to Middleton, "since he changed his religion, they had not soe good an opinion of him."⁴ The Duchess of Buckinghamshire wrote to her brother, the Duke of Berwick, to ask whether it was really true that Hamilton was no longer with James and why he had left him, adding that the Protestant Jacobites were very much displeased, because they could not suffer Mylord Middleton.⁵ Even Torcy became convinced that the only motive which actuated Hamilton's partisans was distrust of Middleton.⁶ It would therefore seem that James dismissed Hamilton somewhat rashly from his service, though doubtless Hamilton had by no means opposed the cabal formed against Middleton; the prospect of becoming Secretary of State cannot but have been a pleasant one to him.

Two years later when Richard Hamilton wished to go to Ponthey in Lorraine, to visit his niece, he had humbly to ask permission of James through the Duke of Berwick, promising not to pass through Bar, James's residence, nor even to be at Ponthey when James went to the waters of Plombières.⁷ In the rising of 1715 he had no part. In 1716

¹ Macpherson, II, p. 425.

² *Hist. MSS. Comm.*, Stuart Papers, I, p. 258.

³ Macpherson, II, pp. 371-372.

⁴ *Ib.*, p. 377.

⁵ Stuart Papers, I, 260.

⁶ *Ib.*

⁷ *Ib.*, pp. 350-351.

he was beck at St. Germain, where there devolved upon him the sad task of conducting the body of the Duke of Perth to the Collège des Ecossais.¹ One by one the lights were going out. Louis had died the year before. The Hamiltons were considered 'vieille cour' and old-fashioned. Anthony Hamilton's health had begun to fail; he probably suffered from gout, like his friends Chaulieu, La Fare and Coulanges. Already in 1713 Berwick had remarked: "I wonder M. Antony [*sic*] Hamilton will still be rambling, his age and infirmitys should induce him to be quiet somewhere with his friends."² But the Hamiltons had scarcely any friends or relatives left and the pleasure of 'rambling' was surely a most innocent one in a life that was becoming very dreary. No doubt Berwick could not help nourishing some resentment against the man who had described his mother as "cette haridelle de Churchill."³

The poverty of the exiles was worse than ever. The pensions they depended on were often not forthcoming. "Saint-Germain is dying of hunger," the poor Queen was heard to exclaim in great agitation to the nuns at Chaillot. The great palace was half empty, many had gone to England, others had joined the Chevalier de St. George at Bar; the town, however, was full of starving Irish.⁴ Ever since the death of her daughter and the departure of her son the Queen had forsaken Saint-Germain, dwelling with the nuns, and only returning reluctantly with tears and sighs to the 'frightful solitude' when pressure was brought to bear upon her and when she remembered that in the interest of her son her presence there from time to time was necessary.⁵ We have one more letter from Hamilton written to the Duke of Berwick in 1716—eight years after the last of the letters from which quotations have been made, a letter which has little or none of the badinage and the familiarity of his earlier epistles. Berwick had been appointed governor of the province of Guyenne and had gone

¹ Dulon, *Jacques Stuart*, p. 93.

² Stuart Papers, I, p. 267.

³ Hamilton, *Œuvres*, I, p. 337. The *Memoirs* appeared in print in 1713, but had been circulated in manuscript some time already.

⁴ Du Boscq de Beaumont, *La Cour des Stuarts*, pp. 339, 352 (Memorial de Chaillot).

⁵ "Elle y est accablée de la misère, quelquefois des reproches de tout ce qui l'environne," writes Mme de Maintenon. (*Lettres inédites*, II, p. 411; cf. III, p. 8 and the Memorial de Chaillot quoted in Du Boscq de Beaumont.)

to Bordeaux.¹ "Je n'attendois que la nouvelle de votre heureuse arrivée pour vous en féliciter," says Hamilton, "mais comment m'y prendre ? C'est l'usage, pour ces sortes de compliments, d'emprunter le langage des vers, et je n'en sais plus faire, il faut être de bonne humeur pour cela : et trouve-t-on ici de quoi s'y mettre depuis votre départ ; ici où l'on ne respire que par habitude, et non pour jouir de la vie ; où l'on aime sans succes, où l'on rime sans raison, et où l'on se marie sans savoir pourquoi ?

Le solitaire Saint-Germain
Jadis passablement fertile
À produire un couplet badin
Et quelquefois un peu malin,
N'est plus à présent que l'asile
D'un ennui qui n'a point de fin,
Et de ce loisir inutile
Qui pèse plus que le chagrin."²

Hamilton wrote very rarely now ; almost all his writings are prior to 1712 ;³ those for whom he had composed were either dead or had left. The two brothers were now living in such poverty that Richard Hamilton at last decided in 1716 or early in 1717 to go and live with his niece, the Abbess of Poussay, so as not to die of hunger. Saint-Simon, who relates this, says that the niece, Marie Elizabeth de Gramont, was very poor herself, but not quite as badly off as her uncle, to whom she was able to offer a shelter for his last days. He died in December, 1717.⁴ Saint-Simon,

¹ Berwick, *Mémoires*, p. 445. It is through the allusion to this event that the letter can be dated.

² *Œuvres*, III, p. 134.

³ His works can usually be dated through references to persons or current events ; to the Princess, who died in 1712 ; to the Gramonts who died in 1707 and 1708 ; to Pontalie, which belonged to Madame de Gramont from 1703-1708 ; to Viscountess Clare who married Lord O'Mahony in 1712 and left Saint-Germain for Spain (Dangeau, XIV, p. 158). Berwick's *Memoirs* and the *Divertissemens de Seaux* (printed in 1712) give further clues.

⁴ Dangeau, XVII, p. 216. One wonders whether Hamilton in his poverty remembered a letter he had sent to the garrison of Londonderry : " Yet if so wonderful a Deliverance should attend you, your Rewards notwithstanding will be uncertain and future Interest will always be prized beyond past merit. Eaten Bread is commonly forgotten and former Services are too often swallowed up in Oblivion, especially if there be no future Expectation from those that performed them. So that all the assurances you depend upon will vanish into the Air and the Result of all your Hardships will only be the Repetition of this miserable proverb. We have our Labours for Our Pains." (*Proposals made by Lieutenant-*

remembering the brothers vaguely traces a portrait, as he supposes, of Richard. Unfortunately, he confuses Anthony and Richard and in what follows the greater part applies to Anthony: "C'étoit un homme de beaucoup d'esprit, qui savoit, qui amusoit, qui avoit des grâces et beaucoup d'ornement dans l'esprit, qui avoit eu une très aimable figure et beaucoup de bonnes fortunes en Angleterre et en France où la catastrophe du roi Jacques II l'avoit ramené. Il avoit servi avec distinction et la Comtesse de Gramont, sa sœur, l'avoit initié dans les compagnies les plus choisies; mais elles ne lui procurèrent aucune fortune, pas même le moindre abri à la pauvreté. Il étoit catholique et sa sœur l'avoit mis dans une grande piété, qui l'avoit fait renoncer aux dames pour qui il avoit souvent fait de très jolis vers et des historiettes élégantes."¹ This is obviously a composite picture of the author of *Fleur d'Épine* and *Le Béliet* and of the lover of the Princesse de Conti.

What Saint-Simon says of the latter-day piety of Richard Hamilton is certainly also true of Anthony. His sister's influence, indirectly the influence of Port Royal, does not seem to have made itself felt at once and some of the elegant stories and verses were written after her death. But a change was coming over him. Shortly after his seventieth birthday he wrote a curious and long-winded poem, *De l'Usage de la Vie dans la Vieillesse*. It is no longer Horace he quotes, but the Psalms of David.

Je dois . . .
Après avoir su long temps vivre
Essayer d'apprendre à mourir.²

In this respect Hamilton is still of the seventeenth century. He belongs to that generation of men who aimed, not at holy living, but at holy dying, or at least at decorous dying. The *savoir-vivre* of the honnête-homme included the *savoir-mourir*. He not only lived gallantly but died unamazed. Hamilton, therefore, in a leisurely fashion plans out the use of his old age. Before he becomes too infirm, he will meditate on the manner of concluding one's life, on what man is

General Hamilton to the garrison of Londonderry Together with a Copy of the Report of the Commissioners appointed by the Honourable House of Commons, the First Session of this Parliament, 1705.)

¹ *Mémoires*, XIV (éd. Chérue), pp. 210-211.

² *Œuvres*, III, p. 303.

and on what man ought to be ; before his mind begins to give way he will prepare the account he must render his Master ; but, above all, he will strive to bear his old age with dignity. The great fear of him who had so mercilessly ridiculed others, is to appear ridiculous in the eyes of the world. Few people, he contends, know how to be old, and when the time comes, instead of preparing for the last hour in some retreat, they still drag about the world and force their weary presence on those who would fain be done with them, on those, in short, who wonder that they "will still be rambling" when their age and their infirmities should induce them to be quiet somewhere with their friends.

There is another of these semi-religious poems, the *Réflexions*, and while one can hardly agree with Sir Walter Scott,¹ who sees no diminution of Hamilton's powers in these poems, one cannot but be interested in them as documents humains. The *Réflexions* are even more pronounced in their tendency than the *Usage de la Vie dans la Vieillesse*. If Hamilton's works were to be classified, according to the spirit that pervades them, we should have two classes, the one utterly different from the other, and the second class would include only the two poems just mentioned. And the difference is not because on the one hand we have the works of youth and on the other the works of crabbed age ; ten years at most lie between the *Mémoires de Grammont* and the religious poems and never was there a greater contrast.

Grâce au ciel ! je respire enfin
 Au bord fatal du précipice
 Où m'avaient entraîné le désordre et le vice
 Qui règnent dans le cœur humain ;
 Le Sauveur m'a tendu la main,
 Et j'ai senti cette bonté propice
 Qu'on n'invoque jamais en vain.²

All the vain things of this earth are abjured and principally the things that charmed him most. Quietly and calmly Hamilton awaited the end. The Queen died in May 1718. The little court was now altogether without a member of the Royal Family. Some of the exiles went to other countries and some withdrew to the shelter of religious

¹ In the Preface to the edition of the *Mémoires de Grammont* printed in 1812.

² *Œuvres*, III, pp. 308-311.

houses. A few ladies still remained at Saint-Germain, piously cherishing the memory of their Queen, lighting evening after evening, so it is said, the candles on her dressing-table. Hamilton died on the 21st of April, 1719, aged seventy-four, and was buried next day in the parish church of Saint-Germain.¹ His cousins, John Nugent and Richard Butler, together with a priest and another Englishman, saw him to his grave.² His death is passed over in silence by the indefatigable Dangeau, and Saint-Simon, as we have seen, has so vague a recollection of the date that in his *Memoirs* he confuses it with the date of Richard Hamilton's death. In a few cases the tombstones of the Jacobites buried in the church have been found,³ but nothing remains to us of Anthony Hamilton, no tablet to his memory, no trace of an epitaph that sums up the story of a long life.

We know him best in his old age. From an engraving made late in life, and for long supposed to be the only likeness in existence, we carry away the impression of a well-featured, refined face under the flowing wig, of calm eyes that bend a penetrating gaze from beneath the shaggy eyebrows, of a well-shaped nose and a very firm, somewhat sensual, mouth, round which there ever lurked a mocking smile—Voltaire's words, "Il était fort satirique," come back to our mind. His own writings and the remarks of his contemporaries show him far advanced in life, a man of taste and culture, gifted with an exquisite sense of the ridiculous which went with a certain incapacity for reverence, a man whom the vicissitudes of a chequered career

¹ Acte de décès, *Registres paroissiaux de Saint-Germain, année 1719*, f. 31. In some early English editions of the *Memoirs* the date of Hamilton's death is given as August 6th, 1720, but in practically all other authorities from the 'notice' printed in the 1731 edition downwards, the date appears as April 21st, 1720. In 1878 the question of the date was raised in the *Intermédiaire des Chercheurs* [1878, p. 741; 1879, pp. 25 and 48], but as no direct reference was made to the parish registers, April 21st, 1720, was accepted. M. Dulon in his *Jacques Stuart, sa Famille et les Jacobites de Saint-Germain*, pp. 103-104, quoting from the registers, once more drew attention to the fact that the date was always given incorrectly, and M. de Boislisle in his edition of Saint-Simon, XIV, p. 562, and M. Kissenberth in his *Antoine d'Hamilton, sein Leben und seine Werke*, have availed themselves of his information. M. Kissenberth prints the Acte de décès in full (p. 43). Cf. the *Ancien Etat Civil de Paris* (Bibl. Nat., nouv. acq., fr. 3618, ff. 4070-4071), where the correct date is given. C. E. Lart's *Jacobite Registers*, II, p. 73, only gives the date of the 'inhumation,' viz. April 22nd, 1719.

² Acte de décès.

³ Dulon, op. cit.

had stripped of every illusion and in whom unusual opportunities for witnessing the instability of human institutions had produced a cynical contempt for humanity and an attitude of frivolous levity to life that was so futile; a 'connaisseur en matière de femmes,' who united with the most graceful gallantry towards the fair sex, a perfect and merciless knowledge of its weaknesses; an aristocrat for whom the bourgeoisie was a 'foule ignoble' and the poorer classes a 'populace incompréhensible';¹ an exile, proud with the pride of poverty, though naturally modest and of a retiring disposition, haughty with his equals when it pleased him to be haughty, "gens d'un caractère un peu méprisant," he describes himself and his kind, "mais aussi fort méprisés ici,"² spare of utterance, taciturn at times like other great wits before him, easily irritated by the mediocrity of his fellow-men and so not altogether popular, nor did he aim at popularity, and when all is said, he was a foreigner and had a "bon coin de singularité," as Saint-Simon expresses it, to which he alludes again when he says that Hamilton and his brother were 'aimables mais particuliers.'³ And so he has come down to us through the ages, a somewhat enigmatical figure, overshadowed by him whose exploits he set himself to relate, amiable on the whole, but slightly eccentric and redoubtable, "Anthony, the most brilliant and most accomplished of all who bore the name of Hamilton."⁴

His two nieces, Claude Charlotte⁵ and Marie Elisabeth de Gramont,⁶ survived him till 1730 and 1735. Both of them had been maids of honour to the Dauphine and seem to have been worthy daughters of their father if Saint-Simon may be believed. He describes them as "fort dangereuses,

¹ *Œuvres*, II, p. 402; cf. a fragment of a letter quoted in Charavay, *Lettres autographes composant la collection de M. Alfred Bouct*, I, p. 413.

² *Œuvres*, III, p. 400.

³ Saint-Simon, XIV, p. 416; XVI, p. 501; cf. Voisenon, *Œuvres*, IV, p. 129; the biographical note in Vol. 37 of the *Cabinet des Fées*; and a kind of humorous self-portrait traced in Zeneyde, *Œuvres*, III, p. 411.

⁴ Macaulay, *History of England*, III, p. 243.

⁵ She died on the 22nd of May, 1739, in England. (Bib. Nat., *Pièces originales*, Vol. 1388, dossier Gramont 136.)

⁶ Born on Dec. 27th, 1667; baptised on May 26th, 1669; died on May 12th, 1735. (Bib. Nat., *Pièces originales*, Vol. 162, dossier 3664; Vol. 1388, dossier 136.)

fort du grand monde . . . avec de l'esprit comme deux démons, méchantes et galantes à l'avenant quoique fort laides."¹ Marie Elisabeth was made Abbess of Poussay in 1695 and led a life of great piety, though at the time of her election to office the King was at first unwilling to ratify the choice because she had introduced "des sentiments de libertinage sur le sujet de la religion" at court.² Horace Walpole, always interested in anything that concerned Gramont and his relatives, tells us that she was ten times more vain of the blood of Hamilton than of an equal amount of the blood of Gramont, "to the great scandal," he adds delightedly, "of the ambassadress," Madame de Mirepoix, from whom he gleaned this story.³ Claude Charlotte married in 1694 "un vilain Mylord Stafford," very much older than she. He died about the same time as Anthony Hamilton. The marriage was not a happy one and husband and wife soon separated. His will, dated February 2nd, 1699-1700, is an extraordinary document. "I give to the worst of women except being a . . ., who is guilty of all Ills, the daughter of Mr. Grammont, a Frenchman who I have unfortunately married, five and forty brass half-pence, which will by her a pullet to supper, a greater sune than her father can often make her, for I have known when he had neither money nor credit for such a purchase, being the worst of men and his wife the worst of women in all Debaucheries, had I known their character, I had never married their daughter nor made myselfe unhappy."⁴

Lady Stafford was a chosen friend of Lady Mary Wortley Montague, who used to say that Lady Stafford knew her better than anybody else in the world.⁵ Walpole remem-

¹ *Mémoires*, XVI, pp. 73, 502.

² *Ib.*, p. 75; Dangeau, V, p. 140; Archives Nationales MM. 825, f. 60 (quoted by M. Boislisle in his notes to Saint-Simon, XVI, p. 75).

³ *Letters*, III, p. 65.

⁴ *Westminster Abbey Registers* (Harleian Soc. Publ., 1875), pp. 295-296.

⁵ *Letters* (Everyman's edition, 1906), p. 417; cf. p. 241. "My Lady Stafford set out towards France this morning and has carried half the pleasure of my life with her." It is sometimes said (e.g. Cunningham, *Story of Nell Gwyn*, p. 211, *Encyclopedia Britannica*, article Hamilton) that Hamilton used to write to Lady Mary in Lady Stafford's name. There seems to be no foundation for this statement. Lady Mary is never mentioned in Hamilton's correspondence, nor does Lady Mary ever speak of Hamilton. The various MSS. collections of Lady Mary's letters contain no letters from Hamilton. I owe this information to the kindness of Miss E. M. Symonds. (George Paston, author of *Lady Mary Wortley Montague and her Times*.)

bered having seen her when he was quite a child, "she used to live at Twickenham when Mary Wortley and the Duke of Wharton lived there too, she had more wit than both of them."¹

Of John Hamilton's daughter, Margaret Hamilton, we know nothing beyond the fact that she lived for a while with Marie Elisabeth de Gramont at Poussay and finally married a Comte de Marmier.²

¹ *Letters*, III, p. 65.

² Bib. Nat. ms. fr. 32964, f. 85; *Pièces originales*, Vol. 1472, No. 33357, f. 17 (*verso*).

PART II

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTORY

LORD DORSET and Lord Rochester," says Pope, "should be considered as holiday writers, as gentlemen that diverted themselves now and then with poetry, rather than poets." The same remark applies to Hamilton. He is what Walpole would call a 'noble author.' Literature was but an episode amongst many others in his career. He was averse to having his works appear in print;¹ with the accidental exception of the *Mémoires de Grammont* none of his works were published till long after his death. He is not a professional writer; he is a courtier and a soldier, whereas the author is a bourgeois and to be patronized. He writes en homme de qualité like Bussy before him and the Prince de Ligne after him, and l'homme de qualité differs as an author from l'homme de lettres in that he is under no obligation to write and to write well; he does it gracefully and naturally like everything else, but there can be no question of effort or zeal on his part. "Les gens de qualité," we know, "savent tout sans avoir jamais rien appris." And so Hamilton composes carelessly;² with an aristocratic

¹ Avis du Libraire, *Fleur d'Épine*, 1730.

² In *Le Béliar* much is left unexplained, we are not told, e.g., how the famous knife passes from Merlin's possession into that of the druid; in *Fleur d'Épine* it is not at all clearly brought out in what way Dinarzade's story reveals what has been going on in Schahriar's council and how Dinarzade fulfils her promise of making Schahriar acknowledge that he himself gave away the secret of the proceedings (*Œuvres*, II, pp. 3, 63-65). In *Les Quatre Facardins*, Hamilton forgets that he is making the Prince de Trébizonde tell a story, and from the first person he lapses into the third (II, 387); there are numerous geographical and historical inaccuracies, e.g. the kingdoms of Astracan and Bactriana are spoken of as having existed at the same time; the Atlas is an isolated mountain almost surrounded by the sea; the Red Sea takes the place of the Persian Gulf; in *L'Enchanteur Faustus*, Jane Shore is substituted for Eleanor of Guienne, Essex and Sidney figure as contemporary favourites of Elizabeth, etc.

disdain for anything that savours of the pedant¹ he deliberately sets himself free from the restraint of dates and order of events in his *Memoirs*; his verse is full of negligences, some of his works are unfinished, others deteriorate towards the end, but then he never thought much of his achievements. "De mauvais vers grand écrivain," he describes himself, and elsewhere he likens his poems to the madrigals of Trissotin. Apollo, he declares, has no very high opinion of him :

Mon pauvre Hamilton,
Vous n'êtes pas du Parnasse,
Et je vois à ces couplets
Que vous n'en serez jamais.²

He pretends to have had little to do with most of his works—Gramont himself dictates the *Mémoires*, *Le Béliet* is founded on some document discovered by Mabillon, *L'Enchanteur Faustus* was related to him by the Duke of Ormonde and is really taken from the *Memoirs* of Sir Philip Sidney, the *Relation d'une Partie de Chasse* comes from the pen of a member of the Academy of Clermont and so on.

In a writer of the type of Hamilton we shall not, of course, look for depth or sentiment, he is eminently a 'wit,' but he has considerable imagination, excellent powers of observation, an extraordinarily quick eye for the ridiculous, marked narrative skill, a certain faculty for rhyming in difficult metres and an even greater facility for imitating and parodying, be it *Amadis* or the *Arabian Nights*, Horace or Marot.³ He is, after all, in a certain limited sense, one of our Restoration writers and the age, as has been well said, is one of cleverness rather than genius.

There is, however, little in him that directly recalls his English origin—his faculty of self-ridicule perhaps and a certain dry humour which makes him say the most absurd things with imperturbable gravity. As a matter of fact, it is not so surprising, as some would have us believe, that he should have become a Frenchman for all practical purposes, and that he should write French with the greatest

¹ Cf. what Hamilton says about Scaliger and Casaubon, *Œuvres*, II, pp. 115-116.

² *Œuvres*, III, pp. 129, 190, 251, 372.

³ And to these may be added Benserade, Voiture, Jean de Lingendes, etc.

ease.¹ He lived in England and Ireland at three different times, it is true, but never for very long. At most he can have spent twenty-five or twenty-six years of his long life out of France (this includes the years of his early childhood) and we know that he lived to be seventy-four. Madame de Gramont and her brothers seem to have corresponded only in French.² Except for a curious elaborate little note quoted elsewhere, we have really nothing English from the pen of Hamilton.³ He is far more versed in French literature than in English. With the literature that preceded the Restoration he is, of course, not well acquainted; presumably it 'disgusted' him with the rest of that refined age, 'since His Majesty's being so long abroad.' He admires the Restoration poets, but apart from them he has no great opinion of English poetry.

Dans nos climats Phébus s'endort,
Les grâces sont mal habillées,
Et les neuf sœurs devers le Nord
Ne sont jamais fort éveillées.⁴

If Hamilton's literary position be examined closely, one is struck by the fact that he is both, as it were, an attardé of la bonne régence and a precursor of the Orléans regency. One can imagine him involved in the quarrel of the Uranistes and the Jobelins, contributing his share to the *Guirlande de Julie*, exchanging elaborate letters with Voiture and figuring in the *Grand Dictionnaire* as Le Chevalier Amilcar; one can just as well imagine him composing somewhat shallow *Lettres Persanes* or even *Le Sopha*, or, a score of

¹ "Il serait difficile de trouver chez lui le moindre anglicisme," says M. Bastide (*Anglais et Français du 17^e siècle*, p. 99). M. Gausseran is, however, of a different opinion (Preface to his edition of the *Mémoires*). "L'idiome maternel d'Hamilton se reconnaît à certaines traces. Il emploie volontiers supprimer pour réprimer: Il supprima son impétuosité naturelle; elle supprima une envie de rire. Squadron signifie à la fois escadron et escadre, aussi prend il l'un de ces deux mots pour l'autre: Le roi partit après un faucon et toute la brillante escadre après lui. Mais voici un exemple plus frappant, sans souci de notre syntaxe il écrit: Le roi laissait tout le monde en repos dans leur commerce. C'est le their anglais se rapportant à un nom collectif singulier."

² Bibl. Nat., ms. fr. 32965, f. 229.

³ We know that he once wrote some English verses in praise of Mlle de Nevers, but his first editor (1731, *Œuvres mêlées*) did not think it necessary to give them to a French public. He merely notes, "On a omis ici quelques vers anglois à la louange de cette demoiselle."

⁴ *Œuvres*, III, p. 384.

years later, calling with Walpole upon Madame du Deffand. He scarcely seems to belong to the reign of Louis le Grand. Writing in his old age he still follows the authors he admired in his boyhood; writing at a time when the piety and decorum of Versailles cast a shadow on all things, he suggests the levity and the disbelief of the eighteenth century. He is far removed from the grave beauty and noble simplicity of the classical age. An elegant trifler, his province is the ingenious, the artificial and the gracefully complicated of the early salons; at the same time, in an age that more than any other respected the King and the Church, his works have a distinct flavour of irreligion and flippant contempt for authority. Though he was only about seventeen at the time of the production of *L'Ecole des Femmes* he persistently ignored the great school of 1660. There are various explanations for his clinging to the past—one of them is his friendship for Saint-Évremond, another is that he left France in the beginning of 1661, at a very receptive age, his mind full of the précieux miscellanies and the *Cyrus* and *Clélie* romances, and though he returned to France in 1667 or not later than 1671, he from this time onward led an unsettled life, fighting in summer and spending the remaining months, a subordinate officer, in outlying winter-quarters or, more often, raising recruits in Ireland when, as a rule, other nobles returned to court and polite society.

Saint-Évremond's influence on Hamilton deserves to be taken up briefly. It is curious to compare the literary careers of these two men, the one exiled from France and writing in England, the other exiled from England and writing in France, Saint-Évremond acquiring a certain soberness and gravity from the English, and Hamilton revealing himself exquisitely French in his levity and wit. The coincidence had already struck the seventeenth century, and we find the author, La Chapelle, suggesting to Hamilton, "La Tamise a fait une restitution à la Seine et lui donne en vous un autre Saint-Évremond,"¹ and the compliment meant very much more at that time than it does now; for the cry of the booksellers was, "Faites nous du Saint-Évremond," whereas Hamilton had not yet written any of these works by which he is remembered and better remembered, in England at least, than Saint-Évremond.

¹ Hamilton, *Œuvres*, III, p. 43.

Saint-Évremond and Gramont had come to England at much the same time, the former exiled for his imprudent letter on the peace of the Pyrenees ; the latter, as we know, in disgrace for presuming to interfere with the amours of a royal rival. A certain friendship had always united them. Saint-Évremond was attracted by the insolent grace of the chevalier, and the chevalier repaid his philosopher by a genuine, if slightly condescending affection. A kind of literary oracle, Saint-Évremond rapidly became as well known in England as he had been in France, and Anthony Hamilton would probably sooner or later have found his way to him ; it is, however, significant that Gramont introduced Hamilton and that a common admiration for Gramont—how far sincere on Hamilton's part it is difficult to say—formed a bond between Saint-Évremond and Hamilton. They seem to have met frequently at the salon of Madame Mazarin, where Hamilton could find a small centre of French grace and culture, for France was, after all, his spiritual home.

Saint-Évremond had left France in 1662, and though he never lost sight of the literary movement of his country, keeping himself well supplied with the new books, yet somehow he is out of touch with it, his literary sympathies are with the past and he remains to the end of his days a man of that *bonne régence* which he always remembers with a wistful affection, a lover of Montaigne, Malherbe, Corneille and Voiture. Now his gods are certainly Hamilton's gods ; learning to admire Saint-Évremond Hamilton is learning to admire the representative of a bygone age. No doubt Saint-Évremond's ideas on other subjects must have been agreeable to Hamilton too ; his easy-going and indifferent Epicureanism was quite after the heart of a Restoration cavalier. Saint-Évremond would not, perhaps, have cared to admit that he was an *esprit fort*, a *libertin* ; nevertheless the fact remains that he is one of the links between Montaigne and Bayle, and that he leads up to the materialism of the eighteenth century which Hamilton, too, foreshadowed, and more so, of course, than Saint-Évremond.

If the influence of Saint-Évremond is to be discerned in Hamilton's ways of thinking it is also discernible, in a lesser degree, in Hamilton's manner, though it is not the author of thoughtful musings on the Roman people or the essence of tragedy that Hamilton, less profound and more brilliant,

less capable of analysing complex sentiments and more quick to hit off externals, recalls after a fashion, but rather the Saint-Évremond before the exile, the Saint-Évremond who had winged his shafts of polite ridicule at Condé and Mazarin, had mocked at Jesuits and Jansenists with impartiality and had written very gallant letters to the ill-famed Madame d'Olonne. There is no doubt that Hamilton learned from Saint-Évremond his suave irony and, bringing to perfection Saint-Évremond's skill in dealing lightly with serious subjects, became one of Voltaire's masters in this respect.

Hamilton's *Relation d'un Voyage en Mauritanie* has reminiscences of the urbane malice and bland simplicity of Saint-Évremond's *Retraite de Monsieur le Duc de Longueville*: "le Marquis d'Hectot demanda le commandement de la cavalerie: ce qui lui fut accordé, parce qu'il étoit mieux monté que les autres; qu'il étoit environ de l'âge de M. de Nemours lorsqu'il la commandoit en Flandre, et qu'il avoit une cassaque, en broderie, toute pareille à la sienne."¹ The inimitable *Conversation du Maréchal d'Hocquincourt avec le P. Cannaye* has something not only of Pascal, but of Hamilton. A perfidious remark like the following might well have occurred in the *Mémoires de Grammont*: "le Père, surpris du discours, et plus effrayé du transport [du maréchal] eut recours à l'oraison mentale et pria Dieu secrètement qu'il le délivrât du danger où il se trouvoit; mais, ne se fiant par tout à fait à la prière, il s'éloignoit insensiblement du maréchal par un mouvement de fesses imperceptible."² And supposing he had been asked whether it was prudent for a Catholic to marry a Protestant lady, would Hamilton not have answered with Saint-Évremond, "si vous êtes d'humeur à ne pouvoir souffrir l'imagination d'être séparés en l'autre monde, votre femme et vous, je vous conseille d'épouser une catholique: mais si j'avois à me marier, j'épouserois volontiers une personne d'une autre religion que la mienne. Je craindrois qu'une catholique, se croyant sûre de posséder son mari en l'autre vie, ne s'avisât de vouloir jouir d'un galant en celle-ci."³

Some of the graver passages in the *Mémoires de Grammont*,

¹ Saint-Evremond, *Œuvres choisies* (ed. Giraud), II, p. 13.

² *Ib.*, I, p. 42.

³ *Ib.*, p. 26.

for instance the portrait of Mazarin, recall Saint-Évremond's style, and the antithetical turn, the symmetry of Hamilton's sentence are occasionally to be met with in Saint-Évremond, e.g. "Tarquin ne savoit ni gouverner selon les lois, ni régner contre,"¹ but in Hamilton's case the trick has been carried further, his style is more artificial and sparkling.

Finally, there is no doubt that the writing of the *Mémoires de Grammont* was due, in part, to the influence of Saint-Évremond, though one would not go so far as to say with Sainte-Beuve,² that the *Memoirs* are Saint-Évremond's best work. But it was Saint-Évremond who first set up Gramont on a kind of pedestal and, making himself his panegyrist, suggested to Hamilton such feelings of admiration as Hamilton was capable of entertaining and passed on to him the idea of perpetuating the chevalier's so-called merits.

Hamilton's literary background in 1700 is a curious thing. Horace he knows by heart, and the mythological allusions with which, after the manner of the day, he ornaments his writings show an acquaintance with the legends of antiquity which remind one of the praise bestowed on his cousin Ossory—that he was never at a loss to explain a tapestry. The medieval romances of *Amadis*, *Tiran le Blanc*, *Palmerin d'Olive* and *Kyrie Eleyson de Montauban*, seem to have been the delight of his youth, and in his old age he is amused by their naïveté. *Don Quixote* is more than familiar to him. He has read *Cassandre* and *Pharamond*, *Le Grand Cyrus* and *Polexandre*, and though he is quite aware of their defects, he prefers them infinitely to the fairy-tales that come into vogue after the day of the grands romans is past, and to the *Arabian Nights*. After the fashion of the day he dislikes Ronsard and considers him an 'Ostrogoth' and worse, and though he imitates Marot, another fashion of the day, he likes him little better. Malherbe, Racan, Sarasin and Benserade are more after his own heart. Certain aspects of Molière and La Fontaine possibly appealed to him, but Racine, Boileau, Pascal, Bossuet are practically non-existent as far as he is concerned. He only knows the school

¹ *Ib.*, II, p. 43.

² *Nouveaux Lundis*, XIII, p. 431.

that turned Roman history into madrigals, Tacitus into octaves and Ovid into rondeaux, and no one can approach Voiture in his esteem.

Hamilton is never tired of praising Voiture, he imitates him, he feels with pleasure that he is like him. "Ne trouvez-vous pas," he asks Madame de Caylus, "que ce commencement de lettre semble estre tirée d'une de celles de Voiture à Mademoiselle de Rambouillet?"¹ Boileau is struck by their resemblance. Voiture confesses to a lady, "J'ay bien de la honte à vous le dire. Mais ce malheureux qui devoit estre mort il y a longtemps est encore au monde,"² and Hamilton writes to Henrietta Bulkeley, "J'ai honte d'être encore en vie après avoir mérité votre indignation et après les assurances que je vous avois données de ne vivre plus que quelques jours."³ Voiture elaborates a letter in extraordinarily bad taste to the Duc d'Enghien, "Eh bonjour, mon compère le brochet," etc.⁴ And Hamilton almost verges on something similar in certain passages of a letter to Berwick:

Brochet qui des hautes montagnes
Sait grimper tout au fin sommet . . .
Ce brochet qui dans les Espagnes
A si bien poussé son bidet
Pendant trois ou quatre campagnes
Me semble un maître brochet.⁵

If Hamilton had written nothing but his letters and his minor works—epistles, rondeaux, chansons, etc.—he would have been merely a second or third-rate Voiture, worthy to be ranked with the Benserade of the *Plainte du Cheval Pégaze aux Chevaux de la petite Ecurie qui le veulent déloger de son Galetas des Thuilleries*, or, to compare him with an author of his own period, with the Perrault who wrote the *Banquet des Dieux pour la Naissance de Monseigneur le Duc de Bourgogne*.

Describing a dull forenoon Hamilton will say after the approved manner of the précieux, "l'Aurore semblaît s'être mise en coiffe et en écharpe dès le matin, tant l'air

¹ Du Boscq de Beaumont et M. Bernos, *La Cour des Stuarts*, p. 373.

² Voiture, *Œuvres* (Paris, 1858), p. 406.

³ Hamilton, *Œuvres*, III, p. 148.

⁴ Voiture, p. 313.

⁵ Hamilton, III, p. 104.

était encore sombre,"¹ or, in order to explain that a certain place was reached at sunset he must needs paraphrase, "on gagna le rivage . . . sur le point que le dieu du jour allait passer la nuit dans l'humide palais de Thetis."² Not a few of his letters are marred by such doubtful elaborations. When he writes, it is at the bidding of Apollo, "inventor of poetry, director of music, president of the science of medicine and composer of oracles," and we hear how Apollo, not wishing to scorch Hamilton, laid aside his fiery darts and distributed them to the ladies of Saint-Germain for the time being, or we get a description of the visit of Hamilton's muse in her 'habit d'opéra,' and we are told what compliments she ordered the poet to transcribe for the recipient of the letter (who, in turn, writes back, describing the visit of a muse, unpropitious till the name of Hamilton is pronounced); we are told of the admiration with which a nymph of the Garonne beheld the Duchess of Berwick; we hear of Iris, Aminte and Sylvie, when we should give anything for those little personal details that abound in some of the seventeenth-century correspondences.

An admiration for Voiture is no uncommon thing at the end of the seventeenth century, and Hamilton is no striking exception if the classical age is a kind of blank to him. Untouched by the great authors he does not stand alone; a certain section of society persistently held aloof from the movement and a large number of the nobles never acknowledged the sway of Molière. In this connexion it may be useful to recall briefly the curious resemblance between the first part and the last part of the grand siècle, a resemblance that deserves further study and to which this sketch of Hamilton may be a slight contribution.³

The seventeenth century, or at least the main part of it, has been described as a kind of breathing space between two periods of criticism and negation, between the age of Montaigne and Charron and that of Voltaire and Diderot, a period of authority and affirmation contrasting with the

¹ *Ib.*, p. 21.

² *Ib.*, p. 32.

³ Cf. Brunetière, *Histoire de la Littérature Française Classique*, II, Introductory chapter; *Etudes critiques*, Vol. I (le Naturalisme au 17^e siècle—not printed in the first ed.); Vol II (Les Précieuses); Vol. III (Le Sage, Marivaux, etc.); Sainte-Beuve, *Portraits de Femme* (une ruelle poétique); *Causeries du Lundi*, I (Chaulieu); Vinet, *Histoire de la littérature française au 18^e siècle*, Introduction.

Que sçais-je de the sixteenth century and the universal doubt of the eighteenth, and the periods of transition at the beginning and at the end of the century, the one leading from, the other leading to, an age of relative freedom and licence, are not at all unlike. The same groups exist, the same tendencies are manifested. The scepticism of Montaigne and Charron is represented by Fontenelle and Bayle ; the ' libertins ' Théophile and Saint-Amant find their counterparts in Chaulieu, La Fare and other habitués of the Temple. Balzac and Voiture live again, for the précieux, in particular, begin to recover from the blow Molière has dealt them, for Molière is dead and Racine has ceased to write, La Bruyère and Bossuet, La Fontaine and Boileau are nearing their end. And if proof were needed that the précieux have survived,¹ has not Le Sage made a discreet attack on a précieux salon in *Gil Blas*,² and is there not a sly hit at the précieux manner of speaking in the description of the langage proconchi in *Le Bachelier de Salamanque*—" un style obscur, enflé, un verbiage brillant, un pompeux galimatias, mais c'est ce qui en fait l'excellence " ?³

The personal action of Louis XIV no longer making itself felt, the coteries that had almost disappeared during his reign begin to flourish again. Pradon, Quinault and to a certain extent Perrault and Fontenelle continue the traditions of Voiture and Mademoiselle de Scudéry. The prosperous Pavillon is considered to be Voiture's successor, and the public can admire verses of the kind addressed to Mademoiselle du Chatelier, " en luy envoyant pour étrennes une boîte dans laquelle il y a une petite tortue brillante et mouvante." Montesquieu is not infrequently something of a bel esprit. Even the dignitaries of the Church are not free from reproach ; Fléchier is the well-known example, Massillon himself lacks simplicity, and as for Fénelon, one quotation from his spiritual correspondence with Madame de Gramont will suffice to illustrate his occasional lapses. " Il faut vous rabaisser sans cesse," he writes, " vous ne vous releverez toujours que trop. Il faut vous apétisser,

¹ Since the above was written Mr. Tilley's articles on *Préciosité* after *Les Précieuses Ridicules* have appeared in the *Modern Language Review* of Jan., April and July, 1916.

² Book 4, ch. 8.

³ *Bachelier de Salamanque* (1812, 2 vols.), II, p. 112.

vous faire enfant, vous emmailloter et vous donner de la bouillie : vous serez encore une méchante enfant."

Two salons recall the Hôtel de Rambouillet, the salon of Madame de Lambert, which has the dignity and the decorum of the chambre bleue, and the salon—if salon it can be called—of Madame du Maine, which resembles the Hôtel de Rambouillet in its less happy days. Fontenelle and La Motte belong to Madame de Lambert's circle, though La Motte has also a platonic friendship for Madame du Maine, which inspires some letters in the style of Voiture almost at his worst. Among the habitués of Sceaux is Hamilton, as we have seen. The *Littérature de Société*, which Voiture and his contemporaries Godeau and Ménage had really created, flourishes at the court of Madame du Maine. The ingenious poetical correspondences, the stances, bouts-rimés, acrostiches, rondeaux, parodies of Marot, 'centuries' or predictions à la Nostradamus, are the favoured occupation of the Duchess and her friends, just as they had amused the Hôtel de Rambouillet, especially towards its decline.

The resemblance between the first and last part of the seventeenth century may strike one at first as a curious coincidence, but it is not to be interpreted as such. The fact is that there was never really a break between these two periods, but that, towards the middle of the century, the constellation of great men completely eclipsed the doings of the rhyming poets and society writers who, in the meantime, found a refuge in certain salons, with the Bouillons, the Nevers, the Hôtel d'Albret and the Hôtel de Richelieu, where the Abbé Têtu reigned supreme—"il s'en croyoit le Voiture," Madame de Caylus tells us—and particularly perhaps at Madame Deshoulières', who, a kind of poet herself, gave hospitality to Hénault and Saint Pavin, and counted Fléchier amongst her best friends. And if the age of Louis XIV was an age of faith and religion, the sceptical tendencies of the preceding reign are still there, they wisely do not appear on the surface, Saint-Évremond, Lassay, Ninon, Mazarin's nieces and their friends are unostentatiously and tranquilly indifferent to the fervour of the Jansenists and the suave piety of the Jesuits, but the irreligiousness becomes more and more pronounced towards the end of the period.

Long ago Sainte-Beuve summed up all this in a famous passage : " Il y a deux siècles de Louis XIV, l'un noble, majestueux, magnifique, sage et réglé jusqu'à la rigueur, décent jusqu'à la solennité, représenté par le Roi en personne, par ses orateurs et ses poètes en titre, par Bossuet, Racine, Despréaux ; il y a un autre siècle qui coule dessous, pour ainsi dire, comme un fleuve coulerait sous un large pont, et qui va de l'une à l'autre Régence, de celle de la reine-mère à celle de Philippe d'Orléans."¹

Hamilton certainly partakes of this liberty of manners and morals which makes itself more felt again at the close of the reign. It is true that he is in a sense one of the new generation of précieux, but a characteristic of the new précieux, as compared with the friends of Madame de Rambouillet, is 'de mêler dans son bel esprit un grain d'esprit fort'—the remark is again Sainte-Beuve's²—and the spirit of the *Mémoires de Grammont* is in no wise akin to the refined prudery of those who have been called les Jansénistes de l'Amour. Moreover, as has been pointed out, Hamilton is a friend of the Vendômes, men whose ways foreshadowed and in a measure coincided with those of the Regency. He is numbered among those who with Chaulieu and La Fare used to gather at the Temple.

As a matter of fact Hamilton professes to dislike the précieux of his day, and he has too much good sense to be led too far astray in the paths of the new préciosité. Of Madame du Maine and her 'mouches,' the members of that curious order which she had instituted, he speaks contemptuously as "ces précieuses et ces espèces inconcevables" (III, p. 155) ; he has no great affection for the 'modern Sapphos' (III, p. 200) ; he despises 'les dames du bel air et les beaux esprits de Paris' (III, p. 162), though here, of course, the aristocrat's contempt for the bourgeois manifests itself as well. In the *Mémoires de Grammont* he makes a designedly ridiculous Marquis send some gloves to a lady, accompanied by a note, "ces gants baiseron les plus belles mains du monde." The Marquis and his lady have got as far as the 'muets Interprètes,' which is doubtless a reminiscence of the language of Bélise, 'tant que vous vous tiendrez

¹ *Causeries du Lundi*, I, p. 362.

² *Portraits de Femmes*, p. 389.

aux muets Interprètes,'¹ no less than the expression, 'les tendres truchements'² which he uses in speaking of the Duke of York's ogling Miss Hamilton.

The habitués of the Temple were known by a certain freedom of manner, thought and speech; they were not very much concerned with the life to come, they believed in taking their good where they found it, since pleasure was but of the moment, and their creed or absence of creed satisfied Hamilton, though not quite till the end. He is one of those polite Epicureans who are still slightly out of their place in the end of the seventeenth century. He has the scepticism of the eighteenth century, though the time has not yet, of course, come to manifest it very openly. But still it is there, it reveals itself in a gesture, a shrug of the shoulder, a passing insinuation, a vague hint. The Queen of England, he will tell you, does everything she can to obtain an heir from heaven, but "les vœux, les neuvaines et les offrandes ayant été tournés de toutes les manières, et n'ayant rien fait, il fallut en revenir aux moyens humains,"³ which, he implies, was after all the only sensible thing to do from the very beginning. Such a remark does not attract much attention, it is not very destructive, but the *Memoirs* and the *Tales* are full of such significant touches that belittle the faith of the grand siècle.

Bersot has an interesting remark on the morality of some of the eighteenth-century fiction. Let us imagine a line of demarcation, he says, drawn between what is good and what is evil. The immoral thing is, not to show us some one who crosses this line, but to insinuate that in everyday life we habitually disregard it and in walking over gradually efface it.⁴ This is the accusation that can be brought against Hamilton, at least to a certain extent. There is something cold-blooded and perfidious about the Chevalier de Gramont and his friends that shows us how far we have travelled from the loyalty and good faith of the lovers in the grands romans. One has but to remember the 'counsel' Madame de Sévigné gives to her would-be gallant Matta. Even though Hamilton's intentions are satirical, the sentiments expressed are those which the young roués will presently carry into practice.

¹ *Femmes savantes*, line 284.

² *Ib.*, line 278.

³ *Œuvres*, I, p. 366.

⁴ E. Bersot, *Études sur le dix-huitième siècle* (Paris, 1855), Vol. I, p. 367.

En équipage, en airs bruyants,
 En lieux communs, *en faux serments*,
 En habits, bijoux, dents d'ivoire
 Mettez vous bien.
 Ayez pour plaire aux vieux parents,
 Toujours en main nouvelle histoire,
 Pour les valets force présents ;
 Mais eût-il l'humeur sombre et noire
 Avec l'époux, malgré ses dents,
 Mettez vous bien.¹

Hamilton's critical disposition inclines him, as we know, to that ironical manner which is one of the pronounced features of his works. "Je serai ravi que vous parliez pour louer, approuver, complaire, déférer, édifier, mais je suis sûr que quand vous ne parlerez de cette sorte, vous parlerez fort peu, et que la conversation vous semblera fade."² That is what Fénelon writes to Anthony Hamilton's sister, and that is what, without any doubt, he might have written to Anthony Hamilton. But his irony, imperceptible often, more noticeable at other times, this strain of light mockery is in keeping with the spirit of this age of transition, restless, unsettled, impatient of the restraint of the past, distrustful of dogma and tradition, and this irony, from Bayle onwards, will take the place of the warmth of faith and the vehemence of conviction.

With Hamilton it does not yet, as a rule, go very deep ; it takes the form of a very graceful persiflage that holds up everything to derision, the dramatis personæ, the readers and even the author ; it does not yet attack any serious problems as Montesquieu will do a few years later in the *Lettres Persanes*. It is tempered by the author's urbanity unless he happens to give way too much to his natural malice. In that case one can only say to him with Bulwer Lytton's Chaulieu,³ "Ah mon aimable ami, you are the wickedest witty person I know ; I cannot help loving your language while I hate your sentiments."

A few words remain to be said about Hamilton as an eighteenth-century writer, or at least as a writer of the transition, from the point of view of style. It is true that

¹ *Œuvres*, I, p. 59.

² *Correspondance*, VI, p. 228.

³ In *Devereux*.

his style is not altogether free from a certain preciosity. Describing Miss Jennings he says : " Ses yeux faisoient un peu grâce tandis que sa bouche et le reste de ses Appas portoient mille coups jusques au fond du cœur " (I, p. 268). Gramont is telling Miss Hamilton that he has been summoned to France, " Il eut beau protester qu'il aimoit mieux mourir que de s'éloigner de ses Appas, ses Appas protestèrent qu'ils ne le reverroient de leur vie s'il ne parloit incessamment " (I, p. 345). Little Jermyn is " un trophée mouvant des Faveurs et des Libertez du beau Sexe " (I, p. 306). Miss Blagge notices the attentions of the Marquis de Brisacier, " prenant toujours la chose pour elle, ses Paupières s'en humiliaient par reconnaissance et pudeur " (I, p. 142) ; the Marquis imagines that he is the first to win her favour, " le seigneur Brisacier crut que ces longues paupières de la Blague n'avaient jamais couché que lui en joue " (I, p. 139). Hamilton's desire to be witty and original leads him to perpetuate such far-fetched conceits as the following : " Un visage assortissant mettait la dernière main au désagrément de sa figure " (I, p. 139). " Ses gestes et ses mouvements étoient autant d'Impromptus " (I, p. 268). The President de Tambonneau returns " aux pieds de ses premières habitudes," in other words to Madame de Luynes (I, p. 244), and as for M. de Wetenhall, " au lieu de prendre les Ordres il prit le chemin d'Angleterre et Mademoiselle Bedingfield pour femme " (I, p. 320).

On the other hand, Hamilton does not hesitate to use quite familiar and forcible expressions such as the précieux would have condemned for their lack of elegance, e.g. : radouber (I, p. 332), empuantir (I, pp. 162, 173), se décrasser (I, pp. 231, 286), brailler (II, p. 295), goguenarder (I, p. 176), magot (I, p. 360), malotru (II, p. 23), chiche (I, p. 130), caquet (II, 382), flux de bouche (II, p. 381), empiffrerie (I, p. 309), bombances nocturnes (I, p. 253), faire ripaille (II, p. 120), perdre le boire et le manger (I, p. 279), épouseur (I, p. 277), lorgneries (I, p. 131), les brimborions d'amour (I, p. 264), se coiffer d'un visage (I, p. 342), se fourrer une créature dans la tête (I, p. 254), rengâiner ses desseins (I, p. 202), crever de dépit (I, p. 306 ; II, p. 103), se crever de pommes vertes (II, p. 389), monter sur ses grands chevaux (I, p. 386), jurer ses grands dieux (I, p. 285), gronder quelqu'un de la belle manière (I, p. 44), laver la tête à quelqu'un

(I, pp. 53, 290), chanter pouille (I, pp. 295, 308), éplucher les particularités d'une aventure (I, p. 222), être collé sur ses livres (I, p. 320), sécher d'impatience (I, p. 140), écrire pis que pendre (I, p. 210), tremper dans un complot (I, p. 146), escamoter la nouvelle (I, p. 93), rire a gorge déployée (I, p. 146), rebattre les oreilles (I, p. 145), se faire tirer les oreilles (I, p. 192), s'embarquer dans un fiacre (I, p. 312), sentir le rissolé (II, p. 502), sourd comme un pot (II, p. 271), etc. M. de Senantes, we are told, "se piquoit d'être Stoicien et faisoit gloire d'être salope et dégoûtant en honneur de sa profession. Il y réussissait parfaitement ; car il étoit fort gros, et suoit en hiver comme en été " (I, p. 51).

None of the above examples are taken from the conversations of Hamilton's personages, since the object of these examples is to give an idea of Hamilton's own vocabulary. When Hamilton makes certain personages speak, Gramont, Matta, the valet Termes and Brinon, the Giant in *Le Bélier*, the Caliph and the witch in *Fleur d'Épine*, Cristalline and the high priest in the *Quatre Facardins*, their language is, of course, very much more picturesque and vigorous than that which Hamilton habitually uses. This applies even to Lady Castlemaine, who calls Miss Stuart, Miss Wells and Nell Gwyn ("cette petite gueuse de comédienne") 'oisons bridés,' and threatens the King "de mettre ses enfants en capilotade et son palais en feu " (I, p. 304).

Like some of his contemporaries, Fléchier in particular, Hamilton has a great affection for antithesis. Often he employs it very effectively, at other times there is something forced and mannered about his use of it ; had Matthieu Marais read the *Mémoires de Grammont* he would probably have classed Hamilton among the 'modern Lucans and Senecas,' whom he dislikes so much. The following are some typical instances : De grands hommes commandaient de petites armées et les armées faisoient de grandes choses (I, p. 21), Comme il étoit un peu sorti de son devoir pour entrer dans les intérêts de M. le Prince, il crut pouvoir en sortir pour rentrer dans son devoir (I, p. 81). Ses maximes favorites étoient . . . qu'on dit beaucoup de mal de lui, pourvu qu'il amassât beaucoup de bien (I, p. 81). Il avoit été fort hai du roi, parce qu'il avoit été fort aimé de la Castelmaine (I, p. 184). Il se moquoit tout haut de la folie

du Chevalier de Gramont et tout bas de la crédulité des Piedmontois (I, p. 78). Les médecins ayant considéré que les eaux froides de Tunbridge n'avaient pas réussi l'année précédente, conclurent qu'il falloit l'envoyer aux chaudes (I, p. 366). In cases like the last sentence quoted, one cannot help noticing how admirably this style adapts itself to Hamilton's scepticism; there is nothing infallible, nothing absolute in existence, against every statement the contradictory may be advanced with equal reason; the empirical method of the doctors is merely a typical instance of the larger empiricism which underlies our conduct.

The effect of his antithesis is sometimes very comic in its simplicity, thus, for instance, "Monsieur le Prince assiégeait Lérída, la place n'était rien, mais Dom Gregorio Brice (the governor) étoit quelque chose" (I, p. 175). Or elsewhere, a description of the Earl of Oxford, "à le voir on diroit que c'est quelque chose mais à l'entendre on voit bien que ce n'est rien" (I, p. 279). Often the antithesis is emphasized by the repetition of the important word, e.g.: Personne ne se mit en tête de troubler un commerce qui n'intéressoit personne, mais Killegrew s'avisa de le troubler lui-même. . . . L'imprudent Killegrew qui n'avoit pu se passer de rivaux fut obliger de se passer de maîtresse (I, pp. 362-363). Elle rougissoit de tout sans rien faire dont elle eut à rougir (I, p. 266). And, less happily: le papier souffre tout, mais par malheur elle ne souffroit pas le papier (I, p. 271). Tandis que le frère jouoit de la guitare, la sœur jouoit de la prunelle (I, p. 205).

The repetition of certain words is very characteristic of Hamilton's style. The Duke of York, he says, "se prit donc à ce qui se trouva d'abord sous ses mains. Ce fut Madame de Carneguy qui s'était trouvée sous la main de bien d'autres" (I, pp. 195-196). As for Lady Muskerri, "son imagination ne cessait de danser à Summerhill toutes les contredanses qu'elle s'imaginait qu'on avoit dansées à Tunbridge" (I, p. 329). Little Jermyn undertakes to ride twenty miles in an hour, "en gagnant la gageure il gagna la fièvre" (I, p. 338). "Le jeu rendoit à merveille dans les commencemens et le Chevalier rendoit en cent façons ce qu'il ne prenoit d'une seule" (I, p. 23). A favourite proceeding is to reinforce the expression in the second part of the sentence, e.g.: Ils s'aimoient beaucoup, mais ils aimoient

encore plus le vin (I, p. 252). On s'étonna qu'il arriva des derniers dans cette occasion, on s'étonna bien plus de le voir enfin paraître en habit de ville (I, p. 148). Milord Taffe s'étoit imaginé qu'il étoit amoureux d'elle et la Warmestré non seulement s'imagina qu'il étoit vrai, mais elle compta qu'il ne manqueroit pas de l'épouser (I, p. 252).

These mannerisms naturally affect the build of the sentence. Hamilton's sentences are short, well balanced and symmetrical. With him we have entered on the prose of the eighteenth century.¹ All the examples above quoted, happy and otherwise, are taken from the *Memoirs*, where there is only too large a choice of typical expressions. There is a curious contrast between the *Memoirs* and the *Tales* as far as style goes ; the latter are written in a much simpler language ;² though exquisitely witty they are less sparkling than the *Memoirs*, but also more free from anything artificial, from too obvious striving after effect. One wonders whether Hallam was not thinking of the *Tales* rather than of the *Memoirs* when he wrote : " The language of Sévigné and Hamilton is eminently colloquial ; scarce a turn occurs in their writings which they would not have used in familiar society, but theirs was the colloquy of gods, ours of men." Even more than the *Memoirs* the *Tales* must be considered an excellent example of the prose in the beginning of the eighteenth century, clear, delicate, graceful, even, divested of everything clumsy and cumbersome.³ We

¹ " Il (Hamilton) a manié le premier en perfection le style du 18^e siècle, style 'désinvolte,' alerte, aiguisé, éclairé d'esprit et parfaitement sec en sa finesse brillante." (Lanson, *Histoire de la Littérature française* (9th edition), p. 614 n.)

² The *Tales* being intended as parodies, a certain naïveté is made to manifest itself in places, e.g. : Il y a dans le monde une forêt et dans cette forêt il y a un arbre difficile à trouver, et dans cet arbre il y a une gaine d'or (II, p. 245). Dans ce pays régnoit un calife ; ce calife avoit une fille, et cette fille un visage, mais on souhaita plus d'une fois qu'elle n'en eut jamais eu (II, p. 4). The exaggerated use of superlatives is, of course, also intentional : Tandis que la divine princesse rafraichissoit le plus beau corps du monde dans l'eau la plus claire et la plus délicieuse qui fut jamais, l'une disoit qu'il falloit que le dieu de ce fleuve fut le plus sot poisson du monde de voir la beauté la plus parfaite de l'univers dans son lit, sans donner le moindre signe de vie (II, pp. 381-382).

³ M. Lanson in his *Art de la Prose* quotes *Fleur d'Épine* at some length. " Il a fallu prolonger la citation," he says, " pour donner le temps au lecteur d'être imprégné du charme de cette fine prose. Elle n'a pas un effet qui n'appartienne à la conversation de tous les jours. La condition de son élégance artistique est presque inanalysable, c'est une justesse aisée

have left La Fontaine and La Bruyère slightly behind us ; we are not far off from Voltaire. Hamilton stands about midway between these writers.

qui la sépare du parler usuel comme une modification de la courbure des lignes presque imperceptible classe une commode et un fauteuil dans le mobilier d'art (p. 47).

CHAPTER II

THE MÉMOIRES DE GRAMMONT

THESE are two ways of looking at the *Mémoires de Grammont*. To an Englishman Hamilton's book at once suggests the court of Charles II, and he therefore associates the *Memoirs* with the Diaries of Pepys and Evelyn. The *Cambridge History of English Literature*, for instance, gives the *Mémoires de Grammont* a very respectable place among the *Memoirs of the Age of Dryden*.¹ The Frenchman, on the other hand, sees in Hamilton a 'conteur aimable,' he is one of the family of Madame d'Aulnoy and Courtilz de Sandras; the *Mémoires de Grammont* belong to the class of works known as the roman prétendu historique, or else, and we prefer this, to certain ouvrages divers ayant influencé l'évolution du roman. No history of the novel in France will ever pass the *Mémoires de Grammont* in silence.

Both views, though very natural, are somewhat extreme. To discuss the *Mémoires de Grammont* along with the works of Pepys, Evelyn and Sir John Reresby is to isolate the French work from its natural surroundings; to rank it with the *Mémoires de la Cour d'Angleterre* and the *Mémoires de M. d'Artagnan* is to disparage the documentary value of Hamilton's work. The object of the following pages is to give an account of the literary movement in France to which the *Mémoires de Grammont* belong, and at the same time to show that, except for the chronological sequence which is often incorrect, the *Memoirs* are not so unreliable a source of information as some would have us believe.

It is a well-known fact that during the second half of the seventeenth century the novel in France seems to suffer a kind of eclipse; the 'grands genres' have thrown it into

¹ Vol. 8, Chapter X.



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the shade ; the roman héroïque shares the disgrace of the Précieuses ;¹ the roman comique, being of a lowly origin, hardly counts. But though the novel is thus for a time obscured, it does not disappear ; on the contrary, it is gathering new forces, it is finding out new ways, it is adapting itself to new circumstances ; left to itself, it is developing more freely ; from having been too ideal with the Précieux and too distorted with the Burlesques it is gradually approaching a mean, *Gil Blas* is not far off. The narratives are considerably reduced in length, even Mademoiselle de Scudéry writes a novel of only five hundred odd pages ; the new novels are less overloaded with improbable and impossible incidents, since Boileau has banished the ' merveille absurde ' which, in turn, will find its place in the Tale ; they aim at being more true to life, for has not Boileau proclaimed, " jamais de la nature il ne faut s'écarter " ? Historical subjects are chosen, the authors read memoirs and letters of the period they are describing, they append lists of their authorities,¹ they are anxious not to be reproached with any ' Caton galant ' or with a ' Brutus dameret ' ;² " on s'éloigne autant que l'on peut de l'air romanesque dans les nouveaux romans," Bayle remarks.³

From 1665 onwards there is a constant flow of historical novels, anecdotes, memoirs, annals, a movement that continues far down the eighteenth century, when, curiously enough, most of the authentic seventeenth-century memoirs are printed for the first time,⁴ in order to satisfy the craving

¹ See, for instance, Baudot de Juilly's *Relation historique et galante de l'Invasion de l'Espagne par les Maures* (La Haye, 1699) or the preface to Mlle de La Force's *Histoire secrète de Catherine de Bourbon* (Nancy, 1703). It must, however, be admitted that Mlle de La Force mentions such works as *Les Amours du Grand Alcandre* and the *Galanteries des Rois de France*.

² The change for the better, of course, takes place very gradually. Some of Madame de Villegieu's works still savour strongly of the *Illustre Bassa* and *Polyxène*. In the *Exiliez de la Cour d'Auguste* (1675), Virgil gallantly tells a story to four ' ladies,' and the personages habitually converse about ' le grand Jules.' In the *Journal Amoureux* (Part II, 1671) the Duc d'Aumale, the Cardinal d'Armagnac and Gaspard de Coligny, all three the gravest of men, are made to appear as eminently ridiculous lovers.

³ *Dictionnaire*, in the article on Nidhard.

⁴ e.g. in 1709 *Mémoires de la Duchesse de Nemours*.

1717 *Mémoires de Retz*.

1717 *Mémoires de Brienne*.

1720 *Mémoires de Pontchartrain* (grandfather of the Chancellor Pontchartrain).

1720 *Mémoires de Madame Henriette d'Angleterre* (Madame de La Fayette).

of the public. *La Princesse de Clèves* is one of the earliest and really the only important novel of the transition period ; the numerous authors, women chiefly, who follow in the train of Madame de La Fayette seldom come near her. Among these feminine predecessors and contemporaries of Hamilton may be mentioned Madame de Villegieu and Madame d'Aulnoy, the least mediocre ; Mademoiselle de la Rocheguilhem, Catherine Bernard, Madame Durand Bédacier, Mademoiselle L'Héritier, Hamilton's friend, Mademoiselle de La Force, and Madame Petit-Dunoyer. Madame de Fontaines, Madame de Gomez and Mademoiselle de Lussan wrote after him. The men are less numerous and, with one exception, even less well known ; Vanel, Mailly, Baudot de Juilly, Grégoire de Challes before, Serviez and Née de la Rochelle after Hamilton are mere names to us now, but the adventurer Gatien Courtilz de Sandras, that curious, amazingly prolific, picturesque writer, so convincing when he assures us that his chief preoccupation has always been the strictest veracity, author of *Memoirs* of Turenne, of Coligny, of the Comte de Rochefort, of Colbert, of the Duc de Rohan, of J. B. de La Fontaine, of M. d'Artagnan, of the Marquise de Fresne, of the Marquis de Montbrun, of M. de Bouy, of the Maréchal de la Feuillade, of the Comtesse de Strasbourg, him we remember as a not altogether unworthy ancestor of Alexandre Dumas père.

The 'new novels,' to use Bayle's expression, may be divided into different groups as far as the subject matter is concerned. A certain number still go back to ancient Greece and Rome, but they are in the minority. It is the history of France that receives most attention from the writers, and, commencing with the age of Pharamond, there is hardly a reign that does not find its chronicler. Finally, the histories of other nations are found to be fruitful sources of incident and picturesque character, and

- 1723 *Mémoires de Madame de Motteville.*
- 1724 *Mémoires de Gourville.*
- 1727 *Mémoires de Montglat.*
- 1729 *Mémoires de Lenet.*
- 1729 *Mémoires de Mademoiselle de Montpensier.*
- 1730 *Histoire de la Mère et du Fils* (a fragment of Richelieu's Memoirs).
- 1731 *Mémoires de Madame de La Fayette.*
- 1732 *Mémoires de Talon.*
- 1734 *Mémoires d'Arnauld d'Andilly.*
- 1735 *Mémoires de Turenne* (in Ramsay's *Histoire de Turenne*)
- 1735 *Mémoires du Duc d'York* (*ibid.*). Etc.

besides a large number of novels that are qualified as Spanish, we have others that can be variously labelled as Portuguese, Italian, Savoyard, Sicilian, English, Swedish, Moscovite, Moorish, Tartar and Chinese;¹ the more exotic the country the more curious the events described, until at length, the Oriental tales that flourish in the first half of the eighteenth century take us from the novel to the fantastic tale.

Now those works that deal with the events of bygone ages or of fairly inaccessible countries could hardly pretend to be more than historical novels;² it is otherwise when we come to works that treat of contemporary events and well-known persons. Narratives of this class, unless bearing the subtitle 'nouvelle historique,' as a rule claim to be absolutely authentic and trustworthy.³ They may be autobiographical confessions written to defend a reputation unjustly attacked⁴ or to help others to avoid the misfortunes that have befallen the author,⁵ and this form will enjoy a considerable vogue throughout the eighteenth century. Or again, they are biographical, dates are set down the margins,⁶ the authors write moved alone by the desire of

¹ Lenglet Dufresnoy gives a long and classified list of them in Vol. II of his *Usage des Romans*, and even more are noticed in the *Bibliothèque des Romans*.

² But not all are as frank as the editor of the *Prince de Condé* (by Boursault, Paris, 1675). "On peut regarder comme autant de véritez," he explains, "les endroits qui ne concernent que la guerre, mais on ne garantit pas ceux où l'amour a quelque part. Et à proprement parler, ce n'est icy qu'un petit Roman a quoy l'on prete des Noms Illustres pour le faire recevoir plus favorablement parce que l'on est plus sensible aux aventures d'un Prince que l'on connoist qu'à celles d'un héros que l'on ne connait pas." (Le libraire au lecteur.)

³ See, for instance, the various prefaces of Courtitz de Sandras or the *Mémoires des aventures singulières de la Cour de France* (La Haye, 1692, 2^e édition), where Madame d'Aulnoy warns the reader: "Ne vous attendez point que j'ajoute rien à la vérité, ni pour embellir ni pour diminuer les incidents; je crains même d'être trop sincère dans la suite de mon discours et qu'il ne s'y trouve quelques endroits qui ne vous paroissent pas d'une conduite assez régulière: mais, Madame, pardonnez le moi, car en prenant la plume, j'ai résolu

De nommer tout par son nom,

Un chat un chat et rolet un fripon. (pp. 166-167.)

⁴ e.g. the *Memoirs* of Mmes de Villedieu, Mazarin, Murat, etc.

⁵ e.g. the *Mémoires de la Vie du Comte D*** Avant sa retraite*, redigez par M. de Saint-Evremond, Paris, 1696 (attributed to the Abbé de Villiers).

⁶ e.g. in Courtitz de Sandras's *Vie de J. B. Colbert* (1695) and *Mémoires de M. de Bouy* (1711), in Boursault's *Prince de Condé* (1675), Madame d'Aulnoy's *Comte de Warwick* (1703), etc.

instructing posterity;¹ sometimes it 'happens' that memoirs of well-known people have fallen into their hands and they publish them just as they have received them, without adding or suppressing anything.²

These memoirs and pseudo-memoirs contain, of course, a very varying amount of truth. They range from productions such as the *Mémoires de la Vie du Comte D. * * * Avant sa retraite*, or some of the works of Courtilz de Sandras, whom Bayle indignantly describes as a 'compilateur de toutes les rapsodies satiriques qu'on peut apprendre dans les auberges et dans les armées,'³ to certain memoirs that can practically be included among the authentic memoirs written in all good faith. Among the memoirs that belong far more to the domain of history than that of fiction may be included Madame de La Fayette's *Histoire de Madame Henriette d'Angleterre*, in a lesser degree the *Mémoires de Grammont*, and after these the *Mémoires de M. L. D. M.* (Madame la Duchesse Mazarin),⁴ probably composed by herself and Saint-Réal, and the memoirs of her sister edited by Brémont, *Les Véritables Mémoires de Madame Marie Mancini*, connétable de Colonna, écrits par elle-même.⁵ The *Lettres Portugaises*, not having been written for the public or even for a circle of friends, are purposely omitted here. Other works belonging to this somewhat indefinite class are the much earlier *Histoire amoureuse des Gaules*, certain works of Madame d'Aulnoy, the largely autobiographical *Mémoires de la Vie de Henriette Sylvie de Molière* by Madame de Villedieu⁶ and Madame de Murat's *Mémoires de Madame la Comtesse de * * * ou la Défense des Dames dans lesquels on verra que très souvent il y a beaucoup plus de malheur que de dérèglement dans la Conduite des Femmes*,⁷ also largely autobiographical.

¹ e.g. Courtilz de Sandras in the *Vie de J. B. Colbert*.

² Thus the *Mémoires de M. L. C. D. R.* (*Roche fort*) by Courtilz de Sandras (1687). In the *Mémoires du Marquis de Montbrun* (1701), Courtilz de Sandras declares impudently that if some of the events described should astonish certain 'personnes'—"tant pis, l'on n'est pas cause qu'elles soient si mal instruites."

³ *Dictionnaire*, in the article on Schomberg.

⁴ Cologne, 1675.

⁵ Leyden, 1678. These Memoirs are supposed by some to be apocryphal. But see Amédée Renée, *Les Nièces de Mazarin* (Paris, 1856), pp. 286-287, where it is urged that they are authentic and really written by her.

⁶ Paris, 1672.

⁷ Lyon, 1697.

It must be remembered that, at this time, there is no very hard and fast line between history and fiction. The historiographers of Louis XIV can hardly be considered free in their profession (and one of them, Mézerai, well aware of his bondage, being dismissed writes on a bag, "This is the last money I ever got from the King and from that time onwards I have not found anything good to say of him"). Other historians favour the *histoire anecdotique*, and 'secret' histories. Varillas is at best a 'historien romanesque'; his work was found to be full of inexactitudes and deliberate inventions. Saint-Réal learns from him the 'art of embellishing history'; historiographer of Savoy, he writes both historical treatises and historical novels. Vertot, composing a *History of Malta*, is said to have refused the offer of some authentic documents concerning the siege of Malta. "It is too late, I have written my siege." And whoever may be responsible for the apocryphal *Œuvres posthumes* of Saint-Réal, the following remark is not uncharacteristic of the period, "les incertitudes de la Philosophie ne sont gueres plus grandes que celles de l'Histoire, et ceux qui l'ont beaucoup lue disent que l'on accommode l'histoire à peu près comme les viandes dans une cuisine : chaque nation les apprête à sa manière."¹

On the other hand, some of the 'nouvellistes,' Baudot de Juilly, Vanel, Lesconvel, for instance, write historical works as well as purely imaginary narratives; Madame d'Aulnoy gives a fairly detailed and sober account of the wars of 1672-1679,² and even the works of Courtilz de Sandras may be divided into those that have a strictly historical character, such as the lives of Turenne and Colbert, and those that deal with more imaginary personages while still purporting to be true. One is nowhere on very sure ground. Bayle preparing his dictionary is constantly inconvenienced by these hybrid productions. In his article on Louis XIII he not infrequently refers to the *Mémoires d'Artagnan* while having to admit that some of the author's statements are 'very great falsehoods.' Elsewhere³ he points out that

¹ Saint-Réal, *Nouvelles Œuvres posthumes* (Paris, 1699), pp. 145-146.

² *Nouvelles ou mémoires historiques*, contenant ce qui s'est passé de plus remarquable dans l'Europe, tant aux Guerres, prises de Places et Batailles sur terre et sur mer qu'aux divers interests des Princes et Souverains qui ont agy depuis 1672 jusqu'en 1679 (Paris, 1693).

³ In his article on Nidhart.

Madame d'Aulnoy's *Mémoires de la Cour d'Espagne* are really much more reliable than they are supposed to be, but then, what can be done? The public classes them with other more or less ingenious works of fiction and they share the general discredit. This state of confusion increases from day to day, and, says Bayle, "Je croi qu'enfin on contraindra les Puissances à donner ordre que ces nouveaux Romanistes ayent à opter : qu'ils fassent, ou des Histoires toutes pures ou des Romans tout purs ou qu'au moins ils se servent de crochets pour séparer l'une de l'autre, la vérité et la fausseté."¹

Then there is the impudence of these new authors. Their books are full of the most barefaced untruths; the persons they write about are, however, not yet too remote, and these inventions can still be easily enough exposed, but what about the future? Do we know what will happen between the eighteenth and the twenty-eighth century? What if there be a complete eclipse of all learning followed at length by a renaissance? Thousands of admirable works may perish while such a one as the *Amours de Grégoire VII* may escape destruction, and perhaps being unearthed by some eager seeker, it will be supposed to contain priceless anecdotes. We have been duped more than once by such works, we are evidently to be duped in the ages to come. Patience.²

It may be asked whether Hamilton owes anything to his predecessors who, with the fewest exceptions, are so immeasurably below him. One page of the *Mémoires de Grammont*, it has been remarked, and rightly too, is worth all Madame de Villegieu's works put together.³ From the mass of dull and feeble productions that encumber the last thirty years of the reign of Louis XIV the *Mémoires de Grammont* emerge all the more triumphantly. But whether they would have been written if Courtilz de Sandras had not

¹ *Ib.*

² *Dictionnaire*, article on Grégoire VII; cf. articles on Brézé and Schomberg. The excellent La Harpe, writing about a hundred years later, cannot resign himself to the nouvelle historique either. "C'est une corruption de l'histoire inconnue aux anciens et qui caractérise la légèreté des modernes que de défigurer par un vernis romanesque des faits importants et des noms célèbres et de mêler la fiction à la réalité." (*Lycée*, VI, p. 230.)

³ Cf. de Gallier, Madame de Villegieu, *Bulletin de la Société d'Archéologie de la Drome*, 1883, p. 128.

poured forth his would-be historical monographs, if Madame d'Aulnoy had not described the court of Charles II in a work that left much room for improvement is certainly doubtful. The various lives composed by Courtilz de Sandras may very well have given Hamilton the idea of writing the life of his brother-in-law, though he did not quite carry out his original intentions ; his own brother Richard figures in the *Mémoires de J. B. de La Fontaine*. As for Madame d'Aulnoy who writes historical novels dealing with England, after Courtilz de Sandras she is the author who most frequently abandons the *nouvelle historique*, concerning itself with the past, and launches forth into accounts of things she has seen and of persons she has known, for like Courtilz she has travelled much. She does not hesitate to call things by their names ; she wishes the reader to be convinced of what she relates. It is true that she often mars her narratives by lapsing into the most unlikely and insipid fictions, but still she is one of those who has helped to direct the novel into new channels and who knew how to take advantage of the ever-ready interest of the public in contemporary events and personalities. She writes of the Spanish court, the English court and the French court, very seldom disguising the persons whose intrigues amoureuses she is naturally relating. If the *Mémoires secrets de M. L. D. D. O.* are really by her,¹ they are a most daring and libellous account of Madame Henriette's relations with the Comte de Guiche and others.

There is one author, however, with whom Hamilton shows a decided affinity, the perpetrator of the notorious *Histoire Amoureuse des Gaules*, Gramont's friend and kindred spirit, Bussy Rabutin, who is in some measure responsible for what is least estimable in this transition period of the novel, for the mass of half-libellous, half-satirical anecdotes that are brought forward in some form or other, for the prying curiosity, the unconcealed interest in things indelicate, the lack of discretion, the complacent disregard of the feelings of others, sparing not even the King in that monarchic age nor, a fortiori, the Church

¹ *Mémoires secrets de M. L. D. D. O[rléans]* . . . par Mme d'Aulnoy, Paris, 1696. As a rule Madame d'Aulnoy publishes her books anonymously. She complains in some of her prefaces that all kinds of works not written by her are given under her name or, at least, attributed to her.

and the ladies at court¹—in short, for that spirit of opposition and barefaced cynicism that was to characterize the regency. Brantôme's bonhomie² has given way to a treacherous persiflage. We must admit that Hamilton is of the school of Bussy; both of them, however, and Hamilton in particular, are far above the unreadable productions of half a century that separate the *Histoire Amoureuse* from the *Mémoires de Grammont*, works like the *Amours des Dames illustres de Notre Siècle*, the *Intrigues Amoureuses de la Cour de France*, the *France Galante* and others of this type. The *Histoire Amoureuse* foreshadows the manner of Hamilton, his lightness of touch, his irony, his uncharitable malice, the skill with which the portraits are drawn, but here Hamilton's superiority is very apparent. Bussy's portraits are much less varied than those of Hamilton's; there is a certain monotony about them; compared to some of those of the *Mémoires de Grammont* they seem simple enumerations of the 'charms' of the persons described.³ Moreover, Hamilton's style is even more polished than Bussy's. A certain trenchant conciseness of expression, the frequent epigrammatic turn of the phrases give the *Mémoires* a curious hard glamour that the *Histoire Amoureuse* lacks.⁴

Madame d'Aulnoy's *Mémoires de la Cour d'Angleterre*

¹ "L'on voit aujourd'hui des Gens qui osent avancer comme une chose certaine qu'il n'y a point d'honnête Femme," remarks Madame de Murat in her *Mémoires* (1697), and the Abbé Lenglet Dufresnoy, looking back over the novels of that age, points out at great length and not without some naïveté the wrong it is "de censurer dans un roman la personne des Rois, de critiquer leur conduite, de les attaquer par des railleries, d'étaler leurs vices et leurs défauts, de blâmer leur gouvernement . . . surtout point de satire, point de railleries piquantes, point de bons mots, éloignons les de nos oreilles autant que ceux qui écrivent les doivent éloigner de leurs livres." (*De l'Usage des Romans*, I, pp. 141, 152.) Similarly he remarks, "Surtout n'oublions point les femmes à la cour . . . qui les offense à tout à redouter. Bussy ne l'a que trop éprouvé. Il aimait les bons mots et il en a été récompensé de la bonne sorte: il a reçu dans toute son étendue le fruit de cette ingénieuse satire que la mère de tous les vices, c'est à dire l'oisiveté lui a fait écrire contre des femmes vraiment aimables." (*Ib.*, p. 160.)

² Cf. Doumic, *Brantôme et 'l'honnête' Galanterie*. (*Etudes sur la Littérature française, Deuxième Série*.)

³ Bussy's famous portrait of Madame de Sévigné is an exception.

⁴ Cf. for instance the following characterization of Turenne by Bussy and of Charles II by Hamilton. The idea underlying is much the same in both cases. "A l'ouïr parler dans son conseil, il paraissait l'homme du monde le plus irrésolu, cependant quand il était pressé de prendre son parti, personne ne le prenait ni mieux ni plus vite." So much for Turenne. As for Charles II, "Il était capable de tout dans les affaires pressantes et incapable de s'y appliquer quand elles ne l'étaient pas."

appeared anonymously in 1695. They are of very slight importance and hardly deserve the honour that has recently been given them of a new English edition,¹ though Mr. Gilbert's able editorship has done something to show that they are not quite so negligible as had been thought. The *Mémoires de la Cour d'Espagne* and the *Voyage d'Espagne* were marked by a certain simplicity and soberness,² by a relative absence of the usual intrigues amoureuses, but in the *Mémoires de la Cour d'Angleterre* we have a series of futile and largely imaginary adventures from which only two or three episodes can be singled out as being confirmed by contemporary authority, thus, for instance, the story of the Count of Oxford and of the unfortunate actress Roxolana.

During the second half of the seventeenth century various events—the wanderings of Charles II, his Restoration, the brilliance and dissoluteness of his court, the second exile of the Stuarts—had kept things English fairly constantly before the French public; a certain number of the historical novels deal with England,³ 'Bouquinkam' was

¹ *Memoirs of the Court of England in 1675*, by Marie Catherine Baronne d'Aulnoy. Translated from the original French by Mrs. William Henry Arthur. Edited . . . with Annotations by George David Gilbert. London. John Lane, 1913.

² The superiority of these Memoirs is partly due to the fact that Madame d'Aulnoy had had access to a MS. entitled "Etat de l'Espagne de 1678-1682," attributed to the French Ambassador, the Marquis de Villars, and since printed in 1733.

³ e.g. 1670 *Ethelrod et Alfrède* in *Les Annales Galantes*, by Madame de Villedieu, Paris, 1670.

1674 *Nouvelles Galantes de la Reine Elisabeth d'Angleterre*, by Madame d'Aulnoy, Paris, 1674.

1675 *Marie Stuart, Reine de France et d'Ecosse, nouvelle historique*, by Pierre le Pesant de Boisguilbert, Paris, 1675.

1676 *Hattigé ou les Amours du Roy de Tameran, nouvelle*, by Brémont. A. Cologne, chez Simon l'Africain, 1676.

1677 *Frideric, Prince de Galles*, Paris, 1677.

1677 *La Princesse d'Angleterre*, Paris, 1677. Two vols.

1678 *Alfrède, Reine d'Angleterre*, Paris, 1678.

1680 *Le Comte de Richemont*, Amsterdam, 1680.

1682 *La Comtesse de Salisbury ou l'Ordre de la Jarretière*, by d'Argences, Paris, 1682. Two vols.

1686 *Le Duc de Montmouth, nouvelle historique*, Liège, 1686.

1689 *Marie de France, Reine d'Angleterre*, by Cotelendi, Paris, 1689.

1690 *Histoire secrète de la Duchesse de Portsmouth*, Cologne, 1690.

1690 *Hypolite, Comte de Douglas*, by Mdme. d'Aulnoy, Paris, 1690.

1691 *Les Amours de Messaline ci-devant Reine d'Albion où sont découverts les secrets de l'imposture du Prince de Galles*, Villefranche, Plantie, 1691.

1695 *Edward, Histoire d'Angleterre*, Paris, 1695.

1695 *La Cour de Saint-Germain*, Paris, 1695.

a name not unknown to French fiction, Brémond's *Hattigé ou les Amours du Roy de Tameran* was a thinly disguised narrative of the relations existing between Charles II and Lady Castlemaine,¹ and Madame d'Aulnoy's *Mémoires* once

- 1696 *Histoire de Cathérine de France, Reine d'Angleterre*, by Baudot de Juilly, Paris, 1696.
 1696 *Mylord Courtenay ou les premiers amours d'Elizabeth, Reine d'Angleterre*, by Eustache le Noble, Paris, 1696.
 1698 *Histoire des Intrigues amoureuses du Père Peters, Jesuite, Confesseur de Jacques II, ci-devant Roy d'Angleterre*, Cologne, 1698.
 1700 *L'Histoire du Comte de Clare, nouvelle galante*, Amsterdam, 1700.
 1700 *Les Galanteries Angloises, nouvelles historiques*, La Haye, Louis Van Dole, 1700.
 1704 *Histoire du Comte de Warwick*, by Madame d'Aulnoy, Paris, 1704. Two vols.
 1705 *La Tour ténébreuse et les Jours lumineux, Contes anglais tirés d'anciens manuscrits contenant la Chronique, les Fabliaux et autres Poésies de Richard Premier*, by Made-moiselle L'héritier, Paris, 1705. Etc.

The following translations may also be mentioned :

- 1703 *Mémoires du chevalier Hasard, traduits de l'Anglois sur l'Original Manuscrit*, Cologne, 1703.
 1708 *Histoire secrète de la Reine Zarah et les Zaraziens*. Seconde édition corrigée (by Mrs. Manley) dans le Royaume d'Albion, 1708.
 1713 *L'Atlantis de Mad. Manley, contenant les intrigues politiques et amoureuses d'Angleterre*, La Haye, 1713. Three vols.

¹ On the 4th of October, 1676, Bayle writes to Minutoli : " J'ai lu ces jours passez les Amours du Roi d'Angleterre et de la Castelmaine sous le nom des Amours du Roi de Tamaran. C'est un fort joli petit ouvrage, bien écrit et contenant des aventures bien tournées, mais qui ne donnent pas une haute idée du Prince." [*Lettres*, Amsterdam, 1729, I, p. 128.]

England is described by Brémond as follows : " Le Tamaran . . . est aujourd'hui un Royaume où l'Amour règne plus souverainement qu'il n'a jamais fait en Chypre ni en Grenade. L'usage des galanteries y est devenu si familier qu'il est presque aussi naturel d'être galant que de vivre. L'on y aime jusqu'à ce que l'on soit tout à fait usé et les jeunes gens, que l'exemple de leurs pères autorise, ont encore besoin d'un Maître qu'ils cherchent à faire une Maîtresse. . . . Les sujets, comme les Royaumes sont tels que les Rois les font et celui de Tamaran étant un des plus galants Princes qu'il y ait au monde, il ne faut pas s'étonner si dans tout son état on ne parle que de galanterie."

Keys were soon circulated. One of them was at one time in Nodier's possession (cf. Nodier, *Mélanges tirés d'une petite bibliothèque*, Paris, 1829, p. 95), another is preserved at the Record Office, among the French State Papers for 1676, Vol. 141, No. 249. According to this key the personages are explained as follows :

Roy de Tamaran	. le roy d'Angleterre.
Hattigé	. la Duchesse de Geflande.
Zara	. confidente de la Duchesse.
Rajep	. M. de Chasuelle (Churchill), Amant de la Duchesse
Osman	. le Duc de Bouquaincam.
Moharen	. Milord Candiche.
Roukia	. Femme du Milord.

The book was printed in Holland, but Brémond brought some copies to

more recalled 'Witehal' and 'Hidparq' and set forth the love affairs of Monmouth, 'Bouquinkam,' of the Counts of 'Candich' and 'Evincher,' of the Countess of 'Schrosbery,' of 'Nellécuin' and of many others. This book, in which Hamilton's cousin, the Count of Arran, is one of the doubtful heroes, in which his uncle, the Duke of Ormonde, is so unworthily made to act the part of a foolish elderly lover, cannot but have been instrumental in turning back

England and had a certain number printed in London. The bookseller, Bentley, to whom Brémont had entrusted some of them, 'finding the sale quick,' 'innocently' intended to have the book translated, but Oldenburg, then secretary of the Royal Society, refused to license it, considering the book "very unfit, not only to be translated, but to be vended in French, as looking like a libel against the King." Brémont had impudently dedicated it to Lord St. Albans, and assured Bentley that as soon as he got any more copies, he would present one to the King, and that he was engaged in writing a second part. A warrant was issued to L'Estrange to search for the book, author, printer and publishers and bring them before Williamson or a justice, and Bentley was seized on and examined; Brémont, however, seems to have been too elusive. Meanwhile Williamson took steps to find out whether the book was really intended as a libel, and his secretary managed to secure one of the above-mentioned keys through a Paris correspondent. "I send you here inclosed," writes the latter, "what you order'd me to enquire after, which I met with before I signified so much to you, for otherwise I should have been loath to have explain'd Tamaran in such terms. I have seen three severall editions of the book, the First had the Clef printed with it, and I think I met with the first of them that came to light in the Streat, so soft and dampy though stitched up in a parchment Cover that one who had skill would rather say it was newly comed out of the presse, then sweaty by its journey from Cologne. The second Edition was printed without the Clef and the book and the Clef each sold by themselves. This enclosed is one of them wch belongs to it and the third has none that I can find. The first I saw in the hands of a Woman that Cryed Garetes in the Streets, but since they have bin sold at the Quay des Augustins where all books of that trampe are to be had." (*R.O. St. P.*, Foreign, France, 141, No. 249, W. Lancaster to Francis Benson, Sept. 30th, 1676.)

As for Brémont, he went on writing somewhat doubtful books and dedicating them to English patrons: in 1676, the same year, *la Princesse de Montferrat* to the Earl of Plymouth; in 1677, *le Galant Escroc* to Mulgrave, *le Triomphe de l'Amour sur le Destin* to the Earl of Middlesex, *l'Heureux Esclave* to Lord Ossory; in 1678 *le double Cocu* to the Earl of Pembroke, etc.

In 1680 the translation of *Hattigé* appeared in spite of all, viz. *Hattigé or the Amours of the King of Tamaran*. A Novel. Amsterdam. Printed for Simon the African at the Black Prince in the Sun [R. Bentley, London?], 1680. A reprint appeared in 1683 (Amsterdam), and in 1692 another edition was openly published in England, viz. London, printed for R. Bentley in Russel Street in Covent Garden, 1692 (Vol. I of a series in twelve volumes, called *Modern Novels*). Other editions appeared in 1720 and 1729.

(*Cal. St. P.*, Dom., 1676-1677, pp. 76, 80, 81, 82, and Bayle, op. cit., note by Desmaizeaux).

Brémont publishes all his books anonymously; he is usually called Gabriel de Brémont, but it should be noted that Bentley, who knew him personally, calls him Sebastien Brémont.

Hamilton's thoughts to the Stuart court at the time that it was gayest. Though the *Mémoires de Grammont* were not composed until ten years later, there can be little doubt that the errors and the feebleness of the earlier work are in some measure responsible for the brilliant narrative to which the reign of Charles II is indebted for part of its bad reputation.

In 1704 then or in the beginning of 1705 Hamilton announces his intention of composing a work that may give some idea of the chevalier's 'merit.'¹ With a kind of mock humility he acknowledges that there are many others more capable of undertaking this task; Boileau, for instance, or Chaulieu and La Fare, or the reverend Fathers Massillon and De la Rue or the *Mercure Galant*, but there being difficulties in every case, there remains nothing but for him to become the panegyrist. The plan was one that could not but delight Gramont, for Gramont did not doubt that he was "le plus joly courtisan qui ait jamais esté."² We read in a manuscript copy of lampoons:

Toujours le Comte de Gramont
D'un Amant aura la figure,
Il brusle comme Cupidon,
Il est plus galant que Mercure
Que coutait-il aux Dieux, nous l'ayant donné tel
De le rendre immortel ?³

The best part of the story remains to be told; it was Gramont himself who composed the above lines.⁴ A certain amount of irony does, of course, enter into them, but Gramont was not so very far from being in earnest when he spoke about his deserving immortality. He often jestingly assured his contemporaries that he would never die, and in a sense his prediction has been fulfilled. Two hundred years have elapsed since his death and he is still very present to us.

Hamilton seems to have set to work soon after writing the epistle alluded to, for the *Memoirs*, or at least the largest part of them, were composed during the lifetime of

¹ Epître à Monsieur le Comte de Gramont, *Œuvres*, I, pp. 1 sq.

² Bibl. Nat., ms. fr. 12688, p. 285.

³ *Ib.*, p. 279.

⁴ *Ib.*, p. 285.

Gramont,¹ and Gramont, it will be remembered, died in January, 1707. Early in 1712 Madame read them with great delight in manuscript, and had a copy made for the Duchess of Hanover, who professed to be no less 'diverted.'² In 1713 the *Memoirs* were suddenly published anonymously with the usual imprint of the doubtful and disreputable books of the period, *A Cologne, Chez Pierre Marteau*.³ The editor gave out that he had received a manuscript copy from Paris and that he had reproduced it with the greatest exactitude possible. At any rate he composed the title, for whereas from the extant manuscript copies it would seem that Hamilton had given his work the modest name of *Fragmens de la Vie du Comte de Gramont*, it appeared in print as *Mémoires de la Vie du Comte de Grammont, contenant particulièrement l'Histoire Amoureuse de la Cour d'Angleterre sous le Règne du Roi Charles II*. The sub-title especially was characteristic of the type of literature issued by that apocryphal person, Pierre Marteau, and was calculated to attract the public.

There can be little doubt that the appearance of the *Histoire Amoureuse de la Cour d'Angleterre* was as unwelcome to its author as that of the *Histoire Amoureuse des Gaules* was to Bussy, and that he was as little responsible for its publication as Fénelon was for that of the *Télémaque*, or, to quote a less illustrious example, his friend, M. de Coulanges, for that of his chansons which were printed to his 'great affliction.'⁴ It was all very well to circulate the manuscript among a few friends; it was a different thing to divulge it to the public at large. A few of the personages

¹ Hamilton would hardly have written as he did in the following sentences had he been writing after the Count's death: "Persuadé, comme il est encore, qu'en amour on gagne toujours de bonne guerre": MS. copy preserved at the Bibliothèque Mazarine, cf. p. 301 *infra* (I, p. 79); and "Pour moi, je ne me serais jamais avisé de croire, que l'attention du Comte de Grammont, si vive aujourd'hui pour les inconvénients et les perils, lui eût permis autrefois de faire de tendres raisonnements sur la route, s'il ne me dictoit à présent ce que j'écris" (I, p. 348).

In any case the *Memoirs* were not written later than 1710, for Richard Jones, Count of Ranelagh, mentioned as still alive (I, p. 125), died in January, 1711.

² Madame, *Correspondance*, II, pp. 110, 111.

³ As a rule these books were printed in Holland, but the bibliographer, Guillaume François Debure, in his *Catalogue des Livres du Cabinet de feu M. Louis Jean Gaignat* (Paris, 1769), enters the word Rouen in parenthesis after Cologne in his description of the editio princeps (Vol. I, p. 571).

⁴ Sévigné, *Lettres*, X, p. 213.

of the *Memoirs* were still alive ; Progers and Chesterfield had disappeared just in time, but there remained Sir Stephen Fox, Marlborough, Arabella Churchill (Mrs. Godfrey), the Duchess of Monmouth, Miss Temple and her husband, 'Le Sérieux Lyttleton,' Lady Robartes, Miss Hughes and la belle Jennings, the widowed Duchess of Tyrconnel.¹ Except for the last-named, they were all indifferent enough to Hamilton, especially as he no longer saw them ; still, he had spoken of the mother of his friend Berwick in a way that could not but be considered outrageous ; 'la belle Stuart,' the aunt of the four sisters Bulkeley to whom he was so much attached, had been treated little better, and the 'young king' could not be expected to appreciate the account that was given of his father. Moreover, it could hardly please Hamilton to contribute to the amusement of the bourgeoisie by a work that was not intended for it and to have his family affairs discussed by a class for whom he had always entertained a profound contempt.

We do not know how the *Memoirs* were received by those whom they concerned, but no special outcry seems to have been raised. Apart from a circle of intimates nobody knew who had written the book. Saint-Simon, and doubtless many others, believed that the author was really Gramont himself, and spoke with righteous indignation of the 'strange' *Memoirs* that Gramont had not been 'ashamed' to write.² Books of that type, all anonymous, appeared so frequently at the time that, in France at least, the *Memoirs* were not considered as anything particularly scandalous.

Were the *Memoirs* really dictated by Gramont ? Once or twice Hamilton interrupts his narrative to assure the reader that he is only holding the pen for Gramont,³ and there was doubtless a certain amount of collaboration between them. The *Memoirs*, it will be remembered, con-

¹ The maid of honour, Mademoiselle La Garde, is, as a rule, mentioned among the survivors ; she is stated to have lived till 1730, this, however, must be an error. Hamilton tells us that she married Sir Gabriel Sylvius, and Sir Gabriel Sylvius married in 1677 Miss Anne Howard (Evelyn, III, p. 11). One is therefore led to suppose that Mademoiselle La Garde died before this date, and, as a matter of fact, we find that in 1670 a certain Madame Henriette de Bordes d'Assigny was appointed dresser and woman of the chamber to the Queen 'in place of Lady Sylvius, deceased.' (*Cal. St. P.*, Dom., 1670, p. 437.)

² *Mémoires*, XI, p. 109 ; XIV, p. 265.

³ *Œuvres*, I, pp. 20, 348.

sist of two distinct parts: first, the adventures of the Chevalier de Gramont before his exile, that is to say, certain events which took place between the years of 1643 and 1662; and second, roughly speaking, the chevalier's adventures in England from 1662 to 1664, though events which took place in England after the chevalier's return to France are occasionally alluded to. For the first part Hamilton was altogether dependent on the information that Gramont gave him; for the second part he could and did draw on his personal recollections as well, though he was only seventeen or eighteen when the chevalier came to England. At any rate, Gramont's collaboration cannot ever have amounted to anything more than the furnishing of the materials. As we know, he was an awkward writer though a brilliant talker, and the *Memoirs* are a very elaborate work of art that must have cost their author many an hour of patient, loving labour such as was unknown to Gramont.

Sometimes Hamilton found the task very hard. From the very beginning he had decided that to reproduce the chevalier's *bons mots* or even his personal accounts of his adventures was an undertaking altogether beyond his powers, and as he progressed with his work, he became more and more confirmed in his resolution. "This would certainly be the place to mention his adventures," he exclaims on one occasion, "but who can describe them with such ease and elegance, as may be expected by those who have heard his own relation of them? Vain is the attempt to endeavour to transcribe these entertaining anecdotes, their spirit seems to evaporate upon paper and in whatever light they are exposed, the delicacy of their colouring and their beauty are lost."¹ What made Gramont's stories so irresistible was not so much, according to Bussy, the matter, as his Gascon accent and the expression on his face.² Whether Hamilton was successful or not in laying hold of the chevalier's manner is a question that could only have been settled by his contemporaries; we may note that Madame, at least, was extremely enthusiastic;³ to his latter-day readers it certainly seems that when the chevalier is made to describe the misfortunes of Termes

¹ *Memoirs* (ed. Gordon Goodwin), I, p. 66.

² *Correspondance*, II, p. 110.

³ Madame, *Correspondance*, II, p. 110.

and the embroidered coat, the siege of Lerida or the adventure at the Lyons inn, his vivacity, his polite impudence, his mock gravity, his flippant wit, his vainglorious affability are rendered with the utmost skill.

Hamilton had originally intended to confine himself to the adventures of Gramont after his return from exile in 1664; his participation in the campaigns of 1668 and 1672 to 1678, his visit to England in 1670 and his connexion with Buckingham's mission to France, his last appearance in the Dauphin's army at the age of seventy, his various 'resurrections' from severe illnesses, etc.¹ But, as we have seen, he went back to the early years of Gramont's youth—it was possibly Gramont himself who persuaded him to do this—and though, for a while he still thought of continuing the *Memoirs* down to more recent times,² his first plan was ultimately abandoned.

The original draft of the *Memoirs* seems to have included two chapters that unfortunately have not come down to us; the chevalier's adventures at the French court after leaving Turin, the abduction of Mademoiselle de Bouteville by Gaspard de Coligny,³ in which Coligny was aided by Condé and, as it would seem, by Mademoiselle de Bouteville's cousin, Gramont; Gramont's 'counsels' before the imprisonment of Condé, Conti and Longueville, his 'generous actions' after that occurrence, and other minor events.⁴ It is impossible to say what became of these

¹ Epître à Monsieur le Comte de Grammont, *passim* (*Œuvres*, I).

² Cf. *Œuvres*, I, p. 46. "Trin se rendit enfin . . . Je ne sais pas si le chevalier de Grammont eut quelque part à la prise de cette place; mais je sais bien que, sous un règne plus glorieux et des armes partout victorieuses, sa hardiesse et son adresse en ont fait prendre quelques-unes depuis, à la vue de son maître, *C'est ce qu'on verra dans la suite de ces Mémoires.*" Now the *Memoirs* end abruptly with the chevalier's marriage.

³ Cf. the *Histoire d'Angélie et de Ginolic* in the *Histoire amoureuse des Gaules* and Madame de Motteville, pp. 85–87.

⁴ Cf. the original ending of Chapter IV, quoted *infra* p. 303. This is the text given in the two manuscript copies preserved, the one at the Bibliothèque Nationale the other at the Bibliothèque Mazarine. Both of these go straight on from Chapter IV (Chapter IV in the 1713 edition) to Chapter VII (Chapter V in the 1713 edition). No pages have been cut out of the MSS., no explanation is given of the gap. The copy at the Bibliothèque Mazarine is divided into two parts, the second (*Fragments de la Vie du Comte de Gramont, Seconde Partie*) beginning with the story of the siege of Lerida. It is significant that the first part, in which the missing chapters ought to have been, contains 176 pages over against the 244 pages of the second part. The copy at the Bibliothèque Nationale is unfortunately imperfect and consists only of a first part which corresponds with the first part of the Mazarine copy.

chapters; they may have been lost accidentally, and Hamilton was not the man to trouble to rewrite them; he may have suppressed them as not being equal in merit to the rest of the work, or they may not have been to the liking of Gramont; in any case, we cannot but regret the disappearance of what promised to be not the least interesting chapters in this life of Gramont.

The ending of the *Memoirs* strikes one as singularly abrupt. Hamilton, as if tired of his self-imposed task, suddenly marries off all his personages without any warning, but promises to give another instalment in which it is to be set forth how these marriages came about,¹ a promise which he probably never kept, for no sequel to the *Memoirs* has ever been known to exist.

How has the hero of the *Memoirs* fared at the hands of his biographer? Saint-Simon, imagining that Gramont had himself composed the *Memoirs*, remarked that his worst enemies would not have dared to publish them.² Voltaire, too, thought little of the rôle that was assigned to the chevalier, a rôle which, according to him, amounted to little more than cheating his friends at play, being robbed by his valet and uttering some imaginary *bons mots*.³ Neither he nor Saint-Simon are altogether just to Hamilton; so skilfully are Gramont's shortcomings handled that he has come down to us through the ages with his insolent ease in no wise diminished. Not that Hamilton disguises his hero's failings, from the very outset he gives his readers to understand that he does not mean to pass these over

¹ "Ce sera dans la *troisième* partie de ces *Mémoires*, qu'on fera voir de quelle manière arrivèrent ces différentes aventures"—ending of the manuscript copy preserved at the Bibliothèque Mazarine. Madame, writing to the Duchess of Hanover, says: "Le Comte de Gramont . . . alla en Angleterre. C'est à cette époque qu'il y eut toutes les aventures que vous trouverez dans le deuxième livre. Dans le premier se trouve relatée sa galanterie à la cour de Savoie. Dès que je pourrai avoir le tome *troisième* je vous le ferai copier et vous l'enverrai" (*Corr.*, II, p. 110). One might almost conclude from this that the sequel above mentioned was in existence, but Madame is probably only alluding to Hamilton's promise which, she must have discovered, he had not troubled himself to carry out.

Boyer ends his translation (1714) with the following words: "How Love Affairs were manag'd in the English court, after these matches, shall be faithfully related in the second volume of these *Memoirs*." But this is a frank addition to the 1713 text and very likely refers to some continuation that Boyer intended to undertake. The statement is omitted from the 1719 reprint.

² *Mémoires*, XIV, p. 265.

³ *Œuvres*, XIV (Siècle de Louis XIV), pp. 78-79.

in silence. But there are, of course, different ways of treating the lapses of our fellow-men; those of Gramont are set forth as being very original, very amusing, very witty and therefore very pardonable. Gramont is calmly described as a man, "distinguished by a mixture of virtues and vices so closely linked together, as in appearance to form a necessary dependence, glowing with the greatest beauty when united, shining with the brightest lustre when opposed."¹ As for Gramont's cheating at cards,² that was a less serious offence in the seventeenth century than it would be now; in Madame de Sévigné and Saint-Simon we read of gentlemen addicted to similar habits; Mazarin is by no means free from reproach, and Madame de Staal de Launay tells us that the Duchesse de la Ferté used to assemble her attendants and her purveyors at Lansquenet and get the better of them by more than doubtful means, because, she said, they robbed her in other ways.³

Occasionally the praises of Gramont ring somewhat hollow. One is slightly bored by the frequent rehearsal of the chevalier's 'merit' and popularity; one wonders whether Hamilton is quite serious—and it is often exceedingly difficult to know when Hamilton is serious and when not—in speaking of Gramont as a kind-hearted, noble, generous defender of the oppressed and the helpless;⁴ one wonders whether Hamilton, the most caustic and clear-sighted of persons, is quite sincere in his professed admiration for his brother-in-law. One thing is certain, and that is that he is not quite in his element when, lapsing from his usual ironical manner, he speaks charitably and without the hidden sting. "On n'a pas tant d'esprit quand on demande pardon que quand on offense," he says somewhere in his *Memoirs*. "On n'a pas tant d'esprit quand on loue que quand on critique," one might say, and apply this adaptation to the case of Hamilton. The *Tales* show none of this restraint.

¹ *Memoirs* (ed. Gordon Goodwin), I, p. 3.

² Goujas hints at Gramont's cheating Monsieur (Gaston d'Orléans). (*Mémoires de Nicholas Goujas* (Paris, 1879, three vols.), II, p. 212, for the year 1647.) Forty years later the Duc du Maine, aged sixteen, has to confess to Madame de Maintenon that, finding nobody who would play petit jeu, he had played with Gramont and lost fifty pistoles against him. (Maintenon, *Correspondance Générale*, III, p. 59.)

³ *Mémoires de Madame de Staal* (éd. Michaud et Poujoulat, 1839), p. 689.

⁴ See especially *Œuvres*, I, pp. 44-45.

In the second part of the *Memoirs* Gramont is less in evidence. In the earlier chapters we have Gramont's emancipation from the guardianship of the sagacious Brinon, his first exploits at the siege of Trino, his stay at the court of Turin, the episode of the Fronde when Gramont visits the hostile camps of Condé and Turenne ; everything turns round Gramont, though we are introduced to some other no less interesting personages, M. Cérise, the host, and the fat little horse-dealer at Lyons ; that altogether delightful kinsman of Brantôme, Matta, whose *bons mots* Madame de Caylus still quotes fifty years after his death ; the ménage Sénantes and M. de Caméran, who is so gracefully fleeced, etc. But in the second part the mode of treatment changes. Gramont is no longer quite the central figure. The biographer forgets that his original intention was to set forth the doings of the chevalier, so many are the recollections that force themselves upon him. The portraits that are almost absent from the first part now begin to abound. The scene is suddenly thronged with the lords and ladies of the English court whom Hamilton had known so well, the King, the Queen, the Duke and Duchess of York, those amazing maids of honour, Mrs. Middleton, Lady Shrewsbury, certain members of the Hamilton family ; Killegrew, Arran, Talbot and Falmouth, all 'gens d'honneur,' Rochester and Buckingham, 'little' Jermyn, le beau Sydney and many more. With some of the episodes Gramont has very little to do. His love affair with Elizabeth Hamilton is hardly given as much prominence as those of Charles II, Lady Castlemaine and Miss Stuart, the Duke of York and Miss Churchill, James Hamilton and Lady Chesterfield, George Hamilton and Mrs. Wetenhall. This, however, is intentional, for if Hamilton does not spare the beauties of the English court, he is naturally careful in what he says of his sister ; moreover, is not one of the less avowed objects of the *Memoirs* to dispose of the legend of a certain 'mariage forcé,' to dispel certain vague suspicions that Miss Hamilton had been over-easy of access ? She is certainly made to contrast very advantageously with the other ladies. This was rather a difficult task to undertake, but, on the whole, Hamilton has succeeded well enough, especially by placing most of the praise bestowed on her into Saint-Évremond's mouth.

For the light it throws on some aspects of court life the

second part of the *Memoirs* is the more important, but, except for the inimitable portraits already mentioned, it ranks less high than the first part from a literary standpoint. Here every one of the episodes is a masterpiece, unless, perhaps, we except the lengthy chapter dealing with the chevalier's stay at Turin. Few will share Wieland's preference for the second part.¹ Here Hamilton is led too far away by his souvenirs, he himself becomes obviously tired of his task; some passages are frankly dull. Towards the close of the book he makes us feel, unintentionally no doubt, the hollow artificiality that crept into the pleasures at court, the fatigue overtaking the constant pursuit of cloying delights. The very headings of the chapters² betray a growing monotony, 'Intrigues amoureuses de la cour d'Angleterre,' 'Autres intrigues amoureuses de la cour d'Angleterre,' 'Autres intrigues amoureuses de la cour d'Angleterre,' 'Suite des intrigues amoureuses de la cour d'Angleterre,' 'Suite des intrigues amoureuses de cette cour.' Pepys sums up the situation in a few words, "All the court are in an uproare with their loose amours."³ He is less drawn out and more pithy than Hamilton. "She [Lady Castlemaine] is fallen in love with young Jermyn who hath of late been with her oftener than the King, and is now going to marry my Lady Falmouth. The King is mad at her entertaining Jermyn and she is mad at Jermyn's going to marry from her: so they are all mad and thus the kingdom is governed."⁴

Of the more serious events of the reign Hamilton has nothing to say. Whatever does not concern the court does not concern him. As Michelet remarks of the court of Louis XIV, "Que voulez-vous? Ces gens-là se croyaient un monde complet et ignoraient le reste."⁵ And so let no one be surprised if there is no mention of the great fire or of the plague or of the ill-omened war with Holland.⁶ As a matter of fact, Hamilton was too consummate an artist to introduce anything so discordant into his picture.

¹ *Der neue Amadis* (first edition, Leipzig, 1771), I, pp. 190, 192 n.

² These headings were not, of course, given by Hamilton, but they fit the chapters remarkably well.

³ *Diary*, V, p. 148.

⁴ *Ib.*, VII, p. 50.

⁵ *Histoire de France*, XV, p. vii.

⁶ These events, it is true, took place after the chevalier's departure, but then a number of such events are included in the *Memoirs*.

There is no doubt, however, that if Hamilton had set himself to give a serious account of the events he had witnessed, he might have accomplished something excellent in its way. Certain passages, the description of the state of France under Louis XIII, for instance, or the portrait of Cromwell make one wish that he had devoted his talents to something more worthy of them.

Like Le Sage Hamilton is a shrewd observer, and the *Memoirs* are not without some curious remarks on the world he lived in. It is interesting to find him describing London as the most beautiful city in the world and the English as the least submissive nation of Europe. The English are also credited with a penchant for 'ce qui sent le gladiateur,' while the French have the privilege of a certain air of elegance which the foreigner can only acquire by sojourning in France during his youth. The Spaniards have imparted to Arlington his ponderous gravity and his slowness in the conduct of affairs, while Chesterfield imitates the Italians in his ceremonious manner and his exaggerated jealousy of his wife. And so on.¹ There is a slightly ill-natured sketch of a country wedding at Abbeville, a curious account of the bowling greens and the 'rooks' at Bath, a charming little description of Tunbridge Wells that has been compared to one of Meissonier's paintings,² and scattered all through the *Memoirs* are illustrations of the customs of the time that M. Charlanne, for one, has been able to utilize in his recent book, *L'Influence française en Angleterre au Dix-septième Siècle*.

The question whether Hamilton is trustworthy in his facts and in his chronology has often been discussed, though the critic is somewhat disarmed by Hamilton's peremptory statement that neither dates nor order of events shall trouble him. For the first part of the *Memoirs* and for the passages of the second that deal with the private life of Gramont there is not much verification possible, but the fact that Gramont himself furnished Hamilton with the materials is significant; Gramont, as we know him, and a

¹ The remark that Hamilton makes about the Swiss merchants (they are also indifferently called Germans), viz. that they played like horses at trictrac, formerly gave great offence to the German translators, and the word 'Germans' has been suppressed in the 1780 edition. (I, p. 14; cf. also the preface.)

² E. D. Forgues, *Revue des Deux Mondes*, September, 1857, p. 174. (Le Comte de Rochester.)

Gascon to boot, would not have the slightest scruples in embellishing these materials if he thought best. Thus it is by no means so very certain that Gramont was as haughty to Mazarin as he would have us believe,¹ and as for what he is pleased to call 'Mrs. Middleton's disgrace,' we know that if there was any 'disgrace' it was his own and not Mrs. Middleton's. He had, it would seem, bribed Mrs. Middleton's maid, and this estimable person kept not only his money but the declarations intended for her mistress. When at length Mrs. Middleton was informed of the chevalier's pretensions she ordered him to keep quiet and look elsewhere.²

The second part, in so far as it deals with the English court, has been subjected to frequent and minute examinations. From Walpole downwards Englishmen have annotated their Gramont. The British Museum possesses the copies of Sir William Musgrave, Isaac Reed and the Rev. John Mitford with their manuscript notes. Peter Cunningham added an interesting appendix to his *Story of Nell Gwyn*, endeavouring to show that practically all the events alluded to in the second part of the *Memoirs* took place during the chevalier's stay in England. Unfortunately, misled by a letter of Charles II to which Dalrymple had assigned a wrong date,³ he assumed that the chevalier had not been married till 1668 and had not left England till 1669.⁴ All the English editions of the *Memoirs* are supplied with copious notes, the late Henry Vizetelly's and Mr. Gordon Goodwin's being among the best in that respect. Quite recently there has appeared a German edition by Dr. Karl Federn, *Der Chevalier von Gramont, Hamilton's Memoiren und die Geschichte*, in which an entire volume is given up to a very thorough investigation of Hamilton's trustworthiness.

¹ Maintenon, *Corr. Générale*, I, p. 76.

² Jusserand, *French Ambassador*, p. 93. Hamilton tells us that Gramont "sans s'amuser aux formalités, ne s'adressa qu'à son portier pour être introduit" (I, pp. 24, 25). According to Courtin, she once refused a purse of 1500 jacobus that Gramont wished to give her. (Forneron, *Louise de Kéroualle*, p. 67.)

³ Dalrymple, *Memoirs*, II, p. 26.

⁴ Whereas, as we know, the Count and the Countess left in October, 1664. Sir William Musgrave said that the events mentioned in the *Memoirs* appeared to have happened between the years 1663-1665. Cunningham thought this too restricted, and set himself to prove it. (*Story of Nell Gwyn*, p. 185.)

As a rule, Hamilton's facts are roughly confirmed by contemporary authorities, such as Pepys, Evelyn, Reresby, Clarendon, Burnet, the French Ambassadors' correspondence, especially the correspondence of Cominges, etc. The intrigues between Charles II, Lady Castlemaine and Miss Stuart, the accusations brought against the Duchess of York before her marriage was formally declared, the Queen's illness and the King's short-lived emotion, the Duke of York's intrigues with Lady Southesk, Lady Denham, Lady Chesterfield and Miss Churchill, Chesterfield carrying off his wife to the country, the Duchess of York's affection for Henry Sydney, the seduction of the actress Roxolana, the Muscovite embassy, the exiled Rochester in disguise, Miss Jenning's orange girl escapade, the duel between Jermyn and Howard, the duel between Shrewsbury and Buckingham, the mysterious attack on Killebrew—we know from Hamilton's contemporaries that all these things really took place, even the ugliness of the Portuguese ladies in the suite of the Queen we read about in Evelyn and Clarendon; in the main Hamilton's narrative is certainly correct.¹ And let us remember that most of the anecdotes he relates are intimately connected with members of his family and relations such as Arran, Lady Chesterfield and Mrs. Wetenhall; that at St. Germain he was well acquainted with Lady Sophia Bulkeley, 'la belle Stuart's' sister, and that writing mainly for a small circle of friends who were very familiar with all the events and personalities described he would hardly have dared to introduce any too palpable falsehoods.

A great many details are, of course, too highly coloured

¹ Thus for long it was asserted that there was no such maid of honour as the unfortunate Mademoiselle Warmestré; according to annotators, Hamilton was alluding to Mary Kirk, but Lord Cornbury's letter of June 10, 1662 (printed in Warburton's *Memoirs of Prince Rupert*, III, pp. 461-464), in which the newly formed household of the Queen is described, expressly mentions a Mrs. Warmestry. Miss Price, it was said, was not a maid of honour to the Duchess but to the Queen; we know now, however, that Miss Price, maid of honour to the Queen, had a sister who was attached in a similar capacity to the Duchess. (*Memoirs*, éd. Gordon Goodwin, note p. 275). Cunningham took great pains to prove that the actress seduced by the Earl of Oxford was known as Roxolana and not as Roxana; if he had referred to the first edition he would have found that Hamilton did give her name correctly and that this name was changed by Boyer. Similarly it is Boyer and not Hamilton who must be accused of calling Sir Charles Berkeley George, the first edition merely calls him le chevalier de Barklay.

to be accepted, too obviously arranged for picturesque effect,¹ and there are a certain number of errors, some of them insignificant enough ; thus, the fortune of the Duchess of Monmouth is made out to be less considerable than it really was, and two different visits of the court to Tunbridge Wells have been confused ;² these inexactitudes are natural enough, but there are one or two cases in which Hamilton wilfully departs from the truth for the sake of effectiveness ; Sir John Denham is made out to be seventy-nine at the time of his marriage in 1665, whereas he was only about fifty, and Colonel John Russell figures as a ridiculous rival of Gramont's because of his advanced age, viz. sixty, while at most, he can only have been six or seven years older than the invincible chevalier.³ Such misstatements naturally lead one to distrust Hamilton, and where verification is not possible, Hamilton's facts can only be accepted with some caution.

As for Hamilton's chronology, it is very loose indeed. This, however, can scarcely be wondered at when we remember that forty years elapsed between the events described and the composition of the *Memoirs* ; the wonder is that Hamilton remembers as much and as accurately as he does. Practically all the events in the second part of the *Memoirs* are represented as having taken place during the chevalier's stay in England,⁴ during the year 1663 and most of the year of 1664 ; as a matter of fact, we are taken as far as 1670—which proves incidentally, if proof were needed, that Gramont could not possibly have dictated certain parts of the *Memoirs*—and not only is the order of events during these six or seven years a fairly arbitrary one, but certain events, separated by an interval of some years, are made to have taken place at the same time : Miss Jennings's exploits as an orange girl, the Duchess of York's intrigues with Henry Sydney, the marriage of Sir John Denham and its unhappy ending, Nell Gwyn's conquests,

¹ e.g. the reconciliation and the treaty between Charles and Lady Castlemaine, as negotiated by Gramont.

² The visit of 1663 and 1666. Lord Muskerry and Nell Gwyn are spoken of as being at Tunbridge. But Nell Gwyn was unknown in 1663, and Lord Muskerry was dead in 1666.

³ William Russell, the brother who came before John, was born in 1613 (D.N.B.) or 1616 (G.E.C.'s *Complete Peerage*) ; Gramont was born in 1621.

⁴ The only exception is the story of the letter Gramont wrote to Lord Cornwallis 'a long time afterwards,' as Hamilton admits.

the Duke of Richmond's courtship of la belle Stuart, the Shrewsbury-Killegrew-Buckingham affair, the elevation of Lady Castlemaine to the rank of duchess, the publication of Dryden's translation of Ovid's epistles¹—all are subsequent to Gramont's visit,² though no indication is given of this. Rochester was only fifteen when Gramont came to England, and even though a precocious young courtier, could hardly have been responsible for all the exploits with which he is credited; he was probably at that time travelling on the Continent with his tutor. Churchill was even younger and was certainly not established as Lady Castlemaine's lover when the court returned from Bath in 1663.

The confusion of the two visits to Tunbridge Wells in 1663 and 1666 has already been mentioned, but the inaccuracy does not end there. The court of the Duke of York is supposed to have gone to York at the same time though we know that this was in 1665. The royal court is made to go to Bath the year after having been at Tunbridge, though we know that both visits took place in the same year;³ nor is it quite easy to see how Hamilton fell into this last error, for since the chevalier came to England in January, 1663, and married Miss Hamilton in December of the same year, he could not very well hover round Miss Hamilton at Tunbridge one summer and regret her absence from Bath the next. The planning of the Guinea expedition is placed after the visit to York though it preceded it by one year.

Lord Chesterfield's discovery of his wife's intrigues with the Duke of York and the sudden departure of husband and wife for the country are made to turn on the audience of the Muscovite ambassador and the ensuing episode of the green stockings. The whole story is very effective and ingenious, but it is more than doubtful that Lady Chesterfield was in town at the time of the audience.⁴

¹ Unless Hamilton is referring to some manuscript version by some author other than Dryden.

² Some would add to these the masquerade at which Lady Muskerry appeared, or wished to appear, as the Princess of Babylon. Evelyn (II, p. 223) and Pepys (IV, p. 348) certainly mention in February, 1665, a masquerade where the dancers performed in 'most rich and antique dresses,' but why identify this masquerade, as has so often been done, with the one mentioned by Hamilton?

³ Cf. Pepys, III, pp. 246, 265.

⁴ Pepys mentions the departure for the country in the beginning of Nov., 1662 (II, p. 384). On the 19th of January Lady Chesterfield was

Moreover, Lady Chesterfield had been carried off into exile before Gramont's arrival in England, whereas Gramont is described as being one of those most incensed by Chesterfield's conduct. The rivalry between Lady Denham and Lady Chesterfield is an important factor in this story, but there was no Lady Denham until three years after the Muscovite embassy and the Duke of York, in love with Lady Chesterfield at the time of the audience, cannot possibly have had an earlier love affair with Lady Denham. Lady Chesterfield, according to Hamilton, survived Lady Denham; as a matter of fact, she died two months after Lady Denham's marriage in 1665 and a year and a half before that lady's tragic death.

Richard Talbot is made to appear as Gramont's most dangerous rival for Miss Hamilton's hand; his quarrel with the Duke of Ormonde, his imprisonment in the Tower and his subsequent departure for Ireland put an end to Gramont's apprehensions. But this affair took place in 1661, at least a year and a half before Gramont had even seen Miss Hamilton, so that if Talbot was ever a rival of Gramont's it can only have been after and in spite of his disagreement with Ormonde, after his return from Ireland in the summer of 1663, when, according to Hamilton, he fell in love with Miss Jennings.

Killegrew's intrigue with Lady Shrewsbury and the attempt to murder him are supposed to have taken place 'a few months' after the Duke of Monmouth's marriage which was celebrated in 1663, while the above attack is only mentioned in 1669 by Pepys¹ and the Ambassador Colbert;² further the duel between the Duke of Buckingham and Lord Shrewsbury was fought before and not after the occurrence, as Hamilton suggests.

Like everyone else Hamilton has his likes and dislikes. Charles II is treated very indulgently;³ not infrequently

still in the country (Pepys, III, p. 18, cf. p. 2), and the audience of the Muscovite ambassador took place in the end of December (Pepys, III, p. 428). It is true that the audience Pepys refers to is that of the King, and that Hamilton is speaking of the audience granted by the Queen, but even admitting that these were two different audiences, it is not likely that the Queen received the ambassador two months before the King.

¹ *Diary*, VIII, p. 327.

² Correspondence quoted in Forneron's *Louise de Kéroualle*.

³ *Œuvres*, I, pp. 249, 281, 353, 359.

he is called 'le bon prince'; for James, on the contrary, Hamilton has but scant sympathy; throughout the narrative the Duke is more or less ridiculous; the brief character, however, given of him at the beginning is traced with some caution, "he had the reputation," "he was accounted"; in the case of Charles, Hamilton is much more direct and outspoken. Sir Charles Berkeley, afterwards Earl of Falmouth, is another of his favourites, for Hamilton does not measure by the standard of Burnet who saw in Berkeley no "visible merit, unless it was the managing of the King's amours."¹ Berkeley, it will be remembered, had got together the 'men of honour' who were to swear away the reputation of the Duchess of York, but it seems that Hamilton is not quite exact in limiting Berkeley's participation there and making Killegrew chief witness against the Duchess; that rôle was undertaken by Berkeley himself, according to Pepys² and to Clarendon.³ It may be noted that Clarendon does not mention the 'men of honour,' Arran, Killegrew, Talbot and Jermyn in this connexion, and if anyone, he ought to have known who were the accusers of his daughter; on the other hand, these gentlemen were perhaps not over-braggart about the affair, the story of which Hamilton had probably directly from his cousin Arran.

Clarendon and Arlington are disliked by Hamilton; against the Duke of Richmond he nourishes an ancient grudge because the Duke considered Elizabeth Hamilton's poverty an obstacle to their union; the rest of the courtiers are treated with more or less polite contempt—even Richard Talbot who married George Hamilton's widow does not escape quite unscathed—and if they are in the least inclined to be serious or erudite, Prince Rupert, for instance, an awkward lover it is true, the two Russells, uncle and nephew, Sir Charles Lyttleton, Sir Gabriel Sylvius, Sir Thomas Wetenhall, etc., they come off rather badly.

As for the ladies of the court, with the fewest of exceptions, they are made to appear in the most unlovely light. For the Queen and the Duchess of York Hamilton has a certain amount of esteem; Miss Bagot became the wife of his friend, Sir Charles Berkeley, and is therefore well

¹ *History of his own Times* (ed. Airy), I, p. 181.

² *Diary*, I, p. 305.

³ *Life*, II, p. 61.

spoken of ; the same applies, of course, to Elizabeth Hamilton and to ' little Jennings,' who afterwards married George Hamilton. But apart from these there is hardly one against whom Hamilton does not insinuate some accusation¹ or whose shortcomings he does not mercilessly expose, for Hamilton is not the man to suppress a picturesque detail in order to save a reputation. " I never knew a woman," says Byron, " who did not hate De Gramont's *Memoirs* . . . women hate everything which strips off the tinsel of sentiment."²

All this brings us to the much-discussed question of the morality of the *Memoirs*. The book has been on the Index since 1817,³ and, indeed, the Church could scarcely be expected to appreciate, amongst other things, the light-hearted mock-religiousness that runs through the *Memoirs*—Miss Stuart becoming chief favourite, " a situation to which it had pleased God and her virtue to raise her," Miss Brook accepting the Duke of York's advances, " until it pleased Heaven to dispose of her otherwise," Miss Bellen-den, Mademoiselle La Garde and Mademoiselle Bardou, " all maids of honour as it pleased God," the chevalier informing Charles " how Heaven had favoured him by delivering him from so dangerous a rival," the valet Termes avoiding " by the grace of God " the quicksands of his own invention. Brounker " blessing the Lord " for his success in a most despicable undertaking, and so on. When Bohn published an edition of the *Memoirs* in 1846 he doubted the propriety of including it in his Standard Library in which he had hitherto given his subscribers only works of ' sterling character ' ; the *Memoirs*, therefore, appeared in a separate series, viz. Bohn's Extra Volumes, which included such works as the *Heptameron*, the *Decameron*, *Gargantua and Pantagruel*, ' too much embued with the leaven of the age.'⁴

It is true that the *Memoirs* can hardly be called a moral

¹ In the *Cambridge History of English Literature*, VIII, p. 264, it is stated that even Evelyn's friend, Mrs. Godolphin, is treated with contempt in the *Memoirs*. This is an error, for the Mrs. Blagge (or Mademoiselle Blague) alluded to throughout is Margaret Blagge's older sister, Henrietta Maria.

² *Letters and Journals*, V, p. 97, and cf. p. 321 : " I never knew a woman who did not protect Rousseau, nor one who did not dislike De Gramont, Gil Blas and all the comedy of the passions brought out naturally."

³ *Index Librorum prohibitorum* (Romae, 1911, 3rd edition), p. 212.

⁴ Preface to Bohn's edition.

work. It was, of course, manifestly impossible to produce an edifying work on the court of Charles II, and if Hamilton did not produce one, that is scarcely his fault. If some object to the matter set forth in his pages, the same objections can be urged against most other writers of the period, including Pepys. It may be argued that it was not necessary to produce such a work which has not even the excuse of being a diary and that it is a significant fact that Gramont and Hamilton should employ their old age—the one was about eighty-four and the other sixty—in writing up the complacent souvenirs of the chevalier's youth. However that may be, we should have been considerably the poorer if they had not done so, even though our code of morals has changed considerably since the days of the Stuarts and the Vendômes in whose society Hamilton lived. But what has especially been laid to the charge of Hamilton is a certain lack of moral indignation. It is true that he has none of Evelyn's austere disapproval; he is not, like Pepys, impressed by the gravity of the scandals which he retails. He gives an easy tolerant picture of his times. Very few events excite his comment. If he remarks at all on the intrigues he is recounting, his remarks are not unlike the half-sceptical *Maximes* that had for so long been practised and elaborated in certain salons.¹ But, as a rule, he will tell you with a certain grave suavity that his brother James, abandoned by Lady Chesterfield for the Duke of York, “ne compta pour rien l'injure d'un époux en comparaison de celle d'un amant,” or that Brounker, quietly recognizing little Jennings in the orange girl and suspecting her of being bound on a doubtful errand, “bien que Jermyn fût le meilleur de ses amis, il sentait une joie secrète de n'avoir pas empêché qu'il ne fût cocu devant que d'être marié.” Certain maids of honour all deserve to be dismissed, accord-

¹ e.g. *Quelques'esprit qu'on ait, on n'est point plaisant pour ceux qu'on importune* (I, p. 71). Il vaut mieux ne rien savoir que de savoir trop de choses (I, p. 73). Il y a des tempéraments heureux qui se consolent de tout parce qu'ils ne sentent rien vivement (I, p. 225). La raison d'état se donne de beaux privilèges. Ce qui lui paraît utile devient permis, et tout ce qui est nécessaire est honnête en fait de politique (I, p. 105). Le public s'accoutume de tout et le temps sait apprivoiser la bienséance et la morale (I, p. 365). Si l'amour rend les conditions égales, ce n'est pas entre rivaux (I, p. 104). Rien n'est si commun au beau sexe que de ne vouloir pas qu'une autre profite de ce qu'on refuse (I, p. 63). La bonne opinion qu'on a toujours de soi-même fait qu'on s'imagine qu'une femme est prise dès qu'elle vous distingue par une habitude de familiarité qui bien souvent ne veut rien dire (I, p. 375), etc.

ing to Hamilton, either for their misconduct or for their ugliness, the one being as great a crime as the other. The one thing that is qualified as monstrous in the whole of the *Memoirs* is Gramont's appearing at the masquerade in a suit that he had worn before.

We must, however, remember that all the events thus lightly treated had taken place at least forty years before and that they were now, somewhat dim and unreal after so long a space, recounted by one who had lived through much, had few illusions left and found the eternal folly of humanity a not altogether unentertaining spectacle. It has been well said¹ that the subject could not have been handled with decency, unless ironically, in so far as it is a biography. And Hamilton's grave irony is a curious thing, as we know, it often leaves the reader wondering how far Hamilton intends himself to be taken seriously. The indignation roused by Chesterfield's jealousy of his wife is, for instance, described in quizzical mock-heroics that must prove slightly disconcerting to the simple-minded. It must also be said in Hamilton's defence that he is "superior to the indelicacy of the court"—the phrase is Walpole's;² whatever may be urged against the *Memoirs* they are not coarse; Hamilton might have said more things and worse things about what Pepys calls the 'bawdry at court';³ he avoids all grossness of expression, in fact, he imparts to the proceedings at Whitehall a certain grace and polish peculiarly French, and much more likely to be found at the court of Louis than at the Stuart court. It is sufficient to read some of the English writings of the period to be convinced of this; even the English translation of the *Memoirs* no longer has the polite charm of the French version⁴ which might have made Gui Patin, had he lived

¹ By Mr. Stephen Gwynn in an excellent article on Hamilton in *Macmillan's Magazine* for May, 1898.

² *Catalogue of Engravers* (London, 1782), p. 135.

³ *Diary*, III, p. 1.

⁴ It has become a commonplace to say that certain things easily enough expressed in French would seem coarse if transferred to our language or to another. It is, however, interesting to note in this connexion that already in 1778 the editors of this *Bibliothèque universelle des Romans* condemn one of Wieland's tales on this score. "C'est surtout dans le genre un peu libre que les François excellent. Ils ont plus que toute autre nation l'art de gazer certains tableaux, qu'eux seuls peuvent offrir à la meilleure compagnie qui en seroit révoltée, s'ils lui étoient présentés par toutes autres mains que par les nôtres. Le Conte du Prince Biribinker est dans

long enough, alter his opinion of the English, "saevi, feroces et ferini, ideoque pene fatui."¹

It may seem to some that an exaggerated value has been assigned to the *Memoirs* in the preceding pages, in so far as the *Memoirs* are a source of the history of Charles II. But apart from the store of information they furnish to the historian—and none has drawn on them as largely as Macaulay—they are curiously interesting from the insight they give us into a certain mentality. We have a number of contemporary works dealing with the court of Charles II; there is the diary of Evelyn, that devout Anglican gentleman who does not love the "buffoons and ladies of pleasure"² at Whitehall; there is the diary of that bustling gossiping bourgeois, the very delightful Pepys with his naïve love of the sensational; there is the pleasant and direct narrative of Sir John Reresby, courtier and country squire; there is the Life of the dignified and discreet Lord Chancellor, Clarendon, who only speaks of Lady Castlemaine as 'the Lady' without ever naming her; there is Burnet's somewhat more detailed and realistic History of His Own Times, in which the author would fain avoid scandalous stories: "I love not to give characters of Women, especially when there is nothing good to be said of them."³ But these were all more or less outsiders, none of them take us so directly into the heart of things as Hamilton does or gives us the point of view of the courtier who has lived in the midst of these proceedings and has no particular interest in bringing discredit upon the Dorimants, Medleys and Sir Foplings he used to associate with; none of them is so representative of the spirit of the age or helps us quite so well to understand the personages of the Restoration Drama, and how it was that Charles II "had a very ill opinion both of men and women; and did not think there were either sincerity or chastity in the world out of principle, but that some had either the one or the other out of humour and vanity."⁴

ce Genre. M. Wieland est Allemand : il a voulu imiter Tanzaï et Angola ; il s'est rapproché de quelques idées des Auteurs de ces deux contes, mais il n'a pas saisi leur ton." (*Bibliothèque universelle des Romans*, Septembre, 1778, pp. 176-177.)

¹ *Lettres* (Paris, 1846, 3 vols.), III, p. 287, cf. p. 134.

² *Diary*, II, p. 279; cf. Mr. Austin Dobson's introduction.

³ *Life*, II, p. 317.

⁴ Burnet, *History of his own Times* (Airy's ed.), I, p. 167.

Little has been said so far about the literary merits of the *Memoirs*. Not infrequently, and in France especially, in accordance with the judgment of Voltaire, the literary merits of the *Memoirs* are held to be far above their historical value ; in fact the graceful manner of the author is supposed to redeem the triviality of the subject. The Englishman, as a rule, holds another view, but this will not detract from his appreciation of the literary flavour of the *Memoirs*. They would be read for their style alone were it for nothing else. Madame du Deffand, no mean judge either, once remarked that only certain books written with a peculiar facility could with ease be read again and again, and even continually, and such books, according to her, are the *Letters of Madame de Sévigné*, the *Mémoires de Grammont*, possibly also the *Memoirs* of Mademoiselle de Montpensier and only a very few others.¹ Insolent in their levity, exquisite in their finish, the *Memoirs* are certainly very agreeable reading. Like Hazlitt's *Coffee House Politicians* we all delight in some passage or other. Hamilton's irresistible persiflage makes light of everything. If anyone is skilled in the art of making the most of little things it is he, the merest trifle becomes something delightful in his hands. As one of his French admirers remarks of the *Memoirs*, " il y porta l'esprit jusqu'à une sorte de génie."² And no one knows better how to tell a story effectively and without the least apparent effort. When Hamilton describes Gramont's despoiling the unwitting M. de Caméran or the irresponsible Matta's encounters with the learned M. de Sénantes, or the amazing fate of the suit engulfed in a quicksand to reappear at a country wedding, his vivacity and sprightliness are unsurpassed. The account of Gramont's adventures at Lyons with the disreputable host and the equally disreputable horse-dealer is a masterpiece in its own way ; the scene is not unlike one of Teniers' paintings and the inn will assuredly be ranked with the classical and no less doubtful hostelries visited by Don Quixote and Gil Blas.³

Though the different chapters of the *Memoirs* seem strung together in the most haphazard fashion, the *Memoirs*

¹ *Lettres*, II, pp. 233-234.

² Lescure, Avant-Propos in his edition of Hamilton's *Tales*.

³ As M. de Saint-Victor points out in his essay on the *Memoirs* (*Anciens et Modernes*).

are in reality very cleverly composed. This is especially the case when Hamilton interrupts his story to introduce some accessory episode. Most of the novels of the time abound in dull and cumbrous récits intercalés, even the *Diable Boiteux* is not free from them and, as a rule—this does not, of course, apply to *Le Sage*—they are introduced in a very primitive way ; a word or two announces the story, and the title of the new episode, printed in large capitals, comes to isolate it from the main plot. Not only are Hamilton's récits intercalés strictly connected with the story, but they are most skilfully worked into it, as the following examples may show :

“ Je conviens de tout cela, dit le chevalier, mais je veux te faire convenir que tu n'es qu'une poule mouillée dans cette occasion. Et que seroit-ce de toi si tu te voyois dans l'état où je me suis trouvé à Lyon, quatre jours avant d'arriver ici ? Je t'en veux faire le récit ” (Chapter II).

“ Le Roi s'en aperçut d'abord : Chevalier de Grammont, lui dit-il, Termes n'est donc point arrivé ? . . . Pardonnez-moi, sire, dit-il, Dieu merci. . . . Comment, Dieu merci ? dit le Roi : lui seroit-il arrivé quelque chose par les chemins ?—Sire, dit le chevalier de Grammont, voici l'histoire de mon habit et de M. Termes, mon courrier. A ces mots, le bal tout prêt à commencer fut suspendu. Tous ceux qui devoient danser faisoient un cercle autour du Chevalier de Grammont ; il poursuivit ainsi son récit ” (Chapter VII).

“ Non, Madame [Gramont is speaking to the Queen], je ne compte pour rien la parade des carrosses et des laquais. Je me suis vu cinq ou six valets de chambre à la fois, sans avoir jamais eu de domestique en livrée, excepté mon aumônier Poussatin.—Comment ! dit la Reine en éclatant de rire, un aumônier portant vos couleurs ! Ce n'étoit pas apparemment un prêtre ? . . . Pardonnez-moi, madame, dit-il, et le premier prêtre du monde pour la danse basque. Chevalier, dit le Roi, je veux que vous nous contiez tout à l'heure l'histoire de l'aumônier Poussatin ”¹ (Chapter VII).

Hamilton is no less skilful in his transitions. One instance will suffice ; let the reader remember the way in which Hamilton passes from a general account of the reign of

¹ Cf. also the ingenious way in which the story of Marion Delorme is brought in.

Louis XIII to the siege of Trino and the chevalier's exploits (Chapter II). It is exceedingly well done. His conversations, as the above examples will have shown incidentally, are admirably natural in their easy flow of wit; in fact, Voltaire thought the *Memoirs* a model of sprightly conversation.¹

The portraits are the glory of the second part of the book. They have not, indeed, the depth of Saint-Simon's portraits, they are drawn with a much lighter touch; Madame de Caylus not infrequently recalls Hamilton's manner. Where Saint-Simon is bitter, Hamilton is merely malicious; where Saint-Simon is beside himself with fury Hamilton is little more than mildly amused. But Saint-Simon always excepted, there is nothing in the literature of portraits with which Hamilton's portraits will not compare favourably. They are too well known to be quoted at length; the most famous are the uncharitable portraits of Arlington and of Mrs. Wetenhall, the beauté tout anglaise; scarcely less striking is that audacious full-length portrait of Elizabeth Hamilton. Even when Hamilton does not think a person important enough for one of the regulation portraits, he can indicate the likeness in a line or two. His epithets are akin to epigram. There is the excellent Brinon, "plus renfrogné qu'un vieux singe"; the host Cérise, "Suisse de nation, empoisonneur de profession et voleur par habitude"; M. de Sénantes, "fort en généalogie comme tous les sots qui ont de la mémoire"; Don Grégorio Brice, the conventional Spaniard, "vaillant comme le Cid, fier comme tous les Gusman ensemble, plus galant que tous les Abencerrage de Grenade"; the Portuguese ladies in the Queen's suite, "six monstres qui se disaient filles d'honneur"; Miss Price, "ronde et ragote"; Peter Talbot, "jésuite intrigant et grand faiseur de mariages"; William Russell, "guindé dans toutes ses allures, taciturne à donner des vapeurs, cependant un peu plus ennuyant quand il parloit"; Sir Gabriel Sylvius, "personnage qui n'avoit rien de ce que promettoit le nom romain"; the valet Termes, fresh from the fabulous quicksands, "crotté depuis la tête jusqu'aux pieds, botté jusqu'à la ceinture, fait enfin comme un excommunié";—one might go on indefinitely giving instances of these vignettes; there is one last one to which attention may be drawn for its resemblance to a line

¹ *Œuvres*, XIV, p. 78.

of Victor Hugo's, viz. the description of Mademoiselle Bardou, "armée de castagnettes et d'effronterie," which recalls to one's mind the more famous "vêtu de probité candide et de lin blanc."¹

Whether Hamilton's phrase in any way suggested Victor Hugo's would be difficult to say, but a book that was so much read could hardly fail to leave some traces. Thus the first scene of *Marion Delorme* recalls in a fashion the story of Gramont's nocturnal visit to that lady, while Wetzels *Rache für Rache*² has something of the Hobart-Temple-Rochester intrigue in it. Dorat dramatized certain parts of the *Memoirs*, viz. in *Le chevalier français à Londres* and *Le chevalier français à Turin*,³ and to these may be added the opéra comique, *L'habit du Chevalier de Grammont*, by J. M. B. Bins de Saint-Victor⁴ and the vaudeville *Mademoiselle Hamilton*.⁵ In England nobody read and knew the *Memoirs* as Walpole did;⁶ some of his portraits in the *Memoirs of the Reign of George III* are not without showing a certain influence of the *Mémoires de Grammont*. But the author who inspired himself most directly from them who, in a measure, discovered the secret of Hamilton's charm was Thackeray. It is a pity that he never took the trouble to write at length on the *Memoirs*, for nobody else could have done them full justice.⁷ We know that the Marchioness of Esmond had a hundred pretty stories about Rochester, Henry Jermyn and Hamilton, and we wish that she had told us something about the last of these three, always a more or less enigmatic personage.

There can be no doubt that Hamilton's work had a curious

¹ There is another slight resemblance between "Suisse de nation, empoisonneur de profession et voleur par habitude" and V. Hugo's "Prussien de hasard, Suisse de métier, Français de cœur." (*Le Rhin*, I, p. 135, *Œuvres complètes*, édition définitive, Paris, 1884).

² Leipzig, 1778.

³ Paris, 1779.

⁴ Published anonymously in Paris, 1804 (cf. Barbier).

⁵ Mentioned by J. B. Champagnac in the introduction to his edition of Hamilton's works. I have not been able to discover anything further about it. It may be mentioned in this connexion that the Abbé de Voisenon dramatized Hamilton's tale *Fleur d'Épine* (*Œuvres*, Vol. II), and that Beaumarchais undoubtedly named his hero in the opera *Tarare* after Hamilton's *Tarare* in *Fleur d'Épine*.

⁶ Cf. R. Clark, Walpole and the *Mémoires de Grammont*, *Modern Language Review*, Vol. X, Jan., 1915.

⁷ Cf. an excellent article on the *Memoirs* in the *Saturday Review*, Nov., 1888.

kind of subtle influence in France. It was very much read. It was just the book to appeal to a certain class of grands seigneurs. It was written by one of themselves. It was written about one who resembled them strangely. For Gramont was slightly ahead of his times, he is the type of the nobleman as the eighteenth century knew him with his elegant and trifling licentiousness. If his barefaced impudence and light-hearted immorality amazed some of his fellow-courtiers, the roués of the next generation were in no wise moved to astonishment. The decorum of Versailles was gone. The scenes depicted by Hamilton had nothing unfamiliar, for the corruption of the Stuart court was akin to the profligacy of the Regency. Well might Chamfort describe the *Memoirs* as the breviary of the young nobles.¹ The brilliant and irresistible chevalier was a model to be imitated. His graceful depravity lacked no admirers. The Maréchal de Richelieu and the Prince de Ligne² recognized in him a kindred spirit. He became the prototype of the Valmonts and Faublas. His *Memoirs* prepared the way for those of Lauzun and Tilly. And there were doubtless not a few who would in all good faith have said with Voisenon of the *Mémoires de Grammont*, "Cet ouvrage est à la tête de ceux qu'il faut relire régulièrement tous les ans."³

In the eighteenth century no one recalls Gramont more than the Maréchal de Richelieu; the latter was, however, by far the most brilliant of the two. Like Gramont Richelieu had his poet, like Gramont he found his biographer, but he is not known to posterity as Gramont is, for Soulavie is not Hamilton, even though Voltaire is incomparably more than Saint-Évremond.

Condé may come to life again
And Turenne nature can restore,
But Gramont we expect in vain,
On him she lavished all her store.

These lines of Saint-Évremond's the English translator of the *Memoirs* inscribed on the title-page of his book. As

¹ *Œuvres complètes* (Paris, 1824-1825, 5 vols.), III, p. 247.

² The writings of the Prince de Ligne show more than one example of Hamilton's antithetical style and his jeux d'esprit carried to an excess.

³ *Œuvres* (Paris, 1781, 5 vols.), IV, p. 129. "C'est là un conseil qui vaut mieux qu'on ne l'attendrait de Voisenon," says Sainte-Beuve. (*Causeries du Lundi*, I, p. 81.)

a matter of fact Gramont has come to life again and more than once, but the man who did not reappear was his biographer. The *Mémoires de Grammont* have remained unique in their kind, and their originality is made all the more apparent through the absence of any model and the inadequacy of all imitations.

The *Memoirs* were, of course, translated into English as soon as they appeared. 1714 saw the translation of Boyer, who flattered himself that he had bestowed "no inconsiderable Present on the Genteel and the Polite." His 'present' would have been more 'considerable' if his translation had been less slovenly and more correct.¹ He cautiously avoided giving proper names in most cases, only indicating them by initials, and the next year therefore a key at the price of 2d. was issued. This key was added to the second edition which appeared in 1719.² An edition which appeared in 1760 was based on Boyer's text, but considerably touched up in places. The quarto edition of 1793 is the third translation. It was revised in 1809, again in 1811, by Sir Walter Scott, it would seem, in 1889 by the late Henry Vizetelly and has come to be the commonly accepted version.

The first known German translation appeared in 1745, others followed in 1780, 1806, 1853 and 1911.

An Italian translation appeared at Milan in 1814.

The *Mémoires de Grammont* are preceded by *Zeneyde*, a fragment of a short historical novel, and probably also by *L'Enchanteur Faustus*, a fantastic tale in which historical personages are made to appear.

¹ It is full of the most absurd mistakes, e.g.: 'Upon this Matta fell to grumbling' (p. 49) for 'Matta se laissa gronder'; 'an ounce of her hair' (p. 196) for 'une aune de ses cheveux'; 'the felicity I found in making the tenderest declarations' (p. 349) for 'la facilité de lui faire les plus tendres déclarations.' Very often, too, Boyer makes deliberate additions, the most striking being in the translation of the following passage: "Le Roi qui ne se crut pas obligé de lui faire du bien parce que Madame de Cleveland lui en voulait beaucoup, lui fit défendre de paraître à la cour," which Boyer renders as "the King did not think my Lady C——'s kindness to him a sufficient recommendation in his own favour, and some time after, Mr. Churchill being surprised in the Duchess's bed-chamber, was obliged to flee for it into France."

² A writer in the *Gentleman's Magazine* for April, 1896, states, without giving any authority, that the sale of the *Memoirs* was strictly prohibited in England. If this had been the case the second edition would hardly have appeared as soon as 1719.

Zeneyde takes the form of a letter to 'Madame de P.,' and the beginning of this letter contains the memorable description of the court of St. Germain quoted elsewhere. Hamilton, having fled a widow desirous of a pension and on the look-out for some one who knows a person who knows a lady who is willing to confess herself a friend of the favourite-in-chief, is seen wandering along the banks of the Seine, and from the river there appears to him a nymph who favours him with the story of her life or rather with part of the story, as it is left incomplete. We are taken back to the fifth century A.D., and we are told how Pharamond, first King of France, helps Rosamond, wife of Gondioc, King of the Burgundians, to avenge the death of her first husband on the Romans, and how he kills Gondioc, in order to wed Rosamond ; how Pharamond's son Chlodion, refusing the advances of his stepmother, imprisons her after his father's death and ascends the throne of France ; how there comes to his court a young stranger, M  rou  , the son of Gertrude, whom he had once loved, how M  rou   wins Chlodion's affections and is made king after his death in the place of his son ; how Chlodion's widow puts herself under the protection of the Roman general,   tius, who adopts her daughter and marries her to the Senator Maximus ; how the young wife of Maximus falls into the hands of the Emperor Valentinian and commits suicide ; how Maximus becomes emperor and marries Valentinian's widow, Eudoxia, and how his daughter Zeneyde, the nymph who tells this story, is betrothed to M  rou  's son Childeric, but is carried away by the invader Genseric.

The story is rapidly told ; even if Hamilton had completed it, it would not have extended over more than one hundred and fifty pages, for the twelve-volumed novels are irrevocably a thing of the past ; it contains a certain number of historical facts along with reminiscences of La Calpren  de's *Pharamond* and episodes in the style of the conte de f  es ; it is probably the least successful thing Hamilton ever wrote ; the treatment of the subject is not a happy one. As a rule Hamilton attacks only the lighter side of life ; here he has chosen one of the most sombre pages of legend and history ; he attempts to be serious and is only dull, the unwonted gravity becomes irksome, and from time to time he lapses into his usual manner, which, needless to say, is here quite out of place, and the frivolous

setting with its interludes of nymphs and attendant maidens causes this story of the early Merovingians to be pervaded with a subtle atmosphere of Versailles and Trianon.

L'Enchanteur Faustus takes us back to the court of Queen Elizabeth. The Queen, in the presence of Sidney and Essex, receives the magician and commands him to bring some of the famous beauties of the past before her. Helen of Troy, Mariamne and Cleopatra are successively made to appear, but find little favour in the sight of the Queen and her courtiers. An English beauty, fair Rosamond, is therefore next chosen, and Sidney rapidly recounts her story¹ to the Queen whose 'great occupations' have effaced it from her memory. Rosamond appears and vanishes, and the Queen, who has been told that Rosamond's beauty has a faint resemblance to her own, is so charmed with her that she commands Faustus to bring her once more into her presence. Though Faustus demurs, he has to obey; after a great many grotesque contorsions on his part Rosamond reappears; the Queen, forgetting the silence imposed on her, welcomes the apparition. Faustus is thrown to the ground, the palace is shaken in its foundations, a dense smoke fills the apartment, flashes of lightning illumine the darkness. And the Countess of Salisbury, who was to appear next, was not sent for on that day.

One wonders how Hamilton became acquainted with the Faust traditions; it must have been either through Marlowe's play or through the English or French version of Spies's Faust book; the last named in all probability, viz. Palma Cayet's translation, the *Histoire prodigieuse et lamentable de Jean Fauste*, which went through about fourteen editions between 1598 and 1712.² The minuteness with which the apparitions are described in Hamilton's tale recalls the corresponding passages of the Faust book. But we have travelled far since the days of the *History of the Damnable Life and Deserved Death of Dr. John Faustus*; an elegant badinage has taken the place of the simple narrative, and since Hamilton and his readers belong to that age of transition which no longer believes in Faust but has not yet come to see any deeper meaning in the

¹ With some inexactitudes.

² Engel, *Zusammenstellung der Faust Schriften*, pp. 110-111.

legend of his life,¹ Faust becomes a burlesque figure and, indeed, to Hamilton the persons of Queen Elizabeth and her obsequious courtiers are far more important; they and not Faustus occupy the foreground. They are drawn with the same light satirical touch that was to come to its perfection in the *Mémoires de Grammont*.

For us the chief interest in Hamilton's tale lies in the fact that it furnished some suggestions to Goethe for his evocation of Helena before the Emperor.² There is the same violent ending to the scene, Helena being approached by Faust, though in this case there is a violent explosion and Faust is seen lying on the ground. The comments of the courtiers are not at all unlike those of Elizabeth and her favourites.³ In the Volksbuch the emperor and the students are 'with gazing most content,' in Marlowe's play the emperor is more pleased in the sights that Faustus procures him than if he had gained another monarchy, and the scholars who have been permitted to see Helena, depart calling down blessings on the learned doctor. But Hamilton makes the Queen and the noblemen disdainful critics, and Goethe follows along his lines, assigning unfavourable criticism on Helena to the ladies and on Paris to the courtiers. Hamilton's Faust does not bring about the evocation of Mariamne in the same way as that of Helena, because the former 'had known the true God.' This differentiation seems to have suggested the refusal of Mephistopheles to evoke Helena, his power, he confesses, not extending as far as the 'heathen.'⁴

¹ In 1789 an editor of Hamilton's *Faustus* describes the old Faust book as a "conte ridicule, monument rare et curieux de l'ignorance et de la crédulité du seizième siècle." "L'Enchanteur Faustus," he says, "si célèbre chez nos pères, est maintenant absolument ignoré; à peine la tradition a-t-elle transmis à quelques personnes le nom de ce fameux magicien et sa fin si déplorable; il en est très peu qui aient lu l'histoire de sa vie." (*Voyages Imaginaires*, XXXV, pp. vii and ix.)

² *Faust* II, Act I. Rittersaal. Cf. Düntzer, *Hamilton's Erzählung L'Enchanteur Faustus, Blätter für literarische Unterhaltung*, 1864, pp. 809-812. In the same article Düntzer claims that Goethe's Märchen at the end of the *Unterhaltungen deutscher Ausgewanderten* shows the influence of Hamilton's *Bélier*. To us the influence is hardly discernible. We are more inclined to agree with him in his suggestion that the starlings who call out 'Paris, Paris' and 'Narciss, Narciss' (in *der neue Paris*) are reminiscences of the crows that call out 'Tarare' in *Fleur d'Épine*.

³ Cf. e.g. "dans aucun siècle il n'a été permis d'avoir les pieds tournés comme elle" (Hamilton, II, p. 485) and "Seht nur den Fuss, wie könnt er plumper sein" (*Faust* II, Act I, line 1891).

⁴ *Faust* II, Act I, lines 1597-1599.

CHAPTER III

THE TALES

LES CONTES DE FÉES," writes the Count de Caylus¹ near the end of his career, "ont été longtemps à la mode et dans ma jeunesse on ne lisoit guères que cela dans le monde."² Even before the day of Caylus the fairy-tale had become fashionable; Madame de Sévigné mentions the new 'divertissement' in 1677.³ But it was not until Perrault wrote down a number of popular fairy-tales, old as the sun, and published them from 1691 to 1697⁴ that there sprang up a whole literature of such stories. The world was suddenly peopled with giants, dwarfs, fairies good and bad, with countless princesses—Ravissante, Brillante, Merveilleuse, Gracieuse, Finette, Fleur d'Amour, Belle de Nuit, with princes equally numerous, Charmant, Avenant, Engageant, Sans-Pair, Bel-à-Voir, Bel-Esprit, Langue d'or, to name only a few of them. Perrault's Tales were rapidly followed by those of Mademoiselle L'Héritier, Madame d'Aulnoy, Madame d'Aucueil, Madame de Murat, Mademoiselle de La Force, by those of the Sieurs Lesconvel, de Preschac and others. Of Perrault's imitators Madame d'Aulnoy was the best; most of her tales are based on popular traditions,⁵ but they are far from having the naïveté and the artlessness of the *Contes de ma Mère l'Oye*. Very few popular traditions can be recognized in the tales of the other writers mentioned; they are in most cases pure inventions and lack the perennial

¹ 1692-1765.

² Preface to Cadichon (*Cabinet des Fées*, Vol. 25, p. 379).

³ Sévigné, *Lettres*, V, pp. 259-260. "Madame de Coulanges . . . voulut bien nous faire part des contes avec quoi l'on amuse les dames de Versailles; cela s'appelle les mitonner. Elle nous mitonna donc et nous parla d'une île verte, où l'on élevoit une princesse plus belle que le jour; c'étoient les fées qui soufflaient sur elle à tout moment. . . . Le prince des délices était son amant."

⁴ Cf. Lang, *Perrault's Popular Tales*, pp. xix-xxvii.

⁵ Grimm, *Kinder und Hausmärchen* (Berlin, 1819-1822), III, p. 381.

charm of the tales young d'Armancour was supposed to have written.

Critics were not wanting. In 1699 the Abbé de Villiers wrote an *Entretien* severely censuring the *Contes de Fées*; Madame de Maintenon, asking for advice on what her charges of Saint-Cyr were to read, remarked that she wanted no Fairy Tales or *Peau d'Ane*; ¹ the friends of Madame du Maine and the *Soupers du Temple* despised 'ces petites lectures,' ² and an habitué of those sceptical societies took upon himself to ridicule the literature of the day, so unworthy, according to him, of the great novels that had charmed their readers in the past and of the tale that Fénelon had but lately given to the world.

Les Contes ont eu, pour un temps,
Des lecteurs et des partisans ;
La cour même en devint avide,
Et les plus célèbres romans,
Pour les mœurs et les sentiments,
Depuis Cyrus jusqu'à Zaïde,
Ont vu languir leurs ornements,
Et cette lecture insipide
L'emporter sur leurs agréments.
En vain des bords fameux d'Ithaque,
Le sage et renommé Mentor
Vint nous enrichir du trésor
Que renferme son Télémaque ; . . .
La vogue qu'il eut dura peu ;
Et, las de ne pouvoir comprendre
Les mystères qu'il met en jeu,
On courut au Palais le rendre
Et l'on s'empressa de reprendre
Le Rameau d'or et l'Oiseau bleu.³

Hamilton therefore, for he, of course, is the critic in question, set himself to accomplish for the fairy-tale what Cervantes had accomplished for the tales of chivalry; he wrote a fairy-tale in 1705⁴ that was to show up the dullness of the

¹ Cf. Geffroy, *Madame de Maintenon d'après sa Correspondance*, II, p. 322.

² *Cabinet des Fées*, Vol. 37, p. 38 (Discours sur l'Origine des Contes de Fées).

³ *Œuvres*, II, p. 258.

⁴ *Le Béliet* was written before Sept., 1705, probably in the early summer of 1705. The letter to Henrietta Bulkeley in which *Le Béliet* is first mentioned (*Œuvres*, III, pp. 154-156) is unfortunately only dated Sept. 1st, but the preceding letter which belongs to the same series and is dated August 12th can be identified through the allusions to the fête de Châtenay of August, 1705. It cannot have been written earlier than May, 1703, for this is the date of the gift of Pontalie, and we know that Hamilton wrote *Le Béliet* to explain the name of Pontalie.

Rameau d'or and the *Oiseau bleu*; he named it *Le Béliet*, presumably because Madame d'Aulnoy had written a tale called *Le Mouton*; "je fourrai dans cet ouvrage," he tells us, "ce que le vain étalage des Contes a de plus impertinent."¹ A few years later he wrote two tales to ridicule the vogue of the *Arabian Nights*. None of these satires were printed before 1730, but they circulated in manuscript among his friends and exercised a certain influence before and a very marked influence after they appeared in print on the Conte of the eighteenth century.

Koerting² divides the French novels of the seventeenth century into idealistic and realistic (satirical) novels; the *Astrée*, though belonging to the first type, contains, as he shows us, the germ of the second: Hylas, the inconstant swain, mocks at the true love of the shepherds and shepherdesses, and the antagonism existing between Celadon and Hylas stretches far down the century. On the one hand we have *Polexandre*, *Cassandre* and *le Grand Cyrus*, on the other the *Berger extravagant*, the *Roman comique* and the *Roman bourgeois*. Now though this classification is not without its difficulties, it may very roughly be applied to the Conte de Fées and the fantastic tale of the late seventeenth century and of the eighteenth. First we have Perrault's tales, with delightful touches of realism, told with a kind of simple gravity that spoke for the author's sincerity, and sober enough—for did not Mickiewicz accuse Perrault of rationalizing the fairy-tale?—then Madame d'Aulnoy and her group, anxious to please, overdressed, powdered and beribboned, followed at length by Hamilton and his satirical tales which open up a second stream parallel to the first. Voltaire, always favourably inclined to Hamilton, is not altogether mistaken when, somewhat forgetful of Le Sage, he describes our author as "le premier qui ait fait des romans dans un goût plaisant qui n'est pas le burlesque de Scarron."³ At the same time one is occasionally reminded of the seventeenth-century satirical novel-writers; is not Hamilton's avowed intention of placing in his tales "ce que le vain étalage des contes a de plus impertinent" like a far-off echo from Sorel's *Berger extravagant* "où parmy

¹ *Œuvres* II, p. 259.

² In his *Geschichte des französischen Romans*.

³ *Œuvres*, XIV (Siècle de Louis XIV), p. 78.

des Fantaisies amoureuses on voit les impertinences des romans et de la poésie" ?

From Hamilton spring a certain number of conteurs, Voisenon, Crébillon, Diderot and in a measure Voltaire, to mention only the chief of them, conteurs who, fastening on his parody of the *Arabian Nights*, produce a kind of half-burlesque, half-satirical tale, Oriental in most cases, the soi-disant exotic customs depicted affording a convenient pretext for the crudest colours: in Hamilton's *Quatre Facardins* lies the germ of the conte licencieux.¹

At the same time the first stream is continued, though more than once it is on the point of ceasing. The tales belonging to this class are marked by growing pedagogical preoccupations. Perrault, it will be remembered, had added a kind of moralité to each of his Contes de Fées.² The influence of Fénelon writing a moral tale for the Dauphin Duc de Bourgogne began to make itself felt. The stories of Madame d'Aulnoy and of her women contemporaries were supposed to be beneficial to juvenile readers. "Tout devient instruction quand on en sçait faire un bon usage," remarks half apologetically one of Mademoiselle de Lussan's characters who is about to relate a tale.³ Moncrif writes to show us fidelity rewarded, modesty recompensed and the kind-hearted plain maiden, enjoying greater happiness than her attractive but frivolous sisters. The sub-title of his *Don des Fées* is le Pouvoir de l'Éducation.⁴ Madame de Lintot's attitude is best expressed by that of an old woman in *Timandre et Bleurette*, "Cette bonne femme disoit qu'il falloit instruire la jeunesse en l'amusant."⁵ Even the Comte de Caylus—and we know that some of his tales have been sent to the Enfer of the Bibliothèque Nationale,

¹ It is not altogether insignificant that a descendant of Cristalline la Curieuse should appear in *Ah, quel Conte!* (Crébillon fils, *Œuvres complètes*, 1779, Vol. IV, pp. 357, 389, etc.) or that Voltaire, mentioning the tales read by the Princess of Babylon, should group the *Quatre Facardins* with *La Paysanne Parvenue*, *Tansai*, and *Ah, quel Conte!* (*Œuvres*, XXI, p. 407). The eighteenth century (Voltaire, Crébillon fils, Wieland) appears to have preferred the *Quatre Facardins*, whereas *Fleur d'Épine*, which may have seemed too anodyne to the eighteenth century, is often preferred by later critics (La Harpe, Sayous, Montégut, Lescure, etc.).

² Cf. his *Dédicace à Mademoiselle*, "Ils renferment tous une morale très sensée, et qui se découvre plus ou moins selon le degré de pénétration de ceux qui lisent."

³ *Veillées de Thessalie* (Paris, 1731), II, p. 3.

⁴ *Cabinet des Fées*, Vols. 25 and 32.

⁵ *Ib.*, Vol. 32, p. 167.

we have heard of the publications of the *Société du Bout du Banc*—even Caylus protests that his object has always been in the words of Montaigne, “emmieller la viande salubre à l’enfant.”¹ With Madame Leprince de Beaumont we are not far from the *Encyclopédie* and the reign of reason, the allegory is rigid, the moralité appears on the surface, the fairies are conscientious governesses and the genii act the part of severe and just tutors.²

To return to Hamilton and *Le Béliar*. The reader is introduced to a druid, a prince of the house of the Merovingians and to his beautiful daughter Alie. Many aspire to Alie’s hand, but in vain, and a hideous ignorant giant, le Moulineau, is naturally refused with scorn. The enraged giant sets fire to the castle walls, the druid, however, surrounds his castle with a river and thinks himself in safety when the giant retaliates by throwing a bridge across the river. Amazed, the druid goes to consult his books and finds that the most precious volume is missing.

He demands an explanation of Poinçon, a little gnome, for Poinçon often attends Alie, and the druid suspects Alie of having tampered with the forbidden books. The gnome bids the druid remember that he once charged him to go and wander about in the grounds of the palace of Noisy, in order, as the gnome now realizes, to bring the Prince de Noisy into the druid’s power. He assumed the shape of a deer on that occasion and happened to meet the prince, who, charmed, followed him back into the druid’s domains and there beheld Alie. Alie and the prince fell in love with each other, and Alie knowing her father’s hatred of the prince and thinking that they might find some remedy in his magic books allowed her lover to carry off one of them. He never returned, and Alie is now in despair.

Meanwhile the attacking giant, counselled by a wonderful ram, has withdrawn. The ram advises him to send a messenger next day to the druid, to offer peace on condition that Alie with her own hands will gild the ram’s horns and hoofs with a certain liquid gold. He, the ram,

¹ *Ib.*, Vol. 25, p. 382, and cf. Vol. 24, p. 201. “Mais comme elle vouloit être parfaite, elle s’instruisoit aussi de tous les contes de fées qu’elle pouvoit apprendre.”

² Cf. an article by Montégut, Des Fées et de leur Littérature en France, *Revue des deux Mondes*, April, 1862.

being thus allowed to enter, will kill the druid and open the gates to the giant. The plan is carried out. The messenger arrives just when the druid has finished telling the story of his life to Alie. His greatest enemy, according to his account, is Merlin, but Merlin has a great enemy in the Lady of the Sheaths, whose magic knife, a knife that writes oracular answers, Merlin has stolen. Unbeknown to the Lady the knife is now in the druid's possession. The druid thinks that the ram is none other than Merlin himself, and he has reason to believe that the ram has done away with the Prince de Noisy. Moreover, if Merlin can possess himself of Alie's cradle, much harm will be done, but fortunately the cradle has been lowered into a deep fountain.

The druid accepts the messenger's proposition with joy, gives Alie the magic knife and tells her to cut off a handful of the ram's wool; if it is Merlin, he is bound to assume his original shape and Alie will have time to plunge the knife into his heart. Unfortunately, Alie reverses the order of the operations and the expiring victim turns out to be her lover, the Prince de Noisy. The corpse is placed beside the fountain of the cradle and Alie is shut up in one of the palace rooms. But she breaks away from her attendants, wanders out beyond the grounds, where the giant lays hold of her and transports her to his palace. The druid has forgotten all about his daughter, for, hurrying back to pick up the bloody knife, he discovers that it has been tracing some words in an unknown language which he tries in vain to understand. Giving up his endeavours at last, he finds Alie gone and at the fountain Poinçon confesses that a noble stranger counselled him to wash the corpse and that when he plunged the prince into the water, the corpse vanished, the cradle rose to the surface and the stranger bore it away.

The Lady of the Sheaths suddenly appears, interprets the writing, tells the story of her life and also explains that the Prince de Noisy is Merlin's son and that by means of the knife he can be brought to life again. Only the knife has been shut up in a statue and the ring that will open the statue has been lent to Alie for the ram's execution. Alie has meanwhile escaped from the giant, by means of the ring, and wanders into Merlin's garden just as he is going to burn the corpse of the prince, his son, together with

the cradle. The druid and the Lady of the Sheaths suddenly join her, Poinçon is despatched with the ring to get the knife. The prince recovers and explains that having used the druid's books imprudently, he was changed into a ram and fell into the giant's power, but learned that the druid's liquid gold would restore him to his former shape. He is united to Alie, overthrows the giant, and the Lady of the Sheaths regains possession of her knife.

Besides the main plot and the autobiographies of the various personages *Le Béliér* contains another practically independent tale. The ram used to amuse the giant by telling him stories, and thus, one day, he relates the adventures of Pertharite and Férandine.

From the preceding summary some idea will be gained of the complexity and wilful incoherence of the tale; the narrative is constantly and unnecessarily interrupted; at the most critical moment of the action some one is sure to relate a tale or to indulge in some detailed autobiographical reminiscences, or we are made to go far back to take up the thread of some preceding adventures. And since the worthy Mabillon¹ is made responsible for the story, Hamilton is at liberty to find fault with "the author of these memoirs," he condoles with the reader from behind the scenes, accompanies the tale with ironical comments that remind one of Scarron's and Furetière's asides to the public, asks the reader how certain parts affect him, takes a malicious pleasure in making him observe that the tale is developing along the approved lines and now and then disillusion him without pity. The druid surrounds his castle with a river wider than the stretch from Pontus till beyond Bavaria? The ram flings a mighty bridge across the river? Never believe it, "il est bon de vous avertir qu'à l'égard de la largeur de la rivière et de la longueur du pont l'on vous a menti de sept ou huit cent lieues, tant pour la rareté du fait que pour la commodité des rimes."² You believed that le Moulineau was a great big giant?

¹ *Le Béliér* was written and circulated in manuscript in the lifetime of Mabillon, but the learned author of the *Annales* and the *Acta Sanctorum ordinis Sancti Benedicti* probably never heard of the extraordinary 'memoirs' which went under his name. The Hamiltons seem to have known him slightly; on one occasion George Hamilton brought him and Dom Luc d'Achéry a manuscript life of St. Swithin from Williamson. (*R.O. State Papers*, Foreign, France, 131, f. 62.)

² *Cœuvres*, II, p. 133. The beginning of *Le Béliér* is in verse.

He was only twice as tall and as foolish as our friend B. The giant and the ram were going to burn down the druid's castle? Alie was terrified by their mighty preparations? Ah yes, but these were only visions of poetry. And so on.

The ram, as we have seen, entertains the giant by telling him stories, and though the giant is made to interrupt in the most absurd fashion, his remarks are not so bereft of common sense as it would first seem. Not one of them but contains a well-directed sally against the much-despised conte. Unwillingness to understand a tale that does not begin at the beginning, impatience at the constant change of narrative from one intrigue to the other, inability to connect some sudden and unmotivated event with the main plot, wonder at the caprices and humours of the various characters, joy at the sudden reappearance of a personage long left behind in the narrative, disgust caused by an ever-recurring motif, weariness brought on by the length of the tale,¹ all this is in keeping with the giant's slow and limited intelligence, but behind it all there is the charge made against the weakness and the artificiality of the conte.

We have neglected one aspect of the tale. Hamilton, it will be remembered, had been requested by some of his sister's friends to explain the new name of the property she inhabited, why was it now called Pontalie instead of les Moulineaux? And one of the objects of this tale was to satisfy their questions. Like all Hamilton's stories it is full of personal allusions. The publisher of the first edition assures us that it contains "mille petits faits déguisez," and though he comforts one with the promise that even if one is un-

¹ *Ib.*, pp. 153, 157, 164, 167, 168, 188, 194, 203, etc. Note especially the well-known passage on p. 153: "Le Béliér après avoir un peu rêvé, commença de cette manière: 'Depuis les blessures du renard blanc, la reine n'avoit pas manqué d'aller tous les jours lui rendre visite. "Béliér, mon ami," lui dit le géant, en l'interrompant, "je ne comprends rien a tout cela. Si tu voulois bien commencer par le commencement, tu me ferois plaisir; car tous ces récits qui commencent par le milieu ne font que m'embrouiller l'imagination." "Eh bien," dit le Béliér, "je consens, contre la coutume, à mettre chaque chose à sa place: ainsi le commencement de mon histoire sera à la tête de mon récit."'" And on p. 168, where the ram proposes to leave a princess and her adventure in order to take up some other thread of the narrative: "'Si cela est,' dit le seigneur Moulineau, 'je compte que je ne la reverrai plus, ni son renard blanc, car tu ne fais que tarabuster mon attention d'un endroit à l'autre. N'y auroit-il pas moyen de finir ce qui les regarde avant que d'aller courir après une autre aventure?' 'Cela ne se peut,' répondit le Béliér."

successful in fathoming these mysteries the tale will be none the less enjoyable, yet one cannot help wishing for a key like the one which Cousin found for the *Grand Cyrus* among the manuscripts of the Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal. Alie, we imagine, is Henrietta Bulkeley;¹ Férandine, the Princesse de Conti;² the Béliar, Hamilton himself,³ the giant who winter and summer puts on his boots to go to bed, 'our friend B.'; the various apartments and walks described were doubtless familiar to the visitors of Pontalie, the druid prophesies the coming of a Count Philibert,⁴ and so on.

To-day the curious would look in vain for Pontalie; after the death of Madame de Gramont the property passed into other hands; it resumed its old name and the traditions with which Hamilton endowed it are known to the bibliophile alone.

In 1704 there appeared the first volumes of a work that was to exercise considerable influence on the French literature of the eighteenth century, namely, Galland's translation of the *Arabian Nights*. For the last few years, as we have seen, the public had been reading fairy-tales and little else but fairy-tales. A feeling of lassitude had followed on the first enthusiasm. In 1702 the Abbé Bellegarde wrote, though with some exaggeration, "La cour s'est laissée infatuer de ces sottises, la ville a suivi le mauvais exemple, de la cour et a lu avec avidité ces aventures monstrueuses, mais enfin on est revenu de cette frénésie."⁵

Galland, however, brought something so new, so fresh and so utterly different from the stereotyped fairy-tale that the readers were delighted.⁶ They were quite at one

¹ *Œuvres*, II, pp. 152, 213.

² *Ib.*, p. 173.

³ Cf. *ib.*, Vol. III, pp. 328, 336, 369.

⁴ *Ib.*, Vol. II, p. 28.

⁵ Quoted in Petit de Julleville, *Histoire de la Littérature Française*, VI, p. 477.

⁶ Cf. the Preface to the *Nouveaux Contes Orientaux* by the Comte de Caylus (*Cabinet des Fées*, Vol. XXV). "Vous aimez assez les Contes Orientaux, pour avoir souvent pris leur parti. . . . Cependant il faut convenir que l'on ne peut être sensible à ce délassement de l'esprit qu'après être pour ainsi dire blazé sur les romans et sur les petites histoires françaises, celles-ci ont ordinairement une intrigue, un plan, un objet qui se développe avec ordre, mais l'habitude ou nous sommes de les lire nous fait trop aisément prévoir leur dénouement; au lieu que les histoires

with the translator when he remarked of Schéhérazade's stories that one had but to read them in order to become convinced that never had there been seen anything so good in any language in this order of writings.¹ Six volumes appeared in 1704, a seventh in 1706, an eighth in 1709; the ninth and tenth followed in 1712, the eleventh and twelfth in 1717, two years after Galland's death.² Meanwhile, in 1704, D'Alègre published a new translation of the *Gulistan* of Sadi,³ in 1707 Petis de la Croix brought out some 'Turkish' tales, *Histoire de la Sultane de Perse et des Visirs*, and from 1710 to 1712 his five volumes of the *Mille et un Jours*, *Contes Persans traduits en François*. Besides these translations there now began to appear countless volumes of imitations and pseudo-translations: in 1712 and 1714 the *Adventures of Abdallah*, son of Hanif, 'translated from an Arabian manuscript' by the Abbé Bignon; in 1715 Gueullette's *Mille et un Quarts d'heure*, *Contes Tartares*, to mention only two of the earliest of these 'pastiche' which helped to discredit the *Arabian Nights* in the eyes of those who could not or would not distinguish the original from the imitations. In this way the *Journal Littéraire* for 1715 groups the *Mille et une Nuits*, the *Mille et un Jours* with other less happy efforts and condemns one and all as 'fadaïses,' as 'livres de bagatelles et de niaiseries.'⁴ 'Fadaïses' these imitations might certainly be called, this "branchlet of literature, the most vapid, frigid and insipid that can be imagined by man—a bastard Europeo-Oriental, pseudo-Eastern world of Western mari-

orientales n'ont souvent qu'un seul objet dont l'effet est d'exciter la surprise en voyant que les plus petits incidents amènent les plus grandes révolutions. C'est en cela que consiste presque tout leur attrait, le style contribue aussi à leur agrément; il se sent de la chaleur du climat qui produit une singularité piquante pour les lecteurs de l'Europe."

¹ Galland, *Mille et une Nuits*, I, Avertissement.

² Chauvin, *Bibliographie des Ouvrages Arabes*, IV, pp. 25-26.

³ *Gulistan ou le Jardin des Roses*, traduit du Persan de Sadi. A French translation had already appeared in 1634.

⁴ *Journal Littéraire de l'Année 1715* (La Haye, 3^e éd. 1738), p. 203. Montesquieu, however, was among the admirers of the *Arabian Nights*. "Les gens sensés," writes the Comte de Caylus, "qui savent apprécier les choses ne proscrivent jamais ce genre et s'il fallait une autorité respectable, je dirois que M. de Montesquieu se trouvant faute d'autres livres nécessité à lire les *Mille et une Nuits*, y trouva tant d'attrait, que je lui ai entendu dire, plus d'une fois qu'il se félicitoit d'avoir fait connaissance avec les Conteurs Arabes et qu'il en relisoit volontiers quelque chose tous les ans. (Préface to Cadichon, *Cabinet des Fées*, Vol. 25, pp. 387-388.)

onettes, garbed in the gear which Asiatics are (or were) supposed to wear, with sentiments, opinions, manners and morals to match; the whole utterly lacking life, local colour, vraisemblance, human interest."¹

Hamilton, too, viewed this "inondation subite de califes et de sultans," as he called it,² with a hostile eye. It has sometimes been stated³ that what he disliked and criticized was not the great masterpiece of Eastern literature, but the parasitical growths that sprang from it. From the very first, however, when Galland's translation began to appear, Hamilton had uncompromisingly described the *Arabian Nights* as 'fatras,'⁴ and what followed upon these first volumes did not in any wise change his opinion. He twitted the ladies at court ("avec les ménagemens convenables pour ne pas blesser leur amour propre") on the avidity with which they read each succeeding instalment, they retorted by defying him to compose something in a similar strain,⁵ and so Hamilton wrote two Eastern Tales, first *Fleur d'Épine*, and then the *Quatre Facardins*.

Pour marquer les absurdités
De ces récits mal inventés,⁶

just as he had written the *Bélier* to show up the defects of the fairy-tale. The jaded courtier was irritated by the naïveté, the artlessness and the unconscious humour of the *Arabian Nights*, he wanted something written with 'esprit,' he was unable to adopt, even for the time being, the attitude of simple unquestioning faith which Burton, in

¹ Burton's *Arabian Nights*, X, pp. 347-348.

² *Œuvres*, II, p. 260.

³ e.g. by Sayous in his *Littérature française à l'étranger*. The duc de Lévis in the preface to his continuation of the tales goes as far as to say that Hamilton's tales were not written against Oriental fiction but against "nos inventions occidentales, nos romans monstrueux de chevalerie et les grands romans qui leur ont succédé," and J. B. Champagnac adopts this theory in his edition of Hamilton's works. It is true that Hamilton has his fling against the romans de chevalerie in the *Quatre Facardins*, but his efforts are principally directed against the Oriental Tales. As for M. Kissenberth's thesis on Hamilton (*Antoine d'Hamilton, sein Leben und seine Werke*), it brings forward the extraordinary statement that Hamilton wished to ridicule Sorel's *Francion*, the *Roman comique* and the *Roman bourgeois* (p. 84).

⁴ *Œuvres*, II, p. 128, in *le Bélier*, which he wrote in 1705, the year after the publication of the first volumes of the *Mille et une Nuits*.

⁵ Avis du Libraire, *Le Bélier*, 1730.

⁶ *Œuvres*, II, p. 260.

our day, still found among the primitive people of the wilderness to whom he used to read these stories.¹

It would seem as if the sudden appearance of a new series of tales in 1710, Persian this time, the *Mille et un Jours*, a series of volumes probably just as endless as the the *Mille et une Nuits*, had moved Hamilton to take up his pen to amuse his friends and himself by a parody of the Eastern fictions. That Hamilton had read at least the first volumes of the *Mille et un Jours* would seem to be proved by the fact that his *Luisante* is very closely related to the Princess Farrukhnaz of those stories.² The scene of *Fleur d'Epine* is laid in the kingdoms of Cachemire, Circassia and Astracan; this also suggests the influence of the *Mille et un Jours* and one would therefore place the date of *Fleur d'Epine* and of the *Quatre Facardins* between 1710 and 1715,³ after which year, as we have seen, Hamilton wrote little more.

¹ "The Shayks and 'white beards' of the tribe," he writes in a wonderfully vivid page, "gravely take their places, sitting with outspread skirts like hillocks on the plain, as the Arabs say, around the camp fire, whilst I reward their hospitality . . . by reading or reciting a few pages of their favourite tales. The women and children stand motionless as silhouettes outside the ring; and all are breathless with attention; they seem to drink in the words with eyes and mouth as well as with ears. The most fantastic flights of fancy, the wildest improbabilities, the most impossible of impossibilities, appear to them utterly natural, mere matters of everyday occurrence. They enter thoroughly into each phase of feeling touched upon by the author; they take a personal pride in the chivalrous nature and knightly prowess of Taj al-Mulúk; they are touched with tenderness by the self-sacrificing love of Azízah; their mouths water as they hear of heaps of untold gold given away in largesse like clay by the mighty Hárun al Rashíd; they chuckle with delight every time a Kázi or Fakir (a judge or a reverend) is scurvily treated by some Pantagruelist of the Wilderness; and despite their normal solemnity and impassivity all roar with laughter, sometimes rolling upon the ground till the reader's gravity is sorely tried at the tales of the garrulous Barber and of Ali with the Kurdish Sharper." (Burton's *Arabian Nights*, I, p. xviii.) Cf. an article in the *Revue britannique*, August, 1828, p. 325 sq.

² In his article on Anthony Hamilton (*Fortnightly Review*, October, 1890), Professor Saintsbury remarks, "Another side issue may be indicated by mentioning that the tradition of Le Sage having collaborated in Galland's translation (a tradition for which I know no solid foundation) may possibly by some ingenious inquirer be connected with the fact that Le Sage undoubtedly dramatised the subject of Hamilton's *Fleur d'Epine* in *la Princesse de Carizme*, though the treatment is wholly independent." The similarity between *Fleur d'Epine* and *la Princesse de Carizme* can be explained by the fact that both authors took their subject from the *Mille et un Jours*. Le Sage, as is well known, was a collaborator of Pétis de la Croix in this work.

³ Another reason for assigning to these tales a much later date than to *le Béliet* is the fact that mention is made in *Fleur d'Epine* of the *Conte de la*

A rapid summary of the two tales will show that whereas *Fleur d'Epine* is characterized by a certain unity of action, in the *Quatre Facardins* Hamilton has spared himself no trouble in inventing a profusion of the most arbitrarily connected incidents.

Fleur d'Epine.—Luisante, the daughter of the caliph of Cachemire, is so beautiful that none may behold her with impunity. Various remedies are proposed and the seneschal advises the caliph to send for an unknown squire who has been with him for some time. The squire, Tarare by name, ascertains that the enchantress Serena will take away the murderous power of Luisante's eyes, provided the caliph sends her four things: the portrait of Luisante; Fleur d'Epine, her daughter, who has been carried off by the witch Dentue in order that she may marry Dentue's son, Dentillon; a hat so laden with diamonds that it shines like the sun, and a mare covered with little golden bells that make enchanting music wherever she goes. These last two objects are also in Dentue's possession. Tarare undertakes to obtain all these gifts, and first he prosaically puts on smoked glasses and paints the portrait of the princess who falls in love with him. Then, disguised as a goat-herd he makes his way to Dentue's habitation. At nightfall Dentillon goes out to the well for water and Fleur d'Epine lights him the way with the diamond hat which only shines when worn by a maiden. Tarare lays hold of Dentillon, a repulsive little monster, gags him, binds him hand and foot, envelops his head in Fleur d'Epine's veils and pushes him under the hay in Sonnante's stable. The mare's bells have all been closed up with birdlime so Tarare and Fleur d'Epine mount her in safety and ride away, lighted by the diamond hat. Meanwhile Dentue has discovered the theft, sets fire to the stable under the impression that she is going to burn Fleur d'Epine, and mounting a unicorn goes off in pursuit of the thief. The fugitives escape with difficulty, but finally enter Cachemire in triumph. Fleur d'Epine is entrusted for a night to the seneschal's widow, and, next day, Tarare is to take her to Serena with the other gifts. But the widow, who is in love with Tarare,

Pyramide et du Cheval d'Or which Hamilton had written for 'Mademoiselle O'Brien de Clare.' This young lady, whose 'charms' are so gallantly described in *la Pyramide et le Cheval d'Or*, was born in 1697, and would thus be only thirteen years old in 1710.

and a new confidant of hers, a Moorish woman, throw a spell over Fleur d'Epine. She falls ill, is unable to accompany Tarare, and when he returns at last with a wonderful remedy for the eyes of the princess, Fleur d'Epine has become so disfigured through her sufferings that he no longer recognizes her. Overwhelmed with grief Fleur d'Epine faints away and the wicked Moorish woman exclaims that she is dead and must be burned at once. Just as the pyre is about to be lighted Serena arrives on the mare Sonnante, restores Fleur d'Epine to health and beauty, Fleur d'Epine and Tarare are united and the Moorish woman, who is none other than the witch Dentue, is burned. Of course there are minor intrigues. Tarare has a twin brother Phenix, who, having fallen into Dentue's hands, has been changed into a parrot, and, as such, has won Luisante's affections. Serena destroys the spell and he marries Luisante. Nor has Luisante chosen unworthily, for Phenix and Tarare are the sons of a king. As for Serena, she is the daughter of the King of Mesopotamia, Fleur d'Epine is not her daughter, but the daughter of the dethroned Queen of Circassia, who is about to be restored to her rights again, and Tarare thus finds himself wedded to the heiress of a kingdom.

It is not easy to give a short argument of the *Quatre Facardins*; the intricacy of the narrative is extraordinary, and as we have only a fragment of the *Facardins* we are less able to grasp the large lines of the Tale. Moreover, to give a dry outline is always to do Hamilton a certain injustice, for the reader has necessarily a very imperfect impression of what these exquisitely witty tales really are, their special and peculiar charm lying, as Professor Saintsbury points out, in the perpetual undercurrent of satirical criticism of life.

I. Facardin,¹ Prince of Trebizond,² who tells this tale, sets out with his secretary in quest of adventure. He becomes acquainted with a handsome young stranger who likewise bears the name of Facardin. At the request of

¹ Facardin is not so extraordinary a name as the author would have us believe. It is the popular spelling of the name of the celebrated emir Fakhr ed-Din. (Cf. Bibliothèque des Carpentras, manuscript 1777, f. 120; *Nouvelles de Sayde . . . Prise de l'émir Facardin*.)

² The emperor of Trebizond who figures in the seventh and eighth book of the *Amadis* had possibly suggested the name of Trebizond. We know that Hamilton was well read in all the Amadis stories.

Facardin of Trebizond, the handsome Facardin relates his story and confesses that he is travelling in order to become more worthy of Mousseline la Sérieuse, Princess of Astracan. Two adventures have befallen him so far, the adventure of the lions' isle and the adventure of Mount Atlas. All the lions of a certain country have been banished to an island, but as the country is so overrun with deer, a hunt takes place several times a year on the lions' isle ; the lions are captured alive and let loose among the deer of the mainland. The handsome Facardin arrives in time to take part in one of the hunts which are organized in the following manner : Twenty young men and maidens row in pairs to the island ; each youth takes with him a stag, each maiden a cock. When they land they fasten up huge nets behind which they take their stand. The lions seeing the stags make a rush for them, but as only one lion is wanted for each net, a maiden causes her cock to crow suddenly by uncovering his head, and the lions, amazed, retreat into the woods except the foremost lion who has become entangled in the net and is now embarked with a hunter and a huntress. The handsome Facardin wishes to show his courage by remaining on the island with the last maiden and, instead of capturing the lion in the usual way, he draws his sword, is unsuccessful, the lion swallows the cock and Facardin and his maiden are forced to return empty-handed. The maiden is in despair, for the loss of a cock is supposed to throw grave doubts on her virtue, and if the cock is not found again, the maiden is buried alive. On landing she rushes away into the mountain wilds and Facardin, following her, loses her from sight.

He begins to climb up Mount Atlas, refuses the caresses of an old hag, who, in return, throws a spell over him so that all women may dislike him, he wanders through lonely caves and splendidly furnished grottos, picks up a dainty slipper and finds in another case the fair owner who consents to be delivered by him, provided he can find a woman ready to love him or a cock able to fly as high as an eagle or a maiden whose foot is small enough for the slipper. The handsome Facardin sets out to accomplish one of the three conditions imposed and meets the Ambassadors of Fortimbras, King of Denmark, who have been exiled from their country until they find a man whose mouth equals the King's in size or a slipper small enough for the foot of

Sapinelle of Jutland, his daughter. He returns with them to their country and great adventures befall him there.

II. At this point of the handsome Facardin's story wild sounds of trumpets, clarions, fifes and drums are heard and there appears a procession of gorgeously attired slaves, four of whom carry a litter. The camels of our travellers take fright and Facardin of Trebizond and his secretary are separated from the handsome Facardin, who disappears from the scene for ever. They afterwards find out that in the litter was travelling Mousseline la Sérieuse, returning to her father's kingdom after having spent three vain months in quest of something to make her laugh. Facardin has now reached the Red Sea, and his secretary proceeds to relate a long tale which is to reveal the origin of the name of the sea.

III. The story is suddenly interrupted by the landing of a boat from which there steps a hideous damsel. In spite of the secretary's warnings and entreaties she makes Facardin embark with her in order that he may save the most precious life that ever was. They land and though he is several times requested to disarm himself he arrives, sword in hand, in the presence of Cristalline la Curieuse, whom he is to deliver and who is none other than the complacent lady of the hundred rings, collected as described at the beginning of the *Arabian Nights*.¹

The lady gives him an account of her adventures. In her youth a Genius carried her off to his palace under the sea, where she led a monotonous existence until a tall young knight sinks down to their kingdom and is revived by the Genius. The knight, Facardin by name, the third Facardin of the tale, and Cristalline manage to outwit the jealousy of the Genius, but one day the tall Facardin disappears. The Genius notices his wife's sadness and, in order to give her some diversion, proceeds to travel about with her. This is no great consolation, for he carries her about in a cristal coffer and when he lets her out he falls asleep, his head on her knees. Notwithstanding these precautions Cristalline goes through the series of adventures familiar to readers of the *Arabian Nights*, demanding a ring from each of her victims. One day the Genius seeing her play with the rings discovers her infidelity and con-

¹ *Mille et une Nuits*, pp. 6-7. M. Anatole France has recounted the episode in his *Rôtisserie de la Reine Pédauque*, pp. 289-291.

demns her to be burned alive unless she can find, within a year, some adventurer who is willing to make himself possessor of the hundred rings. The year has all but elapsed and the new-comer, Facardin of Trebizond, is her only hope.

IV. Facardin refuses to undergo the adventure proposed, but offers to hew his way for her through the attendants of the Genius. Cristalline gives him a magic spinning-wheel as a shield and takes one herself, they manage to escape, reach a boat which carries them swiftly to another shore where they meet three curiously attired adventurers, one of them being the tall Facardin. They imagine Facardin of Trebizond to be engaged in the same exploit as they, but finding they are mistaken, one of the knights-errant tells him the story of Mousseline la Sérieuse, adding that whoever causes Mousseline to laugh or overcomes a monster that is devastating the kingdom of Astracan will receive Mousseline and all her father's estates in reward.

Here Hamilton breaks off his tale, referring the rest of the Prince of Trebizond's story to the second part of these Memoirs.

Now it may be asked in what manner Hamilton satirizes the *Arabian Nights*. We have already seen that his object was 'marquer les absurdités de ces récits mal inventés,' and that, especially in the *Quatre Facardins*, incident is made to follow upon incident in the most bewildering fashion. The various adventures of the four Facardins are as disconnected as possible. In *Fleur d'Epine*, not only are some of the actions of the hero quite incomprehensible to the reader, but the hero himself is not quite sure of their why and wherefore, though in the end everything, of course, turns out for his good. The personages are all almost without exception eminently ridiculous.

Hamilton suspected Galland of having improved on the original; the *Arabian Nights*, it seemed to him, left Barbin, the publisher, 'plus arabes qu'en Arabie.'¹ Accordingly he accentuates the Oriental in many places. Tarare, counselling the caliph to apply to the fairy Serena for advice, suggests sending her 'a trifle of a million or two,' and when

¹ *Œuvres*, II, p. 259. We know now that Galland indeed took considerable liberties with the text, but far from deepening the local colour, he rather sought to tone it down to the taste of his countrymen. Cf. especially Burton's Terminal Essay in Vol. VIII of the *Arabian Nights*.

at last he is sent on his mission he carries with him "a purse of sparkling diamonds and half a bushel of large pearls," the roads on Cristalline's island are strewn with diamond powder, gold and silver and brodered raiment abound everywhere in the correct fashion. Cristalline's attendant addresses Facardin after the manner of Molière's Grand Turk. "Que la rosée du matin vous soit toujours en aide ; que celle du soir vous flatte tendrement les joues et que les paroles de votre bienaimée soient aussi favorables à votre cœur que le chant du coq l'est à l'oreille qui ne peut dormir la nuit." Another attendant swears by the great Ali, founder of the Green Turbans. Facardin's secretary reviles his camel and the 'great prophet' who brought the camel into the world. And so on.

Another proceeding that Hamilton resorts to, a proceeding familiar to him from the *Typhon* and the *Virgile Travesty*, is the effective use of anachronism. In *Fleur d'Épine* the caliph is served by a seneschal and by a 'grand prévôt.' The seneschal's son is a count, gentilhomme de l'épée. The hapless lovers die after the manner ordained by Voiture and the précieux, "gently murmuring her name and humbly thanking those beautiful eyes for having dealt them so sweet and glorious a death." The caliph fears that the power of his daughter's eyes will people the court with 'Quinze-Vingts,' he is therefore advised to send her to a convent, since there would be no great harm in a score or so of ancient nuns and their abbess losing their sight for the benefit of the State. When the caliph asks Tarare what to do with his daughter, Tarare replies by parodying some lines from a madrigal of Jean de Lingendes, Honoré d'Urfé's friend. Finding himself in great difficulties Tarare no longer knows to what saint to recommend himself, and when he returns successfully the caliph's councillors propose to honour him like some Roman conqueror with the great and the small triumph. The wicked sénéchale is condemned to be sent to the Petites Maisons. Facardin, arrayed in a dressing-gown, is carried by his boat to a distant coast and is dismayed to find the inhabitants watching his approach through field-glasses ; a bearded high priest is called Monsieur l'Abbé, and then there is Facardin of Trebizond himself, 'fait à peindre, vaillant, adroit, grand parleur et quelque peu Gascon,' a kind of knight-errant who brings into this Oriental tale a flavour of the tales of Chivalry.

And while this Eastern tale is burlesqued¹ by the introduction of wandering semi-Western knights, the author cannot help having his fling in turn at the romances of chivalry. Facardin of Trebizond is a knight of admirable common sense. He sets out in quest of adventure, but with great savoir faire first secures a 'liste des tournois publiés par le monde avec un état des aventures les plus impraticables.' Instead of taking a squire to wait upon him, he takes a secretary who writes down his exploits, keeps a journal of the expedition and rather irritates him by his bel esprit and by the diligence with which he keeps drawing a map of the countries they traverse. The handsome Facardin speaks the language and shares in the high-flown sentiments of Amadis and Galaor. Like Amadis he is a humble and sighing lover; Facardin of Trebizond, who is inordinately vain, reassures him complacently, "I have met with a hundred beauties in my travels, some of whom were of the first distinction, none of them ever cost me more than a single sigh. My secretary shall give you a list of them with their addresses. Pay them a visit, and when we meet again, you shall tell me how they are." The disreputable Cristalline is made to act the part of the inevitable maiden in distress who sends her damoysele to crave a boon, her deliverance, of the valiant knights who go riding by—on camels.

Les Quatre Facardins is thus not a purely Eastern tale; in *Fleur d'Épine* there is one thing that contrasts curiously with the semi-Oriental setting, the character of *Fleur d'Épine* herself. The heroines of the *Arabian Nights* are marked by a strange waywardness; they arrive in the market-places and unveil themselves to the young merchants, they send their slaves to invite the traveller from the khan to the harem, they appear unbidden at the nocturnal banquet; but *Fleur d'Épine* is a maiden unknown to the *Arabian Nights*, modest and shy and with a delightful

¹ Brunetière points out in an interesting article that the burlesque and the précieux are by no means opposed, but rather symptoms of the same attitude, and that the last years of the reign of Louis XIV and the Regency which saw a revival of the esprit précieux were no less marked by a revival of the burlesque. (*La Maladie du Burlesque* in *Études critiques sur l'Histoire de la Littérature française*. Huitième Série, Paris, 1907.) The works of Hamilton fully bear out this statement. Hamilton has something of both Voiture and Scarron in him, though Voiture, of course, more than predominates.

diffidence in love which Hamilton has rendered with surprising art. We will not go as far as Montégut, who describes *Fleur d'Épine* as the most charming fairy-tale ever written in France,¹ but one might certainly long search the pages of the Oriental tale and the conte de fées of the period for anything approaching the grace of Hamilton's tale. Yet there is no cloying sweetness about it, for the author is amiably amused by his young lovers and his delicate raillery makes all sentimentalism impossible. He himself seems to have realized that in this case he had not been altogether successful in pouring contempt on the fairy-tale. "L'écrivain lui-même est la fable des contes qu'il a critiqués."²

So much for the tales themselves—something still remains to be said about their framework. Hamilton seems to have considered the device of a sultana relating stories every night to her consort supremely ridiculous.³ Already in *Le Béliar*, written when the first volumes of the Arabian Nights were appearing, he had not spared that mechanism. The nymph Alie (who lived in the reign of Pepin), distraught with grief, temporarily loses her reason, and her mind being full of the story of Schahriahr, Schéhérazade and Dinarzade, she imagines herself to be Schéhérazade, proceeds to relate to her imaginary audience the tale of her life, stopping in the correct fashion at the most critical part of her story, because of the dawning day. The Giant, not unlike the

¹ *Revue des Deux Mondes*, April, 1862, p. 671.

² *Œuvres*, II, p. 260. And as a matter of fact Hamilton the critic was criticised in turn. In 1735 the Père Bougeant published a satirical tale, *le Voyage merveilleux du Prince Fan Férédin dans la Romancie*, contenant plusieurs observations historiques, géographiques, physiques, critiques et morales. The mare Sonnante is one of the marvellous animals that inhabit the country of Romancie (p. 47), and *Fleur d'Épine* and the Four Facardins move in the society of the Contes Mogols and la Constance des promptes Amours (p. 220).

³ Nor was Hamilton the only one who laughed at the unflinching regularity of Dinarzade's "Ma sœur, si vous ne dormez pas, contez nous donc un de ces beaux contes que vous contez si bien." There is that well-known anecdote of the worthy Galland being awakened from his sleep one wintry night and finding under his window three or four young men exclaiming rapturously, "Monsieur Galland ! Monsieur Galland ! Si vous ne dormez pas, contez nous donc un de ces beaux contes que vous savez si bien !" The fact that Galland suppressed the framework in his later volumes speaks for the authenticity of the anecdote "Les lecteurs des deux premiers volumes de ces contes ont été fatigués de l'interruption que Dinarzade apportait à leur lecture. On a remédié à ce défaut dans les volumes qui ont suivi." (Avertissement, Vol. VII, 1st ed.)

Sultan, has to be amused by stories, but the story-teller in this case is not the incomparable Schéhérazade, merely a ram who knows by heart a thousand stories.

Hamilton went further now and connected both his tales with the *Arabian Nights*. *Fleur d'Épine* is the thousand and first night, the *Quatre Facardins* the thousand and second. The concluding volumes of the *Nights* had not yet appeared. Hamilton was therefore at liberty to give the last night the form he pleased. He makes Schéhérazade feign an illness and lets the last story be told by Dinarzade, who stipulates that any interruption on the Sultan's part will cancel the sentence of death hanging over her sister. She gives her hero the name of Tarare,¹ and the name is so often repeated and the meaning of the word gives such frequent occasions for puns, that in the end the Sultan can control himself no longer, objects, and Schéhérazade's life is safe.² Dinarzade tells her tale to the

¹ "Mot burlesque qui signifie quand on s'en sert qu'on se moque de ce que l'on dit" (Furetière). Molière uses it three times. In the translation published by Bohn in 1849 Tarare is translated as Poooh-poooh. The editor of the first English translation of *Fleur d'Épine* tells an ingenious but unauthenticated story in connexion with the name of the hero. "The conversation," he says, happening to turn in a company in which he [Hamilton] was present, on the *Arabian Nights Entertainments* which were just published, every one highly commended the book; many seemed to hint at the difficulty of writing that species of composition." "Nothing can be more easy," replied Count Hamilton, "and as proof of it I will venture to write a Circassian tale, after the manner of the *Arabian Nights Entertainment*, on any subject which you can mention." "Fiddlestick," replied the other. "You have hit it," said Count Hamilton, "and I promise you that I will produce a tale in which Fiddlestick shall be the principal hero." In a few days he finished his tale, which he called *Fleur d'Épine*.

² The end given by Galland was Galland's own invention, for his manuscript had no conclusion. According to Galland, the Sultan who admires Schéhérazade's memory, her courage and her patience retracts his sentence. "Je vous remets entièrement dans mes bonnes grâces." According to some MSS. the Sultan is bored by the last stories, and when Schéhérazade asks whether he still persists in his resolution he replies, "C'est assez, qu'on lui coupe la tête, car ses dernières histoires m'ont ennuyé mortellement." Schéhérazade then sends for her three children, and everything ends happily. (*Contes inédits des Mille et une Nuits*, extraits de l'original arabe par M. J. de Hammer, traduits en français par M. G. Trébutien.) Cf. Burton, VIII, p. 51, and Lane, III, p. 733, where Schéhérazade after finishing her stories sends for her sons, and the Sultan, moved to tears, assures her that he pardoned her long before the coming of these children. E. A. Poe amused himself by describing the 1002nd Night. S. has been pardoned but cannot resist telling another tale which the Sultan finds so absurd that he repents of his lenience and has her strangled. (*Works*, ed. by Ingram, Edinburgh, 1883, third edition in 4 vols., I, p. 216 sq.).

very end though dawn had come long before, "mais Dinarzade s'étoit moquée de son éclat naissant." We suppose that this is the last of these nocturnal tales, but the next night the Sultan commands the Prince of Trebizond, Dinarzade's lover, to remain with them and to relate his adventures. Accordingly we have the story of the *Quatre Facardins*.

The Sultan's childlike interest in Schéhérazade's stories seems to have irritated Hamilton, for he revenges himself by making Schahriahr as foolish as he can; everyone except Schahriahr is bored by the stories and the flippant manner in which Dinarzade speaks to Schéhérazade about the 'animal d'empereur' and 'votre benêt de mari,' is a piquant contrast to the respect with which the Commander of the Faithful is treated in the original Arabian Tales. Those who had been more or less bored by the Arabian Nights must have approved of the impatient criticism with which Dinarzade rewards Trebizond's endeavours and which, of course, voices Hamilton's objections to the long drawn-out episodes of the *Mille et une Nuits*. "You are desired to relate your own adventures which, in the present posture of affairs you should have told as concisely as possible, and instead of this you weary us with another person's, accompanied with details so uninteresting that it is a doubt whether they are more tedious or trifling."¹ And elsewhere, after a sigh of relief: "A thousand thanks," she cries, "to the satraps in chintz, the gilded palanquin, the slaves who bore it, the umbrellas which shaded it, and, above all, to the flageolets, fifes, cymbals and bagpipes, which by frightening your camel, separated you from Facardin the Second! And oh! for ever blessed be the river, whose well-timed overflowing prevented you from falling in with him again! Had it not been for that fortunate accident, I doubt not you would have wearied us as intolerably with the end of his adventures as you have already done with the beginning. For Heaven's sake, my dear prince, tell me at once how many years it will take you to relate your history, since though you have now trespassed upon our good Sultan's patience for a very considerable time, you have employed it entirely in recounting the misfortunes of another person."²

¹ *Tales*, Bohn's edition (1849), p. 19.

² *Ib.*, pp. 37-38.

The Sultan fortunately does not take in this tirade as he has become too drowsy, or as Facardin euphemistically describes it, has his attention distracted by some serious political reflexions.

Very amusing is the way in which Schahriahr's old acquaintance, the lady of the hundred rings, is brought into the story. In the Arabian Nights Schahriahr and his brother furnish her with the ninety-ninth and the hundredth ring. Facardin is relating Cristalline's story and how she complains of the unwillingness of all her victims, especially of the last two, the most cowardly knaves she had ever met. "Trebizonde, my good friend," says the Sultan, rousing himself from a half slumber, "what was that you said last?" "Mighty Lord," replies Trebizonde with perfect gravity, "I said that the virtuous Cristalline informed me that having carried her adventure to the ninety-eighth, she received the two last rings from two poor cowardly devils who almost expired through fright." "She lied," exclaims the Sultan, who recognizes himself, "but go on with your history: we will discuss that point another time."¹

In *Le Béliér*, as we have seen, there are 'mille petits faits déguisez.' There is no doubt that the readers of Hamilton's manuscript books enjoyed *Fleur d'Épine* and the *Quatre Facardins* in a way that we cannot. In the Prince of Trebizond they probably saw reminiscences of Gramont, the 'politique de campagne qui se mêlait d'entretenir des correspondances à la cour,' and the Prince who insisted that his sons should always speak of him as 'Monsieur mon père' were perhaps well-known characters; as for the seneschal, the prime minister of whom it is said that he was the most foolish man who had ever presided a council, it is difficult not to see a portrait of Chamillart in him. "As he had not the capabilities which those who govern usually have, or ought to have, neither had he their presumption, and much less their abrupt manners (an allusion, of course, to the enemy, Louvois). He was the most affable minister that ever existed."² And those who thought of Chamillart in reading these lines, understood the force of the apparently inoffensive statement, "Le calife n'avoit eu garde de manquer à faire son premier ministre

¹ *Ib.*, pp. 74-75.

² *Ib.*, p. 392.

d'une tête comme celle-là."¹ They knew how to appreciate the audacity of the innocent little scene between the caliph, Tarare and the seneschal. "Speak to him boldly, Your Highness," said the seneschal, "he understands all manner of languages." The caliph who could only talk his own, and that not very elegantly, after pausing some time, trying to find something clever to say, "What's your name, friend?" said he.² The seventeenth century was truly a thing of the past. The Comtesse de Murat had dedicated her fairy-tales to the Dowager Princess of Conti, the Comtesse d'Auneuil inscribed hers to the Duchesse de Bourgogne, and these princesses knew to look for their portraits in the gracious and graceful fairies, but with Hamilton we are entering another age.

Besides *Fleur d'Epine* and the *Quatre Facardins* we have a fragment of an Oriental tale in verse, *La Pyramide et le Cheval d'Or*. It is exceedingly dull and is only mentioned for the sake of completeness.

Hamilton's influence on the French conteurs has already been mentioned. Boufflers avowedly takes him as his

¹ Cf. also the delightful "Le calife lui en donna sa parole, et le sénéchal qui aimoit à travailler, lui en expédia des lettres patentes."

² *Le Béliet* has also one or two of these touches. "Mon père le prince le plus magnifique de son siècle . . . avoit rassemble à grands frais les livres les plus rares et les plus curieux de l'univers, mais il n'en avoit jamais lu un seul." Elsewhere the Giant says to Alie, "Je vais t'enfermer dans la chambre et ensuite je m'informerai de la vérité," a remark not without its sting in this age of the lettre de cachet.

In some cases Hamilton's satire is of a more general nature. In *Fleur d'Epine* by way of protest against the amazing beauty with which the chief personages of fiction are usually dowered, he chooses a hero who is far from handsome and a heroine who is inferior in looks to at least one of the other characters. (The worthy La Harpe therefore describes *Fleur d'Epine* as a tale with a moral purpose; we fear that Hamilton had no such thing in mind when he composed *Fleur d'Epine*.) In the same story the fairy Serena restores Fleur d'Epine to health again, and Phenix is turned from a parrot into a man. The convenience of such a proceeding is, of course, obvious. "Oh," remarks Hamilton, as if moved by a sudden afterthought, "que les enchantements sont d'un grand secours pour le dénouement d'une intrigue et la fin d'un conte!" Long amorous conversations he cannot bear, therefore in such places where the reader might be justified in expecting them, Hamilton accounts for their absence by explaining that since the reader would probably have skipped them, he may very well do without them. Tarare's real name, it will be remembered, is Pinson, and he has changed his name for no particular reason; this, of course, is a satire on the double appellations of certain personages in the grands romans.

model.¹ Caylus and Bougeant likewise write literary parodies. Crébillon especially sought to imitate Hamilton, though, as Madame du Deffand remarks, he resembles him as little as the ass of La Fontaine's fable resembles the little dog.² The Oriental tale is now no longer told and received with sincere wonder; the marvellous has given way to the manifestly absurd, imitation yields to caricature, and the fashionable attitude is one of well-bred superciliousness. Henceforward the Sultan of the eighteenth-century conteurs ceases to be an heroic figure. Voisenon disrespectfully calls his Sultan Misapouf, and Schah Baham in *le Sopha* and *Ah, Quel Conte* is modelled directly on Schahriahr in *Fleur d'Épine* and the *Quatre Facardins* and on the giant in *Le Béliet*.³ He is supposed to be a grandson of Schahriar's, just as the Queen of the Crystal Island is a granddaughter of Cristalline la Curieuse.

It is difficult to delimit Hamilton's influence on Voltaire, yet, if any conteur resembles Hamilton, it is Voltaire; if any conteur approaches Voltaire from afar it is Hamilton. It is just because Hamilton's influence is so subtle, just because it does not affect externals that it escapes a close analysis. In many of Voltaire's tales there are reminiscences of earlier stories though, of course, he makes the matter quite his own—but he does not borrow from Hamilton. Nor did he learn from Hamilton to use the tale as a vehicle for satire, for this he had models in Rabelais and Cyrano de

¹ See the Epître at the beginning of *Aline, Reine de Golconde*.

² *Lettres*, III, p. 316. The fable of La Fontaine alluded to is the fifth of Book IV. The ass, seeing the little dog caressed when he 'shakes hands,' attempts to do the same with disastrous results.

Ne forçons point notre talent,
Nous ne ferions rien avec grâce,
Jamais un lourdaud, quoi qu'il fasse,
Ne sauroit passer pour galant.

³ Cf., for instance, the Sultan's interest in the personages described "'Voilà une femme qui me plaît tout à fait!' dit Schah-Baham, 'elle a du sentiment et n'est pas comme cette Zéphis . . . qui d'ailleurs était bien la plus sotte précieuse que j'ai de ma vie rencontrée! Je sens qu'elle m'intéresse infiniment et je vous la récommande, Amanzéi; entendez-vous? Tâchez qu'on ne la chagrine pas toujours.'—'Sire,' répondit Amanzéi, 'je la favoriserai autant que le respect dû à la vérité pourra me le permettre.'" (*Le Sopha*, Paris, n.d., two vols.) II, p. 10.

"Après le souper . . ."

"'Tout doucement, s'il vous plaît,' interrompit Schah-Baham, 'je veux si cela ne vous déplaît pas les voir souper. J'aime sur toutes choses les propos de table.'" (*Ib.*, p. 94.)

Such passages abound in *Ah, Quel Conte!*

Bergerac, in Montesquieu and Swift; though Hamilton's tales are satirical parodies of the literature of the day they are leisurely and playful compared to those of Voltaire, moving relentlessly to the end that is ever kept in sight;¹ they have none of the philosophic depth of *Candide* and *Zadig*,² their aim is not to prove the incongruities of this life, no grim *rerum concordia discors*³ haunts them; they are not a *reductio ad absurdum* of certain time-honoured theories. But what Hamilton did bequeath to Voltaire was his manner of relating, his calm polite malice, his easy deprecating grace, the air of unconscious ridicule, that delightfully grave irony, so sure that it never exaggerates, so restrained that it never gives way to laughter. Passages like "Orcan fut condamné à lui payer une grosse somme et à lui rendre sa femme; mais le pêcheur, devenu sage, ne prit que l'argent,"⁴ or, "On chanta dévotement de très belles prières après quoi on brûla à petit feu tous les coupables, de quoi toute la famille royale parut extrêmement édifiée,"⁵ read like Hamilton, just as there is much of Voltaire in "Les dames reconnurent dans la foule un petit saint à plusieurs marques extérieures de sainteté, entre autres à ce qu'il priait Dieu pendant la messe";⁶ and with the famous instance of Voltairean irony as shown in the alleged reason for Byng's execution, "pour encourager les autres"⁷ may be compared the epithet which Hamilton bestows on the gentlemen who met to swear away Anne Hyde's character—"tous gens d'honneur."

No doubt Voltaire brought the manner to perfection and applied to serious subjects the ironic treatment which Hamilton had applied to much that was trivial, no doubt that it also came to him from Saint-Evremond; but when all is said, he owes not a little to the writer who in his finesse, his attitude of mockery and indifference, his predilection for les petits genres, his lightness of touch and

¹ Cf. what one of Voltaire's characters says of the conte: "Je voudrois surtout que sous le voile de la fable il laissât entrevoir aux yeux exercés quelque vérité fine qui échappe au vulgaire." (*Œuvres*, XXI, p. 506.)

² *Le Taureau Blanc* and *la Princesse de Babylone* are perhaps the tales which resemble Hamilton's most closely.

³ *Œuvres*, XXI, p. 501 (*Le Taureau Blanc*).

⁴ *Zadig*, Chapter 21.

⁵ *Histoire des Voyages de Scarmentado*.

⁶ *Œuvres*, III, p. 10.

⁷ *Candide*, Chapter 23.

lucidity of style was one of the first to give the note of the eighteenth century.

In England the Oriental tale makes its appearance at much the same time as in France, and, as Dr. Conant has shown in her excellent monograph, the Oriental fiction that was not original in English came, almost without exception, from French imitations or translations of genuine Oriental tales.¹ The first English translation of Hamilton's works was not, however, published till 1760, thirty years after they had appeared in France and long after the more recent tales of Bougeant, Caylus, Crébillon and Voltaire had been translated. Moreover, in 1760 had begun to appear a work with greater claim to immortality and of much greater interest to an English public than anything from Hamilton's pen, though not unlike in spirit—Goldsmith's *Citizen of the World*. The *Gentleman's Magazine* made a passing reference to the Tales in 1774, and proposed to print extracts from them, but this was never done. Their qualities were not of the kind to procure them popularity except with the connoisseur, and from the very nature of his writings Hamilton's influence was not one to make itself felt widely; it is discernible chiefly in those who were able to appreciate him in the original, for much of the fine flavour is lost in the first awkward translation. And this influence is not so much that of Hamilton, the writer of Oriental tales, for the English had much better models, nor even that of Hamilton, the writer of literary parodies, who had such a following among the French conteurs—the English parodies of the Oriental tale are few in number—but rather the influence of Hamilton, the suave satirist and eighteenth-century man as he had also revealed himself in the *Memoirs*, transmitting the spirit of Saint-Evremond to Voltaire, and it is perhaps rather through Voltaire than directly that this influence is exerted, and accordingly proportionately difficult to determine.

Probably Beckford is the Englishman who owes most to Hamilton, and it is one of the coincidences of literature that these two Englishmen of the same family should have written Oriental tales in French. Beckford was a great-grandson of Anthony Hamilton's brother James, and proud both of his Hamilton blood and the illustrious kinsman whom he certainly had in mind when he composed

¹ Conant, *The Oriental tale in England in the 18th Century*; Preface,

Vathek. "I think Count Hamilton will smile on me when we meet in Paradise," he remarked, as he noted with satisfaction that his Arabian tales were progressing prodigiously.¹ He had in his library no less than three complete sets of Hamilton's works, not to mention odd copies of the *Mémoires de Grammont*.²

As for *Vathek*, simply "une petite brochure écrite dans le goût des Conte Arabes," according to the Censor Royal, but nevertheless one of the masterpieces of English literature, in spite of being a translation, it has abundance of satirical touches that very definitely recall the spirit of mockery, the persiflage of Voltaire and Hamilton. *Vathek* who wished to know everything, "même les sciences qui n'existaient pas," but who sent the too argumentatively learned to prison to cool their blood, the worthy Emir Fakreddin, "religieux à toute outrance et grand complimenteur," the devout and officious little dwarfs re-reading the Alcoran for the nine hundred and ninety-ninth time when they were not mumbling their prayers, the savants, the demi-savants and those who were neither though they thought they knew all things, the wicked Carathis, "la vertu même et ennemie jurée des amours et de la mollesse," her camel Alboufaki, who loved solitude and in whose society the woodcutters felt uneasy, the bees who were 'bonnes musulmanes,' they might all have come from the pen of Hamilton, and remarks like the following sound curiously familiar, "On croyoit qu'un souverain qui se livre au plaisir est pour le moins aussi propre à gouverner que celui qui s'en déclare l'ennemi." "Il ne croyoit pas . . . qu'il fallut se faire un enfer de ce monde pour avoir un paradis dans l'autre." "Le calife trouva l'eau fraîche mais les prières ennuyeuses à mort," etc. Here, of course, there are reminiscences as well of Hamilton's antithetical style and instances could be multiplied. We find further the same keen sense of the ridiculous which in Beckford's case had already manifested itself in the *Biographical Memoirs of Extraordinary Painters*, the same farcical treatment, the same intentional absurdities, the same sensuousness, and yet there is a great difference between *Vathek* and the earlier French works, a difference which Mallarmé, who prided himself on having rediscovered *Vathek*, saw

¹ Lewis Melville, *Life and Letters of William Beckford*, p. 126.

² *Catalogue of Books, Fonthill Abbey*, 1823, pp. 4, 301, 370, 385.

clearly when he suggested that Beckford, while imitating Voltaire, foreshadowed Chateaubriand; for, after all, the Oriental tale, at the end of the eighteenth century, is not altogether unconnected with the new romantic spirit, and, strange as it may seem, even one of Hamilton's stories is included in a collection of so-called Romantic Tales by M. Lewis.

Vathek is far more impressive, more stately, more poetical than the stereotyped conte and characterized by a certain love of nature; as the tale unfolds itself the flippancy of the beginning gives way to a note of mystery and inevitable doom while the closing pages attain to a real grandeur. The long lost and newly published Episodes too, with the possible exception of the *Histoire de la Princesse Zulkais*, have little of the frivolousness of the first part of *Vathek*; the gloom deepens, the characters hurry on to their fore-ordained ruin and a kind of underlying moral is more and more emphasized—that impiety must sooner or later be punished and that the very prosperity of the wicked is the beginning of the final tragedy. Lastly, Beckford was deeply read in the lore of the East and had thus acquired a by no means contemptible acquaintance with customs and manners Oriental. Endless pains were bestowed on *Vathek* to make the setting true to these, and a kind of 'local colour' is attained which contrasts agreeably with the Gallicized atmosphere of his predecessor's contes.

A literary parody in the nature of Hamilton's tales was attempted by Goldsmith in the story of Prince Bonbenin bonbobbin bonbobbinet, "who knew all things without ever having read . . . and so penetrating was he that he could tell the merit of a book by looking at the cover,"¹ and the specimen of a newspaper Lien Chi Altangi sends his friends² is a satire on the English Newsletter just as Hamilton's *Relations de divers endroits* is a satire on the French Newsletter.

Another literary parody and a singularly dull one is Walpole's *Hieroglyphic Tales*, printed at Strawberry Hill in 1785. The first of these satirizes inter alia the framework of the *Arabian Nights*, which Hamilton had been the first to do, and we see once more the foolish Sultan who like Crébillon's Schah Baham "ne comprenoit jamais

¹ *Citizen of the World*, Letters 48 and 49.

² *Ib.*, Letter 5.

bien que les choses absurdes et hors de toute vraisemblance," as Walpole reminds us on the title-page. In this tale a princess is to be married to a giant, but when she reaches the palace the giant, to her great surprise, is scarcely of ordinary height—just as the height of the giant Moulineau in *Le Bélier* dwindles considerably on nearer acquaintance.

The traditions of the fantastic-satirical tale were in a measure carried on by Peacock and particularly by Disraeli. Peacock owes much to the French conteurs, especially to Marmontel, whose *Contes Moraux*, as Professor Saintsbury points out,¹ link his writings to the Hamiltonian-Voltairean conte, and indeed Hamilton would have enjoyed the society of this Mr. Sarcastic and the raillery of his brilliant prose extravaganzas. While, however, Peacock's novels, with the exception of *Maid Marian*, deal with the society of his day, and while the fantastic element is not too prominent, except perhaps in the 'person' of Sir Oran Haut-ton, Bart., the orang-outang who can do everything but talk, and stands for a one-vote borough, Disraeli wrote three purely fantastic tales, two of which, *Ixion in Heaven* and the *Infernal Marriage*, are burlesque versions of stories of mythology, and the third, *Popanilla*, an imitation of *Gulliver's Travels*, all three reminiscences of his schoolboy admiration for Lucian and remarkable for the audacity of the persiflage and the Voltairean pungency of wit, in spite of the sometimes too obvious straining after smartness—jeux d'esprit of an author who never took himself quite seriously and who, like Anthony Hamilton, mocks at himself, his subject, his readers and even "those people who do not read novels and are consequently unacquainted with mankind."²

The first of these is the most brilliant; no doubt one of the reasons for its success lay too in its travesty of prominent people, George IV as Jupiter and Byron as Apollo, but it is the last which reminds one chiefly of Hamilton, partly because it has more of narrative and less of dialogue, but particularly because of its undercurrent of satirical criticism. Popanilla, the hero, who lives in an island, "so unfortunate as not yet to have been visited either by Discovery Ships or Missionary Societies," is sent to the island of Vraibleusia, where the inhabitants are much attached to science and

¹ Introduction to *Maid Marian and Crotchet Castle*, 1895.

² *Popanilla* (the New Pocket Library, 1906), p. 372.

natural philosophy that voyages and travels are read with eagerness, particularly if they have coloured plates. The account of Vraibleusia which follows is a satire on the institutions of England, corn-laws, protection and all the rest, the most amusing shaft is perhaps drawn at sinecure offices—the country of Vraibleusia annexes a barren and always and altogether uninhabited island, and yet a noble lord receives the important post of “Agent for the Indemnity Claims of the Original Inhabitants of the Island !” In Disraeli’s novels too we find, not infrequently, “this ambiguous hovering between two meanings, this oscillation between the ironical and the serious,”¹ that was his inheritance from the eighteenth century and for which Hamilton may receive a modest share of credit, though the greatest part of it must needs go to Voltaire.

Through Wieland Hamilton’s influence² spread to Germany, where the *Volksmärchen* of Musaeus (1782–1786) and the translation of Galland’s *Arabian Nights*, by J. H. Voss (1781–1785), had aroused a new interest in the fairy-tale. Wieland, familiar with the volumes of the Cabinet des Fées that were appearing in France about the same time, published in 1786, 1787 and 1789 *Dschinnistan*, three volumes of collected fairy-tales, most of which were translations and adaptations from the French. The second volume contained *Pertharite und Ferrandine* and *Alboflède*, episodes from *Le Béliar* and *Zeneyde*. *Pertharite und Ferrandine* resembles the original fairly closely, *Alboflède* has been considerably changed.

But long before this Hamilton’s tales had been known to Wieland. In 1777 he tells Merck that he has read them and re-read them about twenty times.³ Hamilton is one of his ideals, at least during that period of his life when he scandalized his one-time friends by turning from an ardent follower of Klopstock into an admirer of Crébillon fils, and it must be confessed that he has rather a peculiar conception of Hamilton; he sees in him a personage ‘half faun,

¹ Leslie Stephen, *Hours in a Library*, Vol. II, p. 290.

² The relation of Wieland’s tales to the French fairy-tale has been very carefully studied by O. Mayer in *Die Feenmärchen bei Wieland*, *Vierteljahrsschrift für Literaturgeschichte*, Vol. V. I am to some extent indebted to his article for the above remarks.

³ Wieland to Merck, Oct. 22nd, 1777.

half God of love.'¹ The story of the four Facardins rouses his admiration particularly, he describes it as a tale that would be incomparable, had it not, like Apelles' *Aphrodite*, been left incomplete.² The episode of Prince Biribinker in *Don Sylvio von Rosalva*, published in 1764, shows the unmistakable influence of the *Quatre Facardins*. The enchanter, the great Caramoussal of Mount Atlas, reappears, the fairy Cristalline is not unrelated to Cristalline la Curieuse, and the horror which fills Galactine when the name of Biribinker is pronounced imitates the feelings of revulsion that are caused by the name of Facardin. The poem *Idris* Wieland describes to Gessner as "a fable in the style of the *Quatre Facardins* or *Le Béliér*."³ Astramond is Caramoussal once more, Ityphall is a prince of Trebizond and certainly suggests the prince of Trebizond in Hamilton's tale; the name Zenide is probably formed from Zeneyde and the ironical treatment of the hero, the continual intervention of the author, the burlesque tone of the narrative are here and elsewhere a reminiscence of Hamilton's manner. The poem was never completed, and though Wieland expressed his willingness to bring it to a close, should he be asked to do so in a petition signed by three critics and three prudes, yet, as he tells us, he really intended that *Idris* should, in this respect, remain a kind of pendant to the *Quatre Facardins*.⁴ Another tale that bears the mark of the *Quatre Facardins* is *der neue Amadis*. The neighbourhood of Mount Atlas is once more the scene of the tale, a prince of Trebizond is one of the heroes. Boreas is a grandson of the tall Facardin and the new Amadis instead of riding about with a squire is accompanied by a secretary who is to write a record of his exploits. The knight Parasol is attended by the Giant Moulineau, for Wieland hopes, as he tells us, that all who will read *der neue Amadis* are familiar with *Le Béliér*.⁵

¹ *Idris*, Canto I, Werke (Leipzig, Göschen, 1794-1802), XVII, p. 15.

² *Der neue Amadis* (Reutlingen, 1777), p. 169, note.

³ Wieland to Gessner, July 21st, 1766. "Stellen Sie sich eine Fabel im Geschmack der *Quatre Facardins* oder des *Béliér* von Hamilton vor, aber eine Fabel, die keiner anderen gleichsieht, die noch aus einem gesunden Kopfe gekommen ist—die Quintessenz aller Abenteuer der Amadise und Feenmärchen." M. Rossel's statement, "Hamilton est son idéal; 'il y trouve,' dit-il dans une lettre à Gessner, 'la quintessence de toutes les aventures d'Amadis et des contes de fées'" (*Histoire des Relations Littéraires entre la France et l'Allemagne*, p. 424) is a mistranslation.

⁴ Preface to *Idris* (Werke, XVII, pp. 7-8).

⁵ *Der neue Amadis* (Reutlingen, 1777), Canto I, p. 21.

There also appears a damsel called Olinde whom Amadis is willing to wed in spite of her revolting ugliness. His generosity is rewarded by the return of Olinde's former beauty, and with her beauty is restored to her her former name Flördepine; this, of course, recalls Tarare's resolution to wed the disfigured Fleur d'Epine and the happy metamorphosis of the maiden.

Such names as Blaffardine die Blonde, Leopardie die Streng, Schatullöse die Keusche suggest Cristalline la Curieuse, Mousseline la Sérieuse, Fleur d'Epine la Blonde.¹

While *L'Enchanteur Faustus* was only given to the general public in 1776 when to the six volumes of his complete works was added a seventh containing some hitherto unpublished matter, *Le Béliar*, *Fleur d'Epine* and *les Quatre Facardins* were first printed in 1730, each in a separate volume. *Zeneyde* appeared in 1731 in a volume of *Œuvres mêlées* and in Volumes IV and V of an edition of Hamilton's works printed at Utrecht. These tales were frequently reprinted though not nearly as often as the *Mémoires de Grammont*.

¹ It might be added (at the risk of showing some affinity with a class of people Wieland laughs at, "Leute, die auf entdeckte Aehnlichkeiten sich viel zu Gute thun") that there are also one or two references to the *Mémoires de Grammont*. An action of Blaffardine's is considered justifiable because a similar little incident took place in Miss Stuart's apartments after the audience of the Muscovite ambassador. (*Der neue Amadis*, p. 187 and note.)

Miss Blagge seems to have been the prototype of Miss Blaffardine die Blonde. Cf. the following passages:

"Son visage étoit de la dernière fadeur, et son teint se fourrait partout, avec de petits yeux reculés, garnis de paupières blondes longues comme le doigt (Hamilton, I, p. 139). Vous étiez l'autre jour plus charmante que toutes les blondes de l'univers. Je vous vis hier encore plus blonde que vous ne l'étiez ce jour-là (I, p. 144). L'on fut surpris d'une coiffure qui la rendoit plus blafarde que jamais (I, p. 153). Le chevalier Yarborough, aussi blond qu'elle s'offrit . . . fut écouté favorablement et le sort fit ce mariage pour voir ce que produirait une union si blafarde" (I, p. 262). And

. . . stellen sie sich . . .

Was blonders vor als Schnee im Sonnenschein,
Die Haare feuerfarb, die Augen erträglich klein,
Doch wasserblau, und ohne sie todt zu nennen,
So unbedeutend als schiefen sie offen ein.

(*Der neue Amadis*, Werke IV, p. 116, Canto VI.)

. . . Miss Blaffardine die Blonde

So blond und so sehr in ihre Blondheit verliebt . . .

Und ihre Schönheit verspricht, weil noch kein Ritter für sie
Sich blond genug fand, der Nachwelt keinen Erben.

(*Ibid.*, p. 9, Canto I.)

The first English translation of these tales, with the exception of *L'Enchanteur Faustus*, appeared in 1760 as already mentioned. A new translation of *Fleur d'Epine*, the *History of May Flower*, followed in 1793. Matthew Lewis included a translation of the *Quatre Facardins* in his *Romantic Tales* (1808), and finally in 1849 his translation was reprinted along with the translation of the other tales by H. T. Ryde and C. Kenney, who believed that they were the first to introduce them to the English public. At that late date, however, public opinion does not seem to have received them with much favour. Their only justification, according to the *Athenæum*, lay in the fact that some knowledge of them was indispensable to a full understanding of Horace Walpole's wit, otherwise they were "cumbrous and entangled, their satire insipid and their meaning rather unmeaning."¹

A German translation of *Fleur d'Epine* appeared before 1777 under the name of *Namur*; in 1777 came *Dornröschen, der Widder* and *die vier Facardine*, published in one volume, and *Doktor Faust* followed in 1778. The episodes very freely translated by Wieland have been mentioned.

The publisher of the first edition of *Zeneyde* in 1731 drew attention to the fact that out of respect for the memory of the author he had given his readers the tale in its incomplete condition, but that no effort should be spared to discover the missing part, if it were in existence.² Years later

¹ *Athenæum*, 1849, p. 953.

² And it was rumoured that a friend of Hamilton's possessed the second part (*Avis du Libraire, Œuvres mêlées*, 1731). It seems almost certain that Hamilton had really completed the *Quatre Facardins* but that, unfortunately, the manuscript was burned. Grimm writes in December, 1754: "Une femme qui vient de mourir à S. Germain en Laye avait entre ses mains beaucoup de papiers du Comte Hamilton, qu'elle avait fort connue dans sa jeunesse. Tous ces papiers ont été brûlés par ordre du confesseur. Voilà ce que M. de Crébillon m'apprit l'autre jour avec les regrets que méritait une telle perte. Comme il demeure à S. Germain, il avait fait l'impossible pour sauver des restes si précieux d'une imagination si rare; mais le confesseur aurait plutôt passé à sa pénitente les sept péchés mortels que de nous laisser un chiffon du Comte Hamilton. La suite des *Quatre Facardins* était parmi ces papiers. Quelle perte!" (*Correspondance de Grimm, Diderot, Raynal, Meister, etc.*, Paris, 1877, Vol. II, p. 451.) The story is also told with some variations at the end of the edition of the Tales published in 1781 for the Comte d'Artois. Crébillon fils had once been shown a number of Hamilton's papers by 'Mademoiselle Hamilton' (this was probably Margaret Hamilton, John Hamilton's daughter), and examining them he discovered among them the second part of the *Quatre Facardins*. Unfortunately he left these papers with Miss Hamilton; he returned a short time afterwards to ask her for them, but they had been

when it no longer seemed likely that any more of Hamilton's papers might be recovered, various authors, under the impression that it was desirable and possible, undertook to complete the unfinished tales. If Gresset really wrote a sequel to the *Quatre Facardins*, as rumour would have it, his would have been the earliest in date, but there is no foundation for this tradition. It is the Duc de Lévis who first, in 1812, continued and brought to a close the *Quatre Facardins* and *Zeneyde*.¹ His continuations, the best known ones, were followed by those of J. B. Champagnac in 1825 and more recently by a continuation of the *Quatre Facardins* by 'le grand Jacques,' in 1868 and an anonymous continuation published at Toulouse in 1883.

In England Monk Lewis wrote a fairly spirited sequel to the *Quatre Facardins*, and not unfittingly prefixed to it the lines,

" And by and by the second course
Comes lagging like a distant horse."

Wieland was after all not so far wrong when he remarked in high-flown language that the completion of Hamilton's tales by another than the author himself would be as great an impossibility as that the famous Aphrodite should be completed by another than Apelles.²

burned in the interval. The writer gives Fontenelle as an authority for this anecdote, and affirms that Fontenelle had it directly from Crébillon fils, who was never tired of repeating it. Nor are these the only papers of Hamilton's that perished, if the following anecdote may be believed. "The late Earl of Clancarty, when still in his boyhood, had found access to a chest in his grandfather's house in Ireland containing a vast quantity of French letters addressed to his ancestor Mr. Le Poer by his dear friend Count Antoine Hamilton, who had kept up a constant correspondence with him for so many years and had written all that passed under his eye in the court and camps of Louis XIV. . . . The young man was enchanted with these letters, but at the time of his grandfather's death he was unfortunately travelling on the Continent. On his return to Ireland he made eager enquiries after the box, and with some difficulty he ascertained that it had been removed a year or two before to the house of an old female relation. As soon as his business left him leisure, Lord Clancarty posted away to his aunt's residence. She remembered something of there being such a box. 'Oh yes, it contains a great heap of old French letters; it is in the cellar.' To the cellar Lord Clancarty repaired, and there he found indeed the well-remembered box, but falling to pieces from the effects of the damp, and containing only a pulp of mouldy fragments on which the writing could no longer be distinguished." (*The Correspondence of Sir Thomas Hanmer*, London, 1838, Bunbury's Preface, p. vi.)

¹ He stands condemned by Sainte-Beuve, "Le Duc de Lévis qui a cru les (the tales) continuer n'a été qu'insipide." (*Causeries du Lundi*, I, p. 79.)

² *Der neue Amadis* (1777), p. 169 n.

CHAPTER IV.

MINOR WORKS

IT will perhaps appear to some that the term minor works may well be applied to the tales that have just been discussed, and that what remains to be treated of Hamilton's writings hardly deserves to be dignified by such a title. Be that as it may, there are some not altogether despicable things among them.

These *œuvres diverses* include the *Relations véritables*, the *Supplément aux Relations véritables*, the *Relation d'une partie de chasse* and the *Relation d'un Voyage en Mauritanie*, together with various letters, epistles, poesies diverses, chansons and a translation of Pope's *Essay on Criticism*. The different *Relations* are amongst the most graceful things Hamilton has ever written, and, as a critic remarks, it is doubtful whether anyone except Thackeray has ever done anything quite so good of its class.¹ Open some of the little volumes of the *Mercur Galant* and read two or three of the pedestrian 'Relations,' or take a number of the *Gazette de France* for 1711, the year in which Hamilton's *Relations* were written, and note the various newsletters it contains: From Hamburg, October 23rd, 1711, Stralsund beleaguered by the Danes. From Vienna, October 17th, Preparations for the coronation of the Archduke. From Madrid, October 19th, News from the army of Catalonia. From Naples, October 6th, new taxes and impositions; and so on. And then read Hamilton's miniature gazette, the delightful little sketches that go under the pompous name of *Relations véritables de différents Endroits d'Europe*; anything more unlike the official *Relations* they parody can scarcely be imagined. Here, if anywhere, Grimm's remark is in its place, "On n'a jamais prodigué

¹ Professor Saintsbury, *Fortnightly Review*, October, 1890.

plus d'esprit sur un fonds plus frivole et plus vain."¹ With imperturbable gravity the author describes the progress of the Duke and Duchess of Berwick from Saint-Germain to their property of Fitz-James; he observes the precision and conciseness of the *Gazette*, the respectful attitude before the great that attributes infinite importance to the most futile of their doings; newsletters from St. Germain-en-Laye, Louvres, Gonesse, Chantilly, Creil and Fitz-James keep us informed of the movements of the Berwicks. The *Suppléments* show us the little court established at Fitz-James, and in the *Relation d'une partie de chasse* we see the ladies sighing over the fate of the poor stag, but regretting the slowness of the dogs. "What would I not give to have him escape," they say, but at the same time they add, "The rascal, he still runs well; it is to be feared that they will not overtake him"; they are glad not to be present at the death and yet they think the hunters might have called them; they are summoned to the scene and their eyes fill with tears, but they cannot withdraw their gaze from the unhappy animal; the fair, as Hamilton would have us observe, were ever a strange mixture of tenderness and cruelty. The remark is not without its sting; though the Relations are written to please the ladies of Saint-Germain and Fitz-James, yet Hamilton's fair friends are not allowed to escape unscathed.

The same light, often scarcely perceptible, irony marks the earlier *Relation d'un Voyage en Mauritanie*, where, under cover of the marvellous adventures of the travellers, Hamilton is at liberty to indulge in his not always charitable malice. All these Relations are also a kind of imitation of the famous *Voyage de Chapelle et Bachaumont*, which served as a model to so many other amusing or would-be amusing descriptions of travel. The fact that Chapelle and Bachaumont's account was written alternately in prose and verse had conferred a new popularity on this 'genre mixte.' Saint-Evremond and La Fontaine were adepts at it. Hamilton followed their example in some of his Tales and Relations, and he, in turn, became one of Voltaire's models, as Voltaire himself tells us.² He succeeded best in the well-known *Épître à Monsieur le Comte de Grammont*, which was so immensely admired at the time;

¹ *Correspondance*, etc. (Paris, 1877), XI, p. 197.

² *Œuvres*, XXXIII, p. 40.

it forms a link between his more formal work and his correspondence, for very few of his letters are wholly in prose ;¹ unfortunately, for his prose is, as a rule, infinitely preferable to his verse. His friends, of course, feel obliged to answer in a similar manner, and even the Duke of Berwick, away at war, finds time to compose fitting replies to the poetic letters he receives.

Hamilton's letters² have been frequently quoted in the first part of this essay ; sufficiently to give some idea of their ease and grace. From what has been said, it will be gathered that Hamilton's letters are not the spontaneous productions that Madame de Sévigné's are usually held to be. Rather in the manner of Balzac and Voiture does he polish and repolish them, knowing that they are eagerly awaited, that his correspondents will read them to their friends and that numerous copies will be demanded. Some of the letters are of considerable length ; there is one to Berwick, for instance, that takes up twenty pages in print. Without being as laboured as some of Voiture's letters, Hamilton's are, of course, not at all unlike those written for the Hôtel de Rambouillet ; as has been said elsewhere, there is often something artificial and elaborate about them which recalls Fontenelle's *Lettres Galantes*. We seldom get much direct information, such letters as the one to Henrietta Bulkeley describing the fête de Chatenay are rare ; sometimes we get glimpses of the life at St. Germain and then we have Hamilton at his best, but as often as not we are given one of those allegorical compositions for which we have lost all liking. Yet, in spite of these defects, the bulk of the letters are quite worthy of the author of the *Mémoires de Grammont* ; one or two of them can be ranked with the best produced in an age that had raised the writing of letters to a fine art ; lastly, though there is no lack of sources for a study of the life at St. Germain—Dangeau chronicles the movements of the exiled court ; Saint-Simon gives us some invaluable information ; Madame de Sévigné writes of the Stuarts with great feeling ; Madame de Maintenon with her usual common sense ; Madame de La Fayette

¹ A notable exception are the more intimate letters to Henrietta Bulkeley ; out of five letters only one is ornamented in this fashion.

² Mr. Stephen Gwynn translates some of them in part in a very able article on Hamilton. (*Macmillan's Magazine*, May, 1898.)

discreetly and without illusions, and Madame, mother of the Regent, with her irrepressible frankness; the letters of Mary of Modena bear ample testimony to the life of admirable patience and resignation led by some of the exiles, while Matthew Prior gives a biased account of the troubles and discontent that reigned at Saint-Germain—still, these varied sources must be completed by Hamilton's letters and epistles. The correspondences and diaries of the time mention the Royal Family only, but it is Hamilton who admits us to the intimacy of the courtiers, who takes us into the vast gardens and on to the broad terrace; who shows us the ladies attired for the hunt or sitting with their tapestry under the trees; but for Hamilton we should have known little of the social life of the English at Saint-Germain.

A certain amount of biographical interest also attaches to Hamilton's poems.¹ Beyond this there is not very much to be said of them; we know that they were greatly admired at the time, that they won for him the title of Horace d'Albion at Sceaux,² that their publication, after Hamilton's death, was eagerly demanded by some 'personages at court,'³ and that though, unlike his friends, Genest and Campistron, he does not figure in Titon du Tillet's *Parnasse François*, one greater, even Voltaire, gave his poetry unstinted praise.⁴ But what Sainte-Beuve once remarked of Gresset's poetry is no less true of Hamilton's: "Dans ce courant verbeux . . . on saisit au passage quelques vers dignes d'être retenus, mais aucun de ces traits dont le ton chaud gagne en vieillissant. Qu'y faire? le brillant tout entier a péri, la fleur du pastel est dès longtemps enlevée et on ne distingue plus rien de la poussière première à ces ailes fanées du papillon."⁵ Many of the poems were written for certain tunes, well known at the time, but to-day their name has no associations for us. Written for a small circle of friends these vers de société naturally abound in allusions we can no longer understand. Already in 1731, twelve

¹ As Gaston Paris once remarked, "la poésie personnelle, quoi qu'on en ait dit, aura toujours une valeur et un attrait sans pareils, une valeur de document, un attrait de sympathie. (*Villon, Les grands écrivains français*, p. 149.)

² *Divertissemens de Sceaux*, p. 370.

³ Hamilton, *Œuvres mêlées* (1731), Avis du Libraire.

⁴ *Œuvres*, X, p. 34; XIV, p. 78.

⁵ *Portraits Contemporains* (Michel Lévy), V, p. 90.

years after Hamilton's death, when they first appeared in print, the publisher remarked that some explanatory notes would really be necessary, but that some 'personnes de considération' who figured in these poems had refused to make themselves known.¹

We must also remember that Hamilton wrote in an age which was altogether unpoetic, did not understand poetry and even had serious doubts as to its efficacy, so much so that an estimable defender² had to compose an ode on les avantages de la rime. 'Elegant,' 'witty,' 'graceful,' 'pleasing' are the adjectives we apply to the verse of Hamilton's friends, Chaulieu and La Fare, of his contemporaries, Fontenelle, Saint-Aulaire, Senecé, Vergier, La Motte and others. They apply equally well to his own. In fact, some of his rondeaux, especially the rondeau redoublé written for the Duchesse du Maine and that little lyric, "Celle qu'adore mon cœur n'est ni brune ni blonde,"³ compare very favourably with anything written in the period of 1700 and 1720, a singularly poor one in the annals of French poetry. Hamilton is at his best when he imposes on himself the restraint of certain fixed metrical structures; otherwise he wanders off into interminable lengths of octosyllabic verse, and he is incapable of any such sustained effort. That is why his *Pyramide et le Cheval d'Or* is such a failure, that is why his epistles are so inferior to his letters in prose and verse. In the latter, not only is the verse broken up into more convenient lengths, but, as often as not, Hamilton brings the passage of verse to an epigrammatic close, in order to justify the sudden transition into prose. What his contemporaries admired in these long stretches of verse was the skill with which he employed the rime redoublée, a proceeding artificial in the extreme, and though he does not approach La Fontaine's astonishing *Virelai sur les Hollandais*, still, a letter to La Chapelle, for instance, contains a passage of thirty-one lines in which the same two masculine and feminine rimes are employed, and shorter passages are, of course, more numerous. Anything that exercised their ingeniousness, anything that showed them

¹ *Œuvres mêlées* (1731), Avis du Libraire. Curiously enough, however, the publisher considers that these *Œuvres mêlées* will be much more easily understood by the general public than the contes which had appeared the year before.

² Lafaye.

³ It has been delightfully translated by Mr. Austin Dobson.

up as clever versifiers, was welcome to these poets of the early eighteenth century.

About 1713 Hamilton composed his translation of the *Essay on Criticism* and sent a copy to Pope, who acknowledged it in the most complimentary terms and begged for leave to have it printed.¹ 'General' Anthony Hamilton, as the youthful author styled him, did probably not withhold his permission, but, as a matter of fact, the French translations that did appear in 1717, 1730 and 1736 were by Robethon, private secretary to George the First, the Abbé du Resnel and M. de Silhouette. For long the manuscript of Hamilton's translation was lost, to the great regret of those who knew about its existence through Pope's letter;² at the beginning of the nineteenth century it was found by the publisher Renouard, who has given us the best edition of Hamilton's works. He announced his intention of printing it, but on closer examination thought it not worth giving to the public; still, in order to fulfil his promise he had a fragment of about eighty lines appear at the end of the above-mentioned 1812 edition, along with the Duc de Lévis' continuation of the Fairy Tales. What has become of the manuscript is not known. Hamilton's translation, as far as we can judge from the fragment, is long-winded in the extreme, and the conciseness, the epigrammatic neatness of the original are completely blurred. But if it does not add anything to Hamilton's reputation, it is at least a proof of the keen interest which things literary had for him even in his old age.

The various editions of Hamilton's works from 1749 to 1776 are composed of six volumes; the editions of 1776 and 1777 have an additional volume of *Œuvres mêlées* printed from manuscripts that were found among the papers of Mademoiselle de Marmier, the daughter of his niece, Margaret Hamilton. In this volume there appeared a kind of philosophic essay, a dialogue entitled *La Volupté*, which has since been reprinted, as being from the pen of Hamilton. It is, however, by a certain Rémond, known as Rémond le Grec,³ and had already been printed in 1736

¹ Pope, *Works* (London, 1886), Vol. X, pp. 103-104, Oct. 10th, 1713.

² e.g. by the Abbé Goujet in his *Bibliothèque française*, VIII, p. 236 (1744).

³ To distinguish him from his brothers Rémond de Montmaur and Rémond de Saint-Mard. The latter was well known to Lady Mary Wortley Montague and to Lady Stafford (v. Lady Mary's correspondence).

in a *Recueil de Divers Ecrits*¹ with the title *Agathon, Dialogue sur la Volupté*, Par Monsieur R——. It is true that the theories enunciated in *La Volupté* would certainly not have been disavowed by Hamilton; his biographers would have welcomed this document had it only been authentic; but, on the other hand, the manner is not that of Hamilton. La Fontaine once remarked of Voiture, that he would have spoken even of Pluto and Proserpine 'en un style enjoué.'² Hamilton would assuredly have used a 'style enjoué' in speaking of Aspasia and Agathon; the letters of Pausanias to his friend would have abounded in graceful jeux d'esprit, but it would have lacked a certain attractive simplicity which characterizes Rémond's narrative.

At a time when so much was circulated in manuscript long before it was printed, it was often exceedingly difficult to classify the papers of an author after his death, and to distinguish between his own writings and those that were merely copies of his friend's compositions. Mistakes were inevitable and thus it happened that *La Volupté* was attributed to Hamilton, that J. B. Rousseau's *Roches de Salisbury* was included among his works and that one of Malézieu's rondeaux was, and still is, believed to be by Hamilton, though it appeared in print as early as 1712 with its author's name.³ In 1736 there also appeared a volume of *Anecdotes de la Cour de France sous le règne de Childéric* which was falsely attributed to Hamilton.⁴ Publishers not infrequently thus availed themselves of the name of a popular author.

And now we leave Anthony Hamilton and his works. Too much time and space, it may seem to some, have been devoted to him; but his is a curious and interesting

¹ Published at Brussels. The Dialogue had, however, been written as early as 1701; cf. a letter from Bayle to Marais, March 6th, 1702. (Bayle, *Œuvres* (Amsterdam, 1729), III, p. 862.)

² *Œuvres*, VII, p. 165.

³ In the *Divertissemens de Seaux*, pp. 154-155. "Mal à propos ressuscitent en France," etc.

⁴ Cf. the *Bibliothèque universelle des Romans*, February, 1776, p. 76, and January, 1777, I, p. 78. The work is entered under the name of Hamilton in the Catalogue des Livres imprimés de la Bibliothèque du Roy (Paris, 1750) and in the MS. Catalogue now in use at the Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal,

figure and he lived in a period fraught with peculiar interest to the student of English history. Moreover, at a time when close sympathies unite us to the nation that once and again gave hospitable shelter to the exiled Stuarts, is it not worth while to study this author who is claimed both by the French and the English, and who, more than any other of his countrymen, fell under the charm of that French grace and culture which we, as a nation, are coming more and more to realize ?

APPENDICES

APPENDIX I

(Copie de la capitulation qui fut faite le 2 Avril, 1671, avec M. d'Hamilton, pour la levée d'un regiment d'Infanterie Irlandoise de 15 compagnies de 100 hommes chacune.¹)

LE ROY ayant resolu d'augmenter les troupes d'infanterie estrangere que Sa Maiesté a presentement sur pied, et ayant satisfaction des services qu'elle a receus des regimens Irlandois qui ont esté cy devant à sa solde, elle a pris resolution d'en faire mettre un sur pied ; et le S^r Comte d'Hamilton s'estant offert d'en faire la levée et d'en prendre le commandement en qualité de colonel, Sa Maiesté l'ayant eu bien agreable à faire convenir avec luy des conditions suivantes.

Premierement, que led. S^r Comte d'Hamilton levera dans le plus bref temps qu'il pourra, un regiment d'infanterie Irlandoise du nombre de quinze cens hommes en quinze compagnies de cent hommes chacune, les officiers non compris ; scavoir, d'un capitaine, deux lieutenans, un enseigne, trois sergens, sept caporaux, dix lanspessades, cinquante mousquetaires et trente piquiers.

Qu'ils seront tous d'age et de force convenable pour bien servir, bien habillez, et armez seulement d'une bonne espée et d'un baudrier.

Qu'il les fera passer dans le royaume à une ou deux fois, ou plus s'il est necessaire, et les fera débarquer au Havre de Grace, ou tel autre port de Normandie ou Picardie qu'il avisera, et les y fera rendre tous dans la fin de Juillet prochain ou plus tard.

Que pour donner moyen aud S^r Comte d'Hamilton de satisfaire ponctuellement à cette levée, Sa Maiesté luy fera payer la somme de trente trois livres pour soldat, qu'il fera débarquer effectivement dans le royaume, de la qualité susdite, habillé et armé comme il a esté specifié cy dessus, sans que led. S^r Comte d'Hamilton puisse pretendre aucune chose pour le trajet desdites

¹ This capitulation is printed in *Négociations de M. le Comte d'Avaux en Irlande*, pp. 692-694, but as the book is extremely rare the capitulation is given here for reference. Copies of the capitulation are preserved at the Public Record Office, *St. P.*, Dom., Entry Book 24, p. 51, and *St. P.*, Ireland, Car. II, 330, No. 127.

hommes, ny pour le nolage et fretage des barques et vaisseaux qui les auront portez.

Qu'à leur débarquement il se trouvera un commissaire des guerres pour les recevoir, lequel en fera une reveüe exacte, le signallera et rejettera ceux qui ne seront pas de qualité susdite, et conduira ceux qu'il aura admis dans un quartier de rafraichissement proche du lieu où ils auront débarqué, dans lequel ils demeureront pendant dix jours, apres lesquels il les fera acheminer au lieu où Sa Maiesté aura resolu de les faire tenir en garnison.

Ledit commissaire prendra soin de les faire armer et de faire distribuer dans ledit lieu de rafraichissement ou en quelqu'autres de leur route, les mousquetz, bandouillieres, et piques, à chaque compagnie, et pour le nombre d'hommes qu'il y aura effectivement, et en outre leur fera fournir les vivres par estapes dans les lieux de la dite route.

Que du jour qu'ils seront arrivez aud. lieu de garnison, Sa Maiesté les fera payer de leur solde, à raison de neuf livres par mois pour chaque soldat, et les hautes payes à proportion.

Quant aux officiers, ils toucheront leurs appointemens à raison de cinq livres pour capitaine, quarante cinq sols pour le lieutenant, et trente six sols pour enseigne par jour.

Et pour les officiers de l'estat major il leur sera payé la somme de quatre cens livres pour tous par mois.

Que tous les officiers et soldats dud. regiment presteront à leur débarquement ez mains dud. commissaire le serment de bien et fidellement servir Sa Maiesté, envers et contre tous, sans nul excepté, fors contre le Roy de la Grande Bretagne.

Et pour donner moyen aud. Sr Comte d'Hamilton et en son absence, à celuy qui commandera led. regiment, de le maintenir dans l'ordre et la discipline militaire, la justice luy sera laissée pour la faire exercer sur tous ceux dud. regiment en la mesme maniere qu'il s'est pratiqué dans les autres regimens de la mesme nation qui estoient cy devant à la solde de Sa Maiesté.

HAMILTON.

Fait à Versailles, le 2 Avril, 1671

APPENDIX II

(Letter from George Hamilton to [Sir Joseph Williamson], giving an account of the approach of the Imperial army on September 11th, 1673, Turenne's unsuccessful attempt to engage the Imperialists in battle and the treachery of the Bishop of Würzburg.)

AU CAMP ENTRE WIRTSBOURG ET WERTEIM,¹

Ce 21^e septembre [1673].

IE croyois Milord il y a dix jours que la premiere lettre que iauroys lhonneur de vous escrire vous auroyt rendu compte d'une bataille, effectivement M^r de Turenne n'a jamais mieus crue doner un combat que le 11^e de ce moy ayent esté adverty que les ennemys estoient campes à trois heures de nous venoyent nous chercher. Sur quoy M^r de Turenne fict marcher toute la cavalerie devan la nuict a cette fein de passer un grand defillé qui estoit devan nous et dabord quelle feut dens la plene il la fit atandre l'infanterie et le canon qui marcherent a minuit et se trouverent a la petite pointe du iour le 11^e dens la plene ; aussitost qu'il feust asé grand iour pour distinguer nous nous trouvames marchent sur six collones quatre de cavalerie et deux d'infanterie, a un heur de iour nous apersumes la fumé du camp enemy et vers les dix heures on raporta quil estoient en bataille deriere une hauteur qui nous empeshoit de les voir quoy que nous feusions dens un pays qui ne paroît que plenes et que nous ne feusions qu'a une lieu d'eux. M^r de Turenne trouva apropos de metre là l'armée en bataille ce qui feut fait en moyñ de demy heur, cestoit la plus belles chose du monde a voir demeler ses six collones et ce reduir en si peu de temps en deux belles lignes et dabord que cela feut fait on marsha en plene bataille pour geigner cete hauteur entre nous et les enemys sur lequle a nostre droit il y avoit un boy ou M^r de Turenne avoit doné ordre aux dragons de ce jeter quent la premiere ligne [seroit] à sinq cens pas de la hauteur ; nous marshames en cet ordres iusques à la hauteur et quent nous en feumes les maistre nous ne vimes poin d'ennemys pour nous la disputer, la verite est que l'armé imperiale estoit marshé devant le iours et que ce que l'on avoit veue en bataille estoit sept escadrons qui fesoit leur arier-garde et comme ceux qui feurent les rescognoistre alerent par

¹ *R.O. St. P., Foreign, France, 138, ff. 80-84.*

nostre gauche dautant que par la il ny avoit point de boy et qua la droit il y en avoit, ils virent les sept escadrons par le flanc et creurent que tout l'armé estoit en bataille et que cestoit leur eille droit quils avoit veue. Dabord que M^r de Turenne eut apersu que l'enemy estoit marshé et quil avoit pry vers le Mein qui estoit sur notre gauche il detacha quelques coureurs pour recognoistre leur marche et a mesme temps fit marcher les deux lignes par la gauche et marcher com cela, leur deux colones costoyent tousiours la marche des enemys et cete nuict nous campames en bataille. Les coureurs que lon avoit envoyé pour prendre ramenerent cinq ou six chariots des enemys et quelques prisonniers qui ne seurent rien dir des intansions de leur armé. Le landemin qui fut le 12 nous marchames a la pointe du iour sur six collones et a dix heures les coureurs raportèrent qu'ils avoient veue le camp des enemys. Dabord on ce mit en bataille comme le iour precedent en intension de les forser au combat s'il y avoit eue moyen et l'on marsha com cela iusques a ce que lon ce trouvat en plene bataille iustement devant eux qui dabord quils nous virent sortirent de leur camp et ce posterent sur une hauteur, une grand ravin devant eux, leur infenterie dans un boy, leur deux eilles de cavalerie dens des champs bordés de boys et devant eux toute vigne de sorte qua moïn destre un armé doyseaux il n'y avoit pas moyen d'aller a eux ; cependant nous demeurames toutes les deux armés en bataille iusques a la nuit ; il ce passa quelque scaremouche aux guardes de cavalerie ou il n'y eut rien de remarquable Le landemin au matin 13^e M^r de Turenne voyent que leur intension nestoit pas de combattre a la pointe du jour recognoistre un camp ou nous pensions estre comodement et vers les dix heures nous fit marcher et nostre camp ne ce trouva qu'une demi lieu plus loin de l'enemy que l'autre, les deux camps estent en veu l'un de l'autre. Nous y restames iusques a hier et nous y serions demeuré plus longtemps si M^r de Viertsbourg eut tenue la parole qu'il avoit donné à M^r de Turenne de ne point doner de passage aux troupes de l'ampereur moyenent quoy nos deriers estoient en sureté et nos convoys qui nous devoynt venir de verteim ou nous avions nos magasins de farines ne nous auroient peu manquer, cependant M^r de Viertsbourg manquent a sa parole a doné passage aux enemis qui ont pry soisente de nos quesons et ont envoyé quinze cens hommes a Verteime qui ont guaté toutes nos farines et ce sont retires. Cest ce qui nous a faict decamper et nous venir poster isi entre virtsbourg et verteim de peur que les enemys ne ce sesisent de ce dernier lieu dont Monsieur de Turenne ce veut aseurer pour y fair ses provisions ; cest une place sur le mein et ou le taubre ce iette dens le mein. Il a envoyé aujourd'huy le compte de Guiche avecce douse cens dragons, mille shevaux et deux pieces de canons ce sesir de Marandale pour fair la un

magasin et il pretent estre maistre du taubre et du mein par la, car il a encor chafambourg sur le mein ou il y a un pon de pierre et ou nous avons quatre cens dragons et bishofsheim sur le taubre ou il y a un pon tellement que nous avons les derriers libres et aparament nous observerons de pré ce que feront les enemys.

Je vauderoys de tout mon cœur Milord vous avoir moyenné, ie vous assure si iavois peu mieux observer ce qu'il y avoit isi a voir quoy qu'il n'y a pas eu de bataille ie suis seur que le detail vous auroit faict plésir. Ce que jay fort observé est que les sujets du Roy qui sont isi ne feront pas de honte à la nation car ie nay jamais veue gents fair voir plus de bone volonté et asseurement quent sen viendra au faict ils responderont fort bien a tout ce que M^r de Turen aten d'eux. Celuy qui vous done celle-sy est mon paran et capitaine dens mon regimen qui vous pourra rendre un compte asé exact de ce qui sest pase isi, il a des afairs en irland pour quelque temps et aura aseurement besoin de votre protection ce que ie vous supplie tres humblement Milord de luy acorder en luy donent une lettre pour le vise Roy d'irland en sa faveur. Je vous demande tres humblement pardon pour cet longue letre de laquelle vous nauries pas esté importuné si ie navois creue que vous auries esté bien aise de savoir a peu pre l'estat de toutes choses isi ce que ie ne manqueray pas de vous fair savoir par toutes les comodités que ien auray et suis Milord plus entierement qhomme du monde vostre tres humble et tres obeisent serviteur.

G. HAMILTON.

APPENDIX III

(Copie d'une lettre escrite par M. Anthoine d'Hamilton à M. de Ruvigny le 13 Avril, 1675, à Dublin.¹)

MONSIEUR, Depuis que je suis en Irlande j'ay eu tant d'affaires que je n'ay pu me donner l'honneur de vous escrire que quand une nécessité indispensable m'y portoit, on ne peut pas au monde avoir plus de malheur que ce qui nous n'arrive ici dans ce que nous avons entrepris pour le service de sa majesté très chrétienne, car après avoir assemblé neuf cens trente bons hommes au port de Dingle et les avoir fait subsister près de

¹ Archives du Ministère de la Guerre, Vol. 440, No. 109. Another copy is preserved in Vol. 467, No. 92.

quinze jours au delà du terme prefixe pour nostre embarquement, j'ay esté contraint de les congédier voyant qu'il n'y avoit point de nouvelles des vaisseaux que nous attendions le 8 de mars et que nous estions au 27 alors. J'ay emprunté mils escus ici pour la subsistance de ce nombre de soldats et par le soin de nos officiers ils n'ont point commis de désordre dans le pays autour du rendez-vous. Et nous nous estions comportés avec asses de circonspection pour qu'il ne vint point d'information de nostre procédé au Vice Roy, mais malheureusement les vaisseaux sont arrivés quand nous ne les attendions plus et abordant à Kingsale ont fait plus d'éclat qu'ils ne devoient avoir fait, si bien que sur les avis qui en ont été envoyé à S. Ex^{ce} ici il a envoyé ordre de mettre en arrest toutes personnes qui leveroient ou assembleroient du monde. Et les officiers à qui j'avois envoyé ordre de rassembler le monde sur la nouvelle de l'arrivée des vaisseaux ont été arrestez à Kingsalle et me l'ont envoyé dire ce qui m'a fait venir ici en toute diligence ou j'ay obtenu ordre de les faire eslargir me rendant caution pour eux. Tout ce que je vois de possible à present que l'affaire a fait tant de bruit est de tascher de rassembler ce que nous pourrons de monde du debris des dernieres recrues et de tascher malgré la garde exacte qu'on fait à tous les ports de les embarquer de nuit. Pour cet effet j'ai envoyé ordre aux officiers d'y travailler incessamment mais comme j'ay emprunté tout l'argent que le credit de mes amis m'avait pu fournir pour ce séjour des recrues que j'ay eu sur les bras, j'ay esté contraint, Monsieur, de prendre ici cent livres sterlins que je vous supplie très humblement de vouloir payer à celuy qui vous portera ma lettre de change. J'ay cru, Monsieur, qu'il estoit de mon devoir de vous advertir de tout cecy afin que l'on ne nous imputast point un retardement qui nous coute bien de l'argent et du chagrin estant aussi zélés que nous sommes pour le service du Roy, je feray partir les vaisseaux au premier bon vent et les officiers, car pour des soldats le nombre en sera je crois médiocre. Je suis etc.

APPENDIX IV

(Letter from Gramont to the first Duke of Ormonde.¹)

1682, AUGUST 2, *Paris*.—Mouscri ma dit que vous series bien ayse Monsieur d'avoir des pillules pour la goute, ie me suis informé de Mr le duc Daumon, du marechal d'Humieres et de plusieurs autres s'ils s'en trouvent bien affin de ne vous envoyer pas une chose qui peut vous faire du mal, ils m'ont tous asseuré quilz navoint pas eu de goutte depuis quilz en prenoient, et que cestoit une chose si innoscente qui ne pouvoit iamais vous faire du mal, il n'en faut pas prendre dans le grand chaut, iay escrit a celluy qui les fait pour vous en envoyer pour six mois elles sont bonnes iusques a ce temps la, ie vous promets quan quelque endroit que vous soyés en aures en Monsieur vostre provision iauray toujours soing de la santé de mon oncle qui est cogneu par tout le monde pour le plus parfait, le plus galant, et le plus honneste homme du monde.

Le Comte de Gramont ie ordonne a Mouscri de vous demander pour moy deus bons chevaus. Depuis la reprimande que vous me fites que iecrivois mal ie fait la depance dun secretaire.

¹ *Hist. MSS. Comm.*, MSS. of the Marquess of Ormonde, N.S., Vol. VI, p. 413. The last paragraph is in a different handwriting from the remainder of the letter. Another letter to Ormonde is printed in Vol. III, p. 196 (August 15, 1665). A few other letters are preserved as follows:

At Knole Park, Co. Kent, three letters to Lord Fitzharding (1664 and 1665); cf. *Hist. MSS. Comm.*, 4th Report, Appendix, p. 276.

At the Public Record Office, *St. P.*, Dom., Car. II, Vol. 103, No. 109, to Williamson, 1664. *St. P.*, Dom., Car. II, Vol. 109, No. 31, to Williamson? 1664?

At Montagu House, Whitehall, a letter to Arlington, Dec. 17th, 1670, given *supra* p. 40; cf. *Hist. MSS. Comm.*, Report on the Buccleuch MSS. I, p. 490.

In the Morrison Collection, a billet to Fouquet, n.d.; a letter to Lionne, July 12th, 1670; a letter to —? ce vandredi matin; cf. A. W. Thibaudeau's Catalogue (1885), II, pp. 197, 198.

Among the papers of the Duc de la Trémoille, a letter to —? printed in Saint-Simon (éd. des Grands Ecrivains), XIV, p. 565.

Copies of two letters to Lionne are at the Archives des Affaires Etrangères, viz. *Corr. Pol., Angleterre*, Vol. 99, f. 223, July 1st, 1670, cf. p. 38 *supra*; *Corr. Pol., Angleterre*, Vol. 99, ff. 245, 246, July 12th, 1670 (the original being in the Morrison Collection), cf. pp. 37, 38 *supra*.

Gramont's letters to Bussy are printed with Bussy's *Lettres* (éd. Lalanne) Vol. I, pp. 48, 51, 55, 89, 226, 257; Vol. IV, p. 184, and probably Vol. VI, pp. 444, 450.

The above is by no means intended to be an exhaustive list of Gramont's letters.

APPENDIX V

(Memoire pour le Sr. Comte de Grandmont s'en allant de la part du Roy en Angleterre.¹)

LE Roy ayant tousjours considéré la naissance d'un prince de Galles comme le plus grant sujet de satisfaction que dieu puisse donner au Roy d'Ang^{re} Sa Ma^{te} n'en a pas plustot apris la nouvelle par les lettres du Sr Barillon Son Ambassadeur aupres dud^t Roy qu'il n'a nommé Led^t Sr Comte de Grandmont pour aller temoigner auxd. Roy et Reyne de la grande bretagne que non seulement elle s'interesse sincerement a la joye commune mais de plus qu'elle la ressent aussy vivement qu'eux mesme et comme Sa Ma^{te} ne pouvoit choisir une personne dans sa cour qui fust plus agreable que led. Comte a celle d'Angleterre ny mieux marquer la grande part qu'elle prend à ce qui touche le plus le Roy et la Reyne que de faire partir led. Comte de Grandmont avant même qu'ils ay^t donné part a Sa Ma^{te} de cette bonne nouvelle, elle est bien persuadée aussy qu'il scaura mieux qu'aucun autre accompagner de toutes les expressions les plus obligeantes et les plus agreables ces tesmoignages que le Roy donne aud. Roy et Reyne d'une amitié cordiale et d'une très véritable estime. Après que led^t Sr Comte de Grandmont se sera acquitté de ces premiers compliments et de ceux que l'usage de cette cour demande, qu'il fasse de la part de Sa Ma^{te} à la Reyne Douairière d'Ang^{re}, au prince et a la princesse de Danemark qui ne consistent qu'aux assurances générales de l'estime et de l'affection de Sa Ma^{te}. Il taschera pendant le séjour qu'il fera à cette cour et que sa Ma^{te} laisse à sa liberté de prolonger ou d'accourcir, de prendre une exacte connaissance du véritable estat de ce gouvernement, des mesures que le Roy d'Angleterre prend pour se garantir de toutes les entreprises que le Prince d'Orange ou ses partisans pourraient faire contre luy dans la conjoncture présente, le nombre de vaisseaux que led. Roy peut presentamment (sic) mettre en mer et de quelle maniere ils seront armez et équipez, combien il a de troupes sur pied, s'il est bien assuré de tous les officiers qui les commandent, si les grandes places qu'il a sont bien garnies d'hommes et de toutes les munitions necessaires et enfin tout ce qu'il peut esperer ou craindre tant du dehors que du dedans de son royaume.

¹ Archives du Ministère des Affaires Etrangères, *Corr. Pol. Angleterre*, 165, ff. 382, 383.

Led. S^r Comte de Grammont se servira aussy de son adresse pour tascher de decouvrir quels sont les principaux chefs des factions opposées au Roy et à la Religion Catholique et s'il se trouve en conversation avec eux il se servira de ses manieres insinuanes pour penetrer leur veritable dessein et la conduite qu'ils pretendent tenir pour empescher que le Roy d'Angleterre ne vienne a bout des siens. C'est tout ce que sa majesté desire de l'aplication dud. Comte de Grammont en execution de ses ordres a la cour d'Angleterre et elle sera bien ayse qu'il la puisse informer a son retour de toutes les connoissances qu'il aura prises.

Endorsed. Memoire servant d'instruction à M. le Comte de Grandmont allant de la part du roy en Angleterre.

Du 25^e Juin, 1688 à Vers.

APPENDIX VI

(Letters from James II to Richard Hamilton before Londonderry.¹)

1. JAMES R.

Trusty and wellbeloved Wee greet you well. Wee do hereby empower you to give safe conducts and protection to as many of those people in Inisown, as will surrender up to you their horses and armes and promise for the future to live peaceably and honestly under our Government. Given at our quarters at St. Johnston's this 19th day of April, 1689, and in the fifth year of our Reigne.

By his Majesty's command.

MELFORT.

To Richard Hamilton, Lieut.-General of Our Forces.

2. JAMES R.

Trusty and well beloved Wee greet you well. Wee had yester-night the account you sent us of that action before Derry and of the death of the Marquis de Maumon our Lieut. Generall at which wee are most extremely concerned as being one of that merite which had intirely gained Our Royall favour and esteme for whose death wee are heartily sorry. Let nothing be wanting to show the favour wee had for him or befits his quality, especi-

¹ Royal Irish Academy, Dublin, MS. 24, G.1.

ally you are to have his body embalmed and either sent with a fitting guard immediately to Dublin, or kept with you till affairs there be over that more of the Generall officers may come along with it. At this time Wee must put you in mind that it is not for you that are our Generall officers to expose yourselves in all occasions a thing quite contrary to the welfare of our service, you are juges when it is necessary but you are expressly ordered not to doe it in other occasions, of w^{ch} you are [a large inkstain on the next word ; "yourself"?] to advertise our other generall officers y^t are with you. The other canon and amunition wee mett yesterday betwixt Dungannon and Omagh whom wee ordered to make all imaginable haste toward you though wee hope now that you have a miner and that Monsieur de Pointis is to be with you this night, the matter of Derry may be speedily over. Wee noways doubt of your diligence and so wee bid you farewell. Given at our quarters at Charlemont the 23rd day of April, 1689, and in the fifth yeare of Our Reigne.

By His Majesty's Command,

MELFORT.

3. JAMES R.

Our will and pleasure is hereby to authorize and Impower you to receive the submission of such persons as are now in actuall armes and rebellion against us in our City of Londonderry and in pursuance of such submission to give them or any of them that you shall judge deserving of our mercy and favour full pardon and indempnity of and from all manner of crimes and missfeizances and whatsoever done or committed against Us or Our authority, or against the naturall allegiance they owe Us and their sovereigne lord, and they demeaning themselves for the future as dutiful and loyall subjects to protect them and every of them from all manner of violence, or force, and to grant unto them all such other termes and conditions as to you in your judgement shall seem meet and best for our service:— Provided allways that the said persons soe in armes against us as afforesaid shall yield up and surrender our said City of Londonderry to you or any other officer-in-chief commanding Our army before the same togeth^r with their armes and ammunition, and such habliments of warr as are now in that our City as also their serviceable horses, and Wee do hereby ratify and confirme all termes and conditions matters or things whatsoever which shall be granted by you to the said persons. Given at our Court at our Castle of Dublin the first day of May, 1689.

By His Majesty's Command,

MELFORT.

4. JAMES R.

Our will and pleasure is that so soon as the ammunition sent from this to the Camp shall be arrived there, the horses and carrs that transported the same thither be immediately sent back to our City of Dublin with a sufficient guard and passe, reserving our own horses employed with the Artillery still neare our Camp.

Given at our Court at Dublin Castle ye 14th of May, 1689.

By His Majesty's Command,

MELFORT.

5. JAMES R.

Trusty and well beloved Wee greet you well. Whereas wee are informed y^t severall of those Regiments now with you in our Camp before Derry have not their full complement of men w^{ch} cannot but be very prejudiciall to our service, Wee would have you upon the receipt hereof to cause an exact muster to be made of what forces you have wth you, and to returne unto us the Muster Rolls thereof, and as to such Regiments as you shall find as to want their complement you are to informe us from whence it proceeds, if they have any companyes else where or detachments made out of them, and of such as you shall find to want men you are to send such officers as you shall judge fittest that they may wth all speed make such leavyes as may be necessary for recruiting and filling up of the said regiments. And soe not doubtyinge of your ready compliance with these our Orders Wee bid you heartily farewell.

Given at our Court at Dublin Castle this 28th of May, 1689.

By His Majesty's Commands,

MELFORT.

6. JAMES R.

Trusty and well beloved Wee greet you well. Having made choice of Generall d'Auffroy and sent him to our army under your command as generall of the provisions for our army wee do hereby require you receive him as such and to assigne him such places as shall be most convenient for lodging his provisions and to give him what other assistance shall be necessary for our service and so not doubting of your ready obedience to these our orders wee bid you heartily farewell. Given at our Court of Dublin Castle this fourth day of June, 1689.

By His Majesty's Commands,

MELFORT.

7. JAMES R.

Trusty and well beloved Wee greet you well. The circumstances wee find you are in by the account you sent us by Edward Vaudry has made us think it fit to change our Resolutions in relation to Iniskillen against which Wee were resolved to employ the Marquis de Rozen wth the Regiments under his command, namely the Earl of Clincarthy's, Creagh and Sr John Fitzgerald's Regiment of Foot, One troop of the Lord Galmoy's and Lutterell's Regiment of horse, One troop of Dungan's Dragoons and the Regiment of Dragoons of Purcell if they could in time have come up. But now that wee find the need you have of a timely and considerable supply Wee have thought it fitt to order him to march directly to Strabane or Lyfford believing y^t the matter of the greatest importance to us on y^t side is to hinder the English from landing. W^{ch} if you are not able to doe alone the troops wee now send wee hope will come in time to your assistance. Wee cannot but be extremely sorry for soe many good officers that have been killed or wounded upon this late occasion but you must doe what you can to hinder our people from losing heart such accidents being naturall to the employment you are about. Wee have despatched away a considerable number of officers of our own subjects as well as French who wee hope will be useful to you. Wee are resolved to send the rest of Butler's regiment to-morrow and the day after Grace's and Bofin's soe these arriving near the same time that the Marquis de Rozen will be neare you, wee hope shall be sufficient to take the towne even though Kirke should be gott in. This conjuncture of our affaires does so nearly concerne us that we order you to send by foot posts from Garrison to Garrison Intelligence to Us once a day for the expence of w^{ch} wee allow two pence a mile going and coming y^t shall be soe employ'd to be paid by the respective governors and allow'd by us to them upon the muster of each garrison. Wee are sensible of y^r good service you have done us already and doubt not of the continuance of your zeale and affection to us and soe we bid you heartily farewell. Given at our Court at Dublin Castle this 8th day of June, 1689.

By His Majesty's Command,

MELFORT.

8. JAMES R.

Trusty and well beloved, Wee greet you well. Wee have thought fitt to give you notice that having agreed wth one to supply our armyes in generall and that under your command in particular wth what provisions shall be necessary, he was by his agreement to begin to furnish the same the eleventh of the

month of June in which if he shall faill Wee hereby require you to give us notice, and soe not doubting your zeale and readiness in obeying this and all our orders Wee bid you heartily farewell. Given at our Court at Dublin Castle this 10th day of June, 1689.

By His Majesty's Commands,

MELFORT.

9. JAMES R.

James the Second by the Grace of God King of England, Scotland, France and Ireland, Defender of the Faith, etc. To our trusty and well beloved Richard Hamilton Lieut. Generall of our Army. Greeting.

Whereas wee have through the whole course of our Reigne endeavoured to reduce our subjects to their duty by clemency rather than force wee are att this time resolved to give an additional instance thereof in regard to our subjects of the Protestant religion now in armes against us. Wee do therefore authorize and empower you to treat with our said subjects now in armes against us for the rendering up of our City of Londonderry into our hands or that of Inniskillen or any other town or castle of this our kingdom now in their possession upon such terms as you shall think fitt for our service wh shall be ratified by Us without exception whatever they may be, notwithstanding of any crime, fault or treason committed by any of the said persons or their adherents, and notwithstanding of any law or act of parliament made or to be made for all whom wee promise hereby to protect and free them in all times after the concluding of such termes betwixt you and them as you shall think fitt for our service to grant.

Given at our Court at Dublin Castle this 5th day of July, 1689.

By His Majesty's Commands,

MELFORT.

10. JAMES R.

Trusty and well beloved Wee greet you well. You are immediately upon the receipt of these our instructions and the power Wee have granted you by our commission of the same date, to informe the rebels of our City of Derry of the power wee have sent you. You shall let them know that if they doe not now yield to such propositions as you shall offer to them wee will hereafter exclude them from ever partaking of our Royall mercy. You are to endeavour to give them as little as possibly can be, but rather than not get the towne delivered to Us you shall give them their lives, fortunes, our Royall pardon for all thats past and protection as others our subjects have in time to come

and that none shall dare to trouble or molest them in their houses, estates, persons, religions or professions whatsoever they delivering the Citty into our possession, or if they include those of Iniskillen that place or any other treated for be in the same manner delivered to us. You are to send us an immediate account of what answer they give you and soe from time to time until the affaire shall be concluded. Given at our court of Dublin Castle the fifth day of July, 1689.

By His Majesty's Commands,
MELFORT.

II. JAMES R.

Trusty and well beloved Wee greet you well. Whereas wee are informed y^t the Rebels now in Derry offered to surrender the towne to us if they might be assured leave to goe into the ships now before Colmore with their armes and baggage wee cannot believe there was any such proposition made seeing you nor the Marquis de Rozen said nothing of it in any of your letters, but much less because it was not accorded which was soe much for our service that wee are confident you would not have been so far oversein as to refuse it to them which if they shall again require and that you find they would yield if you grant it and will not yield without it you are not to delay bringing the town into our possession upon that accompt but positively to grant that to them that they may goe on board the rebels ships with their baggage and armes. Of which you are not to faile and for your granting them this condition when they shall require it this shall be your warrant. Given at our Court at Dublin Castle this 8th day of July, 1689.

By His Majesty's Commands,
MELFORT.



I2. JAMES R.

Trusty and well beloved, Wee greet you well. Wee are not a little surprized to hear that the ammunition and tooles which Wee sent from hence to Charlemont there to waite your orders if you should have occasion for them, doe yet remain in y^t our Fort notwithstanding that you have been informed of their being there. And wee have therefore sent our express orders to our Governor there to dispatch them away to you wth all speed. And soe not doubting of your dilligence in pressing the towne the having of which in our hands is of soe great an importance to our affaires, Wee bid you heartily farewell.

Given at our Court in Dublin Castle this 11th day of July, 1689

By His Majesty's Commands,
MELFORT.

13. [This letter is the same as letter 9 sent on July 5th.]

Given att our Court att Dublin Castle this 12th day of July,
1689.

By His Majesty's Commands,

MELFORT.

14. JAMES R.

The long continuance of the seige of Derry has been of soe ill consequence to our affaires that though wee beleeeve that you have done what you thought best for our service, yet we doe think fitt hereby to will and require you that if the City of Londonderry shall not yeeld on the conditions wee have offered you may in your station be assisting to the Marquis de Rozen in the pressing of it with all the vigor imaginable that no time may be lost in bringing it into our power and that all care be taken that all officers and soldiers concerned doe their dutys incumbent upon them punctually and vigorously for which reason wee think fitt that you should inform all our officers and soldiers there of what wee expect from them that all may unite in going on cheerfully in an affaire theirs and our interest is soe much concerned in. Wee expect this from them and that a new life and vigor shall appear in every one assuring all who shall behave themselves well of our favour and care of them as occasion shall serve and such as doe otherwise shall feel the effects of our just and highest displeasure. Wee doe not question your care in these things, your conduct or dilligence and therefore wee bid you heartily farewell.

Given att our Court att Dublin Castle this 12th day of July,
1689.

By His Majesty's Commands,

MELFORT.

15. JAMES R.

Trusty and well beloved wee greet you well. It is of the utmost importance in the world to us that Derry should be taken before any relief can come to it and that it may be soon done you are to use your utmost endeavours and beleeeve that more men will be saved by attacquing this towne briskly tho wee should lose men in the doeing of it than by prolonging the matter, therefore in the first place you are to press it with all the vigor and application imaginable but if you and our other generall officers find that it is not to be taken by force then you are to menage our men so as not to needlessly oppose them but you are to continue the blockade as long as it shall be possible with safety every day being of importance for it is probable that they have not much

provision after the 26th of y^e month, and winds are so uncertain at sea that tho the forces in England were ready to imbarke yet they might come too late by cross weather. You are to cause ruine the country all about Derry least if ane invasion come you have not the time to doe it, and that you may the easier gett off at all events, you are to send your seake and wounded as farr this way as you can. And if after all as God forbid you should be forced to leave a place that has cost us soe many men and soe much time then you must think to guard the passages on the river on this side as well as can be and if the Duke of Berwick has not already been sent towards Iniskillen and that if it be thought fitt to inforce that party and send it there to prosecute the former designe wee had upon that place and which wee doubt not would have succeeded. Wee have sent the Guidon of our Guards to inform you more fully in these matters and that giving you no positive commands wee leave all those affaires to the Marquis de Rosen and yourself with the other generall officers to doe what shall be judged best for our service and soe wee bid you heartily farewell.

Given att our Court att Dublin Castle this 20th of July, 1689.

By His Majesty's Commands,

MELFORT.

16. JAMES R.

Trusty and well beloved, wee greet you well. Whereas wee understand by your letters of the 20th informed that it is the opinion of all the generall officers that its impossible to take the towne of Derry but by famine, wee have thought fitt not to wait Major Neugent's return but to send you our orders concerning the same seeing that Derry cannot be taken by force with the small number of men its beseiged by. Our will and pleasure is that as soon as you receive this you prepare for raising the seige and then actually raise it unless you be of the opinion that in continuing the blockade the towne will be forced to yeeld for want of provision which in all appearance must happen very shortly since by their last proposals the offered to surrender the 26th of this month which if you beleieve to be so you are to continue the blockade as long as you shall think it for the good of our service. You are before your departure from befor Derry to cause blow up the Fort of Colmore that it may not stand in our way ane other time. You will see what our intentions are by the duplicata of our latter to the Marquis de Rosen which we have ordered to be sent to you. Seeing that Ingeniers in appearance will be but of small use to you now you are to order the Ingeniere Burton to goe to Charlemont and to take ane exact plan of that place and adjacent grounds which with

all convenient speed he is to bring to us that wee may give our further orders thereupon. Wee doubt not but you will do what may be best for our service in all things and soe we bid you heartily farewell. Given att our Court att Dublin Castle this 22nd day of July, 1689.

By His Majesty's Commands,

MELFORT.

17. JAMES R.

Trusty and well beloved wee greet you well. There is come as he pretends a master of a ship who informes that the Marshal Schomberg with ane army of twenty thousand men whereof there are four thousand Hollanders, two thousand Germans and the Prince of Orange's Dragoons is to come to this our kingdome in ten or twelve days. Wee have all imaginable reasons to beleve this fellow is a rogue and therefore have ordered him to be kept prisoner here, and yet wee thought fitt to informe you of it that you may doe what may be best for our service in the present circumstance of our affaires. Considering the necessity there is to cause recrate our forces to make a vigorous resistance against these rebels our former orders containing all that wee can say upon this subject wee bid you heartily farewell. Given att our Castle of Dublin this 29th day of July, 1689.

By His Majesty's Commands,

MELFORT.

18. JAMES R.

Trusty and well beloved wee greet you well. Now that Londonderry is relieved it is of importance for our service that all imaginable diligence be made in bringing a considerable body of men to this place where or neere to which wee are informed the enemy will land if they can. Wee approve of the resolution of burning and destroying all you mention and retiring on this side of Charlemont. It is of importance that Coleraine should be kept and therefore wee think it fitt that such troops as you think best be sent there and where else you shall think fitt on the Ban Water and that Sr Charles Karney go to Coleraine to command till our further orders. Wee doubt not but you have already given orders to the Duke of Berwick w^t he is to doe in regard of the Rebels of Baleshannon and Eniskiling if you have not wee leave it to you upon the place to give what orders you shall think best for our service giving us ane immediate account of what you have done or shall doe in that matter. You shall send hither straight the battallion of the guards, that of our right trusty and right entirely naturall son Henry Fitz-James, that of Neugent, the detachment of Grace and the L^d Mayor's

Regiment and you shall leave at Charlemont what you shall think fitt to defend the passage of the river under the command of Gen. Major Buchan, and yourself to come to this our City and attend our orders. You are to give y^e necessary orders for recruiting the horse foot and dragoons as much as can be and to reassemble those who have been hid in the mountains and you are to cause publish our orders to bring back the deserters that none may pretend ignorance. Wee have no doubt of your care in whatsoever concerns our power and soe wee bid you farewell. Given att our Court att Dublin Castle this 31 day of July, 1689.

By His Majesty's Commands,

MELFORT.

19. JAMES R.

Our will and pleasure is that you send as soon as you see convenient the Regiment of Dragoons commanded by the L^d Dungan into quarters which you shall judge proper for their refreshment and recruiting there to continue till our farther order. And hereof you are not to faile.

Given att our Court att Dublin Castle this 31 day of July, 1689.

By His Majesty's Command,

MELFORT.

20. JAMES R.

Trusty and well beloved wee greet you well. Just now wee have the news from some officers that the Rebells of Iniskilling have defeated our forces under the command of Mountcashel near Belturbet of which we think fitt to advise you that you may loose no time in posting our army on this side of the river at Charlemont and that you march hither with the rest with all diligence the time of the enemy's fleet drawing near. By this morning we hear of their fleet arriving at Chester, Liverpool, etc. from Bristol and the southward and that there are already twenty-two men of war at the Isle of Man which is the place of their rendezvous. You are therefore to loose no time in putting our affairs in the best position you can and advise the Duke of Berwick of what has happened and giving him such orders as may be best for our service and appointing him in some safe manner to inform Sarsfield of what has happened that he may doe what is best for our service. Not doubting your care in all this matter and what also relates to the weal of our affaires wee bid you heartily farewell.

Given att our Court att Dublin Castle this first day of August, 1689.

By His Majesty's Commands,

MELFORT.

21. JAMES R.

Trusty and well beloved wee greet you well. The evill consequences that unluckie affaire of the Viscounte Mountcashell may have makes it still more necessary for our service that you haste hither with the forces under your command leaving a sufficient garrison at Charlemont with what ammunition you have to spare that may be usefull for that place, and you shall leave there Gen. Major Buchan with the Regiment of Foot of Gordon O'Neal and the three troops of Clifford's Dragoons and the companie of MacMahone which you are to withdraw from Dungannon. And you are to order Coll. Gordon O'Neal to recruit his Regiment and to add as many companies as he can gett especially such as were formerly of his Regiment. As for the party with the Duke of Berwick wee can say nothing to you of it not knowing what orders you have given to him. Wee doubt not of your diligence in these affaires and soe we bid you heartily farewell.

Given att our Court att Dublin Castle this third day of August, 1689.

By His Majesty's Commands,

MELFORT.

22. JAMES R.

Our will and pleasure is that you send the Regiment of horse of Sutherland and the Regiment of foot of Slaney to quarter at Navon till our further orders. The Reg^t of Horse of Lutterell and the Reg^t of foot of Westmeath lately the Reg^t of Tool to Trim to quarter till our further order. That you send the Reg^t of foot of the Lord Prior and Coll. Neugent to quarter at Drogheda. That you send the Regt of Horse of the Duke of Tyrconnell to quarter at Naas, Blessington and the adjacent villages and that you order the rest of the Horse and Dragoons to quarter at the villages between this and Drogheda and that you march with the rest of the foot from Drogheda to this our city in two days and here you are not to fail. Given att our Court att Dublin Castle this 11 August, 1689.

By his Majesty's Commands,

MELFORT.

APPENDIX VII

(Letters from Mary of Modena to Richard Hamilton.¹)

I.

ST. GERMAIN,

September the first [1708²].

My intention was to have writt to you soon after i received your tre and to have told you that the comfortable account you gave me of the king's behaviour had abundantly recompensed the kyndnesse i had shown the poor Comtesse de Granmont in her sicknesse, but my unaccountable lasenesse in point of writting made me putt it off so long that i did not know at last how to go about it ; but now in the dreadfull expectation wee are in of a battle, i can not say anything to you but coniure you to remember your promise to me not to quit the king one step in a day of action and also to tell him frankly and positively what is fitt for him to do, for he has promised the king of France and me at parting, that he would upon such occasions, do what you and Mr Sheldon should advise, i relye extremely upon your iudgement and am persuaded the affection you have for the king will prompt you to do mor than all i can say to you, therefor i will adde no mor, but pray to God to give you as much strength, and health as i am sure you have willingnesse, and capacity of serving the king on this important occasion.

M. R.

addressed, for Mr. Hamilton.

2.

CHAILLOT,

July the 12th [1710].

I have been in such a hurry for this week past, that i could hardly find time to writt to the king, so that you must not wonder if i have not been able befor this to answer your letter of the 2^d by which i had a confirmation of the account Mr. Booth and Dr. Wood had sent of the kings illnesse and of the remedys

¹ B.M., Add. MSS. 18966

² The date assigned to the four letters bound into a small volume is 1710, which is correct for the first three letters, dated July 12th, Aug. 16th and Aug. 30th ; the above letter, which is supposed to be the fourth of the series, is of another year, since the Queen speaks of her long silence : 1708 would seem probable from the reference to Madame de Gramont's last illness (June, 1708) and from the expectation of a battle. Cf. Madame de Maintenon, *Lettres inédites*, I, p. 312, Saint Cyr, le 2 Septembre, 1708, " Nous voici à la veille de cette bataille de Flandre."

that were given him which i hope in God will have a good effect and that the worst is over ; I find you were of the same opinion with the D^r that he should take a great deal of rest and not ioyne the army till he was quite recovered which i did beg of him to do, without ther was a necessity to contrary as i hear to-day ther is for the tre of the 10 brings news that the enemys were marching and that if they will com to Arras ther must be a battle, wher i know the king will be, if he be able, and i praise him for it, but at the same time, you can not but beleeve that my poor heart akes ; I putt all my confidence in God who has given him to me and i hope in his mercie he will preserve him ; after that i putt my trust in you that you will be close to him and let him do no mor then is fitt for him as you promised me, when you took leave of me ; and as the D of Berwick told me that he and you had agreed when he left you, how much or how little was fitt for him in a day of action or at other times, when certainly it is not necessary to do so much i shall not pretend to enter into that i being no competent iudge of it, but confide in your prudence and discretion and pray to God to direct you to give the king the best advice which i am sure he will follow.

MARIA R.

endorsed : the Qs letters to Mr. Rich Hamilton.

3.

CHAILLOT,

Aug. the 16 [1710].

I am verry sorry to find by yours of the 14 that the kings illnesse was grown so troublesom, and uneasy to him, i will hope he was then at the worst and that i shall soon hear of his being well again, till that is, i hope you will not fail writting to me, and lett me know exactly how he is, which is no more than i asked and you promised when you left St. Germain, but you having forgott it once i now put you in mind of it for fear you should forget it again ; If you have any news, i hope you will send them to me, as long as the king does not writt, which i would not have him do, by no means, till he is quit at ease ; I conclude you are well, hearing nothing to the contrary since you left us and i heartily wish you may continue.

M. R.

addressed : For Mr. Hamilton.

4.

CHAILLOT,

Aug. the 30th [1710].

You guessed very right that the account that Dr Baulieu gave me after having visited the King would sett me quitt at ease, i thank God it has don so, and therefor I can not repent my having sent him nor i hope you dont repent the having written to me the naked truth of the kings condition, with which i hope he does not find fault, i am sure i dont for tho it gave me som trouble, yett i had rather undergo that and know the truth, then be flattered, and never know what to trust to, but of this last i am sure you are not capable, and therefor it is a satisfaction to me to have from you an account of the king, becaus i dare count upon it, to be litterally trew and that is what i would have, and for whicch and your having don it so constantly in this his last illness, i can never thank you enough, but i am sure i shall never forgett it ; I am very glad to find you are of opinion that the kings staying so long at the army, may be prejudicial to his health, and of no advantage to him otherways, i am sure i think so but i am afraid of letting myself be iudge in these matters, the M^r de Montesquiou as well as yourself being of the same mind, confirms me extremely in it, but i beleeve the king will see for some days how he is, and what part is taken after the siege of Bethune is ended, which i think has held out wonderfully ; I had not M^e de Maintenons answer this morning when i writt to the king, upon the account i gave her of him to give to the K. of France but i have it now in these words ; Le Roy m'a ordonné de vous mander qu'il faudra bien que le Roy d'Angleterre revienne des qu'il ne pourra plus monter à cheval. Il est impossible que Bethune aille loin, la défence en est desja surprenante, apres cela on verra bien tost a quoi les enemis se porteront, Les emoroides sont un grand mal, surtout quand on ne peux pas se reposer, je crois que vous prendres nostre parti sur le rapport que vous en fera nostre Chirurgien, apres l'avoir mandé au Roy, her letter was very long upon other matters, she says they expected tonight a Courier from Spaine but that at present they know no mor than i do of that matter ; I think upon this answer it were propre that Beaulieu and Dr Wood writt a letter to Dr. Gamman whicch might be shewd to Fagon or Mareshal, or i might send it to M^e de Maintenon, to tell what they think of the kings illness, for if they beleeve, that the king can not ride without venturing to be ill again nor stay in that country without venturing an aigue whicch is but to plain his coming away will soon be decided ; the king or you will lett me know what he thinks of all this, what els he would have me do ; and i shall performe.

M. R.

endorsed : Lettres de la Reine a M^r R^d dhamilton de Chaliot.

APPENDIX VIII

NOTES ON THE HAMILTON PORTRAITS

THE National Portrait Gallery possesses a portrait by an unknown painter of Anthony Hamilton in his youth (Register number 1467). This portrait was at one time at Ditton Park, Lord Beaulieu's house, and was bought by the National Portrait Gallery in 1907. A portrait of Anthony Hamilton in uniform by an unknown painter is in the possession of Mr. Forde of Seaforde, Co. Down. The engraving of Anthony Hamilton in his old age which appears in most editions of the *Memoirs* was first executed for the Strawberry Hill edition (1772) "*Celui d'Hamilton,*" says Walpole, "*est d'après son estampe exécutée . . . dans ses dernières années.*"¹

The 1794 edition of the *Memoirs*, a reprint of the 1793 edition, reproduces "an additional portrait of the author," and the same portrait is given in Harding's *Biographical Mirror*, Vol. I, No. 49, as being from an original in the collection of Lord Beaulieu at Ditton Park. It was probably destroyed with most of the historical portraits of that mansion in the fire which occurred there in 1812. As a matter of fact, careful comparison of this portrait with the National Gallery portrait will show that the person represented cannot well be Anthony Hamilton.² There is, however, a striking resemblance between this portrait and that of George Hamilton, now at the National Portrait Gallery, but it is not a portrait of him either, as it is that of a much younger man while the costume is that of a later period.³ There is no doubt that it represents one of the younger brothers, Thomas, Richard, or John Hamilton.

A portrait of George Hamilton by an unknown painter is now,

¹ "Avis . . . sur cette nouvelle édition." The British Museum (Catalogue of Engraved British Portraits at the British Museum, II, p. 442) and the Bibliothèque Nationale (Catalogue de la Collection des Portraits français et étrangers, conservée au Département des Estampes de la Bibliothèque Nationale IV, p. 339) possess various reproductions of this engraving.

² Anthony Hamilton has straight eyebrows and a nose retroussé rather than otherwise. In this 'additional portrait' the eyebrows and the bridge of the nose are arched.

³ The lace cravat would place the date of this portrait between 1675 and 1685, and George Hamilton was no longer living at the time. I owe this and other information to the kindness of Mr. J. D. Milner of the National Portrait Gallery.

as has been mentioned, at the National Portrait Gallery (No. 1468). It is a companion picture to the portrait of Anthony Hamilton and was bought in the same conditions.

There are several portraits of Madame de Gramont. The best-known of these is the Hampton Court Lely,¹ painted about 1662, mentioned by her brother in the Memoirs as being one of Lely's happiest creations. The National Portrait Gallery possesses another portrait by Lely (No. 509), formerly in the possession of the Walrond family, Dulford House, Devon. The date assigned to this portrait is about 1669, when the countess was twenty-eight, but one would be inclined to choose a somewhat later date, for it is hard to believe that she should have changed so much to her disadvantage in seven years.² There is also at the Portrait Gallery a portrait of Madame de Gramont in her youth, a copy after Lely by Eccardt (No. 20). Two miniatures of her are in the Jones collection, South Kensington, and two at Montague House.³

Mr. Forde, of Seaforde, Co. Down, also possesses a portrait of Margaret Hamilton (who married Mathew Forde), believed to be by Lely, and one of the Comte de Gramont by an unknown artist.

An 'Irish correspondent' quoted in Pinkerton's *Walpoliana* II, p. 10, speaks of the Hamilton portraits he saw at Lord Kingsland's house, Turvey, Co. Dublin. (Mary Hamilton, George Hamilton's third daughter, had married a Viscount Kingsland in 1688.) "I particularly recollect the portraits of Count Hamilton and his brother Anthony and two of Madame Grammont, one taken in her youth, the other in an advanced age." The Kingsland property eventually passed into the hands of the Trimlestown family, but Lord Trimlestown, who kindly replied to my letter of inquiry, was unable to tell me what had become of these portraits.

A portrait of James Hamilton was formerly at the Marquis of Abercorn's at Stanmore, but was sold.⁴

¹ Cf. Catalogue of Engraved British Portraits at the British Museum, II, p. 367; Catalogue . . . Département des Estampes de la Bibliothèque Nationale, IV, p. 243.

² Moreover, if one may judge from the inscription on the frame, "she married in 1664 Philibert Comte de Gramont, with whom in 1669 she resided in France," the date has been based on information taken from a letter from Charles II to Madame, erroneously dated 1669 in Dalrymple's *Memoirs*.

³ Allan Fea, Introduction to his edition of the *Mémoires de Grammont*, p. xx.

⁴ Cunningham, *Story of Nell Gwyn*, p. 208.

APPENDIX IX

MANUSCRIPT COPIES OF THE MÉMOIRES DE GRAMMONT

ONE copy was formerly in the possession of the Earl of Ashburnham (cf. *Hist. MSS. Comm.*, 8th Report, Appendix, Part III, p. 417), viz. *Fragmens de la vie du comte de Grammont* (par le Comte Antoine Hamilton) on Paper, 2 vols. Quarto. This copy was sold in May, 1899, by Messrs. Sotheby, Wilkinson and Hodge to Mr. Tregaskis, 232 High Holborn. Mr. Tregaskis, who kindly replied to my inquiry, was not able to tell me into whose hands the manuscript had passed. Another copy which I was not able to see is at the Hanover archives. This is obviously the copy sent by Madame to the duchess of Hanover (cf. Madame, *Lettres* II, p. 178 n.)

One copy is preserved at the Bibliothèque Mazarine, viz. manuscrit 2190, *Fragmens de la vie du comte de Gramont*. Papier. 176 et 244 pages; haut. 233, larg. 178 millim., XVII^e [should be XVIII^e] siècle. Copie du temps de l'auteur.

An imperfect copy is preserved at the Bibliothèque Nationale, viz. nouvelles acquisitions françaises 1972. *Fragmens de la vie du Comte de Gramont*. Chapitre I à IX seulement. Dix-huitième siècle. Papier. 367 pages. 210 sur 158 millimètres, rel. veau gr. This fragment corresponds to Part I of the copy at the Bibliothèque Mazarine.

These two last texts derive from the same copy and I shall speak of them as A₁ (B. Mazarine) and A₂ (B. Nationale). They agree very closely; in fact there are practically no variants. That they were not, however, directly copied the one from the other is proved, *inter alia*, by the difference in their orthography, e.g. A₁ *differeents*, *talents*, *evenements*, A₂ *differens*, *talens*, *evenemens*, etc. A₂ is a more careless work with poor spelling and bad punctuation. They seem both to have been dictated or to derive from a copy that was dictated, cf. e.g. Laon (A₁ A₂) for Lens, Oudancourt (A₁) and Oudancour (A₂) for Houdancourt, Amilton (A₂) for Hamilton, Momorency (A₂) for Montmorency, s'estoit (A₁) for c'estoit, etc. The most interesting thing that we learn from A₁ A₂ is perhaps the fact that there were two additional chapters in the first draft of the Memoirs which, for some reason or other, have not come down to us (cf. p. 206 supra).

A₁ A₂ differ considerably from the first printed edition of the Memoirs, viz. the 1713 edition, which shows not a few omissions, and in the following notes almost all the variants are given.

The *Mémoires de Grammont* are not a work of sufficient importance to warrant a list of all the variants ; quite unessential ones have therefore been omitted, as well as obvious errors of A_1 A_2 . The 1713 edition differs most widely from A_1 A_2 at the end of Chapter IV, which has been changed to leave no trace of the missing chapters, and at the end of Chapter VI and at the beginning of Chapter VII where, for no very obvious reasons—nothing is gained by the remaniement—certain paragraphs have been transposed. This edition may have been printed from a later manuscript copy in which the changes were made by Hamilton, but they are far more likely the work of the editor who published the *Memoirs*, certainly without any authorization, from a manuscript copy which, he said, he had received from Paris.

The text here given is that of 1713 ; the variants are in parenthesis. Unless otherwise stated the variants are found in both A_1 and A_2 . With the fewest of exceptions the variants A_1 A_2 are to be preferred to the 1713 readings.

CHAPTER I.

- p. 2. Il fait entrer le pauvre Marc Antoine par compassion (comparaison) pour toutes ses faiblesses.

CHAPTER II.

- p. 7. par conséquent (mais aussi) les sièges étoient d'une longueur raisonnable.

CHAPTER III.

- p. 21. Il me demanda si je voulois acheter des chevaux (add, d'artillerie ; A_1 only).
- p. 23. Le tout (add, du tout) en fut. Cf. Littré, le tout du tout, la partie qui se joue, après que la même personne a perdu partie, revanche et le tout, et dans laquelle on joue autant d'argent qu'on a joué dans les trois parties précédentes.
- p. 26. Que dira Madame ? (add, quelle nouvelle pour madame !)
- p. 27. Je le prierai de souper. . . . Et où ? dit Matta. (A souper, dit Matta, et où ?)

[The longer answer is more in the manner of Matta. One wonders why in all modern editions another, very characteristic, remark of Matta's has been similarly shortened, viz. in Chapter VI. The 1713 text reads as follows, p. 63 :

- Rien n'est plus honnête, disoit Matta.
- Mais, pourquoi n'en aurois-je aucune Inquiétude ?
- Oh, ma foi, je n'en sais rien, dit Matta.
- Voici pourquoi, reprit-il.

Most subsequent editions adopt the following text :

- Rien n'est plus honnête, disoit Matta, mais pourquoi, n'en avoir aucune inquiétude ?
- Voici pourquoi, reprit-il.

Matta was not the person to wonder why M. de Sénantes should be uneasy on any subject.]

- p. 30. Caméran ayant été trois ou quatre fois de reste (déresté).
- p. 31. Vous avez beau tempêter (temporiser) ; tant que vous jouerez, vous perdrez.

CHAPTER IV.

- p. 61. Il fallut donc se passer de Madame, pour aller trouver (pour tenir parole à, A_1 ; pour aller à, A_2) Monsieur.
- p. 71. il gronderoit bien sa femme de son impertinente (imprudente) tendresse.
 - ib.* il mouroit d'envie de se revoir (de reboire) avec le cher Matta.
- p. 75. il vit trotter (toutes, A_1 only) les santez à la ronde.
- p. 76. Quoi qu'il en soit, persuadé (insert, comme il est encore) qu'en amour. . . .
 - ib.* Mais, il est tems que nous le tirions de la Cour de Savoie, pour le voir briller dans celle de France. (Add, C'est là que d'illustres matières s'offrant aux differents talents dont la nature l'avoit pourveu nous l'allons voir dans les intrigues de la cour, dans les evenements du jeu, dans la temerité des entreprises et dans la prosperité du succez, toujours singulier, toujours inimitable et toujours admiré.

Dans l'une de ces scenes, on verra son activité, sa prévoyance, et son industrie dans l'enlevement de M^{lle} de Bouteville. Dans l'autre sa penetration, ses conjectures et ses conseils malheureusement negligez avant l'emprisonnement des Princes, son procédé généreux après et dans quelques conjectures moins éclatantes nous parlerons de ses Fortunes, de ses Inconstances et de ses Tracasseries.

CHAPTER V

p. 77. Le Chevalier de Grammont de retour en France, y soutint merveilleusement la Réputation qu'il avoit acquise ailleurs.

ib. Attaché d'Inclination à Monsieur le Prince, Témoin, et si on ose le dire, Compagnon de la Gloire qu'il avoit acquise aux fameuses Journées de Lens, de Norlingues et de Fribourg, les Récits qu'il en a si souvent faits, n'ont rien diminué de leur éclat.

ib. Il l'a suivi dans la première Disgrace de sa Fortune, d'une Constance dont on voit peu d'Exemples.

p. 85. lorsque tu montrois à danser les Triolets (tricolets). Should be 'tricotets.' Cf. Littré, tricotets, ancienne danse, très vive; . . . cette danse est ainsi nommée parce que le mouvement du pied y est aussi prompt que l'est celui de la main en tricotant.

p. 93. Je vais bientôt passer (pousser) à toute bride.

p. 95. de se voir trainé en Chemise par (parmi, A₁) les Vaincus.

p. 96. n'étant pas pressé de porter une mauvaise (méchante; A₁) nouvelle.

p. 103. qu'on voulût l' (s') assujettir.

CHAPTER VI (Chapter VIII).

p. 107. quelques Beutez cachées (retirées).

p. 110. Son père, dès lors Ministre (chancelier) de l'Angleterre.

p. 111. plein d'esprit et de feu (et fou).

p. 112. si vrai (net) dans tous ses Procédez.

A₁ A₂ Chapter VII (Ch. V and VI are missing).

Dans les chapitres précédents on a vu le Chevalier de Gramont soutenir partout son caractère.

Que d'exemples on en a vus dans les Campagnes de Laon [*sic*], de Nordlingue et de Fribourg. Attaché d'inclination à M. le Prince, témoin de la gloire qu'il avoit acquise à ces fameuses journées, les récits qu'il en a si souvent faits n'ont rien diminué de leur éclat. Mais s'il l'a voulu triompher en tant de lieux différents tandis qu'il suivoit la parti le plus juste, son attachement ne s'est point dementi, lorsqu'une fatale nécessité l'a forcé de quitter ce party pour en prendre un autre.

Dans les premières disgrâces de sa fortune il l'a suivi d'une constance dont on ne voit guères d'exemples.

- p. 115. cette même Comtesse de Castelmaine, depuis Duchesse (Dame, A₁) de Cleveland.
- p. 116. la Comtesse de Panétra (Penalva, A₁; Penatra, A₂); Cf. Clarendon, Continuation (Oxford, 1761, 3rd ed.), II, p. 340, the countess of Penalva.
- ib. un certain Taurauvédez (Taureau-cideur). Cf. Littré tauricider, terme vieilli, combattre et tuer les taureaux dans les courses de taureaux.
- ib. y ajouta (ayant réduit tous ces noms à) celui de Pierre du Bois.
- p. 117. Le Chevalier de Grammont . . . n'eut (insert, plus) qu'à faire connaissance.
- p. 123. Sans prix (paix) pour elle.
- p. 131. Cette Beauté . . . mettoit son plus grand Mérite à être plus sémillante (accueillante) que les autres.

p. 134. Il étoit sur le point de travailler à la Désolation de la pauvre Midleton.

p. 135. lorsqu'il vit par hasard Mademoiselle d'Hamilton. Dès ce moment, plus de Ressentiment contre la Midleton; plus d'Empressements pour la Warmestré; plus d'Inconstance; plus de Vœux flottans. Cet Objet les fixa tous; et de ses anciennes Habitudes, il ne lui resta que l'Inquiétude et la Jalousie.

Ses premiers Soins furent de plaire; mais, il vit bien qu'il falloit, pour réussir, s'y prendre tout autrement qu'il n'avoit fait jusqu'alors.

La Famille de Mademoiselle d'Hamilton, assez nombreuse, occupoit une Maison grande et commode près de la Cour. Celle du Duc d'Ormond n'en bougeoit. Ce qu'il y avoit de plus distingué dans Londres s'y trouvoit tous les jours. Le Chevalier de Grammont y fut reçu selon son Mérite et

A₁ A₂

Il étoit sur le point de travailler à la désolation de la pauvre Midleton, lorsqu'elle fut sauvée par l'aventure qu'on verra dans le chapitre qui suit (suivant, A₂).

CHAPITRE IX

Le Chevalier de Gramont, peu content du progrès de ses galanteries, se voyant heureux sans être aimé, devint jaloux sans être amoureux. La Midleton, comme on l'a dit alloit éprouver, comme il s'y prenoit pour tourmenter, après avoir éprouvé ce qu'il savoit pour plaire.

Il fut la chercher chez la reine, où il y avoit bal. Elle y étoit; mais, par bonheur pour elle, Mademoiselle d'Hamilton y étoit aussi. Le hasard avoit fait que de toutes les belles personnes de la cour, c'étoit celle qu'il avoit la moins vue et celle qu'on lui avoit la plus vantée. Il la vit donc pour la première fois de près et s'aperçut qu'il n'avoit rien

sa Qualité. Il s'étonna d'avoir employé tant de tems ailleurs ; mais après avoir fait cette Connoissance, il n'en chercha plus.

Tout le monde convenoit que Mademoiselle d'Hamilton étoit digne de l'Attachement le plus sincere et le plus sérieux. Rien n'étoit meilleur que sa Naissance ; et rien de plus charmant que sa personne.

p. 136. CHAPITRE VII

Le Chevalier de Grammont, peu content de ses Galanteries, se voyant heureux sans être aimé, devint jaloux sans être amoureux. La Middleton, comme on a dit, alloit éprouver comme il s'y prenoit pour tourmenter, après avoir éprouvé ce qu'il savoit pour plaire.

Il fut la chercher chez la Reine, où il y avoit Bal. Elle y étoit ; mais, par bonheur pour elle, Mademoiselle d'Hamilton y étoit aussi. Le Hazard avoit fait que de toutes les Belles Personnes, c'étoit celle qu'il avoit le moins vue et celle qu'on lui avoit le plus vantée. Il la vit donc pour la première fois de près, et s'aperçut qu'il n'avoit rien vu dans la Cour avant ce moment. Il l'entretint, elle lui parla. Tant qu'elle dansa, ses yeux furent sur elle ; et, dès ce moment, plus de Ressentiment contre la Middleton. Elle étoit dans cet heureux âge, etc.

vu dans la cour avant ce moment. Il l'entretint ; elle lui parla. Tant qu'elle dansa, ses yeux furent sur elle ; et dès ce moment, plus de ressentiment contre la Middleton, plus d'empressements pour la Warmestré ; plus d'inconstance ; plus de vœux flottants. Cet objet les fixa tous ; et de ses anciennes habitudes, il ne lui resta que l'inquiétude et la jalousie.

Ses premiers Soins furent de plaire ; mais, il vit bien qu'il falloit, pour réussir, s'y prendre tout autrement qu'il n'avoit fait jusqu'alors.

La famille de Mademoiselle d'Hamilton, assez nombreuse, occupoit une maison grande et commode près de la cour. Celle du duc d'Ormond n'en bougeait. Ce qu'il y avoit de plus distingué dans Londres s'y trouvoit tous les jours. Le chevalier de Gramont y fut reçu selon son mérite et sa qualité. Il s'étonna d'avoir employé tant de tems ailleurs ; mais après avoir fait cette connoissance il n'en chercha plus.

Tout le monde convenoit que mademoiselle d'Hamilton étoit digne de l'attachement le plus sincere et le plus sérieux. Rien n'étoit meilleur que sa naissance et rien de plus charmant que sa personne. Elle étoit dans cet heureux âge, etc.

The 1713 remaniement contains the sentence " dès ce moment, plus de ressentiment contre la Middleton " twice, as will have been noticed, viz. on p. 135 and p. 136.

- p. 137. de quoi former des (de ces) Préjugés avantageux sur tout le reste.
 - p. 140. Elle avoit la Taille de toutes (insert, les bossues) sans l'être. From the 1760 edition onwards, all editions give this passage as " elle avait la taille d'une femme grosse sans l'être."
 - p. 143. sans égard aux Défenses de son Mari (époux).
 - p. 145. Milord Janet (Jaret). Jaret is intended for Gerard. Cf. *Modern Language Review*, Vol. x, p. 59.
 - p. 146. Je serai mieux éclairci de mon sort par le Présent que je vous envoie (add, car si je ne vous suis pas odieux).
 - p. 147. Elle paroissoit fort affairée (insert, L'autre commençait à deviner le sujet de cette visite) L'heure (l'envie de rire) commençoit à la gagner.
 - p. 150. une bagatelle comme cela (celle-là).
 - p. 155. Les Filles de la Reine et celle de la Duchesse furent menées par ceux qui (insert, n') étoient (insert, pas) de la mascarade. A₁ only.
 - p. 161. et (insert, parée) de vos présents vous souffrez qu'elle vous crève les yeux.
 - p. 165. Le Duc de Boukingham . . . pour se mettre (remettre) bien dans l'Esprit du Roi.
 - p. 172. Mademoiselle Stewart le retint tout pour elle. (add, Mille festes galantes marquoient la passion du Roy pour elle.)
 - p. 179. Non, Madame (insert, poursuivit-il), je ne compte pour rien, etc. Ce n'était pas apparemment un prêtre (add, dit-elle). Pardonnez-moi, Madame, dit-il (omit, dit-il).
- A₂ breaks off with this chapter.

CHAPTER VIII (Chapter X, A₁).

- p. 182. pour rendre compte à Madrid (à son maître) de sa Conduite.
- p. 191. Elle étoit fine (fière) et délicate sur le Mépris.
- p. 198. Le comte d'Arran . . . déposa, que dans la Galerie de Hons-laer-dyk où (insert, la Princesse Royale, le Roi) la Comtesse d'Ossery, etc.
- p. 200. Témoins du Bonheur de bien d'autres (de quelque autre).
- p. 202. Quand elle se promettent (permettent) le plaisir de la Vengeance.

- p. 205. Southask . . . remonta (insert, tout doucement) dans son (en) carosse.
- p. 209. Sous prétexte de vouloir être de toutes ces Parties (fêtes).
- p. 210. Il n'y pardonnait . . . ni aux Maris jaloux, ni à l'Epouse (add, facile).
- p. 218. Le Roi soutint qu'il n'y en avoit point (insert, de plus belle au monde qu'en Angleterre et qu'en Angleterre il n'y en avoit point) de si belle que celle de Mademoiselle Stewart.
- p. 220. (add, Les plaintes), les reproches, l'aigreur, etc.

CHAPTER IX. (Chapter XI, A₁).

- p. 235. Cacher ce qu'on fait (sent) de plus doux.
ib. On prend (perd) cent plaisirs.
- p. 253. voilà une petite Migraine (mignonne) bien parée.
- p. 272. s'étant dévotement mis à (insert, deux) genoux.
- p. 274. certain Air d'Incertitude (ineptitude).
- p. 275. Elle étoit d'une Famille Royale (loyaliste). Corrected in subsequent editions to 'royaliste.'
- p. 291. différente en cela, comme en bien d'autres choses (agrémements).
- p. 295. Il eut recours aux Invectives et même aux Charmes (larmes).

CHAPTER X. (Chapter XII, A₁)

- p. 319. la nouvelle (dernière) cour de la Reine.
- p. 330. la Délicatesse de celui de leurs (insert, très) tendres et très magnifiques Moitiés.
ib. à se révolter contre (insert, la pluralité des) les Maîtresses du Roi.
ib. que c'étoit bien assez d'une (insert, jeune) femme.
ib. des Garnemens . . . comme Sidney (Sidley). Sidley (a form of Sedley) is much more appropriate.
- p. 331. soit par trop (insert, peu) de complaisance pour elles-mêmes.
- p. 356. il . . . l'enveloppa (insert, d'un pan) de son Justaucorps.
- p. 370. La Duchesse y voulut voir courre des Lévrier (lièvres).
ib. C'étoit la Créature du monde la plus paresseuse (peureuse).

CHAPTER XI (Chapter XIII, A₁).

- p. 376. pour n'être pas (insert, cruellement) arraché de ce lieu.
- p. 381. Il étoit à deux genoux devant moi, pour l'acheter (add, Pourquoi, dis-je en moi-même ne le pas vendre à cet animal au profit de mon maître).
- p. 383. Combien avez-vous mis (insert, de temps) à venir de Londres ici ?
- p. 385. Il fut voir Mademoiselle (la Maréchale) de l'Hopital.
- p. 386. Ses Affaires finies, il partit (Dès qu'il eut mis quelque ordre aux affaires qui le retenoient, il n'en attendit pas un second pour partir.)
- p. 389. Les anciens Engagemens en étoient partout réveillés et de nouveaux (insert, commerces) s'établissoient.
- p. 391. éternellement rebattu des Descriptions du Mérite (insert, caché) de M^{me} de Shrewsbury.
- p. 394. Shrewsbury, trop honnête Homme pour s'en plaindre (prendre) à Madame.
- p. 400. gagner quatre ou cinq (trois ou quatre) Guinées par jour.
- ib.* Celui qui tient le Dez à ce Jeu en a tout l'Avantage (désavantage).
- p. 402. Avec Mademoiselle Stewart ? (add, ou chez elle, dit-il).
- p. 405. louer quelque femme de la cour pour de beaux Bras, une belle Jambe (de beaux bras, de belles jambes, la gorge ou les épaules).
- p. 406. Les Jupes de Mademoiselle Stewart . . . effraierent son Cheval (insert, il l'emportoit, elle m'appela, tout le monde suivit le roy d'un autre côté, j'arretay son cheval) parce qu'il vouloit bien attendre celui que je montois.
- p. 413. Elle s'étoit déchainée sans reserve, depuis sa Disgrace, contre (insert, l'impertinence de) Mademoiselle Stewart qu'elle en accusoit par son Impertinence (omit, par son impertinence) et contre l'Imbécilité du Roi qui, pour une Idiote revétue (insert, de ses dépouilles) la traitoit avec tant d'Indignité.
- p. 415. Babinai (Bab-May) dont Madame de Cleveland avoit fait la fortune.
- [Bab May or Baptist May, 1629-1698, keeper of the privy purse to Charles II. Cf. Clarendon, Life and Continuation, III, p. 642. "The lady . . . procured round sums of money out of the privy purse (where she had placed Mr. May)].
- p. 419. Le Cœur de la Reine se tourna tout d'un coup (add, vers elle).

- p. 422. Germain se présenta (déclara) tout des premiers sans songer que le (insert, seul) Prétexte de sa Convalescence etc.
- p. 425. il ne fut pas le seul qui se ressentit de cette Bizarerie (bizarre influence).
- p. 426. Le Chevalier de Grammont . . . se vit enfin Possesseur de Mademoiselle d'Hamilton (add, Ce sera dans la troisième partie de ces mémoires qu'on fera voir de quelle manière arrivèrent ces différentes aventures).

APPENDIX X

REPONSE de Madame la Maréchalle de Barwick à M^r le Curé de Cour Dimanche, par Hamilton¹ (an unpublished poem which may serve as a specimen of his vers de société).

Bonjour messire le pasteur,
 Bonjour messire et bonne année.
 Les vers dont mavés étrennée,
 Plaisent à cause de l'auteur,
 Mais je m'en vis fort étonnée,
 Car de répondre à tel docteur,
 De tout le monde abandonnée,
 Je n'eus ny l'espoir ny le cœur.
 Si donc ma réponse est tardive,
 Payés vous de cette raison,
 Ce n'est pas icy le valon,
 Où du Permesse sur la rive,
 Chantent les élus d'Apollon.
 Craintifs comme oiseaux sur la branche,
 Chacun évitoit cet employ,
 Quoy, J'écrirois disoient-ils moy,
 A cet illustre Cour Dimanche
 Qui tient les neuf sœurs dans sa manche,
 Et le dieu des vers sous sa Loy,
 Encore passe pour Palaprat,
 A qui s'il nous falloit écrire,
 Nous enverrions des vers pour rire,
 Quoy qu'Apollon en fasse estat,
 Et semble lui prester sa Lyre
 Dans les forêts de Bellebat,
 Nous voyons donc que la muse
 Du plus Renommé Rimailleur
 Au lieu de se piquer d'honneur
 Très humblement fesoit Excuse.

¹ Bibliothèque de Bordeaux, Manuscrit 693, p. 612.

Je dis prenons la plume en main,
 Faisons voir à Sa Révérence,
 Qu'on peut manquer à St. Germain,
 D'esprit non de Reconnaissance.
 Adieu donc encore une fois,
 A vous l'honneur de Cour Dimanche,
 Puisse votre vigne estre franche,
 De tous les frimats de ce mois,
 Qu'à Jamais glace noire ou blanche,
 Fasse grâce aux vins gatinois,
 Et que jamais on ne retranche,
 Ny cave ny cellier sur un (?) curé françois
 Et comme au temps jadis qu'il ait toujours ses droits
 Sur son ménage et sur l'Eclanche.

MANUSCRIPT COPIES OF HAMILTON'S WORKS AND LETTERS

Fragmens de la vie du comte de Gramont. Bibliothèque Mazarine, manuscrit 2190. Papier, 176 et 244 pages, haut. 233. larg. 178 millim. XVIII^e siècle. Copie du temps de l'auteur. Cf. Appendix p. 301 et seq.

Fragmens de la vie du comte de Gramont. Chapitres I à IX seulement. Bibliothèque nationale, nouvelles acquisitions françaises 1972. XVIII^e siècle, Papier, 367 pages, 210 sur 158 millimètres. Rel veau gr. Cf. Appendix, p. 301 et seq.

Fragmens de la vie du comte de Gramont. Archives of Hanover. Calemb. Orig. Archiv. Dés. 63 VI, Fach No. 1. Fol. (cf. Madame, Lettres, II, p. 178, note).

Trait détaché de l'histoire amoureuse de la Cour d'Angleterre sous le regne de Charles Deux (the Bretby episode), in Recueil d'historiettes et aventures curieuses. Part II. Bibliothèque Mazarine, manuscrit 3939.

Les Antiquités de Pontalie. Le Belier, conte à Mademoiselle, par Antoine Hamilton. Bibliothèque de Caen, manuscrit 252, XVIII^e siècle. Papier, 120 feuillets, 310 sur 200 millim. Relié veau aux armes du maréchal de Harcourt.

Réponse de la maréchale de Berwick à M. le curé de Courdimanche, par Hamilton. Bibliothèque de Bordeaux, manuscrit 693, p. 612. Cf. Appendix, pp. 310, 311.

A letter to Ruvigny, dated Dublin, April 13th, 1675 (in French). Archives du Ministère de la Guerre, Vol. 440, No. 109. Another copy is in Vol. 467, No. 92. Cf. Appendix, pp. 281, 282.

An autograph letter from Hamilton to Captain George Mathew, Dublin [1681], in the collection of Lord Ormonde. Cf. Hist. MSS. Comm. Seventh Report, Appendix, p. 825a. Through the kindness of Lord Ormonde I obtained a copy of this letter. It is not of sufficient importance to warrant reproduction.

An autograph letter (English) to Tyrry, herald of the English court at Saint-Germain. Bibliothèque Nationale, manuscrit français 32964, No. 90. Of no importance.

Two letters to Madame de Caylus, *ib.* Nos. 357 and 358, printed in Du Boscq de Beaumont et M. Bernos. *La cour des Stuarts à St. Germain en Laye.*

The *Isographie des hommes célèbres* (Paris, 1828-30), Vol. II, gives a facsimile of the letter to ——— entered in A. W. Thibaudau's Catalogue of the Morrison Manuscripts, Vol. II, p. 229.

A letter to ——— is quoted in part in Etienne Charavay, *Lettres autographes composant la collection de M. Alfred Bovet* (Paris, 1887).

BIBLIOGRAPHY¹

I. FRENCH TEXT

A. COLLECTED WORKS

1749. [Paris], 1749. 6 vols. 12mo. (B.M. and B. Nat.)
Memoires du Comte de Grammont, I^e Partie.
Memoires du Comte de Grammont, II^e Partie.
Le Belier (and Poésies).
Fleur d'Epine (and Chansons).
Les Quatre Facardins (and Poésies).
Œuvres mêlées en prose et en vers (contains Zeneyde).
No collective title.
1762. Reprinted with the collective title Œuvres du comte Antoine Hamilton. (B. Nat. and the University Library, Edinburgh.)

According to A. A. Renouard (Preface to his edition of Hamilton's Works, 1812, I, p. ix) this edition was reprinted in

¹ Cf. Quérard, *France Littéraire* and *La Littérature Française Contemporaine*; Brunet, *Manuel du Libraire* and *Supplément*; G. Brunet, Preface to his edition of the *Mémoires* (1859); Lorenz, *Catalogue Général de la Librairie Française*; Vicaire, *Manuel de l'Amateur du Livre*; *Catalogue de la Bibliothèque Impériale*, *Catalogue de l'Histoire de France*, Vol. IX, pp. 618-619; Lowndes, *The Bibliographer's Manual of English Literature*; *The English Catalogue of Books*, *The General Catalogue of Printed Books at the British Museum*; Heinsius, *Allgemeines Bücher Lexicon*; Kayser, *Vollständiges Bücher Lexicon*; W. Kissenberth, *Ant. d'Hamilton, sein Leben und seine Werke*.

M. Kissenberth in his thesis has given a fairly complete bibliography of the French editions of Hamilton's works. The English and German editions have not, to the best of my knowledge, been yet enumerated. M. Kissenberth's bibliography is far from being as accurate as it might be. M. Brunet's edition of the *Mémoires* (1859) is entered twice, so is the edition published by Miller in 1811-12. The same honour is accorded to Renouard's edition of Hamilton's works (1813, 5 vols., 18mo.), and to the edition of the tales published for the Comte d'Artois, *Les Quatre Facardins*, which belongs to the 1749 edition of Hamilton's works is entered as a separate edition of that tale, the same remark applies to the *Œuvres mêlées* of that edition. (As a matter of fact there is a similar error in the *Catalogue of the British Museum*.) These remarks might be multiplied.

1770, but I have never come across this reprint, either in a library or in another bibliography.

1776. Reprinted with the collective title *Œuvres du comte Antoine Hamilton*, Nouvelle Edition, Corrigée et augmentée d'un volume, A Londres, 1776. (B.M. and B. Nat.)

The collective title does not appear in Vols. V and VI, the *Mémoires du Comte de Grammont*. The title-page of Vol. VII gives some additional information, viz. A Londres, Et se trouve à Paris chez Le Jay, Libraire rue S. Jacques, au grand Corneille. MDCCLXXVI.

1777. Reprinted, also 7 vols., with the collective title *Œuvres mêlées En Prose et en Vers du Comte Antoine Hamilton*. (B. Nat.) Renouard (loc. cit.) says that this reprint appeared at Bouillon, but Vol. VII has this colophon, De l'Imprimerie de F. J. Desoer, Libraire à Liège et à Spa.

A reprint also appeared that year at Berlin, Rottmann. (Heinsius.)

1805. *Œuvres complètes D'Hamilton*, Nouvelle édition, Revue, corrigée, précédée d'une notice historique et littéraire, disposée dans un meilleur ordre, et augmentée de plusieurs pièces en prose et en vers ; avec 3 portraits ; Paris, Colnet, 1805, 8vo.
1812. *Œuvres du comte Antoine Hamilton*, Paris, chez Antoine Augustin Renouard, 1812, 3 vols., 8vo. With a Notice sur la vie et les ouvrages d'Hamilton by L. S. Auger, and a continuation of the unfinished tales which has a separate title-page, *Suite des Quatre Facardins et de Zeneyde*, Contes d'Hamilton, terminés par M. de Levis. Paris, chez Antoine-Augustin Renouard, 1813. The Suite is usually, but not always, bound with Vol. III of the *Œuvres*. With 8 portraits and 4 other engravings.
1813. The same, but in 5 vols., 18mo. The different parts of this edition, the *Mémoires*, *Contes*, and *Œuvres diverses*, were sold separately and are frequently given separate entries by bibliographers.
1818. *Œuvres complètes*, Paris, Belin, 1818, 1 vol., 8vo. Collection des Prosateurs français. With a Notice signed D. (Depping).
1825. *Œuvres complètes*, précédées d'une notice par J. B. J. Champagnac et augmentées d'une suite des Quatre Facardins et de Zéneide ; Paris, Salmon, 1825, 2 vols., 8vo. With a portrait.

B. MISCELLANIES AND SELECTED WORKS

1731. Œuvres mêlées en Prose et en vers. Par M. le comte Antoine Hamilton. Paris, chez Je. Fr. Josse, 1731, 12mo. (B. Nat.)

Also in 2 vols., 12mo, with the same pagination, but different title-pages. To the above title-page has been added Tome Premier, Contenant les Poësies et les Lettres et Epîtres, and Tome Second, Contenant les Chansons et l'histoire de Zeneyde. (B. Nat.)

1731. Œuvres du Comte d'Hamilton, Auteur des Mémoires du Comte de Grammont. A Utrecht chez Etienne Neaulme, 1731, 5 vols., 12mo. (B. Nat.)

Vol. I. Le Bélier.

Vol. II. Fleur d'Epine.

Vol. III. Les Quatre Facardins.

Vol. IV. Œuvres mêlées and part of Zeneyde.

Vol. V. Id.

In Vol. I there is a note. "E. Neaulme débite aussi les Memoires de la vie du Comte de Grammont, in 12." The B.M. has a copy of Neaulme's edition of the Memoirs dated 1732, but I have never come across a copy dated 1731.

1830. Œuvres choisies d'Ant. Hamilton, Paris, A. Gobin, 1830, 8vo. Edited by Léon Thiessé. With a notice historique by L. S. Auger. Contains the Mémoires de Grammont.

The edition entered in the Catalogue of the British Museum as "Œuvres diverses du Comte Antoine Hamilton, A Londres. 1776. 12mo," and noticed by the writer on the article Hamilton in the Dictionary of National Biography, is really Vol. I of the 1776 edition of Hamilton's Collected Works, but the page preceding the title-page proper and which should read Œuvres du comte Antoine Hamilton, Tome I. Nouvelle Edition, Corrigée et augmentée d'un volume, has visibly been cut out.

C. THE MEMOIRS

("I take up a work of European celebrity and reflect awhile on its bibliographic peculiarities which may almost pass for romance. It is a Scottish work with regard to the family connexion of the author: it is an Irish work with regard to the place of his nativity. It is an English work as to the scenes which it represents; a French work as to the language in which it was written; a Dutch work as to the country in which it came to light. It was formerly printed for public sale: it has been twice printed for private circulation. It was formerly

classed as fiction: it is now believed to be history."—Notes and Queries, Vol. IX, First Series, 1854, p. 3.)

1713. Memoires | De La Vie | Du Comte | De Grammont ; | Contenant Particulierement | L'Histoire Amoureuse | De la Cour d'Angleterre, | Sous le Regne | De Charles II. | A Cologne, | Chez Pierre Marteau. | MDCCXIII | ¹ (B.M. and B. Nat.). 12mo.

1714. The Same. Seconde Edition. A Cologne chez Pierre Marteau, MDCCXIV. 12mo. (B. Nat.).

1715. The Same. A Cologne chez Pierre Marteau, MDCCXV. 12mo. (B.M.).

1716. The Same. Troisième Edition. Rotterdam, chez la veuve de Nicolas Bos, 1716. 12mo. Dedicated to Monsieur Johan van Grimpén, Conseiller et President des échevins de la ville de Schiedam. (B.M.)

[1717?]. A Contributor in Notes and Queries, Vol. IX, First Series, 1854, p. 3, mentions an edition printed at Amsterdam in 1717, and gives as his authority Catalogue de Lamy, No. 3918. This is the only mention I have ever seen of that edition.]

1731. The Same. Nouvelle édition corrigée et augmentée d'une Epître dédicatoire et d'un Abrégé de la Vie de M. Hamilton, Auteur de ces Mémoires. La Haye, P. Gosse, 1731. 12mo. (B. Nat.)

1732. The Same. Par Mr le Comte Antoine Hamilton. Nouvelle édition, augmentée d'un discours preliminaire du même Auteur. Utrecht, chez Etienne Neaulme, 1732. 12mo. (B.M.)

[1737?]. M. Kissenberth mentions in his bibliography an edition published in 1737 at La Haye, chez Jean Neaulme. 32mo. This edition is not noticed by any bibliographer, nor is it at the B.M. or in any of the libraries of Paris.]

1741. Memoires du comte de Grammont par M. le C^{te} Ant. Hamilton. Nouvelle édition, corrigée et augmentée d'un Discours preliminaire du même Auteur. La Haye, P. Gosse et J. Neaulme, 1741. 12mo. (B. Nat.)

¹ Gordon de Percel (The Abbé Lenglet Dufresnoy) mentions editions printed in 1711 and 1712 at Rotterdam (*De l'Usage des Romans*, II, p. 95). But if the Memoirs had been published as early as 1711 there would have been an English translation before 1714.

For descriptions of various copies of the 1713 ed. see Brunet, *Supplément*, p. 590; A. Claudin, *Catalogue de la Bibliothèque de Rochebilière* (1884), II, p. 333; Jules Le Petit, *Bibliographie des principales éditions originales d'écrivains français du XV^e au XVIII^e siècle* (1888), p. 478 (gives a reproduction of the title-page); *Intermédiaire des Chercheurs*, 1884, Vol. XVII, p. 491. The *Intermédiaire* notices four different copies.

1746. The same, par M. le comte Antoine Hamilton. Nouvelle édition, augmentée d'un discours préliminaire mêlé de prose et de vers, par le même auteur, et d'un avertissement contenant quelques anecdotes de la vie du comte Hamilton. A Paris, chez la veuve Pissot, Quay de Conti, à la croix d'or. 1746. 12mo. (B.M.)
1749. Memoires de la Vie du Comte de Grammont, par M. le Comte Antoine Hamilton. Nouvelle édition, Corrigée et augmentée d'un Discours préliminaire du même Auteur. La Haye et à Genève, chez les Fr. Cramer & Cl. Philibert. 1749. 12mo. Bibliothèque de Campagne, Vol. VI. (B.M.)
1760. Memoires du Comte de Grammont, par le C. Antoine Hamilton. 1760. 2 vols. 12mo. Vol. II has the colophon, De l'imprimerie de Didot, rue Pavée, 1760. (B.M. The entry in the catalogue includes '[Amsterdam?]' . One wonders whether this is the edition referred to by the writer on the article Hamilton in the Dictionary of National Biography, viz. Mémoires du Comte (sic) de Grammont. Amsterdam (?) 1760. 12mo.)
1772. The same, par M. le comte Antoine Hamilton. Nouvelle édition, augmentée de notes et d'éclaircissemens nécessaires par M. Horace Walpole. Imprimée à Strawberry Hill. 1772. 4to. With three portraits. Dedicated to Madame du Deffand. One hundred copies only were printed. (B.M. and B. Nat.)
1783. Reprinted by Dodsley, London.
- [1776. Mémoires du Comte de Grammont, par le C. Antoine Hamilton, A Londres, 1776. 2 vols. 12mo. This edition is really Vol. V and Vol. VI of the 1776 edition of Hamilton's collected works. The collective title was purposely omitted from these two volumes. The title-page of the second volume reads, in addition to the above, Tome Second. Nouvelle édition corrigée et augmentée d'un volume, which, of course, refers, not to the Memoirs, but to the Collected Works.]
1781. The same. Londres (Paris, Cazin), 1781. 2 vols. 18mo.
1781. The same. Par ordre De Monseigneur le Comte d'Artois. A Paris. De l'imprimerie de Didot l'Aîné. 1781. 3 vols. 18mo. Three copies were printed on vellum, of which one is preserved at the B.M. and one at the B. Nat.
1793. The same. Nouvelle édition ornée de 72 (78) portraits gravés d'après les tableaux originaux. Londres, Edwards [1793]. 4to. Most copies contain the Notes et Eclaircissements which have a separate pagination (pp. 77).

1794. Reprinted, with an additional portrait of the author. Contains an Avertissement sur cette nouvelle édition.
1802. The same, Paris, J. B. Fournier père et fils. 2 vols. 36mo. Bibliothèque portative du voyageur.
1811. The same. Nouvelle édition . . . précédée d'une notice biographique sur le Comte Hamilton et enrichie de soixante-quatre portraits gravés par E. Scriven. Londres (Miller) 1811. 2 vols. 8vo. Quérard also mentions a 4to edition. The above edition has been revised by Bertrand de Moleville, who also translated the notes from the 1811 English edition.
1812. The same, Paris, A. A. Renouard, 1812, 2 vols. 18mo.
1816. Reprinted. (Bibliothèque de la Sorbonne.)
1815. The same. Paris, Ledoux et Tenré; 2 vols. 12mo. With illustrations.
1818. Reprinted.
1815. The same. Paris, P. Didot, 1815. 3 vols. 16mo. With a Notice by L. S. Auger. Collection dédiée à Madame la Duchesse d'Angoulême.
1819. The same. Paris, Ménard et Désenne fils, 1819. 2 vols. 18mo. With 8 illustrations. Bibliothèque française.
1820. The same, Paris, Lebègue, 1820, 2 vols. 12mo.
Bibliothèque d'une maison de campagne.
1823. The same, Paris, Delongchamps, 1823, 2 vols. 32mo. With 2 illustrations.
1825. The same, Paris, Salmon, 1825. 8vo. With a portrait.
1826. The same. Paris, L. de Bure. 1826. 2 vols. 32mo.
Classiques français ou Bibliothèque portative de l'amateur.
1826. The same. Paris, Werdet. 1826. 2 vols. 32mo. With notes and an introduction by A. Lesourd. One portrait.
Collection des meilleurs romans français dédiée aux dames.
1827. The same. Paris, Dauthereau. 2 vols. 32mo.
1828. The same. Paris, Baudoin frères, 1828. 8vo. With a Notice by L. S. Auger. Collection des meilleurs ouvrages de la langue française en vers et en prose.
1829. The same. Paris, Guiraudet, 1829. 32mo. With a Notice by L. S. Auger. Bibliothèque choisie.
1830. The same. Paris, Hiard, 1830. 2 vols. 18mo.
1831. The same. Paris, Pourtrat frères. 1831. 8vo. With a Notice by L. S. Auger. Collection des meilleurs auteurs de la langue française.

1847. The same. Paris, Paulin, 1847. 16mo.
1851. Mémoires du Chevalier de Grammont, précédés d'une notice sur la vie et les ouvrages d'Hamilton par M. Auger . . . suivis d'un choix de ses épîtres en vers et de sa correspondance. Paris, Didot frères, 1851. 18mo. This edition also contains the voyage de Chapelle et Bachaumont.
Reprinted 1857, 1861, etc.
1859. The same, accompagnés d'un appendice contenant des extraits du journal de S. Pepys et de celui de J. Evelyn . . . des dépêches du Comte de Comminges . . . d'une introduction, de commentaires, et d'un index par G. Brunet. Paris, Charpentier, 1859. 12mo.
Reprinted 1864, 1873, 1883, etc.
1862. Mémoires de Grammont et contes. Paris, Furne et Cie, 1862, 8vo. With a notice by L. S. Auger.
1866. Mémoires du comte de Gramont, précédés d'une notice sur l'auteur par Sainte-Beuve. Paris, Garnier frères, 12mo.
1874. Mémoires du chevalier de Gramont, Paris, Librairie de la Bibliothèque Nationale, 1872. 2 vols. 32mo. (Vols. 184 and 185 of the Bibliothèque Nationale.)
1876. Mémoires du comte de Grammont, Histoire amoureuse de la Cour d'Angleterre sous Charles II, Réimpression conforme à l'édition princeps (1713). Préface et notes par Benjamin Pifteau. Frontispiece, Six eaux-fortes, par J. Chauvet. Lettres, fleurons et culs-de-lampe, par Léon Lemaire. Paris, Bonnassies, 1876, 8vo.
1876. Mémoires du Chevalier de Grammont . . . publiés avec une introduction et des notes par M. de Lescure. Paris, Jouaust, 1876. 12mo.
Nouvelle Bibliothèque Classique.
1877. Mémoires du comte de Grammont. Avec notice, variantes et index par Henri Motheau. Paris, Lemerre, 1877. 16mo.
Petite Bibliothèque Littéraire, Auteurs Anciens.
1882. Histoire amoureuse de la cour d'Angleterre. (Mémoires du chevalier de Grammont). Nouvelle édition avec notice et notes. Paris, Dentu, 1882. 16mo.
Bibliothèque choisie des chefs d'œuvre français et étrangers.
1888. Mémoires du chevalier de Grammont, Paris, Marpou et Flammarion, 1888, 16mo. Auteurs célèbres, Vol. 68.

1888. Mémoires du Comte de Grammont. Un portrait de A. Hamilton et trente-trois compositions de C. Delort gravés au burin et à l'eau-forte par L. Boisson. Préface de H. Gausseron. Paris, L. Conquet. 1888. 8vo.

D. TALES

(All the old editions are at the B.M. and the B. Nat.)

1730. Le Belier, | Conte. | Par M. le Comte Antoine | Hamilton. | A Paris Rue S. Jacques ; | Chez Jean Fr. Josse, Libr. Impr. ord. | de S. M. Cath. la Reine d'Esp. seconde | Douairiere, a la Fleur de Lys d'Or | MDCCXXX. | Avec approbation & Privilege du Roy. | 12mo.

Histoire | de | Fleur d'Epine, | Conte. |

The rest of the title-page is the same as the above, except for the vignette.

Les Quatre | Facardins, | Conte. |

The rest of the title-page is the same as that for le Bélér, except for the vignette.

1749. Histoire de Fleur d'Epine, Conte, par le Comte D'Hamilton. Les Quatre Facardins, Conte, par M. le Comte Antoine Hamilton. Le Belier, Conte ; par Antoine Hamilton.

Bibliothèque de Campagne ou Amusemens de l'Esprit et du Cœur. Tome VII, A La Haye, et se débite à Geneve, Chez les Fr. Cramer & Cl. Philibert. 1749. 12mo.

1781. Contes D'Hamilton. Par ordre de Monseigneur le Comte d'Artois. A Paris. De l'imprimerie de Didot l'ainé. 1781. 3 vols. 18mo. Only 3 copies printed on vellum ; one is preserved at the B.M. and another at the B. Nat.

1785. Le Belier, Fleur d'Epine, les Quatre Facardins in Le Cabinet des Fées. Tome XX, Amsterdam, 1785. 8vo.

Reprinted 1786. A Genève chez Barde, Manget & Compagnie, 1786. (Boston Public Library.)

1787. L'Enchanteur Faustus, Conte, in Voyages imaginaires, songes, romans cabalistiques, Tome XXXV, Amsterdam, 1787. 8vo.

1815. Contes d'Hamilton, Paris, P. Didot, 1815, 3 vols. 16mo.

Collection des meilleurs ouvrages de la langue française dédiée aux Dames.

1826. The same. Paris, L. Debure, 1826, 2 vols. 32mo.

Collection de Classiques français.

1828. The same. Paris, Dauthereau, 1828, 2 vols. 32mo.

Collection des meilleurs romans français et étrangers.

1860. Contes des fées ; par Perrault, Madame d'Aulnoy, Hamilton et Madame Leprince de Beaumont, Paris, Garnier frères, 1860, 8vo.
1862. Histoire de Fleur d'Epine, suivie de fragments choisis des Mémoires du Chevalier de Grammont. Avignon, Chaillot. 1862. 18mo.
1868. Contes des fées, Le Bélier, Histoire de Fleur d'Epine, L'Enchanteur Faustus, Les Quatre Facardins, complétés par le Grand Jacques. Paris, Librairie du Petit Journal, 1868. 4 vols, 32mo. With illustrations.
1873. Le Bélier, Fleur d'Epine, les Quatre Facardins, Zeneyde, Paris, Librairie des Bibliophiles, 1873. 4 vols. 16mo. With introductions by M. de Lescure. Les Petits Chefs d'Œuvre.
1883. Fleur d'Epine in Le Monde enchanté, Paris, Mesnil, 1883, 8vo.
1883. Le Conte des Quatre Facardins. Première Partie. Continué par M***. Toulouse, Privat, 1883. 12mo.
1892. Histoire de Fleur d'Epine. Avec illustrations de Ch. Meunier. Paris, Gédalge, 1892. 8vo.
1898. L'Enchanteur Faustus in Alexander Tille's Faustsplitter in der Literatur des sechzehnten bis achtzehnten Jahrhunderts, Weimar, 1898.

II. TRANSLATIONS

(a) ENGLISH

A. THE MEMOIRS

(All the old editions, except where the contrary is stated, are to be found at the B.M.)

1714. Memoirs of the Life of Count de Grammont : Containing, in Particular, the Amorous Intrigues of the Court of England in the Reign of King Charles II. Translated from the French by Mr. Boyer. London : Printed, and are to be sold by J. Round in Exchange Alley, W. Taylor at the ship in Paternoster-row, J. Brown, near Temple-Bar, W. Lewis in Russel-Street, Covent-Garden, and J. Graves next White's Chocolate-House in St. James's-Street, 1714. 8vo.
1719. Memoirs of the English Court During the Reigns of King Charles II and King James II, Containing in Particular the Amorous Intrigues of K.C. and K.J. Dutchesses of York, Orleans, Portsmouth, Cleveland, Richmond, Ladies

Shrewsbury, Middleton, Chesterfield, Mrs. Jennings, Mrs. Churchill, Mrs. Ballandin, Mrs. Hamilton, etc., the Dukes of Buckingham, Ormond, Dover, Montague, Earls of Rochester, Arran, Lumley, Carlingford, Lords Churchill, Cornwallis, etc. Written Originally in French by the Count de Grammont. Translated into English by Mr. Boyer. The Second Edition: To which is added a Compleat Key. London: Printed for J. Graves in St. James's Street, J. Harbin at the New Exchange, and J. Harrison at the Corner of the Royal Exchange in Cornhill, 1719. 8vo.

The key has a separate title-page. A Key to Count Grammont's Memoirs. London: Printed for J. Baker, at the Black-Boy in Pater-Noster Row, 1715. Price 2d. 8vo.

1753. *Memoirs of the Life of Count Grammont*, London, 1753. 12mo. (Lowndes II, p. 986.)

1760. The same. London, Thomas Payne, 1760, 12mo.

1793. *Memoirs of Count Grammont by Count A. Hamilton*. A new translation with Notes and Illustrations. Embellished with 76 Portraits of the principal Characters mentioned in the Work. London, Harding [1793]. 4to. (The British Critic, 1794, Vol. IV, p. 275.)

Brunet (Manuel) says that the translation is by Maddison, and according to the British Critic the notes were written by a Mr. Reid. They were translated for the French 4to edition which appeared at the same time.

1809. The same. Second Edition. London: J. White, etc., 1809. 3 vols. 8vo. With 40 portraits. A reprint of the Quarto edition. (The London Library.)

1811. The same. A new edition; to which are prefixed, a biographical Sketch of Count Hamilton and a Translation of the Epistle to Count Grammont. London, Miller, 1811. 8vo. 2 vols. with 64 portraits by Scriven. This edition has nearly 100 pages of valuable notes and illustrations from the pen of Sir Walter Scott. (Lowndes, II, p. 986.)

1818. The same. Translated with notes and illustrations. A new edition revised, London: Printed for Lackington, Hughes, etc., 1818. 2 vols. 12mo. With two portraits.

1828. The same. London, W. H. Reid, 1828. 2 vols. 8vo. With portraits.

1846. *Memoirs of the Court of Charles the Second by Count Grammont*, with numerous additions and illustrations as edited by Sir Walter Scott. London, 1846, Bohn's Extra Volume. 8vo.

1859, 1891, Revised editions.

1876. *Memoirs of Count Grammont*, London, Chatto and Windus, 1876. 8vo.
1884. *Memoirs of Count Grammont*, London, Bickers, 1884, 2 vols. 8vo.
1889. The same. Edited with notes by Sir Walter Scott. With . . . etchings . . . from original compositions by C. Delort. London, J. C. Nimmo, 1889. 8vo.
Reprinted 1896 and 1902.
1889. *Memoirs of the Count de Gramont*. Illustrated with . . . etchings and . . . portraits. Edited by H. Vizetelly. London, Vizetelly & Co., 1889. 2 vols. 8vo.
1890. *Memoirs of the Count de Grammont*. . . Translated with notes by Horace Walpole and with additional notes . . . by Sir W. Scott and Mrs. Jameson. London, Sonnenschein & Co. (1890), 8vo.
1902. The same, London and New York, the Unit Library, 1902, 12mo.
1903. *Memoirs of Count Grammont*. Edited by Gordon Goodwin. With Portraits. London, A. H. Bullen, 1903. 2 vols. 8vo.
1908. The same, Edinburgh, John Grant, 1908.
1905. The same. Edited with notes by Sir Walter Scott. London, George Routledge & Sons, 1905, 8vo. With and without etchings.
1906. *Memoirs of the Count de Grammont*, London, Hutchinson, 1906. 8vo. With a frontispiece portrait of the author.
Hutchinson's Popular Classics.
1906. *Memoirs of Count Grammont*. London, Sisley (1906). 12mo. Panel Books.
1906. *Memoirs of the Count Grammont*. . . Edited by Allan Fea. Illustrated with over one hundred portraits from original paintings. London, Bickers & Son; New York, Charles Scribner's Sons, 1906. 8vo.
1907. *Memoirs of Count Grammont*, London, Sisley, 1907, 12mo. Sisley Books.
1908. *The Memoirs of Count Grammont*. London, York Press, 1908. 8vo.

B. TALES

1760. *Select Tales of Count Hamilton*. . . Translated from the French. London, J. Burd, 1760. 12mo. (B.M.)
(The Ram. The History of the Thorn Flower. The History of the Four Facardins. The History of Zeneyde.)
1793. *The History of May Flower*. A Circassian Tale, London, 1793, 8vo.

This edition was at one time in the Public Library, Edinburgh.

1796. Second Edition. Salisbury, 1796. 12mo. With a portrait. (B.M.)
1808. The four Facardins, in Vols. II and III of *Romantic Tales* by M. G. Lewis, London. Printed . . . for Longman, Hurst, Rees and Orme, Paternoster Row, 1808, 4 vols. 12mo.
1822. The Enchanter Faustus and Queen Elizabeth. Anecdote extracted from the Doctor's unpublished Memoirs. *Blackwood's Magazine*, August, 1822. No mention is made of Hamilton.
1858. Reprinted in *Tales from Blackwood*, First Series, Vol. II.
1849. *Fairy Tales and Romances*. Translated from the French by M. Lewis, H. T. Ryde and C. Kenney. London, Bohn, 1849, 8vo.
- Bohn's Extra Volume.
(The Four Facardins, Zeneyda, The Story of Mayflower, The Ram, The Enchanter Faustus.)
1899. The four Facardins. . . . Translated by M. G. Lewis, with continuations by M. G. Lewis and the Duke de Lévis. Printed for the Lutetian Society. London, 1899. 8vo.

AMERICAN EDITIONS

1836. *Memoirs of Count Grammont*, Philadelphia. Carey & Hart, 1836. 8vo.
1888. *Memoirs of Count Grammont*, Philadelphia. Gebbie & Co., 1888. 8vo.
1901. *The Court of Charles II. Classic Memoirs*, Vol. II. New York, 1901. 8vo.
1910. *Memoirs of the Court of Charles II*. New York. F. P. Collier & Son [1910]. (*Memoirs of the Courts of Europe*. Vol. IV.)

(b) GERMAN

A. SELECTIONS

1806. *Auserlesene Schriften . . . übersetzt v. Fr. Jacobs*. Zürich, Gessner, 1806, 2 parts. Contains *Denkwürdigkeiten des Grafen von Grammont*.

B. THE MEMOIRS.

1745. Begebenheiten des Grafen von Grammont, Stockholm (Leipzig, Gleditsch), 1745.
1780. Memoiren des Grafen Grammont. Aus Hamilton's Brieftasche. Mit einer Vorrede herausgegeben von Herrn Bibliothekar Reichard. Leipzig, Weygand, 1780. 2 vols. 8vo. (B.M.)
1806. See Selections.
1853. Memoiren des Grafen Grammont. . . . In deutscher Übertragung nebst geschichtlichen Erläuterungen nach Englischen Quellen von A. Heller. Leipzig, Costenoble, 1853, 8vo and 16mo.
1911. Der Chevalier von Gramont, Hamiltons Memorien und die Geschichte . . . von Karl Federn, München, Georg Müller, 1911, 2 vols. 8vo. A new translation.
- n.d. Memoiren des Grafen von Gramont, aufgezeichnet von L. Hamilton. Illustriert von F. von Bayros. Die Übersetzung besorgte Paul Friedrich. Berlin, Felix Lehmann, 8vo.

C. TALES

- Before 1777, *Namur*, a translation of *Fleur d'Epine* (cf. the Preface to the *Memoiren des Grafen Grammont*, 1780.)
1777. Drei hübsche kurzweil. Märlein, dargestellt u. beschrieben vom Grafen Antoine Hamilton Nunmehr aber ihrer sonderbaren Lieblichkeit wegen aus dem Franzschen ins Deutsche gedolmetscht durch Görg Bider (W. C. S. Mylius) Halle, Hendel, 1777. (Harvard Library.)
1778. *Doktor Faust*, Erzählung von Hamilton in Bibliothek der Romane. Zweyter Band, Berlin, bey Christian Friedrich Himburg, 1778, 8vo.
1787. *Pertharite und Ferrandine* (an Episode of *le Bélier*). *Alboflede* (an episode of *Zeneyde*) translated and adapted by Wieland in *Dschinnistan* oder auserlesene Feen und Geister Märchen. . . . Zweyter Band, Winterthur, bey Heinrich Steiner und Compagnie. 1787. 8vo. (B.M.)
1790. *Feen Märchen* (*Der Widder*, *Dornröschen*, *Die vier Facardine*) in *Die blaue Bibliothek aller Nationen*. Zweyter Band, Gotha, Ettinger, and Weimar, Lit. Industr. Compt., 1790, 8vo. (B.M.)
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1898. Doktor Faust, the 1778 translation, reprinted in Alexander Tille, *Die Faustsplitter in der Literatur des sechzehnten bis achtzehnten Jahrhunderts*. Weimar, 1898. 8vo.

(c) ITALIAN

1814. *Memorie Del Conte Di Grammont, Scritte in lingua Francese da Antonio Hamilton ora per la prima volta recate in Italiano*. Milano. Per Sonzogno e Compagnie, 2 vols. 18mo. (Harvard University Library.)

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Manuscrit 3208. L'aventure du Chevalier de Grammont.

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