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*Proceedings of the
Huguenot Society of London*

Huguenot Society of London

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Proceedings
OF THE
Huguenot Society of London

992

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Proceedings
OF THE
Huguenot Society of London

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1898-1901

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THE HUGUENOT SOCIETY OF LONDON.

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SECOND ORDINARY MEETING OF THE SESSION,
1896-97,

HELD AT

THE HOTEL WINDSOR, VICTORIA STREET,
WESTMINSTER.

WEDNESDAY, 13TH JANUARY, 1897.

SIR HENRY W. PEEK, BART., President, in the Chair.

THE Minutes of the Meeting held on 11th November, 1896,
were read and confirmed.

The following were elected Fellows of the Society :—

- David John Vavasor Durell, Esq., 2 Temple Gardens, E.C.
William Henry Egle, Esq., M.D., State Librarian of Penn-
sylvania, Harrisburg, Pa., U.S.A.
Charles Mercier, Esq., M.D., The Flower House, Catford,
S.E.
George Boileau Reid, Esq., 1B Campden-hill Road, W.
Sir Charles Purcell Taylor, Bart., D.Sc., 2 Powis Place,
Queen Square, W.C.
Charles M. Tenison, Esq., M.R.I.A., Hobart, Tasmania.

A Paper was read by Mr. Francis W. Cross on "The
Walloon Industries at Canterbury in the Sixteenth and
Seventeenth Centuries".

THIRD ORDINARY MEETING OF THE SESSION,
1896-97.

HELD AT

THE HOTEL WINDSOR, VICTORIA STREET,
WESTMINSTER.

WEDNESDAY, 10TH MARCH 1897.

SIR HENRY W. PEEK, BART., President, in the Chair.

THE Minutes of the Meeting, held on 13th January, were read and confirmed.

The following were elected Fellows of the Society :—

The Hon. Mrs. Eliot, 8 Onslow Gardens, S. W.

Edouard Majolier, Esq., 20 Bramham Gardens, S. W.

Miss Ellen Perronet Thompson, Brokes Lodge, Reigate.

M. Marinus Godefridus Wildeman, Adjunct-archivaris,
Haarlem, was elected an Honorary Fellow.

A Paper was read by the Rev. J. B. Medley, entitled
"Notes on the *Eikon Basilike*, with a reference to some
French Translations".

THIRTEENTH ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING,
HELD AT
THE HOTEL WINDSOR, VICTORIA STREET,
WESTMINSTER.

WEDNESDAY, 12TH MAY, 1897.

SIR HENRY W. PEEK, BART., President, in the Chair.

THE Minutes of the Meeting, held on 10th March, were read and confirmed.

The following were elected Fellows of the Society:—

G. W. Cazalet, Esq., M.R.C.S., Medical Department,
General Post Office.

Francis Arthur Marlow Kirby, Esq., 18 Christchurch Road,
Birkenhead.

Harry Isaac Lefeaux, Esq., 43 Thurlestone Road, West
Norwood, S.E.

Mrs. Rylands, Longford Hall, Stretford, Manchester.

Philip Secretan, Esq., Slaugham Park, Crawley, Sussex.

The President then read the Annual Report of the Council as follows:—

*Report of the Council to the Thirteenth Annual General Meeting
of the Huguenot Society of London.*

During the past year there has been a loss of eleven Fellows, five by death and six by withdrawal, and a gain of nineteen new Fellows, the net increase thus being eight. The whole number now on the list amounts to 385. In addition to these there are eighteen Honorary Fellows, making altogether 403.

Whilst referring to the Honorary Fellows, the Council desire to express their sense of the great loss sustained by the Society and by the Commission pour l'Histoire des Eglises Wallonnes, in the death of Dr. W. N. du Rieu, who for so many years had been Secretary to the Commission and Director of the University Library at Leyden. Dr. du

Rieu was one of the first Honorary Fellows of the Society, having been elected at its foundation in 1885, and he was always ready to give any assistance he could in promoting its objects. To fill the vacancy caused by his death, the Council have recently elected Mr. M. G. Wildeman, Assistant-archivist of Haarlem.

The Treasurer's balance-sheet accompanying this Report shows an income for the year of £493 8s., and an expenditure of £442 6s. 10d., leaving a balance on the 31st December, 1896, of £51 1s. 2d. The balance this evening is £314 5s. 3d., subject to the printing and other expenses of the remainder of the current year. The Society also possesses the sum of £634 8s. 2d., invested in 2½ per cent. Consols.

The Society's thanks are due to Mr. Martin Nasmith for his kindness in continuing to make the purchases of stock from time to time required, free of all brokerage; also to the Treasurer, Mr. Roumieu, and the Auditors, Mr. Ouvry and Mr. Rousselet.

Since the last Annual Meeting, the third number of the fifth volume of *Proceedings* has been issued. The fourth number, completing that volume, is already printed, and will be issued as soon as the Index to the whole volume is ready.

The Council have great pleasure in reporting that Mr. Moens has kindly consented to edit another volume of the *Threadneedle Street Registers*, and has already begun work upon it. He has also been engaged in editing the *Registers of the Colchester Dutch Church*, which will be issued, it is hoped, in 1898.

The other quarto volumes now being printed are the *Registers of La Patente*, edited by Mr. Waller and Mr. Minet, and the Index volume of the *Canterbury Registers*, edited by Mr. Hovenden. This Index has proved a very bulky one, requiring much time and care, but is now far advanced towards completion. Mr. Kirk has in active preparation the *List of Aliens in London in the Reigns of Henry VIII. to James I.*

As a companion volume to the *Canterbury Registers*, Mr. F. W. Cross is preparing a very full history of the Walloon Church and settlement in that city, and the Council also contemplate printing the *Registers of the Huguenot Nonconformist Churches of Dublin*, with the kind assistance of Dr. La Touche.

A meeting was held in July last at Rye and Winchelsea,

a report of which has already appeared in the *Proceedings*. It was well attended, and a cordial welcome was given to the Society's representatives by the Mayors of these two ancient cinque-ports, the clergy and other inhabitants, who all combined to render the visit exceedingly enjoyable. It is not proposed to hold any Conference in the country during the coming summer, as, owing to the numerous events to celebrate the Queen's reign, it seems scarcely possible to carry out any such excursion satisfactorily.

In alluding to the approaching completion of Her Majesty's sixtieth year of sovereignty, the Council may draw attention to the special Huguenot Fund which has been set on foot to commemorate it. Particulars of this having been already sent to all Fellows of the Society, they need only say here that the Fund has had their hearty support from the beginning, and that it has now reached the amount of £870. This sum, added to the £1400 already administered by the Directors of the French Hospital, makes a total of £2270 out of the £5000 proposed to be raised. The Council trust that the remainder may be fully subscribed by the 20th of June.

The interchange of publications between the Society and the foreign Societies in correspondence has been maintained as usual, and the various *Bulletins* received from the French, Dutch, German and Vaudois Societies, show how keen an interest continues to be taken in every department of Huguenot history. These works are always most welcome here, and in return the Council are gratified to learn that the publications of the Society meet with a kindly appreciation abroad and are highly valued there.

It is not usual for the Council to allude in their Report to any very distant prospective arrangements. They feel, however, that it is their pleasant duty on the present occasion to remind the Society of the cordial invitation received a few weeks ago from the Huguenot Society of America. That Society proposes to celebrate in New York, in April next year, the 300th anniversary of the Promulgation of the Edict of Nantes, and has most courteously invited all kindred Societies in Europe to take part in the celebration. The Council hope that the Huguenot Society of London will be fittingly represented on the occasion, and they take this opportunity of saying that the Honorary Secretary will be glad to hear from any Fellows who may be inclined to go over to New York, and to afford them any information he

may from time to time receive as to the contemplated proceedings.

After the reading of the Report the ballot was taken for the Officers and Council for the ensuing year, with the following result :—

Officers and Council for the year, May 1897 to May 1898.

President.—Sir Henry William Peek, Bart.

Vice-Presidents.—Major-General Sir Edmund F. Du Cane, K.C.B.; Arthur Giraud Browning, F.S.A.; William John Charles Moens, F.S.A.; Robert Hovenden, F.S.A.

Treasurer.—Reginald St. Aubyn Roumieu.

Honorary Secretary.—Reginald Stanley Faber.

Members of Council.—Adrian C. Chamier, F.S.A.; Frederick A. Crisp, F.S.A.; John William de Grave; Major-General M. W. E. Gosset, C.B.; William John Hardy, F.S.A.; Perceval Landon; Edward H. Lefroy; Colonel E. Matthey, F.S.A.; William Wyndham Portal; Ernest Sutton Saurin; William A. Shaw; William Chapman Waller, F.S.A.

ABSTRACT OF TREASURER'S ACCOUNT WITH THE HUGENOT SOCIETY OF LONDON.
 From the 1st of January to the 31st of December, 1896.

	Dr.	£ s. D.	Cr.	£ s. D.
1896.				
To Balance brought forward from 1895	71	11	7	
Subscriptions from 284 Fellows	298	4	0	268 18 6
" " 13 (in advance)	13	13	0	
" " 4 (in arrear)	4	4	0	88 6 7
Entrance Fees from 23 Fellows (one in arrear)	28	2	0	15 9 0
Composition Fees from 5 Fellows	52	10	0	162 14 1
Sale of Publications	11	13	6	
One year's interest on Investment of Composition Fees, less Tax	15	10	11	9 8 0
Messrs. Whittingham's cheque returned in error	2	19	0	
By Cost of Printing Proceedings and List of Fellows				268 18 6
Printing Threadneedle Street Registers				88 6 7
Printing Notices and Circulars				15 9 0
Illustrations for Proceedings				162 14 1
Transcribing Threadneedle Street Registers				9 8 0
Transcribing La Patente Registers				6 11 0
				59 12 0
Searching Statutes of the Realm, Acts, etc.				66 3 0
Congress of Archaeological Societies				6 15 0
Subscription and Publications				2 10 0
Bookbinding				1 18 9
Stationery				8 11 3
Petty Cash Disbursements and Postages				92 4 9
Rent, Hanover Square				15 15 0
Rooms for Meetings, Hotel Windsor				7 7 0
Tea and Coffee after Meetings				4 9 0
Official Guests' Dinners				5 18 3
Diplomas				17 9 3
Fire Insurance				5 10 8
Bank Charges and Cheque-book				1 7 0
Assistant Secretary's Salary				0 10 0
£47 18s. 5d., 2½ per cent. Consols (see contra)				50 0 0
				52 10 0
<i>Rye and Winchelsea Conference.</i>				
Hon. Secretary's Travelling Expenses and Disbursements				4 8 7
Official Guests' Luncheons				5 8 0
Printing				4 8 6
Balance carried forward				14 0 1
				51 1 2
<i>London: 29th April, 1897.</i>				£498 8 0
Audited and found correct.				£498 8 0

CHARLES F. ROUSSELET.
 E. CARRINGTON OUVRY.

Note.—The Society now stands (January, 1897) possessed of a sum of 2684 8s. 2d., 2½ per cent. Consols representing the investment of the Life Composition Fees received from 81 Fellows since its inauguration.

FIRST ORDINARY MEETING OF THE SESSION,
1897-98,

HELD AT

THE HOTEL WINDSOR, VICTORIA STREET,
WESTMINSTER.

WEDNESDAY, 10TH NOVEMBER, 1897.

SIR HENRY W. PEEK, BART., President, in the Chair.

THE Minutes of the Annual General Meeting held on 12th May were read and confirmed.

The following were elected Fellows of the Society :—

Lieut. Frank Ridley Farrer Boileau, R.E., Elstowe, Camberley.

Lieut.-General Stephen H. E. Chamier, C.B., R.A., 64 Inverness Terrace, W.

Mrs. Gardiner, 57 Cornwall Gardens, S.W.

Jean Louis Paul Lebègue, Esq., 23 Collingham Road, S.W.

Miss Brenda Noel Melladew, 10 Norfolk Mansions, Prince of Wales Road, Battersea Park, S.W.

Wyndham S. Portal, Esq., Malshanger, Basingstoke.

The Free Public Library, New Bedford, Mass., U.S.A.

A Paper was read by Sir C. Purcell Taylor, Bart., D.Sc., on "Huguenot Inventors and their Inventions".

SECOND ORDINARY MEETING OF THE SESSION,
1897-98.

HELD AT

THE HOTEL WINDSOR, VICTORIA STREET,
WESTMINSTER.

WEDNESDAY, 12TH JANUARY, 1898.

W. J. C. MOENS, Esq., Vice-President, in the Chair.

THE Minutes of the Meeting held on 10th November, 1897,
were read and confirmed.

The following were elected Fellows of the Society :—

Hamilton Stanley Faber, Esq., 95 Fordwych Road, West
Hampstead, N.W.

Maximilian Bernard Geneste, Esq., 95 Fordwych Road,
West Hampstead, N.W.

Miss Marian Madeleine Roumieu Wylie, 7 St. George's
Terrace, Regent's Park, N.W.

A Paper was read by Mr. A. G. Browning, V.P., on
"The Origin and Early History of the French Hospital, *La
Providence*".

THIRD ORDINARY MEETING OF THE SESSION,
1897-98,

HELD AT

THE HOTEL WINDSOR, VICTORIA STREET,
WESTMINSTER.

WEDNESDAY, 9TH MARCH, 1898.

SIR HENRY W. PEEK, BART., President, in the Chair.

THE Minutes of the Meeting held on 12th January were read and confirmed.

The following were elected Fellows of the Society :—
Frederick à Brassard, Esq., 28 St. Paul's Road, Manningham, Bradford.
Mme. la Baronne Alexandre de Chambrier, Bevaix, Switzerland.

Pasteur E. Bourlier, President of the Commission pour l'Histoire des Eglises Wallonnes; Dr. Ch. M. Dozy, Secretary of the Commission, and M. J. W. Enschedé, Bibliothécaire de la Ville de Haarlem, were elected Honorary Fellows.

A Paper by Mr. Louis Gaches on "The Royal Lustring Company" was read, and Mr. W. Minet exhibited a Communion Cup, some Mereaux and an old Huguenot Book of Accounts, and gave a description of them.

FOURTEENTH ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING,
 HELD AT
 THE HOTEL WINDSOR, VICTORIA STREET,
 WESTMINSTER.

WEDNESDAY, 11TH MAY, 1898.

SIR HENRY W. PEEK, BART., President, in the Chair.

THE Minutes of the Meeting held on 9th March were read and confirmed.

Mrs. Porcher, 12 Connaught Place, Hyde Park, W., was elected a Fellow of the Society.

The President read the Annual Report of the Council and the Reports of Mr. A. G. Browning, V.P., and Mr. E. Belleruche, who had been deputed to represent the Society officially at the Commemoration of the Tercentenary of the Promulgation of the Edict of Nantes, held by the Huguenot Society of America in New York in April.

Messrs. Browning and Belleruche had been unable to return to England in time to attend the Annual Meeting, so had forwarded their Reports by post. The Society's cordial thanks were unanimously voted to them for their kindness in journeying to America for the commemoration.

The Reports were as follows :—

*Report of the Council to the Fourteenth Annual General Meeting
 of the Huguenot Society of London.*

During the past year there have been twenty losses by death and withdrawal, and thirteen new Fellows have been elected, making the total number now 377. There have also been elected three new Honorary Fellows, Messieurs Bourlier, Dozy and Enschedé, and the Honorary List is now at its full complement of twenty.

The Treasurer's Balance Sheet, accompanying this report, shows an income for the financial year of £466 3s. 3d., and an expenditure of £399 17s. 9d., leaving a balance on the

31st December, 1897, of £66 5s. 6d. The Society also stands possessed of a sum of £652 19s. 9d. in 2½ per cent. Consols, representing the investment of the Life Composition Fees of sixty-three Fellows since its inauguration.

The accounts have been examined and approved by the Auditors, Mr. E. C. Ouvry and Mr. Albert E. T. Jourdain, to whom, and especially to the Treasurer, Mr. R. St. A. Roumieu, the Society's thanks are due for the care they have bestowed upon every detail of the finances.

The Council feel that some explanation may be expected from them of the delay in the issue of the publications. This delay has been prolonged far beyond all anticipation, and is regretted by no one more than by the Council themselves. It has been almost wholly caused by the fact that two of the publications contain very full indexes, not only to their own contents but to the preceding parts which, with them, make up entire volumes. These indexes comprise references to many thousand names, and it has been impossible to do the work quicker without doing it less satisfactorily. But the publications in question (the concluding parts of the *Canterbury Registers* and of the fifth volume of *Proceedings*) are now in course of delivery, and they will be followed during the present year by others which are now rapidly nearing completion.

The usual friendly relations have been maintained with the various other Societies with which the Society is in correspondence, and there have been added to the number the Holland Society of New York and the important Archives Générales du Royaume at Brussels.

In alluding to the foreign Societies, the Council more especially desire to place on record their deep appreciation of the cordial welcome and splendid hospitality given to their representatives, Mr. Browning, Mr. Belleruche and Mr. Hovenden, by the Huguenot Society of America at that Society's recent Commemoration in New York of the Tercentenary of the Promulgation of the Edict of Nantes. That any representative of the Huguenots of England would meet with a fraternal reception by the Huguenots of America was only naturally to be expected, but the warmth and wealth of greeting shown day after day on this occasion fairly surpassed all expectation, and will, the Council feel sure, go straight to the heart of all who hear or read Mr. Browning's following Report of the proceedings.

Mr. A. G. Browning's Report on the Commemoration at New York of the Tercentenary of the Promulgation of the Edict of Nantes.

NEW YORK, 28rd April, 1898.

An American writer somewhere asserts that "next to 7 per cent. interest, a diary is the most remorseless thing in nature". I am very much of the same opinion, and therefore do not keep a diary, but occasionally (and this is one of the occasions) I wish that I did, for I am under promise to send the Society an account of the Huguenot Congress in New York which has just concluded.

The Huguenot Society of London was represented by Mr. Belleruche, Mr. Hovenden and myself. Mr. Hovenden and I (each taking out a daughter) left Liverpool together in the *Etruria*, reaching New York early on the morning of Easter Sunday. The story of our voyage would interest only those who take a mild pleasure in the misfortunes and sufferings of their neighbours; it would therefore fall upon deaf ears at a meeting of the Huguenot Society.

We landed at New York just in time to be taken to the Easter morning service at Gracechurch, the most beautiful church in the city, and there to our surprise a special welcome had been prepared for the delegates from the various European Huguenot Societies to the Congress which was about to be held. Conspicuous among the wealth of floral decoration (which surpassed everything of the kind that I have seen in England) was a magnificent wreath of dark red roses, known in America as "Huguenot Roses," at least four yards in circumference. This had been placed in the chancel by Mrs. Lawton, who has been the moving spirit of this celebration, sparing neither time, strength, nor money to ensure its success. The choir of Gracechurch is, I believe, famed on both sides of the Atlantic, and the music on Easter Sunday morning was something to be remembered. In his sermon, the Rector, after referring to the gathering war-clouds over Cuba, and to the possibility of war with Spain (a possibility which has now, unhappily, ripened into actual fact), spoke of the sufferings inflicted by Spain upon the Protestants in the Netherlands, and of her cruelty to some of the first settlers on the American Continent, and he then gave a slight sketch of Huguenot history in the seventeenth century, leading up to the Promulgation of the Edict of Nantes; an event which was to be celebrated in the ensuing week, when its

300th anniversary would be reached, and he concluded by offering a warm welcome from the Huguenot descendants in America to those who had come from beyond the seas to join in the celebration. The sudden change from the confinement and discomfort of a steamship in rough weather to this impressive Easter service at Gracechurch was simply overpowering, and he must have been dull indeed whose heart did not expand in gratitude when joining in it.

My daughter and I were most kindly received by Mrs. Lawton, whose New York home is at the Hotel Grosvenor, a kind of private hotel corresponding closely to the Belgrave Mansions in London. Here we found a suite of rooms prepared for us, and we remained as Mrs. Lawton's guests until the conclusion of the conference. On the Sunday afternoon we were asked to go down to Mrs. Lawton's rooms, where a number of persons called, including the President and Vice-President and various members of the Huguenot Society of America with their families.

On Monday, 11th April, Mr. Marquand, President of the Society, invited the foreign delegates to a reception at the Metropolitan Museum of Art. Mr. Marquand, who is now very old, was feeling too unwell to receive his guests personally, so we were welcomed by the Director of the Museum and two or three members of the Committee. It would be hopeless for me to attempt to describe this Museum, which in some of its collections surpasses both our British Museum and the South Kensington. No money has been spared to secure many of the finest treasures of the Old World in Egyptian, Etruscan, Roman and Persian Art, and in both ancient and modern sculpture and painting. I here renewed acquaintance with many a marble group and statue, and with many a painting which I had formerly seen in London. Mr. Marquand himself has given \$1,300,000 (£260,000) to this Museum, and two or three other donors of hardly less amount were mentioned to me. While speaking of dollars I may as well here say that the Huguenot descendants in New York are among its wealthiest and most aristocratic families, and that the Huguenot Society there seems to aim almost as much at bringing these families together in close touch, and in keeping would-be intruders out of the charmed circle, as at collecting and preserving the Huguenot literature of the country. So Gracechurch, the church which most of the Huguenot families attend, is "run," as the Americans say, quite regardless of expense. The clergy work very hard and

carry on a great variety of work in the parish. They also conduct missions in the poorest parts of New York very much on the lines of the Oxford House and Toynbee Hall in London, but the cost of carrying on the church services and of maintaining the choir, which is always strengthened by the best musicians, vocal and instrumental, obtainable, must be enormous. The offertories, however, are on a corresponding scale. A special appeal was made on Easter Sunday, and the collections during the day amounted to a little over £5000, a sum exasperating to a suburban London churchwarden who cannot raise £300 in a whole year!

On Tuesday, the 12th, Mrs. Lawton held a reception which was attended by nearly 200 people, senators, lawyers, doctors, officers, professors, clergymen and others, with their wives and daughters, forming a very brilliant assembly of educated Americans, who have nothing in common with the "Yankee" so persistently exhibited in England as the typical native of the United States.

The real business of the Conference began on Wednesday morning with a short service at the French Church of Saint Esprit, a Presbyterian Church where services in French, very similar to those of the Crypt Church at Canterbury, are held.

To an English churchman it seems very strange, not to say embarrassing, to hear or to read papers on secular subjects in a church, but I believe it is frequently done here in the Presbyterian churches. The first paper was read by Mr. Belleruche on the "Events that led to the Enactment of the Edict of Nantes". Mr. Belleruche was at some disadvantage, for he had prepared a paper which would take about forty minutes to read, and he was asked on short notice to cut it down to twenty. The result was naturally unsatisfactory, a good part of the time denied to the reading being taken up with verbal explanations of the omissions, but I think that the paper when printed will read more effectively. Then came a paper by the Professor of Church History in New York University on "The Edict of Nantes, Its Scope and Its Place in the History of Religious Toleration". This paper was a masterpiece; every sentence rang out clear as a bell; the principal features of the Edict were first described, then the secret or supplementary clauses and their effect upon the measure which they professed to elucidate, and the working of the whole Edict during the first years of its existence. Nothing could be clearer or

more satisfactory than Professor Jackson's treatment of his subject. His delivery too was so good that not a word was lost to his audience, nor did the interest of any one flag for a moment.

Dr. Baird followed with a paper on "The Strength and Weakness of the Edict of Nantes," just the paper that a historian would delight in writing, and one that will afford solid and useful reading in the quiet of the study, but I thought it a little over the heads of the audience.

The last and almost the best paper read on Wednesday was by M. Weiss on "The Enemies of the Edict of Nantes," and the author treated his subject with so much vigour that the rather flagging energies of the listeners were brought back to attention, and I think all appreciated both the learning and the courage of M. Weiss in showing that the enemies of religious toleration, as embodied in the famous Edict, have been steadily at work from the dawn of the Reformation in France until even a month or two ago, when Paris was covered with posters issued from a clerical college denouncing all Jews, Freemasons and Protestants as confederates of the traitor Dreyfus, and advising that they should all be hounded out of the country. M. Weiss presented a copy of this poster to be preserved among the records of the American Huguenot Society.

The reading of these papers lasted until about half past one, when the audience (or congregation?) dispersed for lunch, many of them only to gather again at the Annual Meeting of the Society at four o'clock. As an Honorary Member I was permitted to attend this Meeting, at which various matters were discussed and officers for the ensuing year were elected. Mr. Marquand, the President, retired, and Mr. de Peyster was chosen to succeed him. I took this opportunity of presenting to the Society the series of bronze medals commemorating the Massacre of St. Bartholomew and the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes with which I was charged by our own Society, and at the same time of expressing my great regret that our President, Sir Henry Peek, had been unable to personally attend the Conference and to make the presentation. I also assured the President and Council of the warm sympathy of our English Society with the purpose of their Congress, for we felt that our Huguenot forefathers should be held in continual remembrance, and that every such commemoration of their heroic faith and sufferings, and of their struggle for freedom of

conscience, must tend to strengthen the ties which hold together their descendants on whichever side of the Atlantic they may be found. After the Meeting I had to take back the medals to be mounted by Tiffany in a manner corresponding with some other medals the Society possesses, and when they are finished I shall finally present them together with the letter, a copy of which is appended to this Report.

On Thursday morning, the 14th, the members of the Society again assembled at the French Church for a short service similar to that of the previous day, and for the reading of more papers.

The first place was given to mine on the French Hospital. Perhaps because it was rather in contrast with the purely historical papers which had been read the day before, or perhaps because it treated of an institution which has an inherent interest of its own, and yet was unknown to almost every one present, the paper excited a good deal of curiosity, and I have since had to answer innumerable questions about the Hospital and its Governors, Directors, Officers and Inmates. For better or worse, one effect of my paper will be to make the French Hospital a Huguenot shrine to be visited by American pilgrims to the old country; for many have said it is one of the first places they shall want to see when they next go to London. The other papers read on Thursday were on the Huguenot settlements in different parts of America. It is the intention of the Committee to publish a Bulletin containing a complete account of this Congress with the papers more or less in full. A copy will, of course, be sent to our Society and preserved in the library.

But I suppose that to many the great event of Thursday, if not of the whole Congress, was the magnificent dinner at Delmonico's, at which about 250 of the *élite* of New York and of the Huguenot settlements in America were present. Enthusiasts gathered from all parts of the country, as well as from beyond the sea. The scene was really most brilliant. At one end of the room was a slightly raised dais, at which sat the new President, Mr. de Peyster, supported on either side by about ten delegates or most distinguished guests. M. Weiss, as delegate from the oldest Society, sat on the President's right hand, and I, in virtue of my representing the Huguenot Society of London, on his left. The Bishop of New York was placed between Mr. Hovenden and me, but he was unfortunately prevented from coming. Mr. Belleruche sat beyond M. Weiss on the other side of the

Chairman. The whole floor of the large room was occupied by round tables of varying size, at which parties of from six to twelve people sat. The decorations of the room itself and of the separate tables were superb, and of course the general effect was greatly heightened by the large proportion of American ladies in splendid toilettes and glittering diamonds. Music was provided by the orchestra and choir of Grace-church; the orchestra performing throughout the dinner, and the choir singing between the giving of each toast and the response to it. The President, Mr. de Peyster, has a reputation for after-dinner speaking, second only to that of one of the guests, Mr. Chauncey Depew. They were both said to be at their best on Thursday evening. Other speakers were Dr. Van de Water and Mr. William E. Dodge, both splendidly eloquent men, and Dr. Baird. To listen to these accomplished speakers has been to me perhaps the best intellectual treat of my life. I only regret that with such surroundings the task of speaking for the delegates from Europe and America was allotted to me. I did my best, but with a consciousness that I was a pigmy among giants. Still I hope that I made good the record of our Society, and showed the appreciation I really felt of the warmth of the welcome extended to the delegates from all parts by the latter-day Huguenots of New York. It was rather a trying position to stand before that great assembly with the English flag draped behind me, listening to the exquisite singing of our national anthem by the choir, and with the feeling that as the music softened into silence I must speak.

I cannot pretend to report the speeches I so much enjoyed. Together they must have occupied from two to three hours, but I think they will all appear in the forthcoming book.

On Friday Mrs. Lawton and the English group were invited to lunch by Mr. Marquand in his "house beautiful". As I sat at table, pictures by Reynolds, Hopner and Lawrence, all portraits of sweet women, looked down upon me. The rooms themselves and every article in them were works of the choicest art; vases, sculptures, paintings, were on every side, yet all in the most perfect accord and taste. The piano is a gem and is said to have cost £10,000, the case being decorated with paintings by Long and Tadema, and beautifully carved. In the panels of the ceiling are paintings by Leighton, Long and Tadema. It was quite bewildering to look round such a house of luxury, and yet the general tone was so subdued and quiet that there was no discord of form or colour.

On Saturday, and on the Monday and Tuesday following, we were invited to other receptions and social gatherings, but I fear that the impression already given by this account is that the Huguenot Society of America is stronger on its social than on its literary side. It must be remembered, however, that I have described a week professedly given up to social meetings and to hospitality. The Society has undoubtedly done some good work and it will do more. It has formed the nucleus of a library of Huguenot works and others bearing on the Huguenot settlements in America. I was quite surprised to see how much has been written on this subject. Numbers of articles have also appeared in the various magazines and newspapers, and these are carefully collected through a press-agency and preserved. Great efforts too are made to have the pedigrees of all members of the Society accurately worked out from Church records and other authentic documents. The weak point is that nearly the whole work of the Society during the last three years has been done by one enthusiastic lady, Mrs. Lawton. It seems incredible, but she has spent from six to eight hours a day regularly, and with hardly a break since her husband's death, at the office of the Society, assisted by only one girl clerk who can manage a type-writer, but who cannot write shorthand. Besides giving her time, Mrs. Lawton appears to provide whatever funds are needed to supplement the subscriptions to the Society. I was informed by one of the Committee that she contributed about £500 towards the expenses of this Congress. I cannot help hoping that Mrs. Lawton may see her way to devolve some of her self-imposed duties upon some well-educated and competent man who, as he gets into the work, will imbibe much of her enthusiasm, and systematise the various available energies which now appear to be working spasmodically for the Huguenot Society of America.

A. GIRAUD BROWNING.

Letter referred to in Mr. Browning's Report.

37 FIFTH AVENUE, NEW YORK,
13th April, 1898.

TO THE PRESIDENT OF THE HUGUENOT
SOCIETY OF AMERICA, NEW YORK.

DEAR SIR,—The President and Council of the Huguenot Society of London desire me to offer for the acceptance of your Society the accompanying case of bronze medals, commemorating two cardinal events in

Huguenot history, the Massacre of Protestants on St. Bartholomew's Day, 1572, and the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes, 1685. These medals were struck at the Mint in Paris from the original dies which are there preserved. They are offered *en souvenir* of the International Congress inaugurated by your Society to celebrate the Tercentenary of the Promulgation of the Edict of Nantes.

I regret exceedingly that our President, Sir Henry Peek, was unable to accept the cordial invitation of your Committee to join in this celebration, and that the Huguenot Society of London can only be here represented by myself as one of its Vice-Presidents, with Mr. Hovenden, another of its Vice-Presidents, and Mr. Belleruche. But I am commissioned to express Sir Henry's appreciation of your courtesy, and to bring warm greetings from the English branch of the great family of Huguenot descendants, with an assurance of their entire sympathy in the purpose of your celebration.

We hear much of the ties which *should* bind together the two Saxon nations of the world. I venture to think that the intelligent appreciation of common descent from a noble race actually *does* bind together very large and important sections of people whose homes are divided by the Atlantic.

I am,

Very faithfully yours,

(Signed) A. G. BROWNING,

Vice-President,

Huguenot Society of London.

Mr. E. Belleruche's Report on the Unveiling of a Huguenot Monument at New Rochelle, 27th April, 1898.

I was the only one of the four European delegates present, and the American Society was only represented by three members. On arrival at New Rochelle Station I found a good muster from the Westchester County Historical Society with their President, Mr. Wood. The untiring Mr. Henry M. Lester was ready for us with a number of carriages, and we drove at once to a lovely promontory on the Sound, across which, at a distance of five miles, we could see Long Island. Awaiting us were the members of the local committees, and after a few introductions and the singing of "America, or My Country, 'tis of Thee" (in which are strains from "God Save the Queen"), the Vicar, the Rev. W. Canedy, said very few words, because, although the weather was bright, the wind was high and trying. He then conducted to the Monument Mrs. Joseph Lambden of Rochelle, to whose exertions and liberal contributions the success of this memorial is mostly due. The Monument was then unveiled. It is a huge massive block of granite with the following inscription on a neat brass tablet: *To commemorate the coming of the Huguenots. Erected by the Historical Society of West-*

chester County. (Below, carved in the stone) *The gift of Huguenot descendants.* The spot is thought to be above the beach where the Huguenots landed. The company having adjourned to the Yacht Club House, the Vicar made an opening speech, and then introduced me and asked me to say a few words. Knowing that Mr. Wood was prepared with the speech of the day, I contented myself with apologies for the absence of my colleagues, which I regretted all the more that among them are to be found better speakers than I could boast to be. I spoke shortly of the siege of La Rochelle by Richelieu, and then Mr. Wood gave his address. He was followed by the Hon. Mr. Dillon, Supervisor (a Roman Catholic), who, in the name of the town, accepted the custody of the Monument, and undertook that it never should be disturbed. We then adjourned for refreshments.

Since the Annual Meeting was held the following letter has been received from the Huguenot Society of America :—

NEW YORK, 14th June, 1898.

THE HUGUENOT SOCIETY OF LONDON.

DEAR SIRS,—It gives the Executive Committee, on behalf of the Huguenot Society of America, great pleasure to extend to you most cordial and fraternal greetings, and to acknowledge the receipt of the beautiful and valuable case of Medals, struck in commemoration of two such great events in Huguenot history as the Massacre of St. Bartholomew and the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes.

The gracious presentation by your Vice-President, A. Giraud Browning, an Honorary Member of our Society, added, if possible, even more interest to the occasion. Mr. Browning's cordial and hearty words of greeting made us forget for the time the thousands of miles of water between the Huguenots of England and America who, although separated by geographical limits, are still bound together by the same sacred ties of Huguenot blood, and in these troublous times by the same lofty principles of right and good government, so dear to all members of the glorious Anglo-Saxon race.

Your medals will always be a valuable addition to remind us of your thought and interest.

My dear sir, we have the honour to remain,

Faithfully yours,

(Signed) FREDERIC J. DE PEYSTER, President.

LEA MC I. LUQUER, Secretary.



After the reading of the Reports the ballot was taken for the Officers and Council for the ensuing year, with the following result :—

Officers and Council for the year, May 1898 to May 1899.

President.—Sir Henry William Peek, Bart.

Vice-Presidents.—Major-General Sir Edmund F. du Cane, K.C.B. ; Arthur Giraud Browning, F.S.A. ; William John Charles Moens, F.S.A. ; Robert Hovenden, F.S.A.

Treasurer.—Reginald St. Aubyn Roumieu.

Honorary Secretary.—Reginald Stanley Faber.

Members of Council. — Lieut. - General Stephen H. E. Chamier, C.B., R.A. ; T. C. Colyer-Fergusson ; Frederick A. Crisp, F.S.A. ; Major-General M. W. E. Gosset, C.B. ; John William de Grave ; William John Hardy, F.S.A. ; Edouard Majolier ; David Martineau, J.P. ; Colonel E. Matthey, F.S.A. ; William Wyndham Portal ; Ernest Sutton Saurin ; William A. Shaw.

ABSTRACT OF TREASURER'S ACCOUNT WITH THE HUGUENOT SOCIETY OF LONDON.

From the 1st of January to the 31st December, 1897.

	Dr.	£ s. d.	Cr.	£ s. d.
1897.				
To Balance brought forward from 1896	7	51 1 2	To Printing 14 sheets of <i>La Patente Register</i>	277 0 0
" Subscriptions from 291 Fellows	2	905 11 0	" Printing 15 sheets of <i>Canterbury Regtr.</i>	86 10 0
" " " (in advance)	7	7 7 0	" " <i>Threadneedle St.</i>	
" " " (in arrear)	2	2 2 0	" <i>Register</i>	11 0 0
" Entrance Fees from 17 Fellows		17 17 0	" Printing 3 sheets of <i>Colchester Register</i>	16 10 0
" Composition Fees from 4 Fellows		42 0 0	" " <i>Lists of Fellows, Proceedings, etc.</i>	16 15 7
" Sale of Society's Publications		28 9 0		
" One year's interest on Investment of Composition Fees (Less Property Tax)		16 16 1	" Transcribing <i>Threadneedle Street Registers</i>	207 15 7
			" Abstracting Acts of Naturalization passed in the Reign of William and Mary	19 15 6
			" Subscription to the Congress of Archaeological Societies, 1896	1 0 0
			" Subscription to the Congress of Archaeological Societies, 1897	1 0 0
			" Publications	5 0 0
			" Engraving map of Friedrichsdorf	7 0 0
			" Bookbinding	2 9 0
			" Printing notices and circulars	1 4 7
			" Stationery	7 14 6
			" Diplomas	4 14 9
			" Fire Insurance Premium	1 5 1
			" Petty Cash, Disbursements, Postages, etc.	1 7 0
			" Tea and Coffee, etc., after Meetings	25 4 8
			" Use of Rooms (Hotel Windsor)	4 14 0
			" Rent of Rooms (Hanover Square)	4 4 0
			" Assistant Secretary's Salary	15 15 0
			" Cost of £37 5s. 1d. 2½ per cent. Consols (see <i>contra</i>)	50 0 0
			" Bank Charges	42 0 0
			" Balance carried forward	0 8 0
			<i>London: 28rd April, 1898.</i>	66 5 6
			Examined and found correct.	£466 8 3

REGINALD ST. A. ROUMIEU.
Treasurer.
 E. GARRINGTON OUVRY.
 ALBERT E. T. JOURDAIN.

Note.—The Society stands (January, 1898) possessed of a sum of £269 19s. 9d. 2½ per cent. Consols, representing the investment of the Life Composition Fees received from 68 Fellows since its inauguration.

Notes on the *Eikon Basilike* (Ἐικὼν Βασιλική), with a reference to some French Translations.

BY THE REV. J. B. MEDLEY.

IN offering to you "Some Notes on the *Eikon Basilike* (Ἐικὼν Βασιλική), with a Reference to some French Translations," I must ask you to remember that on many points the book is surrounded with uncertainty. There is not much cause for surprise that uncertainty rests on the authorship of the book, though the proofs for King Charles I. being the author seem to some of us to be increasingly convincing. "Who wrote *Eikon Basilike*?" is still canvassed with the same eagerness at the present time as it was a few years after its publication. It appears to me that at first all writers thought of the king as the author, whether they lived in England or translated the book into French; but in a very short time political interests, personal ambition or private necessities made it necessary that the book should be brought into disrepute as a defence and appreciation of the murdered king, or it offered itself as a tempting prize, if the claim to be its author could bring fame and position to claimants otherwise undistinguished. It is not necessary for me to mention here all the *pros* and *cons* for the king's authorship or for Dr. Gauden's. You will not expect me even to run through all the publications on one side or the other, beginning with Milton's *Iconoclastes*, or *The Image Breaker*, and going on to *The Princely Pelican*, *The Image Unbroken*, Wagstaffe's vindication of King Charles, the silence, or rather the mysterious words of Clarendon on the subject, the at first doubtful judgment of Charles II. and James II. as to the authorship of the king, followed by the distinct statement by Charles II. that the book was written by his father, the statement of Levett (the page of the royal bed-chamber) that he saw the king write that which was written in the book, the claim of Dr. Gauden to be the author, and the

testimony of Mrs. Gauden to the same effect, the defence of Dr. Hollingworth for the king's authorship and his statement "that (after her husband's death) Mrs. Gauden told a lady of good quality that she had a great concern for the eternal state of her husband, because he pretended that he was the author of that book, when to her knowledge he never wrote it" (Preface, p. xxvi., Miss Phillimore's edition of *Eikon Basilike*, 1879).

All these, and many more names and treatises concerned in this matter, I must leave to your personal research, only saying that I have never quite understood why more notice has not been taken of this after-statement by Mrs. Gauden. But whoever wishes to follow this controversy must read Dr. Christopher Wordsworth's volume, *Who Wrote 'Εικῶν Βασιλική*? published in 1824, a most elaborate statement, all on the side of the king, followed by further proofs to the same effect in 1828. At p. 51 of *A Bibliography of the King's Book, or Eikon Basilike*, Mr. Almack mentions that a correspondent writes to him upon this matter: "One day, at the time when Dr. Wordsworth was engaged upon his wonderful letters upon the subject, he found on his desk the following pasquinade:—

'Who wrote the *Who Wrote the Icon Basilike*?'
 'I,' said the Master of Trinity,
 'With my little ability,
 I wrote the *Who Wrote the Icon Basilike*?'"

I refer to this because Mr. Almack does not mention who is supposed to be the author of this epigram, and I have also found other forms of the verse. At p. 79 of Mr. W. Davenport Adams' *English Epigrams*, it is given in this form:—

"*Who Wrote Eikon Basilike*?"
 "I," said the Master of Trinity,
 "I, with my little divinity,
 Wrote *Who Wrote Eikon Basilike*?"

This is attributed to Richard Whately (1787-1863), but it is surely improbable that Archbishop Whately wrote it in this form, unless in sly sarcasm he intended to represent that after reading the book he could only come to the conclusion that the author of *Eikon Basilike* was Dr. Wordsworth himself. Who can say that the author of *Historic Doubts Relative to Napoleon Buonaparte* may not have had some secret delight in adding to the confusion of this question? There are however other forms of the epigram:—

"Who wrote *Who Wrote Icon Basilike?*"
 "I," said Wordsworth, Master of Trinity,
 "I," said the Master, with my little ability,
 "I," said Kit Wordsworth, Doctor of Divinity,
 "I wrote *Who Wrote Icon Basilike?*"

The last form of this epigram which I have heard combines some points from all these :—

"Who wrote *Who Wrote Icon Basilike?*"
 "I," said the Master of Trinity,
 "I, with my mental agility,
 I, with my little divinity,
 I wrote *Who Wrote Icon Basilike?*"

Yet of this book by Dr. Christopher Wordsworth a review in the *Quarterly* of 1825, written by Southey, says, "For more than a century and a half the authenticity of King Charles the First's Meditations has been from time to time impugned and vindicated with alternate triumph; the discoveries of new evidence have furnished new topics of dispute; and even Dr. Wordsworth's essay, elaborate as it is in argument and copious in proof, has not exhausted the question, nor removed its difficulties".

Is it not surprising that there should issue from the press, as late as 1890, a new edition of *A Monograph on Milton*, in which, as Mr. Scott says in his preface to his edition of the *Eikon Basilike*, "is a brief account of four pages of *Eikon Basilike*, wherein are reproduced all the blunders and misstatements which it was the laborious task of Dr. Wordsworth, fifty years ago, to expose and confute. Indeed his masterly letters to the Archbishop of Canterbury might as well have never been written. . . . We are told once more in direct terms that *the book was composed* by Dr. Gauden." Yet this monograph was written by a late head of a College at Oxford, where they are supposed to teach the rising generation fair, masterly and accurate views of history. It is equally surprising that in J. R. Green's *History of the English People* (vol. iii., p. 265, 1879), I read "*Eikon Basilike*, a work really due to the ingenuity of Dr. Gauden, a Presbyterian minister". Could you divine from this bald statement that Gauden was a member of Cambridge and Oxford Universities; that he took the degree of Bachelor of Divinity; that he was beneficed in Berkshire and Cambridgeshire; that though he was claimed as a Covenanter in 1643 by the Presbyterians, he himself positively denies it, and was afterwards Bishop of Exeter and Worcester. But then Mr. Green, in the Index

to the *first* edition of his history, supposes that Bishop Butler was the author of *Hudibras*, so that his ideas of authorship are somewhat hazy.

It is evident then that we need fresh light and new evidence on this question. We have this fresh light and this new evidence, and further proof for the king's authorship has come to the front. The skilful research and admirably clear statements of Mr. Scott, combined with the untiring energy and the enthusiastic love for the *Eikon Basilike* of Mr. Almack, have lately produced *A Bibliography of the King's Book, or Eikon Basilike*, in which elaborate work all who have an interest in the question will find what they want, and new evidence is, no doubt, in course of preparation.

Mr. Scott has grouped his new evidence under six heads:—

1. A memorandum of Archbishop Tenison, in his copy of Earle's Latin translation now in the Lambeth Library, which establishes on the evidence of an eye-witness the existence of a Naseby copy of the *Eikon Basilike*, which extinguishes Gauden's claim.

2. A letter from Sir C. Hatton, Sir R. Browne, Dean Cosin and Morley, which alludes to the king's original manuscript as still in existence.

3. A letter from Charles II. to M. Porrée, ten years later, in which he again terms the *Eikon* the book of the late king, his father.

4. The original advertisement of a new edition of the work in December, 1660, published by Royston, wherein it is described as the work of Charles I.

5. The three selections from Sir E. Nicholas after 1663 from the king's book, where he quotes not from a printed book but a manuscript copy.

6. The English original of John Earle's Latin dedicatory letter of his translation.

Mr. Almack's fresh information is too voluminous for me to produce here, even in a short way. Page after page of his book will repay the study of it by those who are desirous to follow out the question. I turn therefore to a reference to the French versions of the *Eikon Basilike*.

The first to which I refer is No. 57 in Mr. Almack's book. "*Εικὼν Βασιλική*, ou Portrait Royal de sa Majesté de la Grande Bretagne, etc. Imprimées à la Hay, l'an MDCXLIX." Mr. Almack adds the note: "The cataloguer

has written on the fly-leaf: [Translated by D. Caillou of Rouen. Porrée's translation appears to have been only a revision of this.]" I have compared the text of this version with M. Porrée's in twelve places and find them identical.

Messrs. Caillou or Cailloué were a family of booksellers and printers at Rouen, who came to England. Denys Cailloué, besides this translation of the *Eikon*, produced a *Prediction of the Restoration of Charles II. to His Realms*, which was published at Rouen by Jacq. Cailloué, and a translation in 1676 of Boscobel, or an abridgment of what passed after the Battle of Worcester, in 1651.

In Nos. 54 and 55 Mr. Almack gives a description of M. Porrée's translation, "*Ἐικὼν Βασιλική, Le Portrait du Roy de la Grand' Bretagne*, etc. Published à Rouen, chez Jean Berthelin. MDCXXXIX."

By the kindness of Mr. Faber I am able to mention some particulars of the Porrée family, obtained from M. Emile Lesens, who has sent extracts from the registers of the churches of Rouen-Quevilly and S. Michel, which are added in full as a supplement. In 1611 (30th Nov.) Jean Baptiste Porrée, who was a linen merchant, was married to Florimonde de Piedelièvre. He died at the age of fifty-five, but, with other children, he had two sons, Jean-Baptiste and Jonas Porrée. Jean-Baptiste Porrée, the younger, was baptised in 1612, and in 1638 married Françoise Tyndale. He was a member of the College of Physicians at Rouen and a poet. He is thought to have resided in England from 1651 to 1657, and perhaps was again in England from 1659 to 1665, and he had been for some time physician to King Charles I. in England. The burial-place of Jean-Baptiste Porrée is not known, but it is added, without doubt he was in exile from his native land. Jonas Porrée was baptised in 1619, and in 1663 married Marthe Morisse. He died on Monday, the 9th of December, 1685, about the age of sixty-two. Though he was of the Reformed Religion, he was afterwards converted to the Roman faith, and, having received the sacraments, died in the Communion of the Church Catholic, Apostolic and Roman. His body was buried in the church of S. Michel. Then follows the note: "On the 31st October the Cuirassiers arrived at Rouen, and the forced conversions at once began. J. Porrée, not being able to go into exile (he was no doubt already ill when the Cuirassiers arrived) was forced into desertion of his faith". A work called *Traité des Anciennes Cérémonies* was attributed to Jonas

Porrée, but it seems only because his name appeared at the end of a dedication to Charles II. Lucas Jansse was the principal author of this treatise.

In the catalogue of the library of M. C. Leber, tom. iii., p. 251, under the entry of *Eikon Basilike*, translated by Porrée, Paris, Loys Vendome, 1649, these words occur: "Dr. Gauden, editor of the work, was one of those to whom it had been attributed; but the judgment of disinterested men and of the better historians had given the honour to the illustrious victim whose name it bears. I do not know why M. Barbier grants it in this dry way to Gauden, without the least mention of the contrary opinion of Hume, who had taken the trouble to examine the question." Which of these two brothers, Jean-Baptiste or Jonas, is the translator of the *Eikon Basilike*, I do not feel competent to decide on the evidence at hand. One was intimately connected with the English Court for years; the other had the credit of being an author. I have looked through the lists of names taken from the registers mentioned in Burns' *History of the Foreign Refugees*, and in the register of Sandtoft Chapel, Lincolnshire, which was carefully kept from 1641 to 1681, I find the name of Matthew Porrée, but the name is nowhere else in the book. It is, however, interesting to find from the extracts from the registers of Rouen that in 1706 and 1710 two children, Robert Dugard and Marie-Anne Dugard, were baptised in the Eglise Catholique St. André de la Ville. These were the children of Robert Dugard and Françoise-Marie Porrée, who was the daughter of Jean and Marie Ferrant; so that the descendants of M. Porrée were united with the descendants of William Dugard, whose initials, G. D., Gulielmus Dugard, appear at the bottom of the verses attached to the frontispiece of the *Eikon Basilike* (reprinted in R.M., A.D. 1648). He was "the learned printer and master of the Merchant Taylors' School, who was utterly ruined at the time for the part he took in printing the king's book" (Preface to Miss Phillimore's reprint of the *Eikon Basilike*, p. lix.). I turn now to No. 56 in Mr. Almack's *Bibliography*. The title of this book is *Les Mémoires du feu Roy de la Grand' Bretagne, Charles Premier, escrits de sa propre main dans sa prison. Ou il est monstre' que le livre intitulé "Portrait du Roy de la Grand' Bretagne," est un Livre aposté & diffamatoire. Traduits de l'Anglois en nostre langue, Par le sieur de Marsys*. The date is MDCXLIX. In the frontispiece the king is represented

looking to the left and kneeling on both knees, with a crown of thorns in his right hand and his own crown on the ground, but the crown in the clouds above, which had existed in the English edition, is not there. Complaint of this is made by Charles II. in a letter to Sir Richard Brown: "He takes away the crown of glory which was in the English and Latin copies" (Almack's *Bibliography of the King's Book*, p. 134). At the bottom of the frontispiece occur the following verses, which I have been unable to trace to their source:—

Christe jubes pereat gemmis onerata corona,
Spinea nobilior spangine facta tuo est.

Mr. Almack says of this book: "This is the Huguenot version, edited by the Roman Catholics in order to expose the falseness of the translation".

De Marsys, however, claims to have made a translation of his own from the English. I have tested in many places M. Porrée's translation with De Marsys'. The heads of the chapters are, with very few exceptions, differently translated from M. Porrée's book, and in almost every chapter the translation of the text has differences. We must then, I think, allow that De Marsys made a version of his own. Of De Marsys' personal history, I have been able to obtain next to nothing. He says that he resided in England, and in the letter to Sir R. Brown he is said to have "taken his licentious liberty to stile himselfe Interprete and Maistre pour la langue Françoisse du Roy d'Angleterre Regnant a present et de son Altesse Royale, Monseigneur le Duc d'Yorke" (Almack, p. 133), a claim which Charles II. repudiates. He seems to a certain extent familiar with some English books, for he mentions that James I. wrote essays, "sur le dessein qu'il avoit de reconcilier les Eglises Chrestiennes," and mentions "c'et ouvrage, . . . que le Roy Jacques laissa à ses enfans qu'il nomme don Royal," but every now and then in correcting M. Porrée's expressions he shows his knowledge of the meaning of English words is not complete. In the English *Eikon Basilike*, for instance, chap. xv., sec. 46 (42 in De Marsys), the words run, "all the odious reproaches which *impotent malice* can invent". M. Porrée translates this by "malice impuissante," and De Marsys corrects him by "malice effrénée". But his great object in his *Advertissement* is to show that M. Porrée's translation entirely misrepresents the king's religion; that M. Porrée by his false translations and animus had made

out the king to be a Huguenot, while in reality, in De Marsys' opinion, "ce Prince est en quelque façon Martyr de l'Eglise Catholique". He continues: "Si Thomas Morus est Martyr, parce qu'il a perdu la teste pour la defense de la superiorité du Pape, pourquoy ce Prince ne le sera-il pas, puis qu'avec la teste il a perdu la Couronne, pour n'avoir pas voulu consentir à la persecution des Catholiques, à la mort barbare des Prestes, à la propagation du Calvinisme & des autres Sectes, & pour avoir defendu la dignité Episcopale, parce qu'elle est d'institution divine, pour Prières réglées, & tous les autres beaux restes de l'eglise Catholique, qui estoient autant d'acheminemens à une heureuse reconciliation". At p. 130 of Mr. Almack's book you will find a letter mentioned, in consequence of which Sir C. Hatton, Sir R. Brown, Dean Cosin and Morley, Bishop of Winchester, all resident in Paris, sought to have an interview with De Marsys, and found great difficulty in doing so. When they met him they demanded why he called M. Porrée's book "Aposté et Diffamatoire," and why he had so "vilified that edition, which he knew his Majesty that now is had well accepted of". To this and other points of mistranslation and misrepresentation De Marsys made no satisfactory explanation, and on p. 133 of Mr. Almack's book you will find that Charles II. commanded De Marsys' book "to be publicly burnt in our Isle of Jersey by the Hande of the Common Hangman," and gave order for a new translation and edition of the *Eikon Basilike*, "to be prepared and set forth by M. Testard, one of the Pastors of Bloys, an able man, and well affected both to our blessed ffather's Honour and ours and to the welfare of the Church of England". Then follow three pages full of charges against De Marsys of mistranslations, misrepresentations, of false and slanderous passages in his book. De Marsys must have been a bitter and unscrupulous controversialist. He was the author of *Histoire de la Persécution présente des Catholiques d'Angleterre*, which Queen Henrietta Maria flung away as she was reading it, on account of the false charges against her honour in the dedication to herself. I think that I must leave M. De Marsys to Charles II.'s common hangman and pass on to my concluding words.

I have thought that it would be interesting to try and find some answer to the question, What was it that caused such interest in the *Eikon Basilike* among the French, if not to the whole nation, yet certainly special interest to the Huguenots? What were the causes which led to 4000

copies of M. Porrée's translation being sold within twelve months after the king's death? In the first place, I think the shock of the king's execution was much greater to people at the time than we can estimate at this distant date. We certainly see that it enlisted sympathy in England towards the king, and there must have been thousands who were opposed to him who never anticipated that he would be executed. We see this in what happened at the king's trial and also in what is recorded in private diaries. At the trial, when the name of Fairfax, the Lord-General, was called, no one answered, but on its being repeated a voice was heard to say: "He has more wit than to be here"; and, when later on, the charge against the king was stated to be "on behalf of the people of England," a voice exclaimed: "No, not the half of the people—it is false! Where are they or their consents?" (*The Trials of Charles the First*, published by Murray in 1845).

It is not so long ago that in reading the manuscript diary of Sir Thomas Mainwaring, I came to the 30th of January, 1648-49. It was his custom to put down on many days "nothing remarkable". He was a follower and supporter of Cromwell, but when the news of the king's death reached him in Cheshire, he scratched out "nothing remarkable" and wrote over it, "On this day Charles I. was murdered". The fact that Charles' Queen was a Frenchwoman must, no doubt, have aroused some interest in his behalf, and the strong praise of Charles by De Marsys, though used for his own purposes, shows, I think, that the sufferings of the king had excited sympathy in quarters which would not have been otherwise attracted by him. There was, as well, a strong feeling of the English towards the Protestants in France. The sailors who had been sent to Rochelle in 1625 declined to serve against the place. Their commander, Pennington, declared that he would rather be hanged in England for disobedience than fight against his brother Protestants in France. The Duke of Buckingham, under an excuse, persuaded them to return to Dieppe, but when they found that they had been deceived, Sir Ferdinando Gorges broke away and returned to England, while the officers and sailors of the other ships immediately deserted (*Hume's History of England*, vol. vi., p. 208).

And when, in 1627, Soubize, a leader of the Huguenots, came to London to solicit their protection by Charles, he represented "that the reformed in France cast their eyes on Charles as the head of their faith, . . . that so long as their

party subsisted Charles might rely on their attachment as much as on that of his own subjects" (Hume's *History of England*, vol. vi., p. 235). With some interruptions and misunderstandings the Huguenots and other foreign Protestants have traditions of protection and welcome from Edward I., Richard III., Edward VI., Queen Elizabeth, James I. and Charles I. The distaste which at first was felt by French Protestants towards Cromwell's Government gave way before his intercessions to European powers on behalf of the persecuted, but an extract from Agnew's *Exiles from France* will show how strong at one time was the bond between them and the Royal cause. He says: "The most celebrated writers against the execution of Charles I. were French Protestants. . . . The name of Claudius Salmasius was in French Claude Saumaise. It was his attack on the executioners of King Charles that drew forth John Milton's first defence of the Commonwealth of England. More notably connected with the Protestants of France is the name of Du Moulin, latinized Molinæus. Two sons of the great French pastor of that name adopted England as their country and both abjured Presbyterianism, Louis becoming an Independent and Pierre becoming an Episcopalian clergyman. The former, while clearing all religious parties of the guilt of the king's murder, was a polemical author against the English Presbyterians. The latter, . . . wrote the curious little book, for whose title-page the printer contributed his blood-red ink, to impress upon the reader that the king's blood was crying from the ground for vengeance. 'Regis Sanguinis Clamor ad cœlum adversus parricidas Anglicanos.'"

I feel certain that in time fresh evidence will be won from letters in private collections, from the stores of the British Museum, from information on the other side of the Channel, perhaps from documents in cathedral or other libraries, to settle the question of the authorship of the *Eikon Basilike*, finally and conclusively. There was in Cromwell's time a statue of Charles I. in the Exchange. This was thrown down, and on the pedestal was inscribed, "Exit tyrannus, Regum ultimus" (Hume's *History of England*, vol. vii., p. 151); but in this royal year of 1897 we are not going to obliterate the constitutional regal throne. In Charing Cross there now stands a statue of Charles I., which, as 30th January comes round, is decorated by devoted sympathisers. That statue has a very remarkable history of its own. It is

the work of Hubert Le Sueur, and "Walpole narrates that it was sold by the Parliament to one John Rivet, a brazier, living at the Dial near Holburn Conduit, with strict orders to break it to pieces. Instead of doing this he concealed it in the vaults under the Church of St. Paul, Covent Garden, and making some brass handles for knives, and producing them as fragments of the statue, realised a large sum by their sale, as well to Royalists who bought them from love of the king, as to rebels who saw in them a mark of their triumph. At the Restoration this statue was mounted on its present pedestal" (*Walks in London*, by Augustus Hare, vol. i., p. 3). May we not hope that in time proofs may come from their concealment to show, with a clearness which will satisfy all, that Charles I. is the royal author of the *Eikon Basilike*?

APPENDIX I.

(Notes contributed by the late M. Émile Lesens of Rouen.)

FAMILLE PORRÉE.

EGLISE DE ROUEN-QUEVILLY.

- 1611 30 novembre, annonce de mariage de JEAN-BAPTISTE PORRÉE (père de Jonas), fils de Jean & de Jeanne Paillette, avec Florimonde de Piedelièvre, fille d'Isaac & de Florimonde du Coudray.

ENFANTS :

- | | | |
|------|---------------------|--|
| 1612 | 18 mars | Baptême de Jean-Baptiste, |
| 1619 | 22 X ^{bre} | „ de Jonas, |
| 1622 | 2 janvier, | „ de Florimonde, mariée à Guillaume Dubuc, décédée à 62 ans, en 1684, à Rouen, paroisse de la Ronde, |

plus un fils, nommé Pierre, né en 1616, décédé en 1640. Jean-Baptiste Porrée est décédé le 26 août 1631, sur la paroisse de S^t Vincent de Rouen, à l'âge de 55 ans. Il était marchand de lin.

Le 29 octobre 1644, décès de Claude Porrée, 65 ans, veuve de Robert Haillet, vinaigrier, paroisse S^t Vivien de Rouen. Elle était sans doute sœur de Jean-Baptiste Porrée, marchand de lin.

- 1638 5 novembre, mariage de Jean-Baptiste Porrée, 26 ans, fils de feu Jean-Baptiste, & de Florimonde de Piedelièvre, avec demoiselle Françoise Tyndale, fille de Thomas, écuyer, sieur de Quinton, S^{te} Marie, & de demoiselle Dorothee Stalfort.

ENFANTS :

- | | | |
|------|------------|--|
| 1640 | 10 mars | Baptême de Jean, |
| 1641 | 1 octobre | „ de Henry, |
| 1642 | 16 octobre | „ de Thomas, |
| 1645 | 14 mai | „ de Jonas, |
| 1648 | 9 juillet | „ de Pierre, |
| 1650 | 2 octobre | „ de Françoise & Guillaume
(jumeaux), |
| 1658 | 22 janvier | „ d'Anne, |
| 1666 | 6 juin | „ de Geneviève. |

De 1651 à 1657, Jean-Baptiste Porrée, a probablement résidé en Angleterre. Peut-être était-il aussi en Angleterre de 1659 à 1665. Il a été médecin du roi Charles I^{er} d'Angleterre.

Guillaume baptisé le 2 octobre 1650, est décédé en bas âge sur la paroisse S^t André de la ville.

Jean-Baptiste Porrée, époux de Françoise Tyndale, était médecin du collège des médecins de Rouen, & poète. On ne connaît pas ses poésies.

Il a été quelque temps médecin de Charles I^{er} d'Angleterre.

Voir Ed. Frère, Bibliographe Normand.

„ Haag, France Protestante.

On ignore le décès de J.-B. Porrée. Il s'est sans doute réfugié à l'étranger.

- 1663 8 Avril, annonce de mariage de JONAS PORRÉE, fille de feu Jean-Baptiste, marchand de Rouen, & de Florimonde de Piedelièvre, avec Marthe Morisse, fille de feu Louis, marchand à Rouen & maître brasseur, & de Suzanne de Lastre.

ENFANTS :

- 1667 17 juillet, baptême de Françoise (en 1664, un enfant mort en bas âge).
- LOUIS MORISSE, beau-père de Jonas Porrée, a été marié à Rouen le 27 Décembre 1616 : mariage de Louis Morisse, fils de Pierre, & de Martine de Cailleville, de la paroisse d'Allouville-en-Caux (près Yvetot), avec Suzanne de Lastre, fille de feu François & de Suzanne Mahier.

EGLISE CATHOLIQUE ST.-MICHEL, DE ROUEN.

DÉCÈS.

Le lundi 9^e jour de décembre 1685, mourut M. JONAS PORRÉE, âgé de 62 ans ou environ (en réalité il avait 66 ans), ci-devant de la Religion Prétendue réformée, depuis converti, & après avoir reçu les sacrements, décédé en la communion de l'Église Catholique, apostolique & romaine, dont le corps a été inhumé dans l'église de S^t Michel le 11 du dit mois.

Signé : J. CÉCILLE.

J. LEMYRE, prêtre.

Le 31 octobre 1685, les Cuirassiers arrivèrent à Rouen & les conversions forcées eurent lieu aussitôt. J. Porrée ne pouvant s'exiler fut forcé de se convertir. Il était peut-être déjà malade à l'arrivée des Cuirassiers.

- 1666 25 avril, annonce de mariage de Jean Porrée, médecin, 26 ans, fils de Jean-Baptiste, aussi médecin & de Françoise Tyndale, avec Marie Ferrant, fille de feu André & de Marie de Gillon. (Baillé extrait pour se marier à Paris.)

ENFANTS :

- 1670 27 mai, Baptême de Françoise-Marie,
 1671 24 juin, „ de Jean-Baptiste,
 1673 4 mai, „ de Marie-Anne,
 plus 3 enfants morts en bas âge.

En 1701, un Jean Porée était réfugié à Berlin. Lequel ? Sans doute celui marié en 1666.

1706 EGLISE CATHOLIQUE, ST.-ANDRÉ-DE-LA-VILLE.

- 1706 10 juin Baptême de Robert Dugard,
 1710 12 juillet „ de Marie-Anne Dugard,
 enfants de Robert Dugard & de Françoise Marie Porrée. Cette dernière née en 1670, fille de Jean, & de Marie Ferrant.

CATALOGUE DES LIVRES DE LA BIBLIOTHÈQUE DE M. C. LEBER, tome ii., page 22, petit in-8.

Traité des Anciennes Cérémonies, etc.

“ Cet ouvrage est attribué à JONAS PORRÉE, protestant anglais (erreur) dont le nom, suivant l'observation de M. Barbier, se lit au bas de l'épître dédicatoire à Charles II.,

mais d'après cette même épître, qu'il aurait fallu consulter pour en apprécier la signature, Porrée ne serait point l'auteur du traité principal auquel il n'aurait fait qu'ajouter une préface et un appendice. Voici ses propres termes : J'avoue, sire, que dès que j'eus vu cet ouvrage, j'eus pour lui une telle amitié que je formai le dessein d'en solliciter une seconde édition, quoique son auteur, pour lequel j'ai beaucoup d'estime, me soit jusqu'à présent une personne inconnue, quelques raisons qu'il pouvait avoir par devers lui, l'ayant, comme je crois, porté à cacher son nom. J'ai cru que je ne lui rendrais pas un mauvais office si, sans toucher à ce qui est du sien, j'apportais à sa production quelques illustrations tirées de mes propres observations." (Ces illustrations consistent dans la préface occupant 40 pages, & le supplément depuis la page 115 jusqu'à la dernière de l'ouvrage, chiffrée 174.)

Le principal auteur du *Traité des Anciennes Cérémonies* doit être Lucas Jansse, pasteur de Rouen, auteur de l'ouvrage : *La Messe trouvée dans l'Écriture*, condamné par le Parlement de Rouen. Rien de certain à cet égard.

CATALOGUE LEBER, tome iii., page 251.

Eikon Basilike : Le portrait du roy de la Grande Bretagne (Charles I^{er}), fait de sa propre main durant sa solitude et ses souffrances, traduit par PORRÉE ; édition revue & augmentée. Paris : Loys Vendome, 1649, petit in-12.

“ Ce livre parut sans le nom du roi quelques jours après la consommation du régicide. Ses ennemis prétendirent que Charles n'en était pas l'auteur parce qu'ils ne pouvaient pas y reconnaître un mérite que proclame l'attendrissement de tout un peuple, & qui tournait à leur confusion. Le docteur Gaudin, éditeur de l'ouvrage, fut un de ceux auxquels on l'attribua ; mais le jugement des hommes désintéressés & les meilleurs historiens en ont laissé l'honneur à l'illustre victime dont il porte le nom. J'ignore pourquoi M. Barbier le donne sèchement à Gaudin, sans faire la moindre observation sur le sentiment contraire de plume, qui valait pourtant la peine d'être examiné.”

BRUNET : MANUEL DU LIBRAIRE.

PORRÉE, JONAS : *Traité des Anciennes Cérémonies* :

“ Ouvrage peu commun. On n'en connaît pas l'auteur. Jonas Porrée s'est nommé au bas de l'épître dédicatoire à Charles II. Barbier (*Dictionnaire des Anonymes*) en cite une

édition, Amsterdam, 1646, petit in-8 ; un autre petit in-8, sans date, dont le titre porte : *se vend à Charenton chez Olivier de Varennes*, aurait été imprimé à Genève & revu, retouché & augmenté par l'éditeur. Selon le catalogue de Bellenger No. 2371, une édition de Charenton (Paris), De Varennes, 1662, est portée dans le catalogue de Barre No. 1171. Enfin, le même ouvrage a reparu sous le titre : *Histoire des cérémonies ou superstitions qui se sont introduites dans l'Eglise*. Amsterdam : Frédéric Bernard, 1717, in-12, sans l'épître dédicatoire & sans nom d'éditeur."

On the Origin and Early History of the French Protestant Hospital (La Providence).

By ARTHUR GIRAUD BROWNING, F.S.A.,

VICE-PRESIDENT OF THE HUGUENOT SOCIETY OF LONDON, AND DEPUTY-
GOVERNOR OF THE FRENCH HOSPITAL.

It will, I think, be readily conceded that an inquiry into the origin and early history of the French Hospital lies well within the range of subjects proposed for investigation by the Huguenot Society of London. It may also be assumed that the story of this splendid and lasting memorial of Huguenot piety will have a strong personal interest for our Fellows, some of whom as governors or directors are charged with its present administration, while many others are related to present or past directors, and some, I believe, can even claim descent from the actual founders of the hospital.

Those of us who have exalted the study of Huguenot history almost into a *culte* need no reminding of the influence which long years of persecution had in forming the character of the later Huguenots, nor of the desperate condition in which they were placed by the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes.

Towards the close of the seventeenth century there could scarcely have been one Protestant family left in France who had not given martyrs to the faith, or a single Protestant who had not felt in one or other of its many hideous forms persecution on account of his religion. Thousands had been exiled from France by special decrees of banishment, and tens of thousands had fled from the still more cruel edicts of Louis XIV. These may be counted the happiest among their fellows. For throughout France the wheel, the gallows and the stake had claimed their victims. Houses were still desolate that had been ruined by the *missionnaires bottés*, the colleges and convents were filled with children torn from

their parents to be brought up in the king's religion, the gaols were overflowing with prisoners for conscience sake, and the galleys were thronged with *forçats pour la foi*—devout men condemned to a life of slavery for the crime of proclaiming that liberty wherewith Christ hath made us free.

In all their trials the Huguenots had paid the closest attention to the education, most of all to the religious education, of their children. With the chief books of the Bible all were familiar. It was an almost universal custom for the children of the family to learn daily a psalm or a chapter from the New Testament, so that in time the ordinary speech of the people fell into the Biblical form and consisted largely and often unconsciously of quotations from the Scriptures. Their religious belief was thus formulated with startling clearness, and it engendered the very strongest sense of personal responsibility, each man believing that he stood face to face with his Maker, with no authority intervening. Consequently their lives and actions were governed by principle, not by impulse; they were honest and truthful on principle, industrious and painstaking on principle, sympathetic and compassionate on principle.

We know that among the refugees who were cast upon our shores many in an ecstasy of gratitude to Almighty God fell upon their knees, and, passionately kissing the soil of this free land, dedicated their newly given lives afresh to God and to His service.

“Our soul is escaped” (we can almost hear them crying) “even as a bird out of the snare of the fowler, the snare is broken and we are delivered, therefore unto Thee, O God, will we pay our vows, unto Thee will we give thanks.”

Now, the Huguenots were by no means the sort of people to cry unto God in their trouble and to forget Him when He had delivered them out of their distress. In spiritual as in secular things, what they had promised that, God helping them, they performed, and accordingly we find that as many of the refugees began to prosper in their new country they gave practical expression to their gratitude by showing an extraordinary amount of helpfulness to their less fortunate brethren.

In the very early days of the immigration arrangements were made for the reception of the refugees on their landing and for passing them on to their desired destination, while in London committees were formed for helping the new-comers to find relatives and friends who had already arrived, for

grouping together refugees from the same districts in France (so as occasionally even to reunite congregations under their old pastors), for finding suitable employment and providing suitable tools for those who could work, and for tending the sick, infirm and aged who were helpless strangers in a strange land.

So the actual origin or *germ* of the French Hospital is, I think, to be discerned in the spirit of self-dedication to which I have referred. The germ grew with the exercise of that spirit. The blade first became visible when resolve crystallised into action, and many of the more prosperous refugees devoted themselves to dispensing the royal bounty and their own among their suffering brethren. It developed into the tender plant when Jacques de Gâtigny by his will bequeathed £1000 for providing bed and board for at least twelve of the poorest sort of his nation. The plant grew under the enthusiastic care of Gâtigny's executor, Philippe Ménard, who, after a brief negotiation with the city of London, which happily failed, treated the bequest rather as a suggestion of what was needed than as a provision of adequate relief; and who, with the help of his friends and fellow-commissioners for the administration of the royal bounty, elaborated a scheme for a kind of *Société de Bienfaisance*, having for its chief feature a hospice for the reception of a considerable number of the poor sick and infirm among the exiles. Lastly, the full corn in the ear was reached when Ménard and his friends, having bought land and made good progress with their buildings, petitioned the king for a Charter of Incorporation to give stability and permanence to the new charity, and their petition was granted.

The institution so incorporated differed as widely from that contemplated by Gâtigny as the ripe corn differs from the springing blade.

Thus the generally accepted tradition that the French Hospital owes its existence solely to the bequest of Jacques de Gâtigny will not, I think, bear the test of strict investigation.

For the *origin* of the institution we must look far behind the will of Gâtigny, even to the very moment of landing on our shores of many of the Huguenot refugees.

For the development of Gâtigny's kindly but crude project we must watch the action of his colleagues on the committee charged with the administration of the royal

bounty, notably that of his friend and executor, Philippe Ménard.

I propose this evening to follow the evolution of the French Hospital through these stages—to make such slight reference as time will permit to the governor, deputy-governor, and some of the other thirty-seven directors named in the charter, and to give some account of the working of the institution up to the death, in 1737, of Philippe Ménard, its first chaplain, its first secretary, I had almost said its practical founder.

Since 1681 briefs had occasionally been issued by the reigning monarch of this country for collections towards the relief of the French Protestant refugees, that of March, 1685-6, is especially noticeable as having been issued by James II. under the strong pressure of public opinion and entirely against his own inclination. That which was ordered by William and Mary in 1694 was continued until 1702, and there were others later. The collections made in the churches throughout the country in response to these briefs, though very large, were still inadequate to provide for the needs of the enormous number of necessitous French Protestants who fled to our shores from the dire persecutions then raging in France. The collections were accordingly supplemented by occasional Parliamentary grants and by gifts from the privy purse of the sovereign. Mary, Queen of William III., set aside £15,000 a year from her jointure for the relief of the poor French Protestants. At her death William religiously maintained this and other of her benefactions; and Queen Anne on her accession expressly declared her intention of continuing the annual gift of her predecessor to the poor French refugees. At her death, however, it was found to be over two years in arrear, but the arrears were made up and the grant continued by George I., at least until after the date of the charter of the French Hospital.

So that during the ten years, from 1706 to 1718 (which we may call the incubation period of the French Hospital), in addition to any pensions included in the general pension list, a sum of £15,000 a year (when not in arrear) from the privy purse, supplemented by collections in the churches and by gifts from the wealthier refugees and their English sympathisers, was distributed among the poor sick and infirm French Protestants or expended for their benefit. These combined funds were known by the common but

insufficient name of the "Royal Bounty," and they were dispensed by two French committees working under and directly responsible to English Lords Commissioners appointed by the Crown. The first was called the Clerical Committee, and was specially charged with the relief of the distressed pastors and the maintenance of their churches; the second was called the Lay Committee, and to their care the general body of the refugees was assigned.

It is plain from a variety of records that these committees worked together for the common good, and this in spite of not infrequent complaints of malversation and favouritism which in such circumstances are almost inevitable. It appears that latterly the two committees were merged into one.

In the year 1708, and perhaps for some six or seven years earlier, Jacques de Gâtigny was a member of the Lay Committee. Born in France, he fled at the Revocation to Holland and entered the service of the Prince of Orange, and when that prince came over to England in 1688 we find Gâtigny in his suite as Master of the Buckhounds. He seems to have attended his old master, now William III. of England, in all his campaigns.

In the year 1700 Gâtigny was awarded a life pension of £500 per annum. One account I have read states that he was pensioned for his gallant conduct at the Boyne. It seems strange that the recognition of his gallantry should have been so long delayed, but then I believe that instances are not unknown even in this our day of still longer intervals than ten years separating the gallant deeds of our soldiers and sailors from their well-merited reward. It is probable that Gâtigny retired from public service on his return from Ireland; it is certain that as one of the committee for the distribution of the royal bounty he devoted the last years of his life to the amelioration of the condition of his fellow-exiles. In connection with this work he first met Philippe Ménard, one of the Clerical Committee, who later became his great friend and ultimately his executor. The provisions of Gâtigny's will grew naturally out of his most absorbing pursuit.

The city of London had, among many other acts of kindness to the refugees, permitted them the use for their sick and infirm of a house in the parish of St. Giles', Cripplegate, "which, having been formerly used as an hospital in times of contagion, was called the Pest House".

Here Gâtigny was a frequent visitor. It is recorded that he found the house so old and unsuitable and the accommodation it afforded so inadequate that he longed to see his poor fellow-countrymen housed in a building with appointments suited to their French tastes and habits and served by their own kinsfolk, but his will, which was apparently made in his last illness (for he died soon after making it), went no further than to "bequeath £500 to the Pest House for to build there some apartments, there to lodge at least twelve poor infirm or sick French Protestants—men or women above the age of fifty years—and £500 more to be invested and the revenue thereof employed to furnish beds, linen and clothes, and other necessities of the said poor French Protestants who shall be in the said place".

The testator proceeds to direct that the two sums of £500 shall be put in the hands of the French committee for the distribution of the royal bounty, who shall employ the said sums as mentioned in the will and shall give an account thereof to the English Lords Commissioners, and he specially charges his executor to take care the whole be executed according to his intention.

There is here no suggestion of building a new hospital, but only of adding accommodation for twelve more poor people to the existing Pest House. The idea of bringing Gâtigny's bequest into harmony with his known wishes and making it the starting-point in a scheme for a new hospital carefully constructed and arranged to meet the needs of the poor infirm and sick French Protestants arose, as we shall see, some years after his death.

Jacques de Gâtigny seems to be presented to us in his will as a solitary bachelor, with a heart overflowing with kindness and sympathy. Neither wife nor children, nor indeed any relations are mentioned. After making confession of his faith his first thoughts are, as I have shown, for his poor infirm and sick co-religionnaires, in ministering to whose comforts he had spent the last years of his life. He passes on to the remembrance of a few old friends and again turns to the poor of his nation, leaving 200 pieces or pounds sterling to be distributed among them by the French committee. He then thinks of his servants, naming each and leaving to each a bequest which seems to be the result of careful thought and to have special fitness for the individual legatee.



JACQUES DE GÂTIGNY. ✠ 1708.

FOUNDER OF THE FRENCH PROTESTANT HOSPITAL.

*From an oil painting in the Court Room of the Hospital, by permission
of the Court.*

He leaves among other things to Cæsar, his *valet de chambre*, "the three silver rings and six spoons and six forks which are in the ancient mode". At the French Hospital there are twelve three-pronged silver forks bearing the Hall Mark 1722. These are generally considered to be among the first made in England, and on account of their rarity to be worth almost their weight in gold. A bequest of £100 to the newly-founded Society for the Propagation of the Gospel is followed by one or two other legacies to friends, and then, giving quite an idyllic form to the will, his thoughts revert once again to his fellow-exiles, and he directs £200 to be distributed among twenty of the refugee ministers who may have need of it.

But in relation to our present subject by far the most important provision in Gâtigny's will, next to his legacy of £1000, is the appointment of Philippe Ménard, "Minister of the Word of God," as his executor and administrator.

Two brothers, Jean and Philippe Mesnard (or Ménard, as the name was latterly spelt), were at the date of the Revocation among the most prominent Huguenot ministers in France. The elder had many years before been in England ministering to the French congregation at Thorney Abbey under Daunois (who held the pastorate of that place for twenty-two years). In 1670, although then only twenty-seven years of age, he was called to succeed the famous Drelincourt at the great temple of Charenton near Paris. Here he was associated with Claude, Allix, De L'Angle and others, and it was he who preached the last sermon in that historic church only a few days before its demolition by order of the king in October, 1685. The younger brother was pastor at Saintes. Both were driven from France by the general decree of banishment of Protestant ministers embodied in the Edict of Revocation. Jean fled to Holland and became chaplain to the Prince of Orange, while Philippe took refuge at the Danish Court, and was placed by Queen Charlotte Amelia in charge of the French church at Copenhagen.

The brothers, however, soon gravitated to England, and we find them very early in the eighteenth century working together on the committee for the distribution of the royal bounty, the first as D.D. and canon of Windsor, and the second as minister of the French Chapel Royal at St. James'.

Very little indeed has been published concerning the French Hospital, probably because the foundations of the

institution were so well and so broadly laid by the first founders, and its administration has been so carefully conducted that appeals for help outside the body of governors and directors have been exceedingly rare. To that circumstance I attribute the scarcity of published accounts. A short reference is to be found in Maitland's *London* (1756). Agnew in his *Protestant Exiles from France* devotes a chapter to it, which Smiles in his work on the Huguenots condenses into a paragraph or two. Occasional articles have also appeared in magazines and periodicals, but to one seeking more than the most superficial knowledge these accounts will afford but little help.

The information contained in this paper is derived from three principal sources:—

1. The *Grand Livre*, the first minute books and other early MS. books at the hospital.
2. The record of a meeting of the French Committee for the distribution of the royal bounty, held on 3rd March, 1716, which I found among other old papers at the hospital.
3. A series of documents preserved in the Public Record Office.

The *Grand Livre* and these last-named documents are to some extent parallel records, so that it is difficult to avoid some little repetition in tracing through them the early history of the hospital.

Very complete records of the early days of the French Hospital are preserved in the *Grand Livre*, No. A, and in the minutes of the general courts. The title-page of the *Grand Livre* is a magnificent example of bold penmanship, but it and all the introductory pages of the book are fair copied from another called *Journal du Grand Livre*, No. A, etc., which as being clearly the original I have preferred to use. The spelling of names and even of words frequently differs, the French language at that period being in a state of transition from the old order to the new.

The *Grand Livre* most considerably opens with a memorandum, set out in ten paragraphs or "articles" for the instruction of governors and directors of the French Hospital in time to come. The articles show that on 10th February, 1708-9, Philippe Ménard handed to the French committee for the distribution of the royal bounty to the French Protestant refugees the £1000 bequeathed by Jacques de Gâtigny for providing additional accommodation for twelve poor people at the Pest House, and that the committee were

unable for some time to give effect to Gâtigny's benevolent intention because the city of London refused to sell the ground required for the enlargement. On the failure of negotiations with the city, Gâtigny's bequest lay dormant for several years, simply earning interest until the committee determined to make it the nucleus of a scheme for building an entirely new hospital or asylum for the refugees.

The articles proceed to state that on 27th March, 1716, the committee bought from the Masters and Keepers or Wardens and Commonalty of the Mystery or Art of Ironmongers of the City of London for the term of 990 years, commencing 25th March, 1716, and for the sum of £400 sterling, a piece of land on which to build a hospital.

The land lay immediately south of the Pest House and was known as the Golden Acre. The exact dimensions and boundaries of the plot are given and an abstract of the lease, the first condition in which is that the lessee shall pay each year, twenty-eight days after Christmas, to the Ironmongers' Company, if it is legally demanded, one pepper-corn.

The hospital having as yet no existence the lease was granted to Jacques Baudoin, a leading member of the committee, to be transferred by him to the French Hospital when incorporated.

The lease required that no buildings should be erected that would interfere with the light of the Pest House, and as the land, although measuring only about one acre in all, was divided into two parts, called respectively "The Company's Golden Acre," and "The City's Golden Acre," the lessee was to place wherever required on the boundaries the arms of the city of London and of the Ironmongers' Company, respectively. The last articles describe precisely the arrangement of the water supply and sewerage and the boundary walls and palisades. Throughout these descriptions sheds are called *sheeds*. There seemed to be no French equivalent.

An alphabetical list of contributions—extending apparently from March, 1716, when subscriptions were first invited, to November, 1718, when the hospital was opened—follows, which on adding up I find amounts to £2372 16s.

There were also occasional gifts in kind, one being of a necklace, the story of which is interesting.

This necklace, composed of orient pearls, was brought to the French Hospital on 20th July, 1720, by Mademoiselle de la Croix, the daughter and executrix of Madame de St.

Leger,¹ as a legacy from her mother. At the Court in January, 1721, the treasurer was authorised to offer it to my Lady Colladon for £120, and failing her acceptance to dispose of it to the best advantage for the benefit of the (refugee) poor. At two or three succeeding courts the treasurer reported that the necklace was still in his hands, and with the approval of the Court two other directors, Messrs. Berchere and Marchand, undertook to help the treasurer in the sale. Finally, in April, 1722, the treasurer reported that these directors had sold the necklace for £100, and had handed him the money. The Court approved the sale and thanked the directors concerned in it. On turning to the account book of that date I find the sale is credited to M. de St. Hypolyte, another director, and it is there described as a necklace composed of forty-seven pearls. The name of the purchaser is not recorded. My Lady Colladon, to whom it was first offered, was widow of Sir Theodore Colladon, a physician of great eminence, and one of those who attended King William III. in his last moments. This lady was well known as a benefactress to the refugees. She was one of the earliest subscribers to the French Hospital. We find her being consulted by Lord Galway as to the provision to be made for the necessities of the Huguenots who were released from the galleys in 1713, and a little later acting as Lord Lifford's almoner in distributing £500 among the refugees.

From this point the *Grand Livre, No. A*, becomes an account book, but the accounts are so peculiarly kept that I, as a mere layman, cannot pretend to follow them accurately. As the subscriptions accumulated they were put out to mortgage at 5 or 6 per cent. interest, or invested in the State lotteries of the time, or in one or other of the many forms of the South Sea Bonds, which were miscalled *securities*. A more satisfactory entry occurs on 12th March, 1719, showing that land for the new hospital (bought in 1716) had cost :—

	£400 0 0
Buildings, etc., in twenty payments -	2750 0 0
Insurance - - - - -	17 19 6
Furniture, linen, etc. - - -	477 10 5
The Charter of Incorporation - -	23 4 8

£3668 14 7

¹ Madame de St. Leger was Madeleine *née* Muyssons, widow of Theodore Le Coq Sieur de St. Leger, who had been one of the anciens of Charenton,

This is the first definite account I have met with of the cost of the new hospital. I have found the builder's bill in detail as well as the receipts for the several payments on account. The bill will be given in the appendix to this paper, as the comparison it affords between the prices of various materials and of labour nearly 200 years ago and at the present time will prove of great interest and value. The receipts on account show that no stamps to receipts were required in those good old days; they are also remarkable for showing that the word *hospital* might then be spelt in at least seven different ways, according to the caprice of the speller.

Following the entries in the *Grand Livre, No. A*, for a few years more (in fact, up to 1737, the date of Philippe Ménard's death), I find that investments of the most speculative kind were made by the early directors, and that gifts and bequests of securities that could not by any stretch of fancy be called "gilt-edged" were made by early benefactors. In 1719 M. Etienne Signoret, one of the first thirty-seven directors, bequeathed to the new corporation £70 per annum in terminable annuities, which had still seventy-two years and three months to run. This income he directed to be applied to apprenticing children of the refugees to useful trades. The delighted treasurer works out a little sum showing that if the annual income is divided into four premiums of £17 10s. each the bequest will suffice to apprentice 289 *enfants*. But later entries show that these annuities were capitalised and invested in the South Sea Bubble, which a few years afterwards burst, and the greater part of the legacy was lost.

The trades to which the boys under this bequest were apprenticed were clockmakers, goldsmiths, jewellers, fan-makers, sculptors, and the girls were chiefly bound to milliners.

In these first years of the hospital there is a continuous record of gifts and legacies, broken annually by the *quête* after the anniversary sermon, which averaged about £100, though in 1725, when the sermon was preached by the Rev. Israel Antoine Aufrere,¹ the collection amounted to

and died in London, 1712. In his will he speaks of "argenterie, perles, diamants, tapisseries, carosse et chevaux, etc." They had three daughters, all married in England. Madeleine had married her cousin, Henri David de la Croix, but in 1720 had been for many years a widow. These good people had family ties with the Muyssons, the Blossets and the Chardins (*contributed by Henry Wagner, Esq.*).

¹ At a subsequent Court M. Aufrere was elected a director, and he remained an active member of the Court until his death, thirty-three years afterwards.

£215 13s. 6d., with about £12 more sent during the next few days by persons who had been unable to attend. In the following year the capital had so accumulated that the directors turned their attention to freehold property, and purchased for about £6000 "the entire court called Bond's Court, situate in the parish of Wallbrook". This was a very much more satisfactory investment than South Sea stock or State lotteries. I grieve to have to record that it was resold in 1762, for I cannot help reflecting how much might be done with the present large income from that property towards carrying out the cherished wish of your President, that as unmarried people only can be sheltered within the walls of the hospital, so pensions, grants of money, and aid in other forms might be given to poor and aged married folk. The only other notes I have thought it necessary to make from this book are that in 1732 and 1733 a new building, of which Thomas Dubisson was architect, was added; and that in 1738 the city of London sold to the new and flourishing corporation the Pest House and its site, now in the parish of St. Luke,¹ which twenty years before they had refused to sell to the executors of Gâtigny's will.

The directors charged to negotiate with the City Lands Committee of the Corporation of London reported to a special court, held on 10th November, 1736, that the Lands Committee had agreed to lease for 970 years, from Michaelmas last, on the payment of £400 sterling and a yearly rent of ten shillings, a piece or parcel of ground with tenements and buildings thereon, commonly called the Pest House, and at the following General Court, held on 5th January, 1736-7, the completion of the purchase was reported.

I must now hark back to the document (No. 2) I mentioned when first speaking of the *Grand Livre*. It is by far the most interesting and important paper I have met with in my search among the archives of the hospital, for it shows the first public and definite step in the foundation of the French Hospital as distinguished from the old Pest House with Gâtigny's proposed addition. It is a sort of manifesto, drawn up at a meeting of the French committee held on the 3rd March, 1716, over which Louis Saurin, minister, pre-

¹ An act was passed, VII., George II. (1738), for making that part of the parish of St. Giles', Cripplegate, called *The Lordship part* (which included the ground purchased by the French Hospital), into a distinct parish, named the Parish of St. Luke, Old Street, after the church which had lately been built.

sided, Philippe Ménard acting as secretary. The names of the committee-men present are unfortunately not given.

The document, after recording Gâtigny's bequest and the receipt by the committee (seven years before) of the money, with directions for its application, appears to assume a knowledge on the part of its reader of the failure of the negotiations with the city of London; and it goes on to say that, the committee having done their best to carry out the intentions of the testator, an opportunity has at last arisen for acquiring a convenient site whereon to build a new hospital, but that the site would cost £400, and the remainder of the legacy would be altogether insufficient to provide and furnish the building. The encouragement, however, and promises of support given by many pious and charitable persons, and the urgent necessity existing for a proper asylum for the poor refugees, had emboldened the committee to embark on the scheme. There were so many among the refugees afflicted in mind, body and estate, so many enfeebled by age and other bodily infirmities, who could in no other way be so carefully tended, that the committee confidently appealed for help to those who were able to give it. Those to whom the appeal is addressed—probably in the first instance the members of the committee themselves—are invited each to write down the sum which God has put in their heart to contribute to so charitable a work. The committee promise to keep an exact account of all moneys received and of the use to which they are put, and they invite all interested to look into and examine these accounts. The document concludes with this gentle exhortation:—

To do good and to communicate forget not,
For with such sacrifices God is well pleased.

Discussed at the meeting of the French committee charged with the distribution of the royal bounty, 3rd March, 1716.

LOUIS SAURIN, *Moderateur*.

PH. MÉNARD, *Secrétaire*.

Then follow subscriptions ranging from one of £100 by M. Jacques Baudoin to sums of 5s., and amounting in all to £474 9s. Eight of the subscribers, besides the moderator and secretary, were among the first thirty-seven directors of the French Hospital, and five more were elected later. It may be of interest to note that many of the subscriptions are for a greater or less number of guineas, and that the then current value of the guinea was 21s. 6d. It is perhaps not

commonly known that the silver value of a guinea varied from 20s. in 1663, when guineas were first introduced, to 30s. in 1696. From that time until 1717 the guinea passed current at 21s. 6d. It was then fixed by proclamation at 21s., at which rate it remained until 1816, when guineas ceased to be coined.

The third source of information of which I have spoken is a series of documents preserved in the Public Record Office, which, through the most kind and invaluable help of your assistant secretary, Mr. Overend, I was permitted first to read and then to have copied for the appendix to this paper. These documents enable us to follow the growth of the scheme for a new hospital practically from the Royal Bounty Committee Meeting of 1716 to the granting of the charter in 1718.

The first is a petition to the King's Most Excellent Majesty of the Marquis de Ruvigny, Earl of Galway (spelt Golloway), Philippe Ménard, and thirty-seven others, all French refugees naturalised. The petition, after reciting Gâtigny's bequest, states that his charitable design has met with great encouragement from several pious souls who have cheerfully contributed towards the same object; the petitioners have therefore bought a piece of ground (the "Golden Acre") and have begun the building of a hospital for lodging and subsisting a small number of the poorest sort of their nation; and they pray that they and their successors may be incorporated a body politic with the usual rights, powers and privileges which are fully set out.

This document bears no date on its face. It is endorsed *April*, 1718, which is manifestly a mistake, as the petition was referred to the Attorney-General for consideration and report, and his report is dated 6th September, 1717. But before reporting the Attorney-General appears to have made inquiry in regard to various points named in the petition, and the next document in the series is the affidavit of Philippe Ménard, James Baudoin and James Roberthon, dated 22nd October, 1717, which in answering these inquiries throws much light on the progress then made. It explains that all the signatories to the petition were members of the committee appointed for managing and distributing the royal bounty to the French Protestants; that the ground for the hospital was purchased in the name of James Baudoin as a trustee for the intended charity; that, in addition to Gâtigny's bequest, above £1500 had by that time been raised by volun-

tary contributions; that they had now almost finished and would complete as soon as possible a hospital with conveniences for lodging about sixty poor, who would be maintained there partly out of the royal bounty money paid to the French committee and partly out of the contributions and gifts of good and charitable persons. The affidavit proceeds that the deponents do verily believe in their consciences that the design will be of great benefit to the poor French Protestants, and that both Gâtigny's bequest and all other moneys received will be faithfully and justly applied to completing the hospital and carrying on the pious design.

Five months after the date of this affidavit (12th March, 1717-8) the Attorney-General was pleased to report on the petition. He certified the design of the petitioners to be very just and charitable, and that he saw no objection to the incorporating of the petitioners on the terms proposed, with the following alterations, *viz.*:—

That the name be "The Governor and Directors of the Hospital for Poor French Protestants and their descendants residing in Great Britain".

That the capacity of purchasing lands be restrained to a certain annual value.

And that the governor and directors do not relieve in the hospital, or by the revenues thereof, any French Protestants or their descendants who shall not have been actually resident and settled in Great Britain by the space of six months at the least, and so continue, and who shall not take the oaths of allegiance and supremacy and the abjuration oath before the governor and directors or any three or more of them.

It so happens that each of the alterations here introduced has given rise to later controversy.

King George I. was more prompt than his Attorney-General in dealing with the petition, for on 10th April, 1718 (less than one month from its date), Lord Stanhope writes to the Attorney-General that His Majesty approves his report, and directs him to prepare such heads for incorporating the petitioners as he shall think proper. On the 26th April the heads are submitted. On the 30th the royal warrant for the preparation of the charter is given, and, as we have already seen, the charter itself was signed and sealed on 24th July, 1718.

We may here fitly glance at the rather remarkable group

of men to whom the charter of incorporation was granted. Foremost stands the acknowledged head of the refugee community, the venerable Henri de Massue, the second Marquis de Ruvigny and Earl of Galway. Any part which Lord Galway took in the formation of the French Hospital must have been by correspondence, for at that time he was over seventy years of age and confined by acute suffering from gout and rheumatism to his country house at Rookley, near Southampton. Even seven years earlier Lord Galway was described as "an aged general, maimed and covered with honourable wounds, by birth a foreigner, by sentiment and inclinations an honest Englishman, a gentleman of rare and eminent qualities that equally render him proper for the Cabinet or the field".

His portrait, which adorns the court room of the French Hospital, must have been painted between 1705, when he lost his right arm at the siege (rather at *a* siege) of Badajoz, and 1707, when he received a severe sabre cut, which destroyed the sight of one eye, at the battle of Almanza. He was then rather less than sixty years old.

As the chief of the French Protestants in London, Lord Galway presented to George I. on his accession to the throne an humble address from that body, congratulating his Majesty on the establishment of the Protestant succession in England. In the same capacity he headed the petition for a charter for the French Hospital, and he was appointed by royal command the first governor. He never attended a general court, but on his death in 1720 a sympathetic minute records the sense of the directors of the great loss the corporation has suffered. Besides being an early subscriber to the proposed hospital, Lord Galway left £1000 to the established corporation, directing that it be applied in such manner as Monsieur Philippe Ménard and the other directors shall think fit.¹

Jacques Baudoin, the first deputy-governor, was a native of Nimes, who had come to London at the time of the Revocation and was now established as a very prosperous merchant. It will be remembered that he headed the list of 1716 with a donation of £100. He and Ménard were the most active promoters of the new hospital and the most

¹ M. le Baron Philibert d'Hervart, who was elected governor on the death of Lord Galloway in 1720, gave £4000 to the hospital, the interest to be paid to him during his life, and the right to nominate six inmates of the hospital being secured to his successors.



HENRI DE MASSUE, MARQUIS DE RUVIGNY, EARL OF
GALWAY. ✠ 1720.

FIRST GOVERNOR OF THE FRENCH PROTESTANT HOSPITAL.

*From an oil painting in the Court Room of the Hospital, by permission
of the Court.*

indefatigable administrators during the first twenty years of its existence. The record of their constant work among the poor refugees and at the hospital forms a magnificent object-lesson for those who feel in any way called to devote their energies or their substance or both to the benefit of their fellow-men.

All the other directors named in the charter were French Protestants who had become naturalised English subjects and had taken the oaths of allegiance, abjuration and supremacy.

As there appears to be some doubt regarding the forms of the oaths taken by different classes and persons at this period I have thought it worth while to preserve in the appendix the exact forms imposed upon the founders of the French Hospital. The language used to describe the errors of Romanism is very strong indeed, but we must remember that the *odium theologicum* was rampant in those days, and it is difficult for us who see only the velvet glove of the papacy to realise the combined hatred and fear of those who had felt the grip of its iron hand.

The first four directors named in the charter were all Protestant pastors who had fled from France and now had their congregations in London. Next to Ménard the best known was Louis Saurin, whose more famous brother Jacques was then settled at the Hague.

Claude Scoffier was then minister of the church in Threadneedle Street, though he was soon afterwards called to Middleburg, in Holland. I have been unable to ascertain the churches in London to which Henry de St. Colombe and Louis Saurin were attached.

All the other directors were members of the French committee for distributing the royal bounty. There were many inter-relationships among them, and, as an example of the varied influences which form men into groups, it is curious to note that two or three of the first directors had been merchants at Lisbon when Lord Galway was British envoy at the Portuguese court and commander-in-chief of our forces in Portugal.

The first general court of the new hospital was held on the 3rd September, 1718.

The court was opened with prayer, a prayer written presumably by Ménard, which has invariably been used on the opening of the courts even to the present day.

Then the charter was read "*avec respect*," as the secretary is careful to record. The court then proceeded to elect officers, and the following were chosen :—

The Rev. Philippe Ménard, secretary.

M. Louis des Clousseaux, treasurer.

M. François du Plessis, minister and chaplain.

The subject and motto of a seal were determined upon, and M. Marchant, one of the directors, was desired to get the seal made. A sub-committee was next appointed for drawing up the by-laws and regulations to be presented to the next court for consideration, and finally the directors proceeded to take the oaths.

At the second general court, held 8th October, 1718, by-laws and regulations were agreed upon, and a remarkable proof of the great care and wisdom with which they were drawn up is the fact that with very little alteration they still govern the administration of the hospital.

At this court arrangements were made for the solemn dedication of the hospital and chapel to the service of Almighty God on the 12th of the following month, and M. Ménard was requested to preach the sermon, which was afterwards ordered to be printed.

From the preface to the first book of by-laws I find that in the introduction to his sermon M. Ménard gives an account of the origin of the hospital, and from another source that the dedication service was attended by a great concourse of French refugees. I have spent much time and money in searching the records of that period for an account of this dedication service and for a copy of the sermon with its introduction, but without success. It is extremely tantalising to read the minute of the court ordering the sermon to be printed and the entry in the treasurer's accounts of the printer's bill of £14 9s. for the work. The number of copies printed is not stated, but it must have been considerable. If any member of this society should meet with a copy of the sermon I should feel very grateful for a sight of it.

The French Hospital was now fairly established, about sixty poor French people were housed within its walls, and very many more were visited, helped and cared for at their homes.

I like to think that the splendid energy which was thrown into the scheme for helping the poor, sick and infirm French refugees in their extremity of suffering has even, after a lapse of nearly two centuries, lost little or nothing of its force. I like to look back through the long vista of years without discovering at any single point a break in the continuity of this good work.

In the charter of 1718 a governor and deputy-governor were named. At the first general court a secretary and treasurer were elected and a chaplain appointed.

In this year of grace, 1898, each one of those officers is still to be found bending to his work. Their outward fashion has changed with the changing years, even their method of working and their form of speech. Full-bottomed wigs have given place to pigtails, which in their turn have disappeared altogether. Ruffs and ruffles and velvet coats and buckled shoes have through many generations reached the prosaic garments of to-day. The English tongue and English manners and customs have gradually taken the place of the exquisite French and the perfect grace for which the Marquis de Ruigny was noted even at the fastidious court of Louis XIV., but the official entity—the abstract officer—has been there all the time. In no single week, I believe, has the offering of prayer and praise and hymn failed to rise as the incense to the Throne of Grace from the chapel of the French Hospital. In no single quarter has the treasurer omitted to render an account to his fellow-directors of the current income and expenditure of the corporation. Through all these 180 years the secretary has ever been found pen in hand entering up minutes of court and committee meetings, carefully threshing out questions which arise for discussion, and conducting a very wide correspondence with all sorts of people on all sorts of matters relating directly or indirectly or not at all to the corporation. During the whole of this long period the deputy-governor has been an almost constant attendant at court and committee, presiding in the absence of the governor over the deliberations of his fellow-directors; while the governor himself, if less frequently present, has always been accessible when any special need has arisen for asking his advice or sanction in the more important affairs of the corporation.

This thought of the continuity of purpose and action carries us irresistibly a step farther. Through all the changes of time and circumstance, of fashion, habit, condition, place, the *impelling motive* has been the same: "Do good unto all men, and specially unto them that are of the household of faith"; the *determination* has been the same—we heard it expressed by some of the refugees at the very moment of their landing, and it has never varied: "Our soul is escaped, and we are delivered, therefore will we render sacrifice"; the *object* has been the same, for the poor, infirm

and sick in the crowds of terror-stricken fugitives who threw themselves on our sympathy, no less than their more fortunate brethren, have left a posterity that stands fast, and we know that "the poor shall never cease out of the land".

I wish that I could impart to you half the interest that I have found in tracing out the story of the foundation and early growth of the French Hospital. Among its first directors and officers I seem to have made personal acquaintances, almost indeed to have enjoyed personal friendships.

From 1718 to 1737 I have sat at the general court quarter after quarter beside Philippe Ménard. His handwriting is as familiar to me as my own; his features, it is true, have come to me at second-hand through the portrait which is here, but I have looked upon that portrait so often, and I find the features so absolutely to harmonise with the character of the man as it has been gradually revealed to me, that I have no difficulty in accepting it as you would yourselves look upon the photograph of an absent friend. It may seem fanciful, but a certain tone of voice, a certain mannerism and certain quaint forms of expression are most powerfully impressed on my mind as those of Philippe Ménard. Of this I am convinced, that when on 10th November, 1736, the chair of the accomplished secretary was seen to be vacant at the opening of the general court, and the word passed from mouth to mouth that he who had missed but a single meeting, and that ten years ago on the occasion of the death of his brother, was too ill to attend, the sense of loss and the emotions of regret and sympathy could hardly have been more thoroughly awakened in the hearts of the directors present than in mine. How eagerly I looked onward to the minutes of the next court, and while rejoicing to find him present, observed with real concern the faltering signature which told so plainly the story of his failing powers. It was with no surprise that I read in the minutes of the following court, 13th April, 1737, that another director, Mons. Philippe de Crespigny, was elected to assist M. Ménard, who, "on account of his great age and infirmities, was no longer able to attend regularly the meetings of the corporation". Then came the end. The court of 6th July, 1737, before proceeding to any other business, made this sorrowful record: "God having taken to Himself M. Ménard, the secretary of this corporation, the directors present are most deeply touched with a sense of the great loss the corporation have sustained, and they desire to



THE REV. PHILIPPE MENARD. ✠ 1737.

FIRST CHAPLAIN AND SECRETARY OF THE FRENCH PROTESTANT HOSPITAL.

*From an oil painting in the Court Room of the Hospital, by permission
of the Court.*

honour M. Ménard's memory for the very great services which he rendered to this hospital". The past no less than the present has its lights and shadows, its joys and griefs, for those who sympathetically study it.

The death of Philippe Ménard closes the first and brightest chapter in the history of the French Hospital. In this our inquiry we first met with Ménard on his appointment to the chaplaincy of the French Chapel Royal at St. James' Palace—then as one of the French committee for administering the royal bounty to the poor refugees—then as executor to the will of Jacques de Gâtigny, promptly obeying its direction to hand to the French committee £1000 for the accommodation and maintenance of twelve more French poor at the Pest House. By this time he was acting as secretary of the committee, in which capacity he must have taken an active part in the negotiations with the city of London for the purchase of ground necessary to give effect to the bequest. When these negotiations failed one can say with almost absolute certainty that the project for building a new hospital on far broader, deeper and more lasting foundations than were ever dreamt of by Gâtigny originated with him.

From the day when this project was publicly announced until the Charter of Incorporation had been secured the activity of Philippe Ménard in the cause he had made his own was ceaseless. Saurin and he jointly launched the first appeal for subscriptions, and the rapid and extraordinary success which the scheme met with must have been largely due to the influence which Ménard derived from his position at the Court of St. James and from his intimate acquaintance with the wealthier refugee families in London. The petition praying the Crown to incorporate the new charity by royal charter was his work, and so no doubt was the selection from among the members of the clerical and lay committees of those thirty-seven "men of mercy" whose names are recorded in the charter as the first directors of the French Hospital.

When the buildings were completed the dedication service was arranged and the sermon preached by Ménard, and afterwards, from the first general court in 1718 until his illness and death in 1737, he attended, with one single exception, every quarterly meeting of the directors and recorded the proceedings in a way that all future secretaries of the corporation have more or less successfully attempted to follow.

APPENDIX.

- I. Extract from the will of Jacques de Gâtigny.
- II. Record of a meeting of the French Committee for the distribution of the royal bounty held on 8rd March, 1716, at which it was proposed to purchase land with Gâtigny's legacy, and to invite subscriptions for building a hospital thereon.
- III. Copies of documents in the Public Record Office.
- IV. The charter of the hospital for poor French Protestants and their descendants.
- V. The prayer (in French) used at the opening and closing of the courts.
- VI. The oaths of allegiance, supremacy and abjuration.
- VII. A bill of charges for building of the French hospital by Peter Legrant, 171 $\frac{3}{4}$.
- VIII. A proposal to establish in all French Protestant churches throughout England registers of the refugees and their children.
- IX. Notes of the purchase in 172 $\frac{7}{8}$ of Bond Court, Walbrook, and of the sale of the property in 1782.

I.

EXTRACT FROM THE WILL OF JACQUES DE GÂTIGNY.

"As to the goods which God hath given me, and of what shall be found at the time of my death to belong unto me, I dispose thereof as followeth:—

"First, I give £500 to the Pest-house, for to build there some apartments, there to lodge some poor, infirm, or sick French Protestants above the age of fifty years, and the woman or maiden the same. My will is that there should be lodgings for twelve poor at least. Moreover, I give the fund of £500, which shall be placed to get thereout the annual revenue, which revenue shall be employed to furnish beds, linen and clothes, and other necessities of the said poor French Protestants who shall be in the said place; and the said two £500, making in all £1000, shall be put in the hands of the committee settled for the distribution of the Queen's charity and of the nation, which French Committee shall employ the said sums as it is here above mentioned, and shall give an account thereof to the Messieurs the English Commissaries who are, or shall be, settled to receive the other accounts of the said French Committee. And the Executor of this my testament shall take care that the whole be executed according to my intention, as I will explain it."

Witnesses: F. MARIETTE,
PAUL DUFOUR.

Proved by the Executor, Philip Mesnard, at London, 1st December, 1708.

(From Agnew's *Protestant Exiles from France*, vol. ii., p. 179.)

II.

RECORD OF A MEETING OF THE ROYAL BOUNTY COMMITTEE, 3RD MARCH, 1716.

Feu Monsieur de Gastigny ayant Legué par son Testament la somme de Mille Livres sterling pour estre employée, la moitié à faire un Bastiment pour les Pauvres François Protestants Refugiez qui sont ou seront à la Pest House ; et l'autre moitié, en un fonds dont le revenu annuel soit destiné à fournir de menbles ou hardes, aux Pauvres de cét Hospital. Le Committé François chargé de la distribution de la Beneficence Royale, aux Pauvres François Refugiez, a receu cette somme suivant l'ordre du Testateur : Et ayant fait ses diligences pour remplir ses intentions, a enfin trouvé le moyen d'acquérir, à la Pest House, un fonds propre à faire le Bastiment ordonné. L'acquisition de ce fonds coûtant Quatre cent livres sterling. Ce qui resteroit du Legz de feu Mr. de Gastigny ne suffiroit pas pour bastir ; Et le Committé n'auroit osé entrer dans ce projet s'il n'y avoit pas esté encouragé par plusieurs Personnes pieuses & charitables, qui ont fait entendre qu'elles voudront bien y contribuer.

L'importance et la necessité d'un tel Hospital pour les Pauvres François Refugiez sont manifestes et sensibles. Combien de Personnes, ou affligés dans leur Esprit, ou attaqués de maladies longues & incurables, ou accablés de vieillesse & d'autres infortitez trouveront là une retraite et de secours qu'il seroit difficile de leur procurer autrement ? On est persuadé que les gens de bien approuveront cét Establissement ; et se feront un devoir & un plaisir de le favoriser. On les supplie de vouloir souscrire icy chacun la somme que Dieu lui mettra au coeur de contribuer pour une oeuvre si charitable. On tiendra un Compte exact de ce que aura esté recueilly, et de l'employ qui en sera fait : Et on communiquera ce Compte à toutes les Personnes qui souhaiteront de le voir & de l'examiner.

N'oubliez point la Beneficence et la communication : Car Dieu prend plaisir à de tels sacrifices.

Deliberé dans l'Assemblée du Committé françois chargé de la distribution de la Beneficence Royale le 8^e Mars 1716.

LOUIS SAURIN, *Moderateur.*
PH. MENARD, *Secrétaire.*

Mr. Devirly	£10 0 0
Mr. de Boiville pere	10 0 0
Mr. Ja. Molinier	20 0 0
Mr. de Boiville fils	5 7 6
Mr. Charles Molinier	5 0 0
Madame Angellier	4 6 0
Mr. de Saintipolite	10 15 0
De feu Madame Dugas	5 0 0
Mr. Jaques Baudouin	100 0 0
Mad ^{me} Molinier sa soeur	5 0 0
Pierre Cabibel senior	10 15 0
James Mallortie	2 8 0
Samuel Muller & Nicolas de Watteville	5 0 0
Matthieu Terras	2 8 0
Isaac Delpech	2 8 0
Mr. Romilly	4 6 0

Mr. Mons Valier	£3 0 0
Mdl. Roy	2 8 0
Mr. G. T. G.	5 7 6
Mad. Berenger & Dioré	8 4 6
Mad. Albert	1 1 6
Mad. Berau	1 1 6
Le Capt. du Forest Galley	1 1 6
Mr. Desbordes	8 4 6
Mr. Funerau	10 15 0
Mr. Baron	5 7 6
Mr. Jean Boulanger	2 8 0
Mr. René Baudouin	50 0 0
Mr. Estiene Seignoret	80 0 0
Mr. Pierre Seignoret	10 0 0
& ce qu'il a donné pour vn Inconu	11 10 0
Mr. Pierre de Rouen	5 7 6
Mr. de Vismes	2 8 0
Mr. Leglize	5 7 6
Phillip Margas quatre Guin*	4 6 0
Jean Thomeur deux guinées	2 8 0
Stephen Godin trois Guinées	8 4 6
Francis Asselinne	1 10 0
Me. la Veuve Terras 4 guin.	4 6 0
Mr. Farette	0 10 9
Mr. Tudert	50 0 0
Mr. Thomas Thomas	5 7 6
Made. Noiré	0 5 0
Mr. Rousseau	0 12 9
Mr. Cossart	4 6 0
Madelle. Wyldey	0 10 0
Mr. Mayeux	1 1 6
Mr. Cabibel neveu	1 1 6
Made. Hernold	2 8 0
Monsr. Bouché	5 7 6
Mr. Flower	1 1 6
Mr. Rain le Cadet	1 1 6
Mr. Combault	5 7 6
Mr. Pegou	8 4 6
Made. Cardonel	20 0 0
Monsr. Rondelet	2 8 0
	<hr/>
	£474 9 0

[Endorsed:]

Souscriptions de pluzieurs pour l'hopital.

III.

HOME OFFICE LAW PAPERS. VOL. 2.

TO THE KING'S MOST EXCELLENT MAJESTY.

The humble Petition of Henry de Massue Marquis of Ruvigny Earle of Golloway Philip Menard Lewis Saurin Henry de S^{te} Colome Claude Scoffier, Clerkes, Nicholas de la Sabliere Guy de la Court Vigouse Jacob de Blagny David Montolieu de S^t Hipolite Moses

Pujolas Francis du Pontereau Lewis de Gaillard Lewis Desclouseaux James Robethon Peter Champion de Crespigny Albert de Lande James Baudoin René de la Combe de Cluzet Peter Reneu Stephen Seignoret John le Clerc de Virly Lewis Tudert René Baudoin James Lewis Berchere Paul du Four John de Rossieres Thomas le Heup Solomon Penny Peter Marchand Benjamin Barroneau Thomas Thomas Philip Fruchard Peter James du Desert John Philip Charles James Tabart James de Vaux Peter Triquet John Perigal & Peter Cabibel All French Refugees Naturalized In the behalfe of themselves and severall other French Refugees who have the happiness of being Your Majesty's Subjects.

Humbly Sheweth—

That James de Gastigny Esq^r heretofore Master of the Buck hounds in Holland to his late Majesty King William of Immortal Memory by his last Will and Testament bearing date the 10th of Aprill 1708 did bequeath one thousand pounds to bee applied towards the building of an Hospitall for poor Sick & Infirm French Protestants & buying of Household Goods & other Conveniencys for that use Which hath induced your humble Petitioners to begin the building of an Hospitall for lodging and subsisting a Small number of the Poorest Sort of their Nation.

This Charitable design hath met with great Encouragement from Severall pious Souls who have Cheerfully Contributed towards it and your humble Peticōners hope to bring it to a happy Conclusion Trusting under God Almighty that it will bee attended with such Usefull and happy Effects as to bee hereafter maintained and supported by all Good and Charitable Christians. Your humble Peticōners have for that Purpose Purchased a Peice of ground Called Golden Acre Scituate in the Parish of St^e Giles Cripplegate in the County of Middlesex And as your humble Peticōners flatter themselves that this their Designe will bee agreeable to your Majesty, they hope that your Majesty will be graciously pleased to favour it with your Royall Sanction.

May it therefore please your Sacred Majesty by your Majesty's Letters Patent under the Great Seale of Great Britain to Incorporate and Create your humble Peticōners & their Successors into a Body Politick & Corporate by the name of the Governour and Directors of the Hospitall for Poor French Protestants And that under that Title they and their Successors may for Ever bee Capable of Purchasing, taking, Receiving, having & Enjoying Houses, Lands, Tenements & hereditaments or any Estate whatsoever Reall & Personall for Lives, Termes of years or for Ever for the benefit and use of the Poor of the said Hospitall with Power for your humble Peticōners and their Successors under the said title to Sue & implead any Person or Persons in any Court of Law & Equity in as full and ample Manner to all intents & Purposes as any other of your Majesty's Naturall Born Subjects or any Corporation whatsoever. And that your humble Peticōners & their Successors may have a Common Seale with Power of Cancelling and altering the Same when & as often as they shall think fit.

May it please Further your Sacred Majesty, That the said Corporation may Consist of a Governour, Deputy Governour and Thirty Seaven Directors att least who shall from time to time have power to meet & assemble att the said Hospitall or Elsewhere for making of By Laws and taking Such Resolutions as they Shall think most beneficiall for the

Poor of the said Hospitall, That your Peticõner Henry Earle of Gollway may bee appointed Governour, Your humble Peticõner James Baudoin Deputy Governour & the Rest of your humble Petitioners the Directors of the said Hospitall. That the Directors or the Major Parte of them may have liberty to Chuse a Governour Every three years & a Deputy Governour Every year out of the Number of Directors & also to Remove the Governor and Deputy Governour for the time being & so often as any of the Directors Shall bee Removed or decease to nominate another or others in his or their Roomes and Stead and to add as many more Directors to the said Number of Thirty Seaven as they or the Major Pte of them Shall think fitt, That your humble Peticõners the Directors or the Major Parte may have a Power to nominate & appoint a Treasurer & a Mifister who shall Performe the Divine Service in the Said Hospitall after the Rites of the Church of England & Such Servants as Shall bee necessary for the use of the Said Hospitall, That when the said Directors Shall meet to treat about any matter Relating to the Corporation Ten shall make a Quorum & all their Resolutions Shall be binding ag^t the Rest who shall not attend after having notice in Writing from the Secretary of the time & Place of Meeting That the said Directors or the Major Parte of them may have Power to depute & impower one or more Person or Persons to Collect & Receive the Voluntary Contributions of all such Persons who shall bee Charitably disposed towards the said Hospitall.

And your humble Peticõners shall Ever Pray for your Majesty's Long and Prosperous Raigne.

[*Endorsed* :]—The humble Peticõn of Henry Earle of Gollway &

(1) Several French Protestant Refugees.

With the Attorney Generals Report thereupon.

(2) Legalia.

French Hospital April 1718.¹

[Minute:]

Hampton Court 6th Septemb. 1717.

His Majesty having been moved upon this Petition, is pleased to refer the Same to Mr. Attorney or Mr. Solicitor General who are to consider thereof, and report their Opinion what His Majesty may fitly do therein, whereupon His Majesty will declare his further Pleasure.

[Signed] SUNDERLAND.

HOME OFFICE LAW PAPERS. VOL. 2.

TO THE KING'S MOST EXCELLENT MAJESTY.

May it please yo^r Majesty,

In humble Obedience to your Majesty's Commands Signified to me by the Earl of Sunderland, I have Considered of the annext Petition of Henry de Massue Marquis of Ruvigny Earl of Galloway and several others, all French Refugees Naturalized, in the behalf of themselves and several other French Refugees, who have the happiness of being your Majesty's Subjects; Whereby they represent, that James de Gastigny Esquire heretofore Master of the Buckhounds in Holland to his late Majesty King William, by his last Will and Testament in Writing bearing Date the Tenth day of April 1708, Did bequeath One Thousand pounds

¹ The date must be before 6 Sept., 1717. Possibly April, 1817.

to be applied towards the Building of an Hospital for poor, Sick and infirm French Protestants, and buying of Household Goods and other Conveniencies for that Use, Which hath induced the Petitioners to begin the Building of an Hospital for Lodging and Subsisting a small Number of the poorest sort of their Nation; That other persons have Contributed towards this Charity; That they have for that purpose purchased a piece of Ground called Golden Acre scituat in the Parish of S^t Giles Cripplegate in the County of Middlesex, and hope that your Majesty will be Graciously pleased to favour their Design with your Majesty's Royal Sanction, Humbly praying your Majesty by Letters Patents under the Great Seal of Great Britain to Incorporate and create the Petitioners and their Successors into a Body Politick and Corporate, by the name of the Governour and Directors of the Hospital for poor French Protestants, and that under that Title they and their Successors may for ever be capable of Purchasing, taking, Receiving, having and enjoying Houses, Lands, Tenements and Hereditaments or any Estate whatsoever real and personal, for Lives, Terms of Years, or for ever for the Benefit and Use of the poor of the said Hospital, with power for the Petitioners and their Successors to sue and Implead &c^a and to have a Common Seal, With power of Cancelling and altering the same, as they shall think fit: And that the said Corporation may Consist of a Governour Deputy Governour and Thirty Seven Directors, who shall from time to time have power to meet and assemble at the said Hospital or elsewhere, for making By-Laws as they shall think beneficial for the said Hospital.

That the said Henry Earl of Galloway may be appointed Governour, the Petitioner James Baudoin Deputy Governour, and the other Petitioners Directors: That the Directors or the Major part of them may have liberty to choose a Governour every Three Years, and a Deputy Governour every Year, out of the Directors, and also to Remove the Governour and Deputy Governour for the time being, and also as often as any of the Directors shall be Removed or Dye, to Nominate others in his or their Room, and to add as many more Directors to the said Number of Thirty Seven, as they or the Major part shall think fit. That the Directors or the Major part of them may have power to appoint a Treasurer and a Minister to perform Divine Service in the said Hospital, after the Rites of the Church of England, and such Servants as shall be necessary.

That when the said Directors shall meet, Ten shall make a Quorum, and their Resolutions shall be binding against the rest, who shall not attend on Notice in Writing from the Secretary of the time and place of Meeting: That the Directors or the Major part of them may appoint One or more person or persons to Collect and Receive voluntary Contributions for the Use of the said Hospital.

And I do most humbly Certifie Your Majesty, That it appears by the annexed Affidavit that such Legacy was left, and such piece of Ground hath been purchased, whereon to build the said Hospital as is mentioned in the Petition, and that over and above the said 1000^l Legacy so given, the Petitioners have Collected by Voluntary Contributions above 1500^l more, and have actually built and almost finished an Hospital with Conveniencies for Lodging about Sixty poor People upon the said piece of Ground, and have already expended about 2000^l in the said Building, and that the Poor to be lodged therein, are intended to be maintained partly out of the Royal Bounty money paid to the French Committee, and partly by Contributions of Charitable persons: And it is thereby further

Deposed that the Deponents believe, that the said Design will be of great Benefit to the poor French Protestants, and that all the monies left by the said Mr. Gastigny or which have been raised by Contribution, have been or will be faithfully and justly applyed by the Receivers thereof towards the Building and Compleating the said Hospital, and Carrying on the said pious Design.

And I do further most humbly Certifie Your Majesty, that the Design of the Petitioners is very just and Charitable, and many Charitable Corporations for Settling and Managing of Charities have been Created by Your Majesty's Predecessors; And I have no Objection to the Incorporating the Petitioners on the Terms proposed with the Alterations following, viz^t

That the Name be, the Governour and Directors of the Hospital for Poor French Protestants and their Descendants Residing in Great Britain.

That the Capacity of Purchasing Lands be Restrained to a certain Annual Value.

That the Governour and Directors doe not Relieve in the Hospital or by the Revenue thereof, any French Protestants or their Descendants, who shall not have been actually Resident and Settled in Great Britain by the space of Six Months at the least, and so Continue, and who shall take the Oaths of Allegiance & Supremacy & the Abjuration Oath before the Governour and Directors or any Three or more of them.

All which is most humbly Submitted to Your Majesty's Royal Wisdom.

[Signed] EDW. NORTHEY.
12th March, 17¹¹/₈.

HOME OFFICE LAW PAPERS. VOL. 2.

6d. Stamp.	6d. Stamp.
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Philip Ménard of the Parish of S^t James Westminster Clerke, James Baudoin of London Merchant & James Robethon of S^t James Westminster Gentleman make Oath that John^s de Gatigny Esq^r deceased heretofore Master of the Buckhounds in Holland to his late Majesty King William the third of Glorious Memory Having by his Last Will & Testament bearing date the Tenth of Aprill One thousand Seven hundred and Eight Given & bequeathed a Thousand pounds towards building of an Hospital for Poor French Protestants & buying of Household goods & other Conveniencys for that use These Deponents with severall other Members of the Committee appointed for managing & Distributing the Royall Bounty to the French Protestants did on or about the Twenty Seventh of March One thousand Seven hundred and Sixteen purchase a Peice of Ground Called Golden Acre in Cripplegate Parish for the building of an Hospitall according to the Intention of the said John^s de Gatigny which Peice of Ground was so purchased in the Name of this Deponent James Baudoin who is a Trustee for the said Intended Charity And these Deponents say that the said Testators Legacy not being

¹ "Not" omitted.

² Sic.

Sufficient to Carry on & Compleat the building of the said Hospitall these Deponents & severall others have raised above Fifteen hundred pounds more by Voluntary Contributions among severall Charitable Persons & have actually built & almost finished an Hospitall with Conveniencys for Lodging of about Sixty Poor upon the said Peice of Ground Called Golden Acre & that they have already Expended about Two thousand pounds in the said Building And these Deponents say that they intend to Cause the same to bee Compleated as soon as they can Conveniently And these Depon^m say that the Poor to bee Lodged in the said Hospitall are intended to bee maintained partly out of the Royall Bounty Money Paid to the French Committee and Partly out of the Contributions & Guifts of good & Charitable Persons And these Deponents have applyed to the Kings Most Excellent Majesty with severall Persons by Petition Praying that his Majesty would be pleased to Create the Petitioners into a Corporation or Body Politick the Better to Enable the said Petitioners to carry on the said Charitable Designe And these Deponents Doe Verily believe in their Consciences that the said Design will bee of Great Benefitt to the Poor French Protestants & that all the Moneys which have been left by the said Mr. Gatigny or have been raised by Contribution have been or will bee faithfully & Justly applyed by the Receivers thereof towards the Building & Compleating the said Hospitall & the Carrying on the said Pious Design.

[Signed] PH: MÉNARD,
JAMES BAUDOUIN,
JAMES ROBETHON.

Omnes Jura^t 22^o die Octobris 1717^o coram me M^{fo}. in Can^c. [Signed]
THO: GERY.

[Endorsed:.]—Philip Menard & others their Affid^t relating to the French Hospital.

HOME OFFICE ENTRY BOOK. VOL. 7, p. 815.

WHITEHALL, 10th April, 1718.

SIR,

His Majesty having approved of the inclosed Report of the late Attorney General, upon the Petition of divers french Refugees praying to be incorporated in the manner therein set forth, is pleased to refer it to you, to prepare such Heads for Incorporating them as you shall think proper for the purposes therein mentioned. I am &c^a.

STANHOPE.

HOME OFFICE LAW PAPERS. VOL. 2.

26th April, 1718.

MY LORD,

In obedience to his Majesties commands signified by your Lordship the 10th Instant I have prepared heads of a Charter for the French Hospital and have enclosed them herewith.

I am My Lord

Your Lordship's Most Obedient Humble Serv^t

WM. THOMSON.

HOME OFFICE LAW PAPERS. VOL. 2.

Heds of a Charter for Incorporating Henry de Massue Marquis of Ruvigny Earl of Galloway and severall others all French Refugees naturalized in the behalfe of themselves and several other French Refugees who have the happiness of being his Ma^{ties} Subjects, And who have petitioned His Ma^{ties} for a Ch^re in that behalfe (reciting as in their Petition is recited).

That the said Henry de Massue Marquis of Ruvigny, and the rest of the Pet^{rs} be Incorporated and created One Body Politick and Corporate by the name of the Governour and Directors of the Hospital for poor French Protestants, and their Descendants residing in Great Britain.

And that under that Title they & their Successors may for ever be capable of purchasing taking Receiving Having and enjoying Houses Lands Tenements and Hereditaments or any Estate whatsoever Real and Personal for Lives Terms of Years or for ever, not exceeding the yearly value of five hundred pounds of lawfull money of Great Britain for the benefit and use of the poor of the said Hospital, and may also under the same Title sue and be sued Plead and be Impleaded, and have a Comon Seal, and the same alter and make new at their pleasure.

That the said Corporacōn may consist of a Governour Deputy Governour and Thirty Seven Directors, who shall from time to time have power to meet and Assemble at the said Hospital, or elsewhere for making By Laws as they shall think beneficial for the s^d Hospital.

That the said Henry Earl of Galloway may be Appointed Governour The Pet^r James Baudoin Deputy Governour, and the other Petition^{rs} Directors.

That the Directors or the Major part of them may have Liberty to choose a Governour every three Years, and a Deputy Governour every Year out of the Directors, and also to remove the Governour and Deputy Governour for the time being, And also as often as any of the Directors shall be removed or Dye to nominate others in his or their room, and to add as many more Directors to the said number of Thirty Seven, as they or the Major part of them shall think fit.

That the Directors or the Major part of them have power to appoint a Treasurer, and a Minister to perform Divine Service in the said Hospital after the Rites of the Church of England, and such Servants as shall be necessary.

That when the Directors shall meet to treat about any matter relating to the Corporation Ten shall make a Quorum, And all their Resolutions shall be binding against the rest, who shall not attend on notice in writing from the Secretary of the time and place of meeting.

That the Directors or the Major part of them may Appoint One or more person or persons to collect and receive voluntary Contributions for the use of the said Hospital.

That the Governour and Directors do not relieve in the Hospital or by the Revenue thereof any French protestants or their Descendants, who shall not have been actually resident and settled in Great Britain by the Space of Six months at the least, and so to continue, and who shall not take the Oaths of Allegiance and Supremacy, and the Abjuracōn Oath before the Governour and Directors or any three or more of them.

[Endorsed :]—Heds of a Ch^re for the French Hospital.

STATE PAPERS (DOMESTIC), WARRANT BOOK.

VOL. 45, p. 414.

GEORGE R.

Our Will & Pleasure is, That you prepare a Bill for our Royal Signature to pass Our Great Seal, containing Our Grant for incorporating Our Right Trusty & Rt. Welbeloved Cousin Henry Earl of Gallway & several other French Refugees by the name of the Governour & Directors of the Hospital for poor French Protestants & their Descendants residing in Great Britain, with all such Powers, Authoritys, Libertys & Priviledges to them & their Successors as are contained in the Schedule of Heads hereunto annexed & the Persons therein named to be inserted in the said Bill in the manner proposed, together with such other Clauses & Provisoos as are usual in Grants of the like nature and as you shall judge requisite for Our Service & the good Government of the said Corporation. And for so doing this shall be your Warrant. Given at our Court at Kensington the Thirtieth day of April 1718 in the Fourth Year of Our Reign.

By His Majesty's Command,

STANHOPE.

To Our Attorney or Sollicitor Gen^l.

[Pp. 415-417 contain a copy of the "Heads of a Charter," with "George R." at the beginning and "G. R." at the end.]

SIGNET OFFICE ENTRY BOOK OF DOCQUETS. VOL. 22.

July, 1718.

Whereas James de Gastigny Esq^r heretofore Master of the Buckhounds in Holland to his late Maj^{ty} King William by his Last Will and Testament bearing date the 16. Day of April 1708. did bequeath 1000^l to be Applied towards the Building of an Hospitall for Poor, Sick & Infirm French Protestants & buying of household Goods, and other Conveniences for that Use, which hath induced the Earl of Gallway & several other French Refugees Naturalized herein named to begin the Building of an Hospitall for Lodging and Subsisting a Small Number of the Poorest Sort of their Nation. His Maj^{ty} is Gratiuously pleased (upon their Petic^on in that behalfe & for their Encouragement to promote so Charitable a Design) to Incorporate Them by the Name of the Governour and Directors of the Hospitall for Poor French Protestants and their Descendants residing in Great Britain, And the Names of the P^{re}sent Gov^r & Direct^{rs} & such Powers & Clauses are Inserted as were directed. Subs^d by Mr. Soll^r Gen^l by Warr^t under his Maj^{ties} Royal Sign Manual, Counters^d by the Earl of Stanhope & Procur^d by Mr. Secretary Craggs for y^e s^d Er^l Stanhope.

IV.
COPY OF THE
Charter of Incorporation

OF THE
FRENCH PROTESTANT HOSPITAL.



George. by the Grace of God, OF GREAT BRITAIN, FRANCE, AND IRELAND, KING, DEFENDER OF THE FAITH, &c. To All to whom these Presents shall come, Greeting.

Whereas Our Right Trusty and Right Welbeloved Cousin, *Henry de Massue, Marquis de Ruvigny, Earl of Galloway*, and our trusty and welbeloved *Philip Menard, Lewis Saurin, Henry de Ste. Colome, Claude Scoffier*, Clerks; *Nicholas de la Sabliere, Guy de la Court Vicouse, Jacob de Blagny, David Montolieu de St. Hippolite, Moses Pujolas, Francis de Pontereau, Lewis de Gaillard, Lewis des Clouseaux, James Robethon, Peter Champion de Crespigny, Albert de Lande, James Baudoin, René de la Combe de Cluzet, Peter Reneu, Stephen Seignoret, John le Clerc de Virly, Lewis Tudert, René Baudoin, James Lewis Berchere, Paul du Four, John de Rossieres, Thomas le Heup, Solomon Penny, Peter Marchand, Benjamin Barroneau, Thomas Thomas, Philip Fruchard, Peter James du Desert, John Philip Charles, James Tabart, James de Vaur, Peter Triquet, John Perigail, and Peter Cabibel*, all French Refugees Naturalized, in the behalfe of themselves, and several other French Refugees, Our Subjects, have by their Petition humbly represented unto Us, that *James de Gastigny, Esquire*, heretofore master of the Buckhounds in Holland to his late Majesty *King William*, by his last Will and Testament, bearing date the tenth day of April, One Thousand seven hundred and eight, Did Bequeath One thousand pounds, to be applied towards the Building of an Hospital for Poor, Sick, and Infirm *French Protestants*, and buying of household goods and other conveniences for thatt use, which hath Induced the Petitioners to begin the Building of an Hospital for lodging and Subsisting a small Number of the Poorest sort of their Nation: That other Persons have Contributed towards this Charity, and that they have for that purpose purchased a piece of ground called Golden Acre, scituate in the Parish of St. Giles, Cripplegate, in the County of Middx.; And hoping that Wee would be Graciously Pleased to favour their Design with Our Royal Sanction have humbly prayed Us by letters Patents under Our Great Seal of Great Britain to Incorporate and Create them the Petitioners and their Successors into a Body Politick and Corporate, in such manner and with such Powers, Authorities, liberties, and Priviledges, to them and their Successors, as are contained in the Schedule of heads to their Petition annex: Wee are graciously pleased to Condescend to their

Request. **Know** wee therefore that Wee, of Our especial Grace, certain Knowledge, and meer motion, **have** Granted, Constituted, Declared, Ordained, and Appointed, And by these Presents for Us, Our Heirs, and Successors, **do** Grant, Constitute, Declare, Ordain, and Appoint that the said *Henry de Massue, Marquis de Ruivigny, Earl of Galloway, Philip Menard, Lewis Saurin, Henry de Ste. Colome, Claude Scoffier, Nicholas de la Sabliere, Guy de la Court Vicouse, Jacob de Blagny, David Montolieu de St. Hipolite, Moses Pujolas, Francis de Pontereau, Lewis de Gaillard, Lewis des Clouseaux, James Robethon, Peter Champion de Crespigny, Albert de Lande, James Baudoin, René de la Combe de Cluzet, Peter Reneu, Stephen Signoret, John Le Clerc de Virly, Lewis Tudert, René Baudoin, James Lewis Berchere, Paul du Four, John de Rossieres, Thomas le Heup, Solomon Penny, Peter Marchand, Benjamin Barroneau, Thomas Thomas, Philip Fruchard, Peter James du Desert, John Philip Charles, James Tabart, James de Vaur, Peter Triquet, John Perigail, and Peter Cabibel*, shall be and be called One Body Corporate and Politick, in Deed and in Name, By the Name of **THE GOVERNOR AND DIRECTORS OF THE HOSPITAL FOR POOR FRENCH PROTESTANTS AND THEIR DESCENDANTS RESIDING IN GREAT BRITAIN** And them and their successors by the Name of The Governor and Directors of the Hospital for Poor French Protestants and their Descendants residing in Great Britain, Wee do really and fully for Us, Our Heirs and Successors, make, Erect, Ordain, Constitute, Establish, Confirm, and Declare, by these Presents, to be one Body Corporate & Politick, in Deed & in Name for ever. **And** wee do hereby for Us, Our heirs and Successors, Grant and Declare that by the same Name of the Governor and Directors of the Hospital for Poor French Protestants and their Descendants residing in Great Britain, they shall have perpetual Succession: And that they and their Successors, by the name of the Governor and Directors of the Hospital for Poor French Protestants, and their Descendants residing in Great Britain, for ever hereafter shall and may plead and be Impleaded, Sue and be Sued, Answer and be Answered unto, Defend and be Defended, in whatsoever Courts and Places, and before any Judges, Justices, and Officers of Us, Our Heirs and Successors, in all and singular Actions, Pleas, Suits, matters and Demands, of what nature, kind, or quality soever they shall be in the same manner and form, and as fully and amply as any of Our Subjects within that part of Our United Kingdom of Great Britain called England, may or can do, Plead or be Impleaded, Sue or be Sued, Answer or be Answered unto, defend or be defended; And that they and their Successors for ever hereafter shall and may *have and use a Comon Seal* for the Affairs and Business of the said Corporation; And that it shall and may be lawful to and for the Governor and Directors of the Hospital for Poor French Protestants and their Descendants residing in Great Britain aforesaid, and their Successors, the same Seal from time to time at their Will and Pleasure to break, change, alter, or make new as to them shall seem expedient; And that they and their Successors shall and may for ever be capable of purchasing, taking, receiving, having, and enjoying houses, lands, tenements, and hereditaments, or any Estate whatsoever, real and personal, for lives, terms of years, or for ever, not exceeding the yearly value of Five hundred pounds of lawful money of Great Britain, in all Issues above reprints for the benefit and use of the Poor of the said Hospital. **And** Wee have also Given and Granted, And by these Presents, for Us, Our Heirs and Successors, Do Give and

Grant unto every Subject or Subjects whatsoever of Us, Our Heirs and Successors, full Power and Authority to Give, Grant, Sell, Aliene, Assign, Dispose, or Bequeath unto the said Corporation of the Governor and Directors of the Hospital for Poor French Protestants and their Descendants residing in Great Britain aforesaid, and their Successors, for the Benefit and use of the Poor of the said Hospital, any Houses, lands, Tenements, and Hereditaments, or any Estate whatsoever, real and personal, for lives, Terms of years, or for ever, not exceeding the yearly value of Five hundred pounds, as aforesaid. **And further**, for the due and Orderly Regulating and Government of the said Hospital, Wee Will, And do by these Presents, for Us, Our Heirs and Successors, Grant, Ordain, and Appoint, that from henceforth for ever there shall be a GOVERNOR, a DEPUTY-GOVERNOR, and THIRTY-SEVEN DIRECTORS, or more of THE SAID CORPORATION, to be Constituted and Chosen in such manner as hereafter in these Presents is expressed and specified. And for the better execution of Our Royal Will and Pleasure herein before declared, Wee have made, Ordained, Named, Constituted, and Appointed, And do by these Presents, for Us, Our Heirs and Successors, make, Ordain, Name, Constitute, and Appoint the said *Henry de Massue, Marquis de Ruigny, Earl of Galloway*, to be the first and present Governor of the said Corporation hereby Erected and Incorporated as aforesaid, and to continue for the space of *three years* from the date hereof, and till the Feast of St. Michael next following the end of the said three years; the said *James Baudoin* to be the first and present DEPUTY-GOVERNOR of the said Corporation, and to continue for the space of *one year* from the date hereof, and till the Feast of St. Michael next ensuing the end of the said year; and the said *Philip Menard, Lewis Saurin, Henry de Ste. Colome, Claude Scoffier, Nicholas de la Sabliere, Guy de la Court Vicouse, Jacob De Blagny, David Montolieu de St. Hipolite, Moses Pujolas, Francis de Pontereau, Lewis de Gaillard, Lewis des Clouseaux, James Robethon, Peter Champion de Crespigny, Albert de Lande, René de la Combe de Cluzet, Peter Reneu, Stephen Signoret, John le Clerc de Virly, Lewis Tudet, René Baudoin, James Lewis Berchere, Paul du Four, John de Rossieres, Thomas le Heup, Solomon Penny, Peter Marchand, Benjamin Barroneau, Thomas Thomas, Philip Fruchard, Peter James du Desert, John Philip Charles, James Tabart, James de Vaux, Peter Triquet, and John Perigail, and Peter Cabibel*, to be the first and present Directors of the said Corporation, to continue for the Term of *their natural lives*, unless removed, for some reasonable cause. **And** Wee do hereby for Us, our Heires and Successors, Give and Grant unto the Directors of the said Corporation, or the major part of them, for the time being, full Power and Authority after the death, or Removal or Determination of the Terms for which the said Governor and Deputy-Governor are hereby Constituted, to Choose others in their room respectively, and from time to time for ever, to Chuse a *Governor every three years*, and a *Deputy Governor every year*, at the Feast of St. Michael the Archangel, or within fourteen days after, out of the Directors; and also, upon reasonable Cause, to remove the Governor and Deputy-Governor for the time being, and to Choose others in their room who shall continue in their Offices, (viz.) the Governor for three years from the time of such Choice, and till the Michaelmas-day following the end of the said three years; and the Deputy-Governor for one year from the time of such Choice, and till the Michaelmas-day following the end of the said year, unless they shall

dye, or be removed as aforesaid; and likewise as often as any of the Directors shall be removed or die, to Nominate others in his or their room, and to add as many more Directors to the said number of thirty-seven as they or the major part of them shall think fitt; And also to appoint a TREASURER, and a MINISTER to perform DIVINE SERVICE in the said Hospital after the Rites of the CHURCH OF ENGLAND, and such Servants as shall be necessary, and one or more person or persons from time to time to Collect and Receive Voluntary Contributions for the use of the said Hospital. **And Wee** do, by these Presents, for Us, Our Heirs, and Successors, Grant, Ordain, and Appoint, That the Governor, Deputy-Governor, and Directors of the said Corporation for the time being shall have full Power and Authority from time to time, as they shall think fitt and necessary, to meet and Assemble at the said Hospital, and there to prepare make, Ordain, and Constitute such and so many good and wholsom *By-laws, Rules, Orders,* and Ordinances, as they shall think beneficial for the said Hospital. And that it shall and may be lawfull to and for the Governor, Deputy-Governor, and Directors of the said Corporation from time to time to alter, Anull, or make void the said *By-laws, Rules, Orders, & Ordinances* as to them shall seem expedient. **Provided** always that the said *By-laws, Rules, Orders* and Ordinances so as aforesaid to be made be reasonable, and not repugnant to law. **And** our Will and Pleasure is, And Wee do by these Presents, for Us, Our Heirs and Successors, Ordain and Appoint, that when the Directors shall meet to treat about any matter relating to the said Corporation, *Ten shall make a Quorum*; and that all their Resolutions shall be binding against the rest, who shall not attend on three days' notice in Writing from their SECRETARY of the time and place of meeting, in the same manner as if the whole Number had been present; And also that the Governor and Directors do not Relieve in the said Hospital, or by the Revenue thereof, any French Protestants or their Descendants, who shall not have been actually resident and settled in Great Britain by the space of *six months* at the least, and so continue, and who shall not take the Oaths of Allegiance and Supremacy, & the Abjuration Oath, before the Governor or Deputy-Governor, or the Directors, or any three or more of them for the time being, to whom Wee do for us, Our Heirs and Successors, Give full Power and Authority to Administer the same from time to time accordingly. **And Lastly,** Our Will and Pleasure is, And Wee do by these Presents, for Us, Our Heirs, and Successors, Grant unto the said Corporation and their Successors, that these Our letters Patents, or the Inrolment thereof, shall be in and by all things good, firm, valid, sufficient, and effectual in the law, according to the true intent and meaning thereof, and shall be taken, Construed, and Adjudged in the most favourable and beneficial Sense for the best Advantage of the said Corporation and their Successors, as well in all Courts of Record as elsewhere, and by all and singular the Officers and ministers whatsoever and wheresoever of Us, Our Heirs and Successors, Any Omission, Imperfection, Defect, matter, Cause, or thing whatsoever to the contrary thereof in any wise notwithstanding. **In Witnesse** whereof Wee have caused these Our letters to be made Patents.

Witnesse Our self at Westminster the Four and twentieth day of July, in the Fourth Year of Our Reign.

By Writ of Privy Seal.

COCKS.

Great Seal.

V.

PRIÈRE POUR L'OUVERTURE DES ASSEMBLÉES.

Dieu tout-puissant et Père miséricordieux, qui es le Consolateur des affligés, le Nourricier des pauvres, et le salut de ceux qui mettent leur confiance en Toi ! Regarde en tes compassions infinies tous ceux qui se trouvent dans l'affliction, dans la calamité, et dans la misère ; et particulièrement ceux qui ont été réduits pour la cause de ton St. Evangile. Fais que l'épreuve de leur foi leur tourne à honneur et à gloire, quand Jésus-Christ sera révélé, et pourvois à leurs besoins selon les richesses de ta miséricorde. Et puisque tu nous fais la grâce de nous appeler à donner nos soins au soulagement de nos frères, qui sont parmi nous dans l'indigence, accorde nous celle de nous acquitter fidèlement de ce devoir. Bénis cette maison, que ta Providence a préparée pour nos affligés ; fais leur y trouver les secours et les consolations qui leur sont nécessaires, et bénis notre administration, la faisant réussir à ta gloire, au bien de tes pauvres, et à notre salut éternel, par Jésus-Christ, notre Seigneur.—Amen.

Pour la Clôture des Assemblées.

La Grâce de notre Seigneur Jésus Christ, et la dilection de Dieu, et la communication du St. Esprit, soit avec nous tous éternellement.—Amen.

VI.

SERMENT DE NATURALISATION. (*From Calandrier, 1719.*)

Je, A. B., promets et jure sincèrement, que je serai fidelle et obéissant à Sa Majesté le Roy George : ainsy Dieu m'aide.

Je A. B., jure, que j'abhore, deteste, et abjure, comme impie, et Heretique, cette damnable Doctrine et Maxime, que les Princes excommuniez, ou suspendus par le Pape, ou aucune autorité du Siège de Rome, peuvent être déposés ou mis à mort par leurs Sujets, ou par aucune autre personne Quelconque ; Et je declare qu'aucun Prince ; personne, Prelat, Etat, ou Potentat Etranger, n'a n'y ne doit avoir aucune jurisdiction, Pouvoir, Superiorité Pré-éminence, n'i autorité Ecclesiastique ou Spirituelle dans ce Royaume—ainsy Dieu m'aide.

Je, A. B., reconnois, confesse, certifie & declare, en ma conscience devant Dieu et les hommes, que notre Souverain Sire le Roy George, est legitime Roy de ce Royaume, et de tous les autres, et Paÿs de Sa Majesté qui en dependent ; Et je declare solennellement et sincèrement, que je croi en ma conscience, que la personne qu'on pretendoit être le Prince de Galles, pendant la vie du Roy Jaques et qui depuis la mort d'iceluy, pretend être, se qualifie et prend le Titre de Roy d'Angleterre sous le nom de Jaques 8, ou Roy d'Ecosse sous le nom de Jaques 8 ; ou se qualifie et prend le Titre de Roy de la Grande Bretagne n'a aucun droit n'y Titre quelconque à la Couronne de ce Royaume, n'i a aucun autre Domaine en dependant ; et je renonce refuse, et abjure de luy rendre aucune fidelité, n'y obéissance ; et je jure que je porteray et rendray toute fidelité et Loyauté a Sa Majesté le Roy George, et que je le defendray de tout mon pouvoir contre toutes Trahisons, conspirations, et attentats quelconques qui pourroyent êtrefaits, contre Sa personne, Sa

couronne, ou Sa dignité ; et que je feray tous mes efforts, pour decouvrir, et faire savoir a Sa Majesté et a Ses Successeurs, toutes Trahisons ou conspirations qui viendront à ma conoissance, contre luy ou aucun de Ses Successeurs ; et je promets sincerement et de bonne foy que de tout mon pouvoir je soutiendray, maintiendray et defendray la Succession de la Couronne, contre le dit Jaques, et toutes autres personnes quelconques, ainsy que la dite succession est établie par un Acte qui est intitulé Acte pour declarer les Loix et Libertés des Sujets, et pour établir la Succession de la Couronne à Sa Majesté a present Reignant, et a Ses Heritiers, Issus de luy, pourvû quils soyent Protestants ; toutes les quelles choses je reconnois et jure franchement, et sincerement dans les mêmes Termes et paroles par moi prononcées, et selon le veritable et ordinaire sens, des mêmes paroles, sans aucune Equivoque Evasion Mentale, ou secrette reservation quelconque ; et je fais cette reconnoissance, confession, abjuration, renonciation et Promesse de tout mon coeur, franchement et sincerement et sur la veritable foi d'un Chrestien.—Ainsy Dieu m'aide.

Je, A. B. certifie, declare, et fais profession solennelle et sincere, devant Dieu, que je croi que dans le Sacrement de l'Eucharistie il n'y a aucune Transubstantiation des Elemens, du Pain et Vin, au Corps et au Sang de Jesus Christ, dans le tems de la consecration n'y apres (par qui que se soit quelle puisse estre faite) et que l'Invocation et adoration de la vierge Marie, ou d'aucun autre Saint et le Sacrifice de la Messe, ainsy qu'on les pratique dans l'Eglise Romaine, sont Superstitieux et Idolatre. Et Je certifie déclare et affirme, que je fais cette Declaration, et toutes les parties d'icelle dans un Sens ordinaire, et ingenu, des paroles dont il ma été fait Lecture, et de la même maniere quelles peuvent estre communément entendues, parles veritables Protestant Anglois. Sans aucune evasion équivoque, ou reservation mentale, et sans qu'aucune dispense m'aye été accordée par le Pape, ou aucune autre Autorité ou personne quelconque, et sans esperance d'aucune, et elle dispense de la part d'aucune personne ou autorité quelconque, et sans que je croye pouvoir estre dechargé n'y absous devant Dieu, n'y devant les hommes de cette Declaration, n'y d'aucune partie d'icelle, quand bien même le Pape, ou aucune autre Autorité, personne ou puissance quelconque m'en dispenserait ou annulerait cette declaration ou feroit la Declaration nulle par avance.—ainsy Dieu m'aide.

VII.

[Page 1.]

A BILL OF THE CHARGES FOR BUILDING OF THE
FRENCH HOSPITALL.

By PETER LEGRANT.

1. For 35 square & 82 foot 4 Inches of Building at £50 per square	1741	3	4
2. For Building the Kitchen	220	0	0
3. For the Chapell & Gallery	268	0	0
4. For 9 roomes for the Madd Pepell	90	0	0
5. For the brick walls	92	3	0
g. 6. For the rice of 1 foot of brick work	18	13	9
g. 7. For the House of office next the Kitchen	14	0	0
g. 8. For the House of office next the Chappell	11	0	0

q. 9. For the Closset at the end of the House next the Kitchen	13	0	0
q. 10. For Sinking and making 5 wells, Laboures 39 days	3	11	0
q. 11. Bricklayers, 16 dayes and Halfe	2	9	6
q. 12. Carpenters, 16½ dayes Helping	2	1	3
13. For Making the Kirbes for y ^e wells	0	10	0
14. For planks for the Kirbes for y ^e 5 wells	1	10	0
q. 15. For 158 foot of Oak q ^r to Ly on the Tope of the wells	2	15	2
q. 16. For 2 Inch Plank to Couer the wells	2	13	0
q. 17. For 38 Hods of Morter to lay the Uper Coarces of Brickwork in mortar	0	12	8
18. For one day a bricklayer & Labourer to make the sess poole by y ^e greate well	0	5	0
19. For the Kirb ouer y ^e sess poole	0	10	0
20. For the Iron grate	0	1	0
q. 21. For the Tubbes, Baskets, and Tackell In making the Wells	0	16	0
22. For Maken a litell well Kirb & Couring	0	12	0
23. For Making y ^e drains y ^t Lead to ye wells			
q. 24. { 4 Dayes & ½ a bricklayer)	1	13	2
{ 4 Dayes & ½ a labrouer)			
{ 32 Hodos of Morter)			
q. 25. 4 Loades of Stock Bricks for the floare of y ^e Beare Seller	2	4	0
q. 26. 2 Hundred of Lime & 2 Loades of Sand	1	6	0
q. 27. For Cutting 3 doareways, putting In 3 doares & Doare Casse	2	0	0
q. 28. For Cutting windos In the wales and putting In windowe frames	2	6	0
q. 29. For Making a pertition In y ^e seller, and changin the Staires	2	0	0
q. 30. For Making the straw Houss vsd 98 foot of new quarter nailes and work	2	6	0
	<hr/> £2500 01 10 <hr/>		

[Page 2.]

q. 31. For 26 bedes with pillowes	9	2	0
q. 32. For one bed with pillowes & sacking	0	10	6
q. 33. For 20 other bedes	6	10	0
q. 34. For one w th a Sacking	0	10	0
q. 35. For 58 Topes of bedes	5	16	0
q. 36. For the floares ouer y ^e litele roomes	2	10	0
q. 37. For 4 Tables Trussells & 8 benches	5	0	0
q. 38. For 6 Cloase Stooles	1	10	0
q. 39. For 3 Step laders, one w th a swing foot	1	5	0
40. For 8 boards w th Ledges to Cary y ^r Swoop on	0	8	0
q. 41. For 10 leafes of deale for shelves in y ^e litle roomes, Nailes, & 2 dayes work	0	15	0
42. For Cloak pines to hang Cloaks upon	0	5	0
q. 43. For a falce doare and painting	0	7	0
44. Agreed to pay towards y ^e stone doare Casse	4	6	0
q. 45. For Making a doareway into y ^e Kitchen Next the Chaple puling down a peice of y ^e wale making y ^e stepes	3	0	0

q. 46. For making 3 presses	4	0	0
q. 47. For a dresser and 2 drawers in y ^e Closset	0	12	0
q. 48. For y ^e Pailles Usd 10 whole deals, 145 f ^t of oake q ^r for posts & railles, 2 paire Hinges, Nails, & 6 days work	2	10	0
49. For 8 postes, for the Lines	1	0	0
q. 50. For the greate gates and Postes	7	0	0
51. For 3 doares & Doare Casses In y ^e wales	1	10	0
q. 52. For the painting y ^e Dores & greate gates	0	18	0
53. For 27 pound of led at y ^e Tope of y ^e gates	0	3	4½
q. 54. For 8 stock locks	0	9	6
q. 55. For 9 Stock Locks for y ^e mad House	0	12	0
q. 56. For 6 plate Latches	0	7	0
q. 57. For 6 Spring latches at 8 ^a p ^r latch	0	4	0
q. 58. For 3 Iron rim Locks ouer y ^e Chappell	0	6	6
59. For making a couer to y ^e Cock next y ^e wale	0	2	6
q. 60. For Diggin y ^e foundation of y ^e wales	0	16	0
q. 61. For Making a Stand for y ^e Massing Tubb and a floare of ould bords round y ^e same	1	5	0
q. 62. For making good the floare after the Plumer and back maker	0	7	6
q. 63. For the Carraige for y ^e Coolears	1	2	0
q. 64. For a step Lader for y ^e brewhouse and a Couer for the Copper	0	7	6
q. 65. For making a Stoue In y ^e Kitchin, 2 Dressers, a hatch & Hinges	1	10	0
q. 66. For Setting the grates	0	10	0
q. 67. For Making 2 windows ouer y ^e Kitchin and one in y ^e brewhouse	1	15	0
q. 68. For 62 foot of Double quarter & 18 f ^t single 3 Slit Deals, Taking down y ^e ould Window In y ^e ould house and makin good the rafters and y ^e peddi- mant ouer the doare, nailles, & 6 days work	1	14	0
	<hr/>		
	£70	16	4½

[Page 3.]

q. 69. For Bricking up the windows at the end of the Ould house usd 1400 of Bricks, 76 Hodess of Morter at 4 ^a p ^r Hodd	2	5	0
q. 70. For 2 Bricklayers 6 dayes, Labrouers 6 days	1	10	0
q. 71. For brickin up y ^e doareways In y ^e side of the ould House, 1150 Bricks, 54 Hods [of] morter	1	12	0
q. 72. 5 dayes & ½ bricklayers & 5 Days ½ Labourers	1	7	6
q. 73. For y ^e new wale at y ^e end of y ^e ould House	10	0	0
q. 74. — 32 foot of oake for Joyce in y ^e ould house	0	8	0
q. 75. For 2 p ^r 17 foot Long each to Ly in y ^e wale and a lintale 9 f ^t Long	0	10	0
q. 76. For a doare Case of oake and doare	0	10	0
q. 77. For 21 whole Deales & 14 Leafes Slit deale In men- dyng y ^e floars making y ^e Pertitions In the ould House	1	19	8
q. 78. For 23 foot of single q ^r	0	2	4

.q. 79. For 5 paire of Hinges & a Boults	0	7	0
80. For 200 Double Tens & 400 Single Tens	0	5	0
81. For 200 florng brads & 200 Sixpeny nails	0	2	6
.q. 82. For 21 Days work	2	12	6
.q. 83. For Making a stand for the Doah Trough	0	5	0
84. For y ^e Moulding board Trussells	0	2	0
.q. 85. For 2 windows of shutters to y ^e back house, and 4 pare Hinges and painting	1	0	0
.q. 86. For the stand for the Cestran	0	8	0
.q. 87. For the Couer and Hinges	0	6	0
.q. 88. For the Cheaks of y ^e Pump	0	8	0
.q. 89. For 3 whole deals usd for shelfes and peices to putt hookes In y ^e drying roome, Nailes and work	0	5	0
.q. 90. For mending the plastring of the Ould Hou[s]e	3	0	0
.q. 91. For 4 Locks for y ^e poors boxes, 8 Schootches and wood Squress	1	6	6
	30	12	0
	70	16	4½
	2500	1	10
	<u>£2601</u>	<u>10</u>	<u>2½</u>

.q. 92. For plastering the closet and staire case by y^e Kichen 02 00 00

Ce compte et vn autre sy Joint ont esté reglez a la somme de £2750, qui Luj ont esté payez appert des Receus et de sa derniere quittance de £200 pour entier payem^t de generallem^t tout cequil a fait et fait faire a Lhospital ce 12^e Mars 1713;—£2750.

[Endorsed:—]Compte de Mons^r Le Grand avec les quittances ce montant £2750.

A BILL FOR WORKE DONE AT Y^e FRENCH HOSPITAL.

	£	s.	d.
For meaking a new shad 65 foot long	110	00	00
For meaking up the plase between the 2 shades with a dore henges	01	06	00
For meaking another open gate, henges, &	00	09	00
For a borde for y ^e pres with 2 brakets	00	03	00
For 272 foot of ares goter at 3 ^d per foot	03	08	00
For 58 foot of truncks at 5 ^d per foot	01	03	06
For pouting up the pentus over the bake house dore	00	02	06
	<u>116</u>	<u>12</u>	<u>00</u>
For 73 yeards of lathing and plastering in ye beare saler, &c., at 9 ^d per yeard	02	14	09
For 30 yeards of rendering at 3 ^d	00	07	06
	<u>03</u>	<u>02</u>	<u>03</u>
Total	£116	12	00
	03	02	03
	<u>£119</u>	<u>14</u>	<u>03</u>

VIII.

A PROPOSAL TO ESTABLISH REGISTERS OF THE REFUGEES
AND THEIR CHILDREN.

Les Gouverneur & Directeurs de L'hospital pour les Pauvres françois Protestants Et Leurs Dessendans Rezidents dans La Grand Bretagne, Erigés en Corporation Perpetuelle par la Patante du Roy George Premier, ayant Reflecti Combien Il sera Difficile a leurs Dessendans Dans les Siecles a venir de Prouver Leurs Genealogies Et par Concequant Leur Droit pour Entrer dans le d. hospital Et y Jouir des Douceurs que les Pauvres Daprezent y Trouvent, Ont Creu quil nj a Rien de plus Propre pour Esviter cet Inconvenient que de Tenir vn Registre dans le d. hospital par Letre Alphabetique dans Lequel Seront Enregistrés, Les Noms, Ages, origines, qualités et Professions de Tous les françois Protestants qui sont aprezent Dans la Grand Bretagne, Et de ceux qui viendront Sj Establir dans La Suite, Ensemble Les Noms, Aages, Et Professions de leurs Enfans, Et aussj des Enfans quj sont Nés dans la Grand Bretagne Desquels les Peres sont Morts, ou quj sont Orphelins, Vn *Tel Registre* Servira a prouver Leur Titre, En Sorte que Ceux qui Seront a leur aize pourront prouver quilz sont qualifiés pour estre Establis Gouverneurs Et Directeurs, Et que Ceux qui Seront Pauvres pourront aussj prouver Le Droit quilz auront Dentrer dans le d. hospital, Pour cet Effect Les d. Gouverneur Et Directeurs ont Deja Dispozé Les choses pour quon Enregistre des aprezant Les Noms de Tous ceux des d. françois qui voudront se faire Enregistrer Et afin que personne Nignore cecy, Les d'Gouverneur & Directeurs ont Rezoleu denvoyer Copie de cet Acte aux Concistoires de Toutes les Esglizes Françoises non seulement a celles qui sont dans cete ville mais aussj a celles qui sont dans toute La Grand Bretagne Pour que silz le Trouvent apopos, ilz Le fassent Publier dans leurs Esglizes Respectives Et meme afficher dans les Chambres du concistoire.

Et Comme Il Seroit Difficile aux françois Protestants Esloignés de Londres de venir se faire Enregistrer, Il suffira quilz envoient Leurs Noms de la maniere quil a esté Dit, Et qu'au bas de la Liste, Les ministres & anciens des Esglizes dont Ilz Dependent Certifient quilz sont françois, ou Issus de françois Protestants.

[*Endorsed*.:]—Pour Lassemblee Du 5^e Avril 1738, cetoit pour proposer a Lassemblee De Tenir vn Registre pour que les Dessandans des françois pussent prouver Leur origine.

IX.

NOTES ON THE PURCHASE OF BOND COURT.

LONDON, 4 Janvier, 1724.

Bien fonds £6316 6s. 5d. payé a Richard Andrews pour l'achat de l'entiere Cour apelée Bonds Court scitué dans Walbrook parroisse de S^t Stephen Walbrook freehold dont les particularités suivront ci-apres lequel achat a été fait au nom de 12 Trustees ci apres nommés, savoir

Meg^a Albert la Blanc
 Claude Amyand
 Jaques Molinier
 Solomon Penny
 Isaac Renous
 Moyse Rigail
 Jean Remy de Montigny

Gedeon L'Eglise
 Pierre Marchant
 Thomas Thomas
 Antoine Clerembaut
 & Jaques Tabart.

Lesquels Trustees ont signe un acte de Trust comme quoy le d. achat est pour conte de la Corporation avec promesse d'agir confirmation aux directions qui leur seront données par la d. Corporation et par une Resolution prise dans une assemblée générale le 5 Janvier 1724 il est dit que lorsque les d. Trustees seront reduits au nombre de Sept la Corporation nommera cinq autres Trustees pour remplir la place de ceux qui seront morts.

la sus d. Cour a couté savoir			
pour l'achat	£6200	0	0
pour l'interest de la d. somme depuis la St. Jean			
dernier jusquau 16 xbr suivant quelle a ete			
payée a 4 p'c.	119	4	5
	<hr/>		
	6319	4	5

Deduit pour Land Taxes d'un quartier echeu a la
 St. Jean dernier qu'il faudra allouér aux
 Tenants suivants

a Mr. Caruthers	7	6	} 2 18 0
a Mr. Pierre Cabibel	1	18	
a M. Louis Berchere.	10	0	
a Sr. Thomas Scowen	2	6	
	<hr/>		
	£6316	6	5

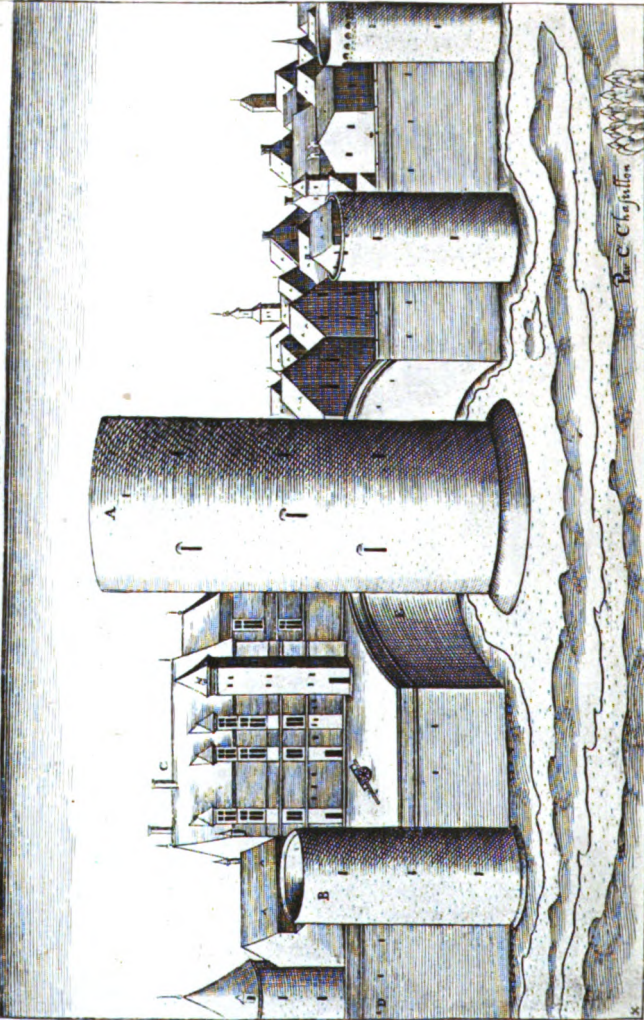
The foregoing is taken from the *Journal de Grand Livre*, No. II., p. 38. There follows *Etat de toutes les Maisons de Bond's Court*, giving abstracts of the various leases, and showing that there were fifteen houses, besides warehouses, etc. The rents due under the leases are also given, but there are several cases of lapsed leases and sub-lettings (pp. 39-41).

The lease of one house bears an endorsement prolonging the term for seven years for the consideration of eighteen quart bottles of the best Rhine wine, paid to Richard Andrews or his assigns each year on St. John's Day during the life of the said Richard Andrews and Catherine his wife.

The average net income derived from the houses in Bond Court for the twelve years, 1727-39, was £256 8s. 3d., or about 4 per cent. on the purchase money. The outgoings were chiefly for land-tax, water-rate and repairs to the houses.

As time went on the houses became dilapidated and an increasingly large sum had to be spent on repairs and restorations, until in January, 1759, a Committee of nine Directors, aided by Mr. Mainwaring, the Surveyor to the Corporation, was appointed to report as to the advisability of selling or leasing the houses. For more than three years the question was continually before the Court. At length, in October, 1762, the Directors, on the advice of their Surveyor, decided to put up the property for sale in six lots at reserve prices, the total amounting to £4320. In the following month the sale was effected. Each lot brought rather more than the reserve price, the total reaching £4645. £4556 5s. was at once invested in the purchase of £5000 3 per cent. Consolidated Annuities at 91 + $\frac{1}{4}$ per cent. brokerage, and the balance placed with the Treasurer.

LE CHASTEAV DE SAINT MAISSANT



Chronicles of the Boisragon Family.

BY IDA H. LAYARD.

The noble but untitled family of Chevalleau or Chevaleau can be traced far back in the annals of Poitou.

Although the affiliated pedigree only begins in the middle of the fifteenth century, isolated names are known in the twelfth and thirteenth.¹

The family inhabited the undulating and fertile country surrounding Niort, the present *chef-lieu* of the department of the Deux Sèvres, and their landed property extended for many miles, comprising meadow lands, chestnut woods, arable fields, but with a great dearth of water.

They evidently grew cereals on their vast tracts of lands lying under the hot summer sun, for we find one Jean Chevalleau, a knight, binding himself to pay to Pons de Vivonne, Chevalier, Seigneur des Homes [or Oulmes], and to his heirs for ever, twenty-four bushels (*deux setiers*) of wheat, twenty-four of oats and six capons annually, in return for the "hebergement des Homes alias la Chevalerie," given to Jean Chevalleau as a gift on the 15th September, 1357 (*Genealogie de Vivonne*).

This little homestead of Oulmes is in all probability the La Chevalerie close to Saint Maixent and La Chesnaye, both Boisragon property.

The date of their acquisition of their different estates is unknown. The Chevalleau appear on the scene as *seigneurs* of La Tiffardière and of Boisragon, and as nobles of Poitou.

Another of the few isolated names, a Gilles Chevalleau, appears as occupying property in or near the town of Niort, termed "La châtellenie de Niort". The allusion is not in his favour, for this knight, "ayant eu des querelles avec des paysans ses vassaux, fut compromis dans une rixe sang-

¹ A pedigree existed formerly in the possession of the French branch, dating back to 1321. *I'ide* p. 60.

lante suivie de mort d'homme". This "bloody fray," noted in the National Archives, occurred in the year 1446, but nothing further is known of the quarrelsome knight.

The town of Niort is broad and pleasant, somewhat hilly in parts, and inundated with sunshine.

The "Château," said to have been built by Richard Cœur de Lion, is a magnificent and imposing mass of stones, rising up in steep smooth walls, surmounted by two keep towers, and flanked by eight slightly projecting turrets the whole way up, containing the stairs. It stands in the lowest part of the town, on the edge of the river—the Sèvre Niortaise, and is only raised above the water by a rampart and the road.

On the town side the castle overlooks the great Market Place, and near it clusters the old town, the "Rue Vieille Rose," the "Rue de la Juiverie," and others; and below, near the river, and *in* the river, the oldest and dirtiest and hence most picturesque part, consisting of mills and factories. The mills are all occupied in the preparation of skins for glove-making. The skins are washed and cleaned, and pressed and rubbed out with cod-liver oil to give them a dressing (*un apprêt*).

In spite of the beauty, the sparkling lights and green depths of the river, the water is very impure, for all the skins are washed in it. At the washing place near the bridge below the castle the smell is loathsome. The washers stand in square boats with piles of fleeces round them, which they pound with poles, weighted at the ends, until they are white and clean.

All along this low quarter of the town are skins, either being peeled and scraped, or hung out in the sun, or else in course of dyeing. The effluvium is terrific.

In connection with these mills, it is curious to find that Claude Chevalleau, knight, Seigneur de la Tiffardière, etc. (3rd Degree), possessed a mill, situated below the Castle of Niort: "le moulin de la Tiffardière sis sous le Château de Niort qu'il possédait fut (with his other possessions) mis sous la main du roi," on account of his having killed his father-in-law.

"La Tiffardière," from which the mill took its name, was, and still is, a property close to Niort, on the west.

"Very frequent mention is made of the name of Chevalleau or Chevaleau in a reprint from an ancient MS. published at Nantes by Messieurs Vincent Forest & Emile Grimaud, 4 Place du Commerce, entitled: *Rôles des Bans et Arrières*

Bans de la Province de Poitou, Xaintonge et Angoumois, tenus et convoqués sous les Règnes des Roys Louis XI. en l'an 1467, par Yvon-du-Fou, Chevalier, Chambelan dudit Roy Charles VIII. par Jacques de Beaumont, Seigneur de Bressuire, Grand Sénéchal de Poictou, ensemble celui de l'an 1533, sous le règne du Roy François 1^{er} 'extraits des Originiaux estant pardevers Pierre de Sauzay, Ecuyer, sieur du Bois-Ferrand' à Poictiers, par Jean Fleurier, Imprimeur ordinaire du Roy et de l'Université," MDCCKVII.¹

In this long-titled book occurs the name of Jean Chavaleau (*sic*) [1st Degree] amongst the knights, wearing scale armour called brigantine, being a coat of mail, or a sort of ancient armour of defence, consisting of thin-jointed scales or plates, pliant and easy to the body.

This "Chaualeau and Chualeau" is called Sieur de la Tiffardière, the title by which they were at first more known than by that of Boisragon.

The first mention of Protestantism creeps in at the 4th Degree, where a young "Tiffardière," son of Claude Chevalleau and Marie Jay or Geay, was killed at the siege of Civray.

From this time onwards troubles began to thicken round the Chevalleau. Notwithstanding which, they clung still closer to the Reformed Faith.

One wonders who sowed the first seeds of a new idea, a purer faith in this knightly family, and who carried the first message to their hearts, imprinting it so deeply that young men and maidens suffered all, risked all, lost all, for conscience sake.

At Civray, towards this time, Protestantism was, one may rightly term it, rampant, for Jacques la Roche Crozé was pastor at that town and hurling his tracts at his opponents' heads.

Some of the family of Jay came from Civray, and at Saint-Maixent, where the Chevalleau began mostly to reside, pastors were numerous.

In the history of countries and of individual families, there seems to come a period when all the interests, the prosperity or the sorrows are concentrated. One figure, perhaps, or a cluster, stands out in bold relief. A plethora of documents, or of portraits, or of letters, throws a brilliant light, focussed on the subject in question, whilst all which precedes or follows fades into vagueness.

¹ Layard, MS. Chronicles.

The Chevalleau share the same experience, and their period of prominence, their apogee of sorrows, is ushered in by the death blow of "le jeune Tiffardière" at the siege of Civray.

His brother Jean [5th Degree], a Huguenot captain, was, as we see, Governor of Saint-Maixent, having his residence in the old Château, situated, as the old print shows, in the south-east quarter of the town, and near the eastern ramparts.

The old town rises up steeply from the river, climbing by tortuous streets to the ancient abbey church, belonging in olden days to a great Benedictine convent, now converted into barracks. The street opposite the west door of the abbey is called the "Rue de l'Abbaye," and there is a large open place between them. On the north side of the church stands a long building, now in ruins, with a barrelled roof. It is built over a Carlovingian substructure, and served for a long time as the Huguenot "Temple".

There was also another "Temple" in the Faubourg Chalons, for a street, not far from the only gate now existing, bears the name of "Rue du petit Temple".

In the "Archives des Deux Sevrès, 1688, H. 335, 2 pièces," there is a document which refers to the places of worship.

"Prises de possession du 'lieu' où est l'emplacement du temple ruyné de ceux quy faisoient cy-devant profession de la religion pretendue reformée au faubourg Chaslon du dit Saint-Maixent, par Révèrend père Fulgence de Saint-Marc, gardien du couvent des capucins de cette ville, et frère Placede de Perigueux, religieux du même couvent pour le dit couvant (*sic*) jouir, faire et disposer du dit emplacement et y construire leur couvant."

For a long time the abbey (now cathedral) church, a handsome building with a fine crypt under the altar, served as the Protestant Temple, and it was there, we believe, that the singular and beautiful sight took place of Romanists and Huguenots worshipping together as the united Catholic Church, meeting on the common ground of prayer and praise. It was in the quieter time, before the outbreak of hostilities. The priest began the service with prayers and the *Te Deum*, in which all joined; after which the minister gave out the Psalms, which all sang, and the congregation separated peaceably.

All the governor's children, except his youngest, Abraham, and all his grandchildren and great-grandchildren were bap-

tised at the Temple de Saint-Maixent. One would incline to think the ceremony must have taken place at the abbey, as the town was in his possession, except that the registers are kept by the pastors.

Jean Chevalleau's son, George [6th Degree], had but one daughter, Louise, who was left fatherless in the first year of her life. Her guardian, Leon de Saint-Maure, was father of that Charles de S. Maure (M. de Salles), afterwards Baron de Montausier, and husband in 1644 of the notorious Julie d'Angennes, Mademoiselle de Rambouillet.

Louise Chevalleau married her first cousin, Jean, in whose days the storm broke over the family. Jean, Seigneur de Boisragon, being left a widower with two young children, married again seven years afterward, Catherine de Marconnay, daughter of Philemon Chevalier and of Françoise de Vasselot de Regnier, who received from her parents on her marriage the lands of "la Tonche".

Persecutions fell with relentless hand on these three families, intimately connected by marriage. In the Society's *Proceedings*, vol. v., No. 3, we find several of the Vasselot de Regnier in receipt of pensions (page 384, Vasselot Regue; page 423, Angélique Vasselot de Regnie, etc.).

As early as Sunday, 22nd February, 1632, two of the Marconnay were in sore distress. "Le consistoire assemblé au nom de Dieu a arrêté que Jean de Marconnay (*sic*) et sa femme seront assistés de sept sols par semaine des deniers des pauvres durant la maladie de sa femme."¹

The first account we possess of the persecutions of the Chevalleau de Boisragon is of the year 1681, when Jean Chevalleau was residing temporarily at Civray.

"Le 22 d'Avril, 1681. CIVRAY.

"Le 22 d'Avril, deux cavaliers furent chez le nommé Boisragon, qui n'était point de la dépendance de Civray. Ils luy dirent avec d'horribles blasphèmes . . . (two words illegible) que des Missionnaires avec . . . que luy envoya M^r Danyau par l'ordre de M^r l'Intendant; Si tu n'habandonne² ta

¹ This extract is taken from a "Registre du Consistoire de l'église prétendue réformée de Niort depuis 1629 jusque en 1684 l'original sur lequel on a fait cette copie est dans l'abbaye de Saint-Maixent en Poitou. Papier pour le Consistoire de l'église réformée recueillie à Niort commençant au mois d'août 1629 acheté par Jean Martin ancien et receveur des deniers de ladite église pour vingt sols tournois."

² In the district of La Rochelle an "h" was and is often vulgarly inserted in many words and aspirated.

Relig : coquin d'Huguenot, nos : te feront du mal le plus que nos : pourronts.

“ On raporte avec etonnement tout ce q'avait par eux dits, croyan quelles sont toutes d'une singulière importance, puisquelles marquent toute quelles sont faits et par ordre de M^r l'Intendant.

“ Ils lui prirent ses souliers, ses casseroles, son Coffier, ses armories, prirent une cuillère d'argent, ses manchettes, ses chemises, ses cravattes à dentelle, ses cuvettes, ses . . . et luy dire prendre courage que c'étoit l'intention du Roy que les chiens d'Huguenots fussent pillés, saccagez :

“ Animés par leur Hoqueton ils prirent à la gorge led^t Boisragon, le menaçoient de l'étrangler s'il ne leur donnoit 4 Louis d'or. P^r se dégager, il les leur provint. Le lendemain . . . vint luy dire s'il ne vouloit pas changer et faire la religion du Roy ?

“ Boisragon répondit qu'il n'avoit jamais houï de la relig : du Roy, ni en l'avantage de le voir ; que la sienne luy enseignoit de prier Dieu p^r sa grandeur et sa prospérité, ce qu'il faisoit tous les jours, et qu'il vouloit mourir dan sa religion, q^l avoit toujo : professée.

“ Le Hoqueton lui repartit rudement : q^l luy feroit faire par force, puisque le roy ne vouloit pas qu'il y eues plus personne dans son roy^{me} : de la relig : Huguenotte.

“ Le dialogue est dite, qu'on n'y oublierez.

“ Boisragon luy dit, resolutement qu'il ne croyait pas que l'intention du Roy si grand et si bon fusse de gesner les consciences de ses sugets, qu'il avait bien ouï dire, qu'il souhaittoit qu'ils fussent tous de sa religion, mais qu'elle se fist de gré, et non pas en . . . rigoureux, qu'on . . . à son égard, et à l'égard de tant d'autres qu'on traitaient avec tant d'humanité.

“ Le Hoqueton ne se remit de sa passion, et voulant se faire obeir luy dit, vous êtes un plaisant, je m'en vay vous envoyez toute la Compagnie des Cavaliers et que s'il le faisoit d'avantage il alloit le mettre entre 4 murailles . . . du . . . Boisragon fit servir à son . . . un cochon de laet, et de l'agneau. Le Hoqueton le blasma de souffrir qu'on luy donnoit de si grossier viandes qu'il le fallait traiter autrement, et qu'ils ne fissent point de repas qu'ils n'eussent chacun un louis d'or à leur . . . sur cela, les cavalliers redoublèrent leurs désordres et le voulurent contraindre de leur donner 12 cent : jurant de le tuer s'il luy donnoit 3 pistoles, et de l'attacher à la queue de leurs chevaux, à l'obliger

de s'anfuir et d'abandonner sa maison, et qu'on le metta en pièces, sur . . . emporta son linge et pillaient tout le reste."¹

The month after the persecutions entered the very village of Boisragon, as we see by a complaint lodged at the "Consistoire de Boisragon" by a persecuted Huguenot of the name of Daniel Troubé.

"BOISRAGON, *May*, 1681.

"Daniel Troubé du village de Boisragon . . . (pres ?) . . . la ville de Niors au mois de May . . . en ayant . . . demandé des pièces qui luy appartenoient au Montpetit, dit la forest Sibgorn, auquel il avoit donnée por: et payment les arbitreurs . . . prit pretexte de . . . la religion . . . led^t trouble q^e: accabla . . . et en même tems, sans aucun ordre ni autorité saisit: le d^t Troubé, le mena dans la prison du Niort, ou . . . été . . . de . . . savoir être ecroué de . . . le 22 May jusqu'au 29 July p^r: a ce alargi sans avoir eu aucune juztice de sez vexations."²

Although it is not mentioned, we may conclude that Troubé was one of the retainers of Jean de Boisragon, to whom the whole village belonged. In all probability Troubé escaped after his being put at liberty, for in 1685, 3rd December, there is a record in the Register of Marriages in St. Patrick's Close, Dublin, of "Daniel Troubet et Catherine Berry".

Three years passed, during which we cannot but conclude that the Boisragons were subject to many trials for their religion's sake.

In the *Bulletin des Protestants* we read that "La Chesnaye Boisragon, jeune gentilhomme de 18 ans fit voir à son âge autant de force d'esprit et de piété que les plus avancés".

This was Louis, the sixth son and ninth child of Jean de Boisragon, the founder of the English branch of the Boisragon family.

Born in 1666, he was eighteen years of age in 1684, and, as our extract records, was of a strong and devout nature. "Le chevalier de Chesnaye," as he was called, never swerved from the faith. The Pastor of the Church of St. Maixent having known him from his babyhood, testifies to his strength of character.

¹ Extracted by Miss Florence L. Layard from Pastor Bonhoureau's collection of old Huguenot papers in Archbishop Marsh's library, Dublin. The spelling and grammar are peculiar, and the manuscript is difficult to decipher.

² MS. in Marsh's library, Dublin. Extracted by Miss F. L. Layard.

Writing later, after the young Chevalier's escape, Melin says:—

“I, the undersigned Pastor of the Church of St. Maixant (*sic*) in Poitou, certify that Monsieur Chevalleau de Boisragon is born in the said Church, and is of a family considerable in the Province for its Nobility and for its wealth.

“That he has always been brought up in our Holy Religion without having ever abandoned it.

“That in these last years he has shown (though very young) an unshaken constancy, having long suffered imprisonment at La Rochelle and at Paris, and having in the former place been condemned to the galleys, without having ever done anything unworthy of a true Christian.

“That at last he had the liberty to leave the kingdom with others . . . [illegible].

“Given at Amsterdam, the 7th of October, 1688.

“(Signed) MÉLIN.”

A copy of this certificate, made and signed by Mary Layard, *née* Fuzel, his daughter-in-law, wife of Henry Charles Boisragon, is preserved amongst the family papers of Louis de Boisragon. The illegible word is considered by Mary Layard, as stated by her in a note, to have been “confessors”.

In this year, 1684, the head of the family passed away. Who knows but that the troubles experienced at Civray did not bring about his death?

The *Dictionnaire de Poitou* states that he was eighty-four when he died, making the year of his death 1689; but the register of his death proves the contrary, as well as the date on his tombstone.

The Register¹ states:—

“Du vingt Februer 1684, m'a este raporté par M^{re} Ollivier de Marconnay, Escuyer, Sgr de Blanzac et M. Jean Chevalleau, Ecuyer, Sr de Boisragon, que du 26 janvier 1684 a esté enterre M. Jean Chevalleau, Seigneur, Escuyer, s. vivant,² Seigneur des Boiragon (*sic*) et led. Sr de Blanzac, au lieu noble de Mazeuil, d. p. led Sr³ de Boisragon âgé de 63 ans et se sont lez. Srs de Blanzac et Chevalleau.

“Soubs. sgn. aussy signe,

“OLLIVIER DE MARCONNAY,

“JEAN CHEVALLEAU.”

¹ Copied by Miss F. L. Layard.

² De son vivant—in his life.

³ De par ledit Sieur.

If he was really born in 1615, then "sixty-three years of age" is a misreading for sixty-nine.

That 1684 is the accurate date is proved, as stated by the tombstone of Jean Chevalleau's grave. It now forms the top stone to a garden gate at Boisragon, which garden was formerly their private Protestant burying ground.

The peasant proprietors of the farm-house still continue to use it for the same purpose, as in September, 1895, there were two comparatively new graves.

The tombstone is a long one, slightly sloped on each side; the large letters are partly legible from below.

On the side facing the country lane is written:—

" Ci git le corps de haut et puissant . . .	
Sire Jean Chevalleau	broken
Seigneur de Boisragon	off.
nes La Chevalerie	
d e M a r c o n n a y".	

on the other:—

" Ci git le corps de Jean Chevalleau
Seigneur de Boisragon et autre
qui décéda au sgnerie¹ le 26
janvier 1684. Priez Dieu pour
son âme."

A letter in the possession of the writer was written about this tombstone, confirming the accuracy of the date 1684, and much was made of the little syllable "nes" on the eastern side of the stone. It was thought to be "nés" = born, and because it was in the plural, the correspondent considered that perhaps the grave contained two persons. But there is no shade of doubt that the gap between "Boisragon" and "nes La Chevalerie" should be filled by "des Ouli[nés]," which as we know preceded "La Chevalerie". The word "Marconnay" takes up the whole length of the stone.

By the prayer for the repose of his soul, we may conclude that those who put up this tombstone were Roman Catholics. It is not at all unlikely that his eldest son Jean, who announced the death of his father at the registrar's, may have been a Roman Catholic, for he kept possession of the family estates, he and his children after him.

Olivier de Blanzac [or Olivier de Marconnay] was first cousin to the widowed Madame de Boisragon, a son of her uncle Louis de Marconnay and Marie Gourjault de la

¹ Seigneurie.

Millière, the same Marconnay who in the following year suffered the dragonnades, the sacking of their house and imprisonment. Olivier de Blanzac was also Seigneur de Mazeuil. He fled to Berlin, and died there in 1688, whilst holding the appointment of Chancellor of the Embassy.

The youngest son Charles, called the Seigneur Du Pont, and another entitled De Courcé, with a sister (name unknown), who died of smallpox in Holland, escaped after the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes. We do not know which of the sons, Benjamin, Philemon, or Daniel, was surnamed De Courcé, or how the fugitives effected their escape.

Louis fled to the Hague, and received by the orders of King William III., then Prince of Orange, his first commission as Cornet in Schomberg's Horse, the commission being dated at Lisburne, in Ireland, 12th March, 1689-90. He was one of the corps of noble cadets "Le Prince d'Orange en avait huit cents, qu'il entre tenait à Delft, tandis qu'il était en Hollande, lesquels passèrent en Angleterre avec lui".

His lieutenancy is signed:—

"Schomberg, at Lisburn, 1st December, 1689."

His second commission is dated at Hampton Court, 1st July, 1689, and signed "William".

His third commission of captain in the Marquis de Meremont's Regiment of Dragoons is dated at the Hague, 1st October, 1695, in the seventh year of His Majesty's reign, signed "William".

But to return to the young sisters left behind at Boisragon; Catherine, at the time of the edict, was seventeen, Céléste a little younger, and Jeanne Françoise only nine.

Of the first we read in the *Memoirs pour servir à l'histoire des Réfugiés Français dans les Etats du Roi*, by Erman and Reclam, that "she had been arrested in the Isle de Rhé whilst endeavouring to fly her doomed country, that she had been condemned to be shorn and imprisoned, but that her sentence was lightened". After having suffered a year's imprisonment at the Convent of the "Nouvelles Catholiques" (in other words, of those made Romanists by force), she was restored to her mother, and, with her sister Céléste, abjured her errors on the 9th March, 1686.

This abjuration seems to have been—at any rate on the part of Catherine—at the point of the sword, and but an outward and enforced act, for she remained firm during all her persecution, and was still unshaken when restored to her mother's care. To understand her sufferings one need

only read the memoir of this incarceration by Mlle. de Chaupepié, with whom she was imprisoned.

Louis de Boisragon was liberated at the same time from the "Petit Chatelet" at Paris.

Jeanne Françoise, being so young, seems to have been brought up a Roman Catholic; her mother also seems to have conformed, for she is still in the possession of property at her death, leaving it all to this youngest daughter.

The Roman Catholic branch continued in peaceable possession of all their lands for another century, and then—faithful to their king, as their ancestors had been to their God—they in turn left their homes.

Of the elder branch, Ambroise Louis de Boisragon died far from his country in a hospital of his wounds. His elder brother returned, but died without posterity.

Of the second branch, Armand, styled by courtesy the Count of Boisragon, died in exile, and his only child also. His brother, the Chevalier, left a son and daughter, who both died unmarried at La Chesnaye, the daughter aged only twenty-four. Her brother, Jean Lubin, a degenerate scion of a noble race, lived on in a wretchedly untidy condition, ill-regulated in every way, leaving his old manor to rot and crumble away over his very head. The roof fell in and was not repaired, the very house began to fall in pieces, the *salle d'armes* scarcely held together. To such a pass did it come, that the house could no longer be repaired.

Jean Lubin de Boisragon left La Chesnaye at his death to a mason of the name of Denis.

Madame Denis' son, Alexandre, had long lived at the Château, and the Denises took up their residence in the old house, which once had been "a fine old castle of Gothic form and saracenesque, ornamented with four beautiful towers, and surrounded with moats ever filled with running, limpid water".

The mason pulled down every portion and rebuilt, about twenty-five years ago, the present square white house, with the old stones.

The old house was in the shape of an L, and was distinctly larger than the present one, as the cellars and the outlining foundation stones of the former building indicate.

The cellars are very spacious. In front of the present house, at some distance, is a well with a windlass. It used to be in a garden wall, which divided the cemetery from the

house, and was one of those wells in which one bucket went up by a chain while the other went down.

Close by it are two stumpy yew trees, which once grew so close to each other that they looked like one round ball. Monsieur Alexandre divided them and put a seat between. He also moved most of the cypresses of the old cemetery a few yards to get them into more of a line up to the house door; but he has only succeeded in increasing the desolation.

The Château stood to the left of the high road; on the right is a cluster of cottages facing the alleys and cypress trees of the Chesnaye property, which are visible through an iron railing in the stone wall. The modern white-washed house is visible from the road.

A smaller road turns off sharply from the highway on the left, and passing between the walls of the cypress garden on the one side and the Grand Pré (great meadow) on the other, leads up to the gate of the drive. A dry cattle pond is at the corner of the lane and the high road.

The old house opposite the garden, on the village side of the high road, is called La Chapelle.

In a journal by the refugee's son we read: "At the bottom of the garden is the tomb, still in good order and preservation, of a great-grandmother¹ who died in 1671. There is also the chapel and burying place of the family when it was Protestant."

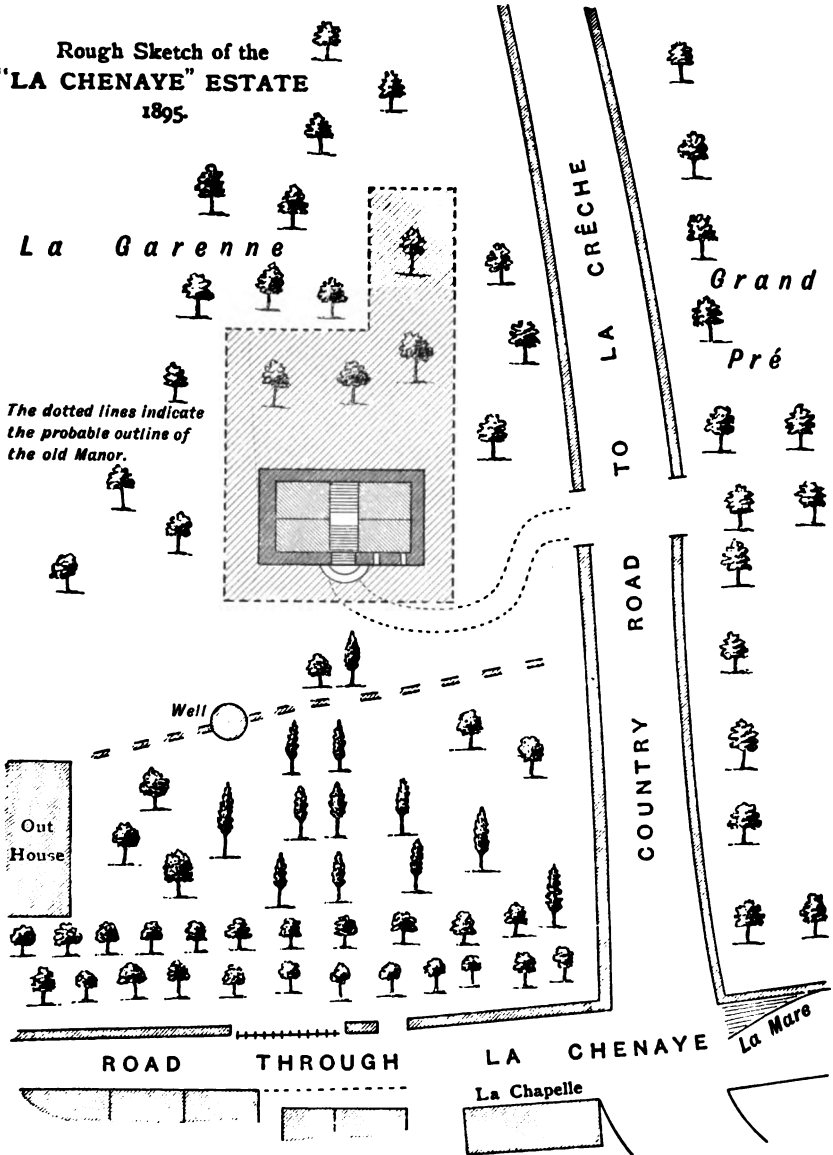
Now this portion of the property is known to have been until quite lately the private cemetery, attached, as was the Protestant custom, to the manor house. The road which leads up from the high road is of recent date, and was cut through the garden cemetery and the Grand Pré up to the entrance near the house. The cemetery extended for some distance.

The little house called La Chapelle may be on the site of the temple, and perchance the *mare* or horse-pond is a remnant of the moat or ditch, for there is no other trace of such a thing.

It is said that the village road did not pass between the garden cemetery and La Chapelle, but behind those houses, and making a curve, came through the Grand Pré to the house. In the wall at the foot of the garden is a little arched gate.

¹ Marthe Regnon, daughter of Jean Regnon and Antoinette Prevost, and wife of Pierre Chevalleau, whom she married in 1614.

Rough Sketch of the
 "LA CHENAYE" ESTATE
 1895.



Within and along the wall is a long shady alley or *charmille* continuing farther than the actual square of the garden, and extending behind some other property. The cypresses, dotted all over this neglected garden, tall pointed dark obelisks and squat ones, give a most funereal aspect to the spot. Marthe Regnon's grave and the memory of it have both vanished.

In the arm of the L of the old Château was a great unglazed hall, lighted at either end by mullioned casements, but otherwise exceedingly dark. It was a sort of *salle d'armes*, with only a *grenier* (loft) above it.

Behind the house are a great many trees and evergreens, *laurier cerisier* (cherry-bay), and others, but M. Alexandre mentioned that he had planted nearly every tree except the cypresses. There were no oaks round the house to warrant the name of La Chesnaye.

At the end of the garden at the back of the house is an extensive warren—La Garenne—which always existed there, although it was kept lopped, whereas now it is left to grow tall, and is cut yearly for *bois de taillis* (firewood). The warren is wedge-shaped, the point being farthest from the house and near the old farm.

At some distance behind these old buildings, in a sloping field called Le Pré au cimetière, is a little stone walled enclosure. It faces the east, and lies under a wall, being shaded with oak trees and overgrown with blackberry brambles. It is very small, scarcely fourteen feet square. In it are two or three low rounded tombstones.

Beyond the farm and the warren is a long field which stretches northward to the edge of the hill, whence the meadows slope down to the lower lying lands, and the eye ranges over a vast stretch of country—La Crèche—on the high road, in a hollow; Brelon, with its factory chimney and church towers; beyond them the clustering trees of Boisragon; to the right, Saint Néonaye; far away in the distance, Fouilloux forest; Saint Maixent is hidden by the trees on the right.

The property of La Chênaye extends northward someway down the hill as far as an avenue of walnut trees on the road to La Crèche.

M. Alexandre is said to possess Boisragon family papers, left by Jean Lubin de Boisragon. There were no relics in the house except a carved stool, recovered, in the drawing-room, and a low cupboard in the hall. On the wall of the

drawing room hang two extraordinary mythical pictures of dragons and fearful beasts.

Whilst the Roman Catholic branch of the Boisragon family continued to abide on their estates, the Huguenot exiles—Louis, Chevalier de la Chênaye; Charles, Seigneur du Pont, and one other, Seigneur de Courcé, were carving their own fortunes at the point of their swords.

Charles du Pont became a lieutenant in the corps of Lünebourg, and was living in 1704. His widow, Marthe Alibert, was buried at Berlin, and registered as “the widow of Charles Chevalet de Boisragon”. Madame de Boisragon was a native of Grenoble.

Of Louis' sufferings there is a more complete account in the *Bulletin* for September, 1887, of the Société de l'histoire du Protestantisme français, p. 477, by M. A. J. Enschédé, which runs thus:—

“Louis Chevalleau, Chevalier, Seigneur de Boisragon, Province de Poitou, a en les dragons cinq semaines et ensuite mis en prison à la Rochelle, à la Tour de Saint Nicolas,¹ et de là transferé dans la prison ordinaire fut mis au cachot, et par sentence du présidial, condamné aux Galères, de laquelle sentence estant appellant, il fut mené dans la conciergerie du palais à Paris, ou il fut mis dans les Cachots, les fers aux pieds, et aux mains: de là il fut encore transferé dans les prisons du Châtelet et du Fort l'Evêque, et finalement, a esté conduit sur la fontière par ordre du Roy”.

Having attained the rank of captain, Louis de Boisragon served at the Boyne and other actions in Ireland, and was aide-de-camp to Monsieur d'Auverquerque at the Battle of Loudun, the certificates of which are dated at Ghent, 17th December, 1695, and signed “d'Auverquerque, Lieut.-General of the Armies of his Britannic Majesty, Commanding-in-Chief his Cavalry in the Low Countries, and Lieut.-General of the United Provinces”. He was made exempt in the Guards, dated at Kensington, 9th April, 1700, by his Majesty, and in the next month we find him at leisure to marry.

Louis de Boisragon married on the 25th May, 1700, at the Chapel Royal, St. James—then called the Priory Chapel, Pall Mall—Louise Royrand, daughter of Messire René Royrand, Seigneur des Clouseaux and Dame Marguerite de Goulaine, natives of La Marche. She was the widow

¹ The Tour Saint Nicolas, with the Tour de la Chaine, are two great forts, which guard the entrance of the harbour at La Rochelle.

of Messire Henri Auguste Helias, Seigneur de La Grange Boisraux. Pasteur Ménard blessed the marriage.

Captain de Boisragon cannot have had much time for the enjoyments of home life.

The next trace of him is on foreign service, while his wife seems to have lived at the Hague, where he joined her at different times. He was there in 1704, for they made their will conjointly in that year at the Hague.

He was again with her before his receiving his brevet of Lieut.-Colonel. Their first child, Alexandre Louis, was born at the Hague in 1709. In the same year the Colonel was naturalised; Anne and the infant also. Act No. 42, "an infant born at the Hague, son of Louis Chevalleau de Boisragon and Lewize".

The Boisragons had another child, named Catherine Louise, of whom nothing is known, except that she was living in 1729.

In 1713 Madame de Boisragon died, and in the end of the same year Lieut.-Colonel Louis Chevalleau de Boisragon married again—in the same church which had witnessed his first vows—Marie Henriette de Rambouillet, second daughter of Messire Nicolas de Rambouillet, Chevalier, Marquis de la Sablière and Henriette Louise de Cheusses.

There is another lapse of a few years, as on the first occasion, between their marriage and the birth of their children, Lieut.-Colonel Boisragon is Lieut.-Colonel of Horse in Bouchelier's regiment in 1715 (brevet of 24th June, 1715, signed "Galway"), having been promoted from the lieut.-colonelship of Foot in Nassau's regiment (brevet dated 16th February, 1715, at St. James', signed "George").

Not till 1716 was their first child born, Susanne Henriette, who in the twenty-third year of her age married at Spring Gardens Chapel, London, on the 4th August, 1743, Dr. Daniel Peter Layard, later Physician to the Dowager Princess of Wales, and President of the Benevolent Medical Society of the County of Kent, and at that time a handsome young man of twenty-three, four years younger than his wife.

A portrait of Susanne Henriette de Boisragon, Madame Layard, by John Cole, is in the possession of the Marquis of Huntly at Orton Longueville, with one of her sister Anne.

Madame de St. Maurice, whose maiden name was Magdalene Christine Dulac, when making her will, left to

Suzanne Boisragon, Madame Layard "£20, my bed, with all which thereto belongs, the foot-carpet, which is in my room, and my suit of black Paduasoy," also "a clock".

The Colonel's second daughter, Elizabeth, married on the 13th December, 1743, in the same year as her elder sister, Dr. Mathew Maty (or Mathieu), son of Paul Maty, of Manosque, in the Departement des Basses Alpes, and of Jeanne Crothier des Mârets. Dr. Maty was born in 1718, and was therefore twenty-five at the time of his marriage with Elizabeth Boisragon. In 1758 her husband was appointed librarian to the British Museum, in which post he was succeeded by their son Paul Henri in 1776.

Their daughter Louisa married Roger Jortin, Esq., of Lincolns Inn, son of the Pastor Jean Jortin, also Huguenots like the Maty, Layarde and Boisragon.

Anne, the youngest daughter, married a Monsieur Tustamond, also of Huguenot descent.

The two sons were evidently the latest born of Colonel Boisragon's children—Henry Charles and Gedeon Charles. In a few years the family was deprived of its head. The Colonel died in 1736, being then in the 53rd regiment of foot.

Henry Charles Boisragon, born in June, 1728, was "a good and gallant soldier, and saw much service during the wars in the Low Countries".

"In the year 1749,"¹ when he was twenty-one years of age, to quote his own words, "I set out for Paris, and from thence travelled along the western coast to Lyons, on to Avignon in Languedoc.

"After the holding of the States at Nismes, I went to Montpellier, thence down to Pressières, thence embarked on the Royal Canal for Toulouse, and thence to Montauban of Bordeaux. From thence crossed the Garonne to Blaye on the opposite shore, and went on to Rochefort, through Xaintes and Charente, and from Rochefort to La Rochelle.

"Madame du Charreau" was of Rochelle, and has told me she remembered my father being confined there in its prison on account of his religion.

¹ Taken from a journal by Henry Boisragon, written in a very difficult hand, of which Mrs. Boisragon, his brother's wife, made a fair copy in 1808.

² Madame du Charreau must have been the wife of M. François du Pratt du Charreau of La Rochelle, whose daughter Anne, wife of Lieut.-Colonel Charles William Rambouillet, was aunt to the writer of the journal.

“Passed through Mauzé to Niort in Poitou, thence to visit my relations. . . . Went first to La Crèche, halfway to Saint Maixant, which is five leagues from Niort. Turned off the great road to the left, and half a league brought me to Boisragon, the family estate, in the possession of my eldest cousin.¹”

The highway from La Rochelle to Poitiers and Paris has existed for ages. At Niort it leaves the town by the Place de la Brèche and ascends pretty steeply through the *faubourg* of the Avenue de Paris to the octroi gates, after which commences an interminable avenue of trees, planted about fifty years ago, so that the young officer travelling along the road in 1749 must have found himself much exposed to the sun. The country looks like a plain, but the road ascends and descends continually, so steeply at times that when one is at the foot of one hill the summit of the next is hidden in the leafy tops of the trees.

There is a wide view on either side over fertile fields and little hamlets. What strikes one most is the distance from one habitated spot to another, and the absence of human beings in the fields. Here and there is a solitary figure, a woman dressed in a gleaming white shirt, black stays, grey petticoat and white coif, seated on the ground mending or knitting, and watching a solitary goat, in which office she is helped by a faithful shaggy dog.

Another conspicuous feature are the pitiful little square cemeteries, with their dark pointed cypresses and white stone walls. Each Protestant homestead had and has its little “God’s acre,” though it is not anything like an acre in size, simply a very little *acker* (meadow). Here they bury their dead quietly and lonely, their pastor coming to bless and make a *discours* over another of the flock folded to rest.

These cemeteries dot the country. The custom began in this province when persecution drove the Huguenots to burying in their gardens, and was continued in times of peace in preference to burying their dead in the portion of the Roman Catholic cemeteries grudgingly allotted to them.

There are several cross-roads before reaching La Crèche. Before one reaches the road which turns off to Chavagné there is a long cypress avenue on the right hand leading to La Miséré, a small property and village. The road to

¹ Alexandre, son of Jean Chevalleau and Perside de Laste.

Chavagné is the high road to La Chesnaye. Chavagné is on rising ground, on chalk soil, with oak woodlands.

Between this village and La Chesnaye is a spot called La Châtaignerie, where is a coppice of splendid chestnut trees, remarkable for their number and size, and the brilliancy of their foliage.

La Crèche is a charming little village, cradled in trees and lying in a picturesque hollow, with the river near it.

Turning off, as Henry Boisragon did, to the left, and passing through the walnut and poplar trees by the winding road, one reaches almost at once the village of Breton, which is the parish, and possesses three churches, *viz.*, the old picturesque one turned into a barn, the modern one alongside, and a hideous "temple" opposite.

Breton is quite a small place; passing through it and through some country lanes, a sharp turn to the right leads into the straggly village of Boisragon, where the road winds in curves past small cottages and gardens and wooded enclosures.

A little lane leads up to the yard gate of the manor of Boisragon, which, as well as the village, is in a very neglected state.

Henry Boisragon remarks: "Boisragon is a village of which my eldest cousin is Seigneur; the Château de Boisragon is neglected: as my cousin lives on the estate he inherited from his mother called La Mothe Jarrière. I found some servants and his steward at Boisragon, and I saw two pictures, which I was told were those of my grandfather and grandmother."¹

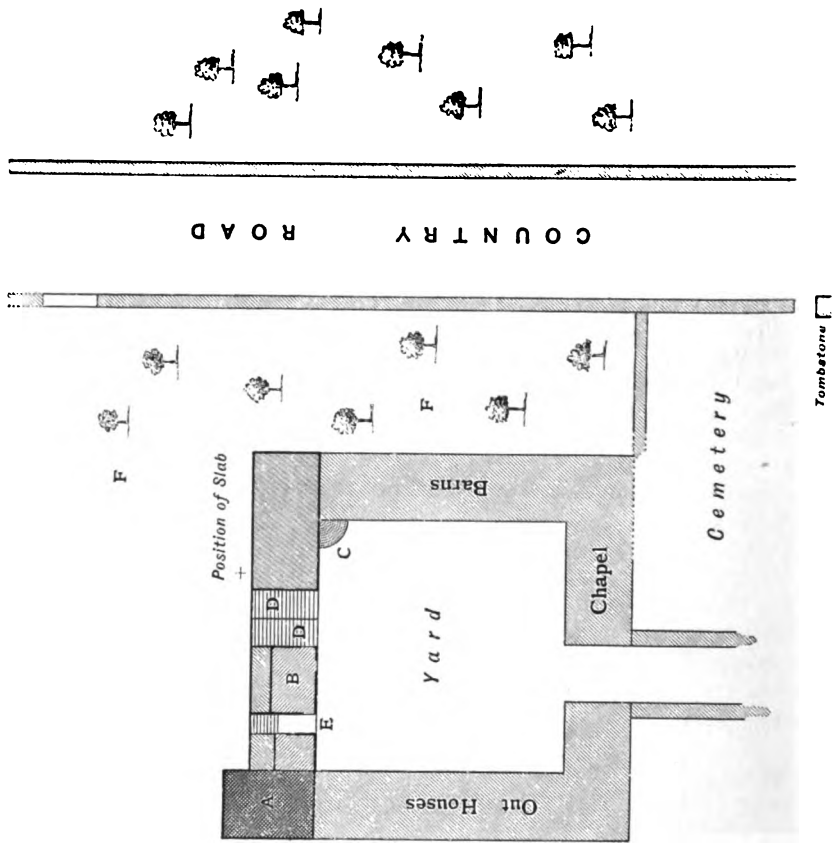
"In the village are about 150 houses; all the *paysans* are Protestants, except eight families. Opposite the road, on the right hand, and about the same distance from Niort, is the Château de la Chênaye, a house belonging to my younger cousin Boisragon,² who is a Captain commandant of a battalion of the regiment of Orleans, with the brevet rank of Colonel: La Chênaye came to him as his share of his father's estates (*sa legitime*)."

During the reign of terror, when the Boisragons emigrated, the Republic confiscated the estate of Boisragon, and sold it eventually to a peasant family of the name of Viens, of whom the descendants are still in possession of it.

¹ Jean Chevalleau and Catherine de Marconnay.

² See in Pedigree, IX. Degree. Armand, dit le Chevalier de Boisragon, who married Marguerite de Gondin de Carsan.

- A. New House
- B. Vien's Kitchen
- C. Round Tower
- D.D. Staircase
- E. Modern Hall
- F. Orchard and Garden



**Rough Sketch of
BOISRAGON FARM
1895.**

Not a trace of seigneurial building is apparent in the present whitewashed farm. On the right hand of the yard gate are the ruins of what the peasants call a barn, but which bear the stamp of a great hall or chapel. Only the front wall facing the yard is intact, and some broken down side walls. In the front wall is a great Gothic archway, and beside it, on its left, a smaller similar one.

The dwelling-house encloses the yard on the north side. It is a long one-storeyed building with a high *grenier* or loft. A modern house is built on at the west angle, but is not connected with the old part. That half which belongs to the Viens is whitewashed and has green shutters, and is entirely modernised. The other half, belonging to poorer folk, is left in the rough stones, and has a semicircular but partly razed tower in the corner. Probably there was a similar tower at the other end, after the fashion of old French houses.

The Viens have divided their house into small rooms: the fine chimney-pieces which were formerly in the halls are gone, and the only piece of the old furniture which remains is an enormous wardrobe of walnut wood, with great shining steel hinges and locks. Each room used to possess one or two of these antique *armoires*.

The door of the house opens into a kitchen. A slip off this room has been turned into a larder. Its windows are barred like apertures for defence. All the windows on the north side of the house are barred; those in the loft are almost loopholes, and are still more securely defended.

The kitchen and a sitting-room beyond are divided by a staircase, which was originally only a back-stair. The Viens widened it, and sold the old balustrade of carved oak-wood.

The *escalier noble* was a fine wide stone ascent, off which opened doors into the rooms on both sides. It is now shut off and quite spoiled, and used as a sort of larder for eggs, carrots and all kinds of lumber.

The doors are walled up, so that there is no communication with the next portion of the house. There are no pictures or any relics, except an old arm-chair.

At the back of the house, over a walled-up window in the poorer portion of the building, is a great stone lintel, and cut in it are the following letters:—

N DU
24. S.P.B. 1768. HARIET-MAR-BREVIL-HELION.

Henriette Marie du Breuil-Helion was daughter to Louis Bernard du Breuil-Helion, Seigneur de Combes, La Guéronnière, etc., and to Madeleine Vidard de St. Clair. At this date she was a widow for the second time. In her youth she had married M. Joseph Bonnin, Chevalier, Seigneur des Forges, a man eighty-eight years old, who died after only eight months of married life, leaving her all his property. She then became the wife of Louis Alexandre de Boisragon, who was scarcely more than twenty-four years old, and who died at the early age of thirty-five or thereabouts. "S.P.B." may stand for *Septembre*, but there is no record as to what the date 1768 may refer. Perhaps it is a tombstone used to repair the casement.

Passing through the garden at the back of the house one reaches a road, and skirting the orchard which belongs to the Viens' neighbours, one comes at last to a little garden gate, over which is the gravestone of Jean Chevalleau (referred to on page 89).

When Henry Boisragon went to see his younger cousin, he went, so the journal reads, from Boisragon to La Chênaye. If so, he probably went through La Crèche by the narrow and somewhat steep road leading off the high-road. This road leads from the hollow in which La Crèche lies, passing along the ravine and then climbing to the uplands, upon which lies the village of La Chênaye.

"My cousin," writes Henry Boisragon, "who is its Seigneur, has lately purchased a small estate in its neighbourhood, called Ruffigné, worth 15,000 livres a year, about £750 British, very improvable, situated two leagues from Niort.

"I was received in a very kind way by my cousin and his lady, whose name was Mademoiselle de Boisron,¹ from Saumière in Languedoc. They made me remain there several weeks, which I passed very agreeably.

"This couple have seven children—two girls and five boys. The oldest girl, sixteen, designed for the veil; the youngest six; the eldest son, fifteen, an officer in the Regiment d'Orleans; the two next both in the army, and the other two infants.

"The eldest son of this family is called Boisragon, the

¹ "Marguerite de Gondin de Carsan," says Filleau, "daughter of Louis Henri, Chevalier, and of Louise de Cornette." Possibly this M. de Gondin or Gondain may be also a "de Boisseron" or Boisron, like the Louise H. de Gondin de Boisseron, wife of his brother Alexandre.

second the Chevalier de Boisragon, the third La Chênaye, the fourth Ruffigné; the eldest daughter Mademoiselle Chevalleau, which is our family name.¹

“At the bottom of the garden is the tomb still in good order and preservation of a great-grandmother who died in 1671. There is also the chapel and burying-place of the family when it was Protestant.

“Monsieur de Puignier, a relation, waited on me here; his lady was with him, whose name was Mademoiselle de Minchant.

“Made a visit to Monsieur Dauzy,² second son of Monsieur de la Baubetière, whose mother was the second sister of our father. Our grandmother gave her a much better portion than to the others.

“From thence I went to the seat of Monsieur de Chateyner at Rouvre,³ two leagues from La Roche. The *mother* of this gentleman was our father's sister. He is a widower, and has six children—three sons and three daughters.

“The eldest son was there; he had just before married Mademoiselle de Saint Georges,⁴ with whom he got a fortune of 20,000 livres per annum, or £1000 British. This young man lives at R—, four leagues beyond Poitiers; he was a Captain of Horse, but presented his troop to his brother.

“Another of the sons is Lieutenant of Horse and Knight of Malta, and at this period was performing his ‘*Caravanes des Campagnes que les Chevaliers de Malte sont obligés de faire sur Mer*’.

“The two eldest daughters were absent; they are grown up.

“The produce of this country is chiefly rye, very little wine.

¹ There are discrepancies between Filleau's genealogies and the statements made by Henry Boisragon. A glance at the one compiled from the latter's journal will show the difference. Filleau states that Armand Chevalleau married the 21st March, 1734. Henry Boisragon says the eldest daughter was sixteen in 1749, which makes her birth in the year 1733. He may be writing from memory.

² Monsieur D'Auzy was son of Gedeon d'Auzy, Seigneur de la Voute and de la Baubetière, Chevalier d'Avangour and of Celeste Chevalleau de Boisragon, sister to the Refugee, and daughter of Jean Chevalleau and Catherine de Marconnay. Celeste married on the 16th September, 1691. She was *fourth* sister to the Refugee, but perhaps only two were known to young Henry.

³ Catherine married 16th September, 1691, René Chasteigner Sgr. de Rouvre.

⁴ Verac de S. Georges.

“ My eldest cousin ¹ not so agreeable a man as his brother ; he is a widower, and has four children—a son of twenty, called Le Chevalier de Boisragon ; first a daughter older than the eldest son named Mademoiselle de Boisragon, the second Mademoiselle de la Mothe, the youngest ² in a convent at Poitiers for her education.

“ Monsieur de Marconnay, a relation, came hither to visit me ; he lives about five leagues off ; is a younger brother, and married to a cousin of his own from Russia, whither she had gone to visit an uncle. This lady is turned Catholic and is *rehabilitée*,³ and put in possession of the estates and effects of her relations, who fled from France.

“ I was shown by my cousin at Boisragon the genealogy of our family, which commences as early as the year 1321. His children, as I before observed, are four ; the youngest girl, Mademoiselle de Fouilloux, was at Poitiers for her education.

“ Those of my youngest cousin ⁴ are Jean Chevalleau de Boisragon, Lieutenant in the Regiment de Chartres, Armand, Louis and Laurent Chevalleau. Daughters, Anne and Louise Chevalleau, designed for the veil.

“ These gentlemen were sons to the eldest brother of our father, and have one sister,⁵ married to Monsieur de Constans, who has four children—a son and three girls ; the second of them had just taken the veil.

“ I before mentioned that our father had seven ⁶ brothers and four sisters.

...“ The eldest brother remained in France and enjoyed the estates.

“ Our father, the second son, with his two brothers, Courcé and Dupons, and a sister, Mademoiselle Chevalleau, were so fortunate as to effect their escape together with our father in Holland.”

[Note by Mary, Mrs. Boisragon : “ I have heard that aunt died of the smallpox ”.]

¹ Alexandre, Seigneur de Boisragon, la Mothe-Jarrière, le Fouilloux, etc.

² Mademoiselle de Fouilloux.

³ *Rehabilitée*, i. e., made capable of inheriting by the King, which Protestants were not.

⁴ Armand Chevalleau.

⁵ Marie Perside, daughter of Jean Chevalleau and Perside de Laste, married Jean Constant, Chevalier Sgr. de Mavault.

⁶ Filleau makes the posterity of Jean Chevalleau six sons and seven daughters. He makes Louis, the refugee, the ninth child, and older than both his brothers.

“Of these two brothers, I know no more than that a Hanoverian General told me in Germany that he knew one of them in that service, and a French clergyman in England said he was acquainted with my uncles in Hanover.

“I went to the convent of Ursulines at Poitiers to visit my eldest cousin, Mademoiselle Boisragon, who is a nun there, about thirty years of age, and she has a sister in the convent of La Trinité. These ladies are sisters of Monsieur de Boisragon, and complained to me of their brother's neglect. I was here introduced to Monsieur l'Abbé de Rouvre,¹ my cousin; he is brother to Monsieur de Châteigner. His *abbaye* is just by Saint Maixant, with 20,000 livres a year.

“When I left La Chênaye my cousin's lady told me I should be godfather to the infant she expected; I heard nothing more for several years, when I had the pleasure of a letter from this child, telling me she was my god-daughter, and christened after me by the name of Henriette. I have since frequently corresponded with her on several occasions, and in the year 1785 she informed me that the King had given her the title of Countess of Boisragon.

“In December, 1778, the state of the family was as follows: her father was dead about ten years; her eldest brother whom I knew in France and had met in Germany was then eldest Captain of the Regiment of Orleans Foot.

“The second, now called Le Chevalier de Boisragon, is Major d'Infanterie; married, has two children, and inhabits the Château de la Chênaye.

“The third brother, whom when there I used to call my aide-de-camp, is Captain in the Regiment de Chartres Infantry, is married to a widow lady, by whom he has one daughter, and lives at Sedan in Champagne.

“The fourth brother serves in the Regiment d'Orleans, and the youngest, who was educated at the Royal Military College, is placed in the Regiment du Roy at Vaisseaux.

“The sisters are nuns at Poitiers, and she, 'La Comtesse,' lived with her mother at Niort, where she resided since the death of their father.

“Monsieur de Boisragon de la Mothe Jarrière, the elder branch of the family of Chevalleau de Boisragon, has been dead five years, and his eldest son also, after being married; he, the son, leaves two children.

“Mademoiselle Boisragon la Mothe Jarrière, the eldest

¹ Evidently one of the three sons of Catherine de Boisragon and René Chasteigner.

daughter of this family, is married to a gentleman of Poitiers, where she¹ lives, and has five children—a son and four girls.

“A Duke of Zell married a lady of this family, but our father, when in the service of the Hanoverian succession, never thought fit to make any use of this circumstance as a plea for promotion.

“Mar la Roche is the seat of my cousin, Monsieur de la Voute, and in the neighbourhood of that of Monsieur de Chateigner, where I stayed some days, and then went two leagues from Rouvre to visit Monsieur de la Voute (the elder), eldest son of Madame d’Auzy de la Paussière [Baubetière], second sister of our father.

“This gentleman is brother to Monsieur d’Auzy and has four children; one in the Mousquetaires Compagnie noire, called Monsieur Dufier; two daughters married, one single.

“Dined with Monsieur Dauzé, youngest brother of M. de la Voute; his lady was Mademoiselle Nocé; no children.

“Monsieur de Marguelaine was there; he is brother to the lady who came from France (*la réfugiée*) to our father, and died at his house in Park Place.

“From thence went to visit Madame de Constant,² sister to Monsieur de Boisragon de la Mothe Jarrière. She has four children. The estate of Madame de Constant was purchased by her father and left to her. She had a much better portion than the rest of his children.

“The Protestant Church here . . .³ was the last in Poitou; then there remained only two or three families of that religion.

“From hence returned to La Chênaye. The customs of Poitou are unfavourable to younger children; the eldest son, or daughter in failure of males, takes the *preciput* (*terme de Palais*, or law term), which is the house, and a certain quantity of land about it, called Val du Chapon, and only two-thirds of the estate and effects besides; and only pays one share of the family debts in common with the rest. The estate of Boisragon is a *preciput*.

“A man of the village of La Chênaye, whose father had

¹ Celeste de Boisragon, wife of Gedeon d’Auzy Seigneur de la Baubetière et de la Voute. Of her two sons, the elder is M. de la Voute, the younger, M. d’Auzy, husband of Mlle. Nocé.

² Marie Perside, daughter of Jean Chevalleau, possessed the property of Paizay le Chapt.

³ Illegible.

lived thirty years in that family, told me that his father was valet to mine, and was sent by my grandmother¹ to stay with him in prison, and was confined with him there in Port L'Evêgne, and accompanied him also to Paris. This man also told me he remembered one of my aunts² prisoner in the Isle de Rhé, and another *paysan* told me one of his uncles left France with my father as his servant.

"Monsieur de Boisragon sent horses hither to meet me, and I went to his house at La Mothe Jarrière. From La Chênaye, passed by Saint Maixant; crossed the great road, and in seven hours arrived there. The house, modern and a very good one, but not well situated. He has since bought an adjoining estate, called Le Fouilloux, with a great deal of wood.

"The arms of Boisragon are three roses argent, in a field azure, with a marquis' coronet and two savages supporters, the legs crossed and holding each a club, the ends resting on the ground; in French,³ 'trois roses d'argent avec couronne de Marquis; deux sauvages pour support, les jambes croisées, celle de dehors, sur celle de dedans: avec une massue dans leurs mains appuyée à terre'.

"Liveries, red coats, lined and faced yellow, and laced à la Bretagne, with velvet lace broad and narrow.

"At Paris I was introduced to M. de Trudaine, our cousin. This gentleman was son to a sister⁴ of our mother, who happened to be in a convent at the time when he and the rest of her family escaped. This lady had a dispensation from the Pope to marry, and the entire property of the Rambouillet family centred in her. M. de Trudaine was at this time Conseiller du Roi dans son Conseil privé, and held high employment.

"His eldest son was called M. de Montigny; the second M. de la Sablière, from the estate of our grandfather.

"Montigny, the Château of M. de Trudaine, is situated about fourteen leagues from Paris, not far from Compiègne.

¹ Catherine de Marconnay.

² Catherine de Boisragon.

³ *Sur un champ d'azur* omitted by the writer of the journal.

⁴ Renée Madeleine de Rambouillet de la Sablière, sister of Marie de Rambouillet, Madame Louis Boisragon, the writer's mother. Renée was only four years old when her father and mother fled the country. She with her baby sister, out at nurse at Beauce, near La Sablière, were taken away and confined in the convent of Les Filles de la Croix, and brought up as Roman Catholics. Renée married M. de Trudaine, a Catholic gentleman, Prevost des Marchands, who by his marriage acquired all the Rambouillet estates and the title of La Sablière. Their grandson, son of Monsieur de Montigny and Mademoiselle de Fouquet, was guillotined in 1792.

His son, M. de Montigny, also filled some high departments, but died a young man; this gentleman married Mademoiselle de Fouquet, by whom he has a son, the present M. de Trudaine."¹

Here endeth, as the ancient chroniclers would say, the journal of Major Henry Boisragon.

Between his visit to France and his compiling of the account of the same, Henry Boisragon continued to fight his adopted country's battles.

In the MS. letters and papers of Henri de Ruigny, Earl of Galway, in the library of the British Museum, and in an old army list of 1755, is "Henry Bowragon (*sic*), Captain in the 8th King's Regiment of Foot," the date of his commission being given as 22nd April, 1752.

In 1760, 25th June, we find him a Major, and before the French army, in the camp at Nieustadt. He writes to his wife:—

"MY DEAREST LIFE,

"We left the Camp at Wavern ye day before yesterday, and got here this morn^e, very near the French: 'tis now about 4 o'clock, and we are ordered to march directly, and perhaps may soon be engaged with them; as God only knows, what may be the consequence, I make use of this short time to tell you, that I have sealed up my private acc^t Book enclosed, and also your letters, that they may not be pry'd into: if it should please God to dispose of my life in this action, remember my Brigade-Major's pay, which Fisher will receive for you, when paid, also arrears due since last Dec. 25. My private acc^t with the Regiment must be settled by Miller: as soon as possible get Fisher or Clarke to put you in the way to get my Widow's pension.

"This is all I think off (*sic*). Adieu, God prosper, bless and preserve you. You are the last I shall think off (*sic*) you are ye best of wives, I honour, esteem, and love you above expression, be persuaded off it, and that I am with my latest breath, y^r most tender and affect^e Husband,

"H. BOISRAGON.

"Love and compliments to all particularly Kate and Charles."²

"Let whatever will happen submit to God Almighty's

¹ Journal in the possession of J. Gibson, Esq.

² "Kate" may be Catherine, his half-sister; "Charles," his brother Gedeon Charles.

Providence. He knows best what is proper for us. Adieu once more my dear and beloved Wife."¹

At this time Major Boiragon was only thirty-two; his wife, Mary Fuzel, possibly younger, as she lived till about 1808.

Henry Boiragon passed through the action safely, for the following lines are added to the letter to his wife:—

“AUGUST 20.

“I have the third of Waggon and Horses, with Col. Mompesson and ye Major, it cost me about 20 g^{rs}:² you must be paid my part.

“I can't, my Dearest, keep all yr letters, tho' it grieves me to destroy any, but they would be too bulky to carry about, and I don't care they should be pryed into, therefore I only keep now and then one.”

In later years Henry Boiragon was known as Major Henry Boiragon of Windsor, where he resided for many years. He died, beloved and lamented, on Thursday the 4th July, 1793, at eleven o'clock forenoon, leaving no issue.

On the back of a curious old silhouette³ of the major his widow writes: “Sa memoire sera toujours chère et précieuse; rien ne me la fera oublier, quelque lieu que j'habite, ne quelques plaisirs qui s'offrent à moi”.

Nothing much is known of the major's half-brother, Alexandre Louis, the eldest of the family. He was some time an ensign in the English army. On the 16th of September, 1727, he was at Loudun, for his will is dated from that town. By his father's will at Somerset House we find that on the 25th March, 1729, Louis Chevalleau de Boiragon purchased for his son a commission, and that he went to Surinam on the staff of the new governor of that colony. Whether he married and had posterity is unknown.

Gedeon Charles, the second son by the second marriage, also visited France about the year 1763 or 1764, when he was received by his mother's relations, the De Trudaines, with much cordiality. “My brother-in-law,” he writes in his journal, “the late Dr. Maty, who was at the time attending the children of Monsieur le Duc de Nivernois, by whom he was sent for to Paris, accompanied me to Montigny, the Château of Monsieur de Trudaine, not far from

¹ The original of this letter is in the possession of George Somes Layard, Esq.

² Query, guilders.

³ In the possession of J. Gibson, Esq.

Compiègne, a few leagues from the Capital; it is an elegant modern house, and he lived in a magnificent style. His lady¹ was dead, and he has no daughters."

The journal of old Major Gedeon is but a fragment. There is a sad and gentle tone in it, that of one who has not accustomed himself to live away from his fatherland: "A number of circumstances having concurred to fix me in a country in which I am quite a stranger and without a single connexion, I have thrown upon paper the few particulars I know of my family, not from vanity, never having set too high a value on the accidental circumstances of birth, nor derived any advantages from it, separated as my Father and Mother were from their native country, but merely to excite my dear children to honour their virtues and conduct through life the memory of those to whom they owe their existence.

"Remember, my dear Son, that you are born a Gentleman, be careful therefore to preserve your title to that appellation by the most unblemished honour, by which word, rightly understood, I conceive to be more rightly meant, the most perfect honesty and candour in all your dealings with mankind, and that most sacred regard for truth, even in trifling matters: and if this has its source in piety to God, whatever vexations or misfortunes you may suffer in common with your fellow-creatures in this world, be assured you must be happy in the next.

"Softness and politeness of manners are indispensably necessary to the Character of a Gentleman, and I have observed, in my progress through Life, that persons possessed of this advantage, as they never offend, seldom receive offence, unless from brutality itself."

The eldest son, Dr. Henry Charles, practised at Cheltenham. Of his three sons, the youngest, Conrad, was for some time on the stage as a singer of great promise and talent, under the professional name of Borani (probably "Boisragon" Italianised).

Captain Charles Henry Gascoyne Boisragon entered the service of the Honourable East India Company; married at Allahabad, and died in India.

His eldest son, Henry Francis Maxwell Boisragon, entered the same service as an Ensign on the 14th June, 1845, and joined the 1st Regiment of Bengal Fusiliers. He was promoted to Lieutenant on the 13th October, 1846.

¹ Renée de Rambouillet.

From 1852 to 1855 he served in the Burmese War, and was present at the relief of the garrison of Pegu on the 14th December, 1852.

He commanded a field force in the Tharawady District against the rebel chief, Mong-Jongi Goneggie, in which operations several of the rebels' strongholds were destroyed, and a quantity of stores and supplies were captured. For these services Lieut. Boisragon received a medal and clasp, with the thanks of the Governor-General in Council and the Chief Commissioner in Burmah.

In 1857-8 he served during the mutiny in India, and having been promoted to Captain on the 1st November, 1856, he commanded a wing of the Kumaon Goorkha Battalion at the siege and storm and capture of Delhi on the 14th September, 1857, in which he was dangerously wounded. He received the medal and clasp, with a Brevet Majority and the thanks of the Governor-General in Council.

In 1858 Major Boisragon commanded a force in the Saharanpoor District, and on the 10th January encountered and beat back across the Ganges at Hurdwar upwards of 1000 of the enemy with four guns; for these services he received a medal and his Brevet Lieutenant-Colonelcy.

His brother Theodore's career was in many ways identical.

Of Major Theodore's only son, Allan, the newspapers have lately recorded the wonderful and merciful escape from the massacre at Benin.

According to the *Standard* for 16th January, 1897, "the Expedition, or more correctly speaking, the Mission, was in command of Mr. Phillips, the acting Consul-General. He was accompanied by Lieut.-Col. A. M. Boisragon, commanding the Houssas and seven others. . . . In order that the King of Benin might understand that the Mission was entirely of a peaceful character, instructions were issued that all these officers should proceed without arms. . . . The Mission started into the interior at the beginning of the year, making for Benin city by way of Gwato. On 4th January the Mission was suddenly attacked by the Benin people and almost annihilated. Of the 250 carriers (carrying the personal effects of the officers, presents, etc.), only twenty are known to have escaped. . . .

"Lieut.-Col. Boisragon and District Commissioner Locke were wounded; but managed to crawl into the bush, and so escaped. . . . Colonel Boisragon and Mr. Locke underwent terrible hardships before they succeeded in reaching a place

of safety. Both were wounded, and for six days they were wandering about in the swamps and the bush. . . ."¹

Captain Allan Boisragon entered the army in 1878, and became Captain in 1884. He served with the 1st Battalion of the Royal Irish in the Khartoum Relief Expedition, and is now, as a retired officer, in command of the Niger Protectorate forces.²

Thus this ancient family, extinct in France, has dwindled to two solitary male representatives of their noble line.

APPENDIX.

A.

Jean Chevalleau, Ecuyer, recut de Pons de Vivonne, Chevalier, seigneur des Homes, l'hébergement des Homes, alias la Chevalerie, en forme de donation, le 15 sept. 1857, et devait payer à l'avenir au donateur et à ses héritiers deux setiers de froment, deux setiers d'avoine, et six chapons de rente annuelle et perpétuelle.

(GEN. DE VIVONNE.)

B.

the 22 April 1681. CIVRAY.

On the 22nd of April two cavaliers were at Boisragon's: he was not of the parish of Civray. They said to him with horrible blasphemies . . . that some missionaries with . . . sent to him by Mr. Danyan by the orders of the Intendant. If thou dost not (h)abandon thy religion, rogue of a Huguenot, we will do unto thee as much harm as we can.

Everything by them said is herewith reported with astonishment, believing that these are all of a singular importance, since they indicate all those things done by order of the Intendant.

They took from him his shoes, his saucepans, his boxes, his cupboards, they took a silver spoon, his cuffs, his shirts, his cravats and lace, his bowls, his . . . and told him to take courage, that it was the King's will that these dogs of Huguenots should be pillaged and sacked.

Incited by their Hocqueton,³ they took the aforesaid Boisragon by the throat and threatened to strangle him if he did not give them four louis d'or. To free himself from them, he gave it them.

On the morrow . . . came to say to him, did he not wish to change and profess the King's religion?

Boisragon replied that he had never heard of the King's religion, neither had the advantage of seeing him; that his own religion taught him to pray to God for the King's greatness and prosperity, the which

¹ For the account and in many places the wording of the military career of the Refugee and the details of his successors' lives, I am indebted to the *Layard Records*, compiled by my father, General F. P. Layard. The print of the old Château de Saint Maixent is in the library at Niort.

² From *Daily Graphic* of 12th January, 1897.

³ Captain of the archers.

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Louis Chev
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b. 2nd May, 166

m. 10. Louise de La Grange, 24th May, 1700,
widow of M. Royrand des Clouseaux.
She died 1718.

- IX. (1) Alexandre-Louis Boisragon, b. at the Hague, 1709; d. at Surinam. (2) Catherine Boisragon, d. unmarried. (3) Henry Charles Boisragon (Major), b. June 1728; m. ? Mary Fuzel; d. 4th July, 1793, s. p.

X. (1) Doctor Henry Charles Boisragon, m. 1^o. 8th June, 1803, Mary Annette Fanshawe (by w. 2^o. 16th Nov., 1846, Jemima Thompson.

XI. (1) Captain Charles Henry Gascoyne Boisragon, b. 27th April, 1804; m. 1827, Ellen Gardiner Maxwell; d. 7th Feb., 1837.

XII. (1) Henry Francis Maxwell Boisragon (Major-General), b. 27th March, 1823; m. 18th May, 1861, Anna Huddleston; d. 22nd Sept., 1890. (2) Theodore-Walter Ross Boisragon, C.B., Major-General, b. 19th May, 1830; m. Margaret Gerrard; d. 21st Sept., 1882.

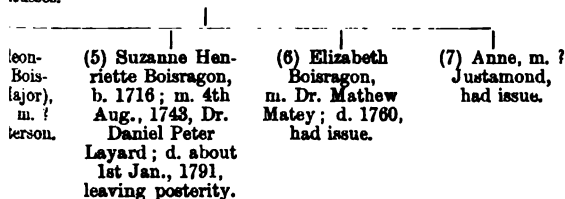
(1) Mabel Maxwell Boisragon, b. 7th Nov., 1862; m. 2nd Nov., 1886, Captain Herbert Wilkinson Dent. (2) Guy Huddleston Boisragon, V.C., b. 1864, 5th Nov. (3)

B.

Boisragon Family.

Boisragon,
Chenaye,
1 March, 1736.

Marie Henriette de Rambouillet, 21st Dec., 1718,
daughter of Nicolas de Rambouillet, Marquis de
Sablière, and of Henriette Louise Henri de
Beusses.



(2) Henrietta Margaret Boisragon,
m. 1o. Colonel Digby of Dublin.
2o. Captain Baker.
d. 1817.

Boisragon,
Feb., 1810;
a.p.

(3) Conrad Gascoyne Boisragon, b. 26th Jan., 1812; m. 23rd Dec., 1851, Hannah Ball, widow of . . . Hart, Esq., she died 25th Sept., 1888; d. Sept., 1890, a.p.

Johnshaw Dundas,
June, 1832.
Major James
Drummond.
Capt. Thom-
son, 20th Sept.,
1853.
a issue.

(4) Emily,
d. 1837 at
Berhampore,
India.

(5) Annette Mac-
pherson, b. 28th
Jan., 1835; m.
20th March,
1852, Captain
Henry Drum-
mond.
Has issue.

(6) Blanche,
b. 1836; d.
1837 at
Saugur,
India.

Fanshawe
son, b. 15th
; d. 15th
1861.

Captain Allan Maxwell Boisragon,
b. 1860, 22nd January.

TABLE C.
IXth and Xth Degrees according to the Journal of the son of Louis Chevalleau de Boisragon.

VIII.

Jean Chevalleau de Boisragon, = Perside de Laste.
brother of the refugee.

IX. (1) Elder son (*called by Filleau Alexandre*),
m. Mlle. de f; widower in 1749.

(2) Younger son (*called by Filleau Armand*), m. Mlle. de Boisron
(same as Boiserson), from Saumière in Languedoc.

X. (1) Daughter
(Mlle. de
Boisragon),
b. 1727;
m. f; had
one son and
four
daughters.

(2) Son,
b. 1728.

(3) Daughter
(Mlle. de la
Mothe).

(4) Daughter
(Mlle. de
Fouilloux),
a nun.

(1) Daughter
(Anne),
b. 1733
(Mlle.
Chevalleau),
a nun.

(2) Son,
b. 1734
(called
"Boisragon"),
officer in the
Régiment
d'Orléans,
living in
1778.

(3) Son
(called
"Chevalier
de
Boisragon"),
in the
Boisragon",
army.

(4) Son
(called "La
Chenaye"),
in the
army.

(5) Son
(called
"Kuffigné").

(6) Daughter,
Louise,
b. 1743.

(7) Henrietta,
b. 1750
(called the
"Comtesse de
Boisragon").

The names of four sons are given: "Jean, Armand, Louis and Laurent".

he did every day, and that he desired to die in the religion which he had ever professed.

The Hocqueton answered him roughly: that he would make him do so by force, since the King did not wish that there should be a single person in his Kingdom of the Huguenot religion.

This conversation is given, so that it may not be forgotten.

Boisragon said to them resolutely that he did not believe that the will of the King, so great and good, was to vex the consciences of his subjects; that he had heard say, that he desired that all were of his religion, but that they became so willingly and not by . . . force; that they . . . (? had used) towards him and towards so many others, whom they treated with so much kindness.

The Hocqueton did not recover from his passion, and wishing to be obeyed, said to him: You are jesting; I am off to send you a company of horsemen; and that if he persisted, he would put him between four walls . . . of the . . .

Boisragon ordered to be put before his . . . a sucking pig and some lamb. The Hocqueton upbraided him for permitting them to give him such coarse fare: that he ought to be treated better, and that they would not eat until they had each received a louis d'or for their . . . Upon which the horsemen increased their rioting, and endeavoured to force him to give them 12 cent: swearing to kill him if he did (? not) give them three pistoles, and to bind him to the tails of their horses, so as to make him fly and abandon his house: and that they would dismember him, upon which . . . carried off his linen and pillaged all that remained.

C.

BOISRAGON, *May*, 1681.

Daniel Troubé of the village of Boisragon, . . . (? near) the town of Niort, in the month of May . . . having . . . asked for some papers which belonged to him at (? or from) Montpetit, called the forest of Sibgorn, to whom (or for which) he had given (unintelligible abbreviation "por:") and payment, the arbitrators . . . made a pretext of . . . the religion . . . for the said trouble which overwhelmed him . . . and at the same time, without any order neither authority, seized the said Troubé, led him to the prison at Niort, where . . . been . . . from . . . known to be incarcerated from . . . the 22 May to the 29 July . . . and on this let out without having had any redress for his annoyances.

**Verses addressed by Etienne Le Fanu, Sieur de
Mondeville, to un Milford d'Angleterre.**

Etienne Le Fanu de Mondeville, the author of the following poem, was a member of one of the seventy-four noble Protestant families¹ resident in the *généralité* of Caen at the time of the *Recherche de la Noblesse*,² carried out in the years 1666-1674 by Guy Chamillart. His grandfather and namesake, Etienne Le Fanu de Montbénard, born about 1550, and his great-grandfather, Michel Le Fanu, had for many years been *avocats* at Caen, the latter, who died in 1576, being the author of a work, *De Antiquissima juris origine*, published at Caen in 1568. Like their descendant they were both versifiers, and some of the compositions of Etienne de Montbénard are still to be read in the *Recueil des pièces d'honneur de Charles VII. et de la Pucelle d'Orleans*, published at Paris in 1613. So much is recorded by their friend and fellow-citizen, Jacques de Cahaigues, and his learned editor;³ from other sources⁴ it appears that both belonged to the reformed religion, and that the son, Etienne de Montbénard, spent his money freely in the Protestant cause and was ennobled by Henri IV. in 1595.

At the time of the *recherche*, Etienne de Mondeville, who was then forty years of age, was the youngest of four brothers, sons of Pierre Le Fanu and Françoise Le Hulle, residing near Caen. Some years before, in 1657, he had fallen in love with a Roman Catholic lady, Mademoiselle Le Blais de Longuemare, and by an error, which the historians Benoit⁵ and Haag⁶ endeavour to palliate under the terms *complaisance*

¹ See "La Noblesse Protestante de la généralité de Caen," *Bulletin de Soc. de l'Histoire du Protestantisme Français*, 1888, p. 546.

² Published at Caen, 1887, by a member of La Société des Antiquaires de Normandie.

³ *Elogiorum Civium Cadomencium Centuria prima*, Caen, 1609 (Elog. 26), and notes to translation of same published anonymously at Caen in 1880.

⁴ Beaujour, *L'Eglise Reformée de Caen*, pp. 99, 102, and Charter of Nobility in the Archives of Rouen.

⁵ *Histoire de l'Edit de Nantes*, vol. iii., pt. 2, pp. 243-4.

⁶ *La France Protestante*, Paris, 1860, vol. vi., p. 493.

and *condescendance pour des scruples naturels*, conformed for the occasion to the religion of his bride, and was married by a Roman Catholic priest. For this he was summoned before the consistory, when he made a public acknowledgment of his fault, and promised to bring up his children in the reformed religion, to which he himself thenceforward faithfully adhered.

All this happened nearly six years before the declaration of April, 1663, which laid down that no Protestant who had once abjured and professed the Roman Catholic faith could ever after return to his old religion.¹ But nevertheless Le Fanu's right to bring up his children in the reformed religion was not recognised, and he reaped in full measure the fruits of his imprudence. His difficulties are best described in the words of Quick,² who, however, makes a slight mistake in the name. He writes with the bitterness of one who had known persecution: "Monsieur Mondeville de Fanue, a gentleman of an ancient family, was kept in the common gaol of Normandy three years, and was there in the year 1674. He married a gentlewoman bred up in the Popish Religion. By her he had several children. The first was a daughter, and his wife's kindred intended to carry her away by force to be baptized according to the Roman superstition. To that end his mother-in-law procured from the judges of Caen an express command to the ministers of the Protestant Church not to baptize the child on pain of five hundred livres. This is directly contrary to the King's Proclamation, Anno 1669, Article 39, expressed in these very terms: '*We order and command that the Children whose Father is a Protestant shall remain in their Parent's Custody, and those that shall take them away or detain them shall be constrained to restore them*'.³ Hereupon he was constrained by night, to avoid the insolency and fury of the common people, to carry the child as far as Bayeux, five French leagues distant from Caen, there to be baptized after the manner of the Reformed Churches.

¹ Que nul de nos dits sujets de la dite Religion prétendue Reformée qui en auraient une fois fait abjuration pour professer la Religion Catholique, Apostolique et Romaine ne puisse jamais plus y renoncer et retourner à la dite Religion prétendue Reformée, *Histoire de l'Edit de Nantes*, vol. iii., pt. 1, Appendix, p. 110.

² *Synodicon in Gallia Reformata*, vol. i., introduction, section 27.

³ Quick omits the qualifying words: "avant l'age de 14 ans accomplis, pour les mâles et de 12 ans accomplis pour les femelles". The dispute as to the baptism of the children must have taken place long before the declaration of 1669, which however might fairly be urged (at least in the case of Etienne's son) against the decision of 1670 on the question of guardianship.

"As he was going to baptize his third child in the Protestant temple near Caen, the Vicar of St. John's Church stopped him and took him by the throat suddenly, in so violent a manner that he almost choked him, and to avoid the fury of the common people who began to flock about he returned to his house.

"The last child being a daughter, was carried away by stealth by the fore-mentioned Vicar, and was baptized in the Romish way. The mother of these children dying a short time after, although by the custom of the country the father hath the right of being guardian and tutor of his children, yet most unjustly and contrary to the 39th Article of the Edict, the relations of the deceased gentlewoman, who were all Papists, chose her brother (who being a minor needed a guardian himself) to take the care of these children. And thereupon he was condemned to give up his children to the care and custody of this young guardian :¹ from this sentence he made appeal to the Parliament of Rouen. But his adversaries by their false witnesses and counterfeited contract before marriage, allowing the education of his children in the superstitions of the Romish Church (which he proved forged), got two judgments passed against him and executed, enjoining him to deliver up his children under the penalty of eight hundred livres French money. Upon this he petitioned the Privy Council, and obtained a letter under the King's Seal to Monsieur Chamillart, Intendant of Caen, commanding him to put a period unto this affair. But he, being wholly governed by the Bishop of Bayeux,² and other of the clergy and rigid Papists, this poor gentleman was made a prisoner, and at the taking of him they miserably abused him, beating him, tearing his clothes, breaking his sword, dragging him in a brutish manner through the streets, and in all probability had not a gentleman, named the Viscount of Caen, come by and took him into his coach, and conducted him with his guard to the prison, he had been massacred by the bloody rabble. Over and above all this bad usage, some debtors to him have obtained an

¹ The sentence of the Bailli of Caen here referred to was dated November, 1670. Chamillart returns Jean Louis Le Blais Sieur de Longuemare as twenty-seven years of age, which is hardly consistent with the statement in the text.

² François de Nesmond qui, pendant sa longue existence à la tête du diocèse de Bayeux s'était signalé par un zèle outré contre la Réforme et par l'absence de toute modération dans les mesures employées. Beaujour, *L'Eglise Réformée de Caen*, p. 410.

injunction upon any proceeding at law against them, until he have delivered up his children. His estate is all seized, and he kept at the King's allowance, that he may thereby be compelled, not having the wherewithal to buy bread for his children, to deliver them up. This order was confirmed and given forth by six ecclesiastical councillors.

“Thus was this worthy gentleman . . . more than three years imprisoned, and placed among the most notorious rogues, who for their villainies are under restraint without any hope of deliverance unless by death.”

Le Fanu's persecutors, having thus disposed of him, now sought to carry off his children, and to escape their attacks Le Fanu had the two children—for only two appear to have grown up—sent out of France.¹ They were landed in England, probably on the south coast, where they were placed in charge of a *Milord d'Angleterre*, resident in the neighbourhood. This nobleman is not mentioned by name, but he is described as a man of tried prudence, who had held high office, and had shown himself the worthy son of a worthy father. Not content with receiving the children and educating them in the Protestant faith, he even crossed over to France to visit and comfort their father in his affliction. To this friend Le Fanu addressed the following poem during his captivity, describing his troubles, the death of his wife, and his imprisonment, and drawing a graphic picture of his chief persecutor, probably the Vicar of St. John's referred to by Quick.

About the year 1677, whether at their father's desire or by the inducement of their mother's relatives, the children returned to France and became Roman Catholics; the son, Jean-Louis, went into the French navy, and died unmarried; the daughter married a M. de Bois Roussel.

Le Fanu was now released from prison, and in 1680 married Anne Le Sueur, a Protestant, by whom he had two children—Philip, who married, at Caen, Marie Baçon, and Jacques—both of whom settled in Dublin, following the example of a cousin, Charles Le Fanu de Cresserons, who had already proceeded to Ireland in King William's army.

¹ The case of Le Fanu and his children was one of those brought forward in support of the statement of grievances presented to Louis XIV. in March, 1674, by the celebrated Pierre du Bosc and the other Deputies from the Protestant Churches, *Histoire de l'Edit de Nantes*, vol. iii., pt. 2, pp. 243-4, and Galland, *L'Histoire de Protestantisme à Caen, etc.*, p. 185.

Charles Le Fanu, after fighting at the Battle of the Boyne in La Melonniere's regiment, returned to the war in Flanders, and afterwards served under Lord Rivers in Spain, receiving commissions, first as a captain in La Fabreque's French regiment of Dragoons, and afterwards as a major in the regiment of Guiscar. After his retirement on pension he married Marguerite de Grindorges, and died in Dublin in 1738, leaving no descendants. Jacques Le Fanu married, in 1740, Marie Anne d'Avessin, but their only child died young. Philip's son, William (born at Caen in 1708), also married a Huguenot, Madlle. Henriette Raboteau. They had eight sons, and from two of these, Joseph, Clerk of the Coast in Ireland, and Peter, a celebrated Dublin preacher, the Le Fanus of the present generation are descended.

T. P. LE FANU.

ETIENNE LE FANU ESCUYER

SIEUR DE MONDEVILLE

A un milord d'angleterre chez le quel il avoit refugié ses enfans Contre les intentions du Sr. de longuemare Le Blais son beau frere qui les vouloit faire Elever En la Religion Romaine que professoit leur mere, premiere femme du Sieur de Mondeville.

Illustre amy dont le merite,
Se Cognois en la Cour des Roys,
Aussi bien par tes grands Emplois,
Que par ta sage Conduitte.
Chevalier digne Successeur,
De la vaillance et de l'honneur,
De ton Brave et genereux pere,
Qu'on voit luire en toy ses vertus
De mètre venu voir au fond d'une taniere,
Pressé de mes Ennuis de douleurs abatu.

En sortant d'un pais Etrange
Par la permission de Dieu
Pour me venir voir en Ce lieu
Tu parus a moy Comme un ange
Je Creu que Comme Dâniel
Par un qui dessendit du Ciel
Fut secouru dans sa misere,
Dans l'affreux antre des lions
Tu t'en vois yci de la mesme maniere
Pour mon soulagement au fond de les prisons.

Tu me fis un lieu desirable
 D'un bien pire que les Enfers
 En t'écoutans j'aimois mes fers
 Lors le sejour me fut aimable
 Tes saintes Consolations
 Forserent mes affections
 A ployer sous la main Divine
 Mon Esprit détaché du Corps
 Goutans de si grands biens tout Content s'imaginne
 Jouir de Ceux du Ciel dans de si doux transports.

L'oing de ces joyes Inexprimables
 Par nostre grand Eloignement
 Tu me fis part obligeamment
 De tes missives agreables
 L'une di celle me fist voir
 Que tu souhetois bien scavoir
 Le Sujet qui me tient aux chaines
 Que je t'en informasse en vers
 Qu'un si charmant Employ soulageroit mes peines
 Et que tu te plaisois en ces divins Conserts.

Mais qu'une muse prisonniere
 Pour satisfaire a tes Souhets
 A mon advis a peu d'attraits
 Cher Periandre pour te plaire
 Elle qui dans ses déplaisirs
 Ne s'exprime que par Soupirs
 De puis le jour de ton absence
 Croy moy peut difficilement
 Avecque tes desirs tomber d'intelligence
 Pour te pouvoir donner quelque Contentement.

Neantmoins bien que ma foiblesse
 Me dispense fort justement
 de t'obeir presentement
 Je ne le puis je le confesse
 La recognoissance a des loyx
 Qui m'apprenant ce que je dois
 Me feroient voir inexcusable
 Si je t'ausois rien refuser
 Tes bienfaits envers moy me rendroient Condamnable
 Ce seroyent des themoins qui viendroyent contre moy.

Pour tâcher a te satisfaire
 Je prens dont le pinzeau en main
 Et commensant par un desseing
 Y metre la trace premiere
 Dans le triste Etat ou je suis
 Faisant trêve avec mes Ennuys
 Je vas m'éforcer a te plaire
 Mais hélas ! de quelle Couleur
 Pour y bien reussir peindraige ma misere
 Et quels termes pouront Exprimer ma douleur ?

De puis que l'auteur de mon Estre
 A formé mon raisonnement
 Et pourvû mon Entendement
 De lumiere pour le Cognoitre
 Mil et mille Sortes de maux
 De miseres at de travaux
 Ont Eprouvé ma patience
 Pour meinttenir sa sainte loy
 Et Banir de mon Coeur une impure Croyance
 L'erreur a décoché tous ses traits Contre moy.

Auparavant que de t'apprendre
 Le sujet de tous mes malheurs
 Prends garde de verser des pleurs
 Si tost que tu les vas entendre
 Regarde mon affliction
 Sans en manquer d'émotion
 A fin d'honorer ma souffrance
 Fais paroître un Coeur genereux
 Banissen la pitié laisse agir ma Constance
 Plus on souffre pour Christ et plus on est heureux.

Tout homme doit tenir a gloire
 D'estre pour luy Chargé de fers
 Cest par les plus fascheux revers
 Que l'on a part a la victoire
 Le fidelle doit icy bas
 Entrer dans les Sanglants Combats
 De cet auguste et Divin maitre
 Et puis qu'on l'a persecuté
 Pour marcher sur ses pas il a besoin de l'etre
 Peut il avoir le prix sans l'avoir merité ?

Après tant D'épreuves Diverses
 Et Déplaisirs les plus Cuisants
 Avoir passé mes jeunes ans
 Dans toutes sortes de traverses
 Qu'un arrest du Ciel sans pitié
 Eut Contraint ma Chere moitié
 De parachever sa Carriere
 Je Cren après ces rudes Coups
 Avoir senti l'effet d'une rigueur Entiere
 Quand je vis augmenter Contre moy son Couroux.

Une perverse et noire Bande
 Des Cruels enfans de la nuit
 Dont l'esprit n'en jamais Conduit
 Que de l'enfer qui les Commende
 Un jour qu'au Saint et sacré lieu
 J'alois pour invoquer mon Dieu
 Dont j'entretenois ma pensée
 Ces Cruels, Ces Céditieux
 Viennent fondre sur moy d'une Course Empressée
 Et rompent l'entretien qui m'élevoit aux Cieux.

Au milieu de cette Canaille
 Comme Jesus entre les juifs
 Du fascheux Estat ou je suis
 Chaqu'un deux se rit et se raille
 Ainsi surpris sans nul Secour
 Inutilement jay recour
 A la priere et a la plainte
 Ces perfides Ces inhumains
 Sans aucune pitié de ma dure Contrainte
 Me font voir a L'envis ce que paient leurs mains.

J'appersois en ce jour de feste
 Un des plus lasche des mortels
 Qui quitta service et autels
 Pour se venir metre a leur teste
 Un homme meigre et de noir teint
 Sur le front duquel on voit peint
 Un Sinistre et mauvais presage
 Un squelet mouvans dont les yeux
 Aprenant ce qu'il est par un müet langage
 Le font Croire la haine at le mepris des Cieux.

Suivans Celuy qui le possede
 Aidé de tous ses garnemens
 Avec blasphemes et Sermens
 Ils me pressent tant que je cede
 Conduit aux magistrats des lieux
 Je lûs aussitost a leurs yeux
 Le Contenu de ma Sentence
 Cars sans Entendre ma raison
 D'un ton fier, et hautain de mesme intelligence
 Conclurent d'une voix de me metre en prison.

La pour pousser ma patience
 Dans la derniere Extremité
 Sans pitié sans humanité
 Font arrester ma subsistence
 Lors me voyant sans nul Confort
 Font jôier une autre ressort
 Pour me faire un dernier outrage
 Ainsi que des loups ravissans
 Qui pressés de la faim mettent tout en usage
 Ils veulent dans leur Rage enlever mes enfans.

Pour Eviter la violence
 Des les Esprits Ceditieux
 Adverti par un Coup des Cieux
 Je les fis sortir de la france
 Ce fut en cette occasion
 Ou parut ton affection
 Envers moy pendant ma souffrance
 Estant arivés en bon port
 Par un Secours d'enhaut au lieu de ta naissance
 Les fis mener chez toy pour les être un support.

Ce fut ou tu les fis instruire
 Par un acte de Charité
 a Cognitoire la verité
 pour se renger sous Son Empire
 là tu fis former leurs Esprits
 Sur les Saints et divins Escrpts
 pour ne se laisser pas Surprendre
 aux apas trompeurs de L'erreur
 et leur faire scavoir le chemin quil faut prendre
 pour parvenir au but de L'éternel bonheur.

Amy ton Zelle Charitable
 et tous tes Soins officieux
 t'acquerent un thresor aux Cieux
 incorruptble et perdurable
 par un ange les trois enfans
 jettés dans les forneaux ardens
 furent preservés de leur flames
 benissant Dieu par leurs Conserts
 mais toy tu fis bien plus Sauvans les jeunes âmes
 en leur faisant quitter le chemin de l'enfer.

Estre infini vertu adorable
 Divine source de tous biens
 qui se respent sur tous les tiens
 et pour eux est inépuizable
 Misericordieux Sauveur
 tu Cognois quelle est la douleur
 que je souffre en le lieu funeste
 Dans le triste Estat ou je suis
 fais descendre sur moy quelque Royon Celeste
 qui disciple L'horreur de mes mortels Ennuys.

Que l'opprobre de ta souffrance
 Soit toujours dans mon Souvenir
 a fin de te pouvoir Benir
 Dans la mienne avecque Constance
 mais sans l'apuy de ta bonté
 a quoy me sert ma volonté
 qui ne marqu'en moy que foiblesse
 Donne moy dont ton bon Esprit
 qui reigle mes desirs qui minspire sans cesse
 pour pouvoir accomplir ce que tu mas préscript.

Et si ta grande providence
 a mesuré Beaucoup de temps
 aux Rudes peignes que je sens
 acorde moy la patience
 fais que dans ma détention
 je souffre avec Soubmission
 la peine dûe a mon offence
 que Dun Coeur gay portant mes fers
 je puisse satisfaire a ta divine Essence
 et Braver les efforts du monde et des Enfers.

Dans Ce lieu triste Et déplorable
 que le bel astre sans pareil
 qui voit presque tout de bon oeil
 prive d'un regard favorable
 Là miserablement reduit
 nayant repos ni jour ny nuit
 je Souffre le dernier Supplice
 voisin de plusieurs garnemens
 dans un recoing malsein de ce Sombre Edifice
 D'ou jentens tout le Bruit de leurs Emportemens.

Après toutes mes longues veilles
 inquietudes et travaux
 Croyant goûter quelque Repos
 jen ay des peignes sans pareil
 je ne vois rien que des objets
 qui me sont autant de sujets
 de chagrin et melancholie,
 que precipices et tombeaux
 que tigres, et que loups que lions enfurie
 prest a me dévorer et me mètre en morceaux.

Je suis le but de l'insolence
 de ces hommes Capritieux
 dont les discours injurieux
 font que j'évitté leur presence
 Chacun prent parti contre moy
 les plus chetifs me font la loy
 et ceux qui tiennent la balance
 irrités Contre moy me haissent si fort
 que bien loin de me pleindre en ma dure Souffrance
 Dans mon Evident droit ils me donnent le tort.

La souffrant sans auser rien dire
 les insultes et les rigneurs
 de ces Cruëls persecuteurs
 je suis toujours dans le martyre
 enfin lassé de la prison
 je leur fais voir que sans Raison
 ils attaquent mon innocence
 mais dans leurs injustes transports
 Sans garder de mesure ils mimposent Silence
 Redoublant Contre moy tous leurs mauvais efforts.

L'esprit acablé de tristesse
 D'un si sensible traitement
 Succombe assés facilement
 Soubs le dernier Coup qui loppresse
 affligé de mon mauvais sort
 je ne souhete que la mort
 Dans l'ennuy de ma servitude
 Car ce seroit chercher en vain
 Des remedes aux rigneurs d'une épreuve si rude
 je nen saurois trouver Dans la mortelle main.

Dans mon affliction Extreme
 jay perdu tout le jugement
 Sans espoir de Soulagement
 je suis comme hors de moy mesme
 ainsi que Job dans ses douleurs
 je voudrois dans tous mes malheurs
 que le Ciel ne mûst point fait naitre
 Et que tout ce vaste univers
 fûst reduit au neans a fin de ne plus Estre
 et par la voir finir tous mes fascheux revers.

Mais le Seigneur Dieu secourable
 dont la grande bonté s'estent
 Sur le pécheur qui se répent
 a pitié de moy miserable
 aux tristes accens de ma voyx
 il me rent flexible a ses loix
 par une Douce obeissance
 mes passions en ce moment
 Escoutant ma raison avecque déference
 font voëu de ce soubmettre a son Commendement.

Lors Comparant mon aventure
 a tous les outrages soufers
 de mon redempteur que je sers
 je benis une loy si dure
 jettent les yeux sur mes liens
 je les Comprends Comme des biens
 que la divine main menvoie
 Et loing d'en Espendre des pleurs
 jen suis fort satisfait j'en ay bien de la joye
 je les reçois de luy Comme de ses faveurs.

En le sejour je me Consolle
 Dans le sombre et funeste lieu
 j'admire la bonté de dieu
 envers les âmes oppressées
 bien qu'aucuns y passent leurs jours
 Sans Esperer aucuns secours
 de son admirable puissance
 Cependant par Divers moyens
 Chacun voit tous les jours agir la providence
 par les grands Soins quil prent pour tous ceux qui sont Siens.

Il Consolle L'homme fidelle
 qu'on y détient injustement
 il attend L'heure Constenment
 ou la plus rude mort l'appelle
 il envisage son malheur
 Comme un aimable advent Coureur
 de ses felicités prochaines,
 sil sort des larmes de ses yeux
 Cest d'aise de quitter les liens et les chaines
 qui le tenoyent Captif dans les terrestres lieux

Il scait tirer le plus Rebelle
 par des Cordeaux D'humanité
 S'il resiste a la verité
 quand il veut il brulle pour elle
 D'un insolent persecuteur
 il en fist un distributeur
 Des dons de Son Saint Evengille
 et Comme il a fait la Clarté,
 D'une profonde nuit L'homme de chose ville
 il fait de son impur naitre la purité.

Combien qu'il s'arme de la foudre
 pour punir son Egarement
 et qu'il puisse tres justement
 le Briser et reduire en poudre
 Des lors quil quitte son pésché
 quil cognois quil en est fasché
 quil le luy marque par ses larmes
 en sa grace aussitot remis
 il n'est plus irrité il met a bas les armes,
 Ecartant loing de luy tous ses Crimes Commis.

Que L'erreur soit d'intelligence
 que le monstre pernicieux
 pour les seduire offre a ses yeux
 Sa pompe et sa magnificence
 que par le Bruit des grosses eaux
 et leurs débordemens nouveaux
 on le menace du naufrage,
 l'ayant toujours pour son nocher
 il paroît intrepide au milieu de L'orage
 et d'un Espoir égal ferme Comme un rocher.

De plusieurs Routes incognuës
 dont l'espoir et le sang humain
 ne peut Cognoitre le Chemin
 Il luy fait trouver les issuës,
 qu'il erre par tous les deserts
 les plus afreux de L'univers
 parmi les lions pleins de rage
 Son Createur qui le Conduit
 luy fait heureusement achever son voyage
 Dans lincommodité de la plus noire nuit.

A mediter des choses Saintes
 je trouvais un Souverain bien
 la douleur ne me pouvoit rien
 je Bravois toutes ses atteintes
 quand dans Cette felicité
 L'horreur de ma Captivité
 tout d'un Coup frape ma memoire
 alors cet afreux Souvenir
 Des plaisirs ou j'estois, qu'au painne on Scroit Croire,
 me met dans un chagrin que je ne puis Banir.

Quittant cet entretien aimable
 je rentre dans ma noire humeur
 et repassant sur mon malheur
 je suis du tout inconsolable
 tout triste abatu De langueur
 je sens disciper ma vigueur
 voyant ma liberté perdue
 Et que privé de tout Secours
 il me faut dans ces lieux sans y trouver d'issuë
 parmi Des Criminels passer mes plus beaux jours.

Mais repassant Sur la Souffrance
 De ce grand monarque des Cieux
 qui pour Des hommes vicieux
 vit Condamner Son innocence
 Sa charitable passion
 me fait changer d'intention
 je Reconnois ma faute Entiere
 et Blamant mon Egarement
 je Dis hélas faut-il me plaindre en ma misere
 quand un Dieu meurt pour moy Dun si Rude tourment.

Peut-on vivre Dans les délices
 scachant que le divin Sauveur
 passa Ses jours Dans la Douleur
 pour reparer nos injustices
 qu'il Esuya tant de travaux
 qu'il souffrit mil et mille maux
 par les seules pointes D'épines
 quand il fut abrevé De fiel,
 n'est tu pas insensé mortel qui timagine
 avec Des mets Exquis pouvoir gagner le Ciel.

Je scais qu'un traitement si Rude
 est bien difficile a souffrir
 mais ne vaut-il pas mieux mourir
 que vivre avec ingratitude
 Ce seroit manquer De vertu
 quand notre Chef a Combatu
 De vouloir Conserver sa vie
 Et puis quil a vaincu L'enfer
 triomphé des démons qui lavoyent asservie
 apres luy peut-on Craindre et les feux et le fer.

Là que des Soins si charitables
 forcent un homme puissamment
 a mediter incessamment
 sur ces contes inexprimables,
 et que L'ennuy d'une prison
 avecque Beaucoup de raison
 frape heureusement la memoire
 qu'un Déplaisir y semble Doux
 quand on scait qu'en ce lieu Ce divin roy de gloire
 Des verges des Boureaux y reseut plusieurs Coups.

Tant de bienfaits de Cette Sorte
 Sur un Esprit Recognoissant
 Doivent par un effet puissant
 faire une impretion bien forte
 de voir cet adorable Espoux
 porter la peine du Couroux
 q'uávoit merit  nostre Crime
 mortels que le Ressentiment
 Est a qui que ce soit un devoir l gitime
 pour peu quil soit gairy de son aveuglement

Que les puissances Souveraines
 par un injuste et dure loy
 se liguent toutes Contre moy
 que je sois le but de leur haine
 nonobstant leurs puissant effort
 qui me peut advencer la mort
 je suivray lautheur de mon Estre
 je n'espere pas mieux que luy
 jusqu'au dernier Soupir je leur feray Cognoitre
 que je nay point de peur quand je l'ay pour appuy.

Les plus doux momens de la vie
 doivent  tre peu precieux
 a celuy qui jette les yeux
 Sur les maux dont elle est suivie
 quand il aura bien medit 
 desur son instabilit 
 qui jamais n pargna personne
 il trouvera tout bien compt 
 que Lhomme qui sy plaist et si fie et sy donne
 a lesprit bien grossier et tres mal ar st 

Mon dieu que le Zelle severe
 de mes Cr uels persecuteurs
 me cause aujourdhuy de bonheur
 puisq'uen souffrant je te puis plaire
 pendant ma tribulation
 Exempt de toute passion
 je lou ray ta beneficence
 Sans fin je beniray mes feres
 puisque dans tes beaux jours m me d s ton enfance
 D'un C eur soubmis et doux tu soufris les revers

Je souh te que la malice
 de ces Esprits cedicieux
 ne vienne point devant tes yeux
 le jour que tu feras justice
 je leur pardonne leurs forfaits
 justement Contre moy faits
 par un defect de Cognoissance
 agis de mesme en leur faveur
 ne leur impute point cette Cr elle offence
 ils pensent faire bien Seigneur pardonne leur

Amen

Fin.

Sir Henry William Peek, Bart.

VICE-PRESIDENT, 1885-1894.

PRESIDENT, 1894-1898.

DIED, 26TH AUGUST, 1898.

As this number of the *Proceedings* is passing through the press, the sad news reaches us of the death of our President, Sir Henry Peek, in whom the Society loses one of its oldest members and staunchest friends.

To those who were present at the Annual Meeting in May last, when Sir Henry presided in apparently the best health and spirits, and with all his usual brightness and geniality, and still more to those who happened to have met him even more recently, the news has come with a shock of surprise as well as with the keenest feelings of sorrow and regret.

Sir Henry William Peek was the son of Mr. James Peek of Watcombe, Torquay, and was born on the 26th February, 1825; his Huguenot descent being derived through his mother, a Le Maitre, whose family originally came from Dieppe. This connection with the refugees was always a source of peculiar pride and pleasure to Sir Henry, and through all the multifarious occupations and distractions of a very busy life, the history of the Huguenots and their descendants, and especially the welfare of the poorer amongst them, continued one of his deepest and most abiding interests.

Endowed with unusual energy of both mind and body, Sir Henry Peek, though weighted with the

conduct of one of the largest houses in the City of London, the affairs of which extended far and wide all the world over, yet found time for a variety of other pursuits, most of which were carefully planned and carried out with the view of benefiting those around him. As Member of Parliament for Mid-Surrey in the Conservative interest from 1868 to 1884, he used his influence in the promotion of many objects of general utility, and his unwearied and successful efforts in endeavouring to secure the preservation of open spaces for the people of London, and notably the purchase by the Corporation of Epping Forest and Burnham Beeches, will ever make him remembered as a public benefactor.

Yet it was not, perhaps, in these matters of more conspicuous philanthropy that Sir Henry's large-hearted generosity was really to be seen in its best and truest form. It is comparatively easy for a man of wealth and position to join in a great public movement and to add his hundreds of guineas to a subscription list for some transient, though for the moment pressing and soul-stirring, object, but Sir Henry's charity and sympathy were not to be bounded by such limits as these. He was ever on the watch for some opportunity of doing a kind action for those whose humble wants were in danger of being lost sight of in the hurry and bustle of present-day life, and was always ready to lend an attentive ear to any case of distress that was mentioned to him. Nor was he content to merely give some small donation and dismiss the matter without further thought. He was at the pains to satisfy himself thoroughly of all the merits of the case put before him, and then to give liberally so far as it seemed to require; nor did he stop here even, for he stored such cases in his memory, and weeks or months after having lent a first helping hand, would inquire how things were prospering, and whether he could be of any further service. And all was done so quietly and unostentatiously that probably

many and many a poor creature, struggling with illness and misfortune, has owed renewed health and happiness to Sir Henry without being in the least aware of it.

Among the many charitable works in which Sir Henry Peek was concerned, none possessed for him a livelier interest than the French Hospital, of which he was the senior Director, having been elected so long ago as 1846. In October, 1897, he was elected Deputy-Governor in succession to the late Mr. C. J. Shoppee, and at once threw himself, heart and soul, into the duties of his new office. He was frequently at the Hospital, enjoying a friendly chat with the old people, and looking after their comfort and well-being in every possible way. To join with them in the simple services in the Chapel was one of Sir Henry's greatest pleasures. He was an excellent reader, and was wont on such occasions to read the Lessons with a reverence of manner and a clearness and impressiveness of voice which none who heard him will ever forget.

Elected a Vice-President of the Huguenot Society on the 13th May, 1885, at the first Meeting after its foundation, Sir Henry Peek was a constant attendant at the future Meetings both of the Society and of the Council, and on the lamented death of Sir Henry Layard, in 1894, it was universally felt that no one else could so fittingly be chosen to succeed to the office of President. He was therefore provisionally appointed President on the 14th November, 1894, and formally elected at the next ensuing Annual Meeting in May, 1895. From that time he was rarely absent from any of the Society's Meetings, and it will be long ere any of its Fellows forget the genial way in which he presided at its social gatherings, and the interest he took in the various proceedings of a graver character. Most of all will he be missed by his colleagues in the Council, where his kindly presence was ever welcome and where he was ever ready to bestow on every little matter the full

benefit of his ripe experience, and ever eager to suggest what he thought might conduce to the Society's welfare and usefulness. To him may not unfittingly be applied the words of Sir Thomas Browne: "bright Thoughts, clear Deeds, Constancy, Fidelity, Bounty, and generous Honesty are the Gems of noble Minds; wherein (to derogate from none) the true Heroick English Gentleman hath no Peer".

R. S. F.

FIRST ORDINARY MEETING OF THE SESSION,
1898-99,

HELD AT

THE HOTEL WINDSOR, VICTORIA STREET,
WESTMINSTER.

WEDNESDAY, 2ND NOVEMBER, 1898.

W. J. C. MOENS, Esq., F.S.A., Vice-President, in the Chair.

THE Minutes of the Annual General Meeting held on 11th May, 1898, were read and confirmed.

The following were elected Fellows of the Society :—

Arthur Dick, Esq., 16 St. Helen's Place, E.C.

A. C. Haslam, Esq., St. Thomas' Hospital, S.E.

The Rev. Francis Charles Robert Jourdain, Clifton Vicarage,
Ashbourne, Derbyshire.

Lieut. Henry Francis Newdigate Jourdain, The Connaught
Rangers, Galway, Ireland.

The Right Hon. the Earl of Northbrook, G.C.S.I., P.C.,
F.R.S., Stratton, Micheldever Station.

Henry Obré, Esq., 24 Ryder Street, St. James', S.W.

Edward Stanley Mould Perowne, Esq., 13 Warwick Cres-
cent, W.

Miss Emmeline Anne Madeline Stratton, 12 Connaught
Place, W.

Library of the Dutch Church, Austin Friars, E.C.

The Chairman and others spoke of the great loss sustained by the Society in the death of the President, Sir Henry William Peek, Bart., and a vote of sympathy with Sir Henry's family was unanimously passed. A brief discussion followed on the Refugee Settlement at Canterbury.

SECOND ORDINARY MEETING OF THE SESSION,
1898-99,
HELD AT
THE HOTEL WINDSOR, VICTORIA STREET,
WESTMINSTER.

WEDNESDAY, 11TH JANUARY, 1899.

A. G. BROWNING, Esq., F.S.A., Vice-President, in the Chair.

THE Minutes of the Meeting held on 2nd November, 1898,
were read and confirmed.

The following were elected Fellows of the Society :—

James Lombard Becher de la Cour, Esq., 5 Inverness Place,
Bayswater, W.

Edward Filliter, Esq., 3 Rosslyn Hill, Hampstead, N.W.

A Paper was read by Mr. W. J. C. Moens, V.P., on
“The Despoiling of the Strangers by James I. and his
Favourites, 1616-1623”.

THIRD ORDINARY MEETING OF THE SESSION,
1898-99.

Held at

THE HOTEL WINDSOR, VICTORIA STREET,
WESTMINSTER.

WEDNESDAY, 8TH MARCH, 1899.

A. G. BROWNING, Esq., F.S.A., Vice-President, in the Chair.

THE Minutes of the Meeting held on 11th January, were read and confirmed.

The following were elected Fellows of the Society :—

Alfred Clifton Clapin, Esq., M.A., Felstead School, Essex.

Roland Ellis de Vesian, Esq., Roxboro' House, Harrow.

Miss Ellen L. Wilson, 10 Wilberforce Road, Southsea,
Portsmouth.

The Royal Library, Berlin.

The Bristol Museum and Reference Library.

A Paper was read by Mr. W. Mirret, F.S.A., on "The Church at Calais and its Poor Fund".

FIFTEENTH ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING,
HELD AT
THE HOTEL WINDSOR, VICTORIA STREET,
WESTMINSTER.

WEDNESDAY, 10TH MAY, 1899.

W. J. C. MOENS, Esq., F.S.A., President, in the Chair.

THE Minutes of the Meeting held on 8th March, were read and confirmed.

The following were elected Fellows of the Society :—

Henry Percy Boulnois, Esq., 44 Campden-House Court,
Kensington, W.

Andrew James de la Mare, Esq., Langold, South Woodford,
Essex.

Walter Frederick Moens, Esq., Woodcote, Chislehurst.

Melville Portal, Esq., Laverstoke House, Micheldever.

The Rev. Robert Wilson, D.D., President of the Huguenot
Society of South Carolina, 79 Coming Street, Charleston,
U.S.A.

The Library of Congress, Washington, U.S.A.

The Annual Report of the Council was read as follows :—

*Report of the Council to the Fifteenth Annual General Meeting
of the Huguenot Society of London.*

During the past year there have been twenty losses by death and withdrawal, being the same as in the year preceding, and twenty-two new Fellows have been elected, making the total number now 373. There has also been one loss by death among the Honorary Fellows, *viz.*, that of the Hon. Thomas F. Bayard, formerly the distinguished Ambassador of the United States to this country.

Of those who have passed away from the Society since the last Annual Meeting, none have been, and will be, so missed and regretted as the late President, Sir Henry William

Peek, Bart. No one took a deeper interest in the Society than he did; no one was more anxious to do anything and everything for it that lay in his power; his energy, his enthusiasm, his geniality, were again and again the life of its Meetings, whether in London or in the country. The Council feel sure that the whole Society will be at one with them in their heartfelt sorrow at his death.

Besides that of the President, the Society has especially to mourn the loss of Mr. Edward E. Stride and of Mr. Francis W. Cross. Mr. Stride was one of the original Fellows of the Society, and for several years was a member of the Register Committee, on which he did much excellent service, and from which he regretfully retired owing to ill-health. Mr. Cross is known to all as the author of the Society's latest quarto volume, *The History of the Walloon and Huguenot Church at Canterbury*, a book of great interest and solid value. It was a labour of love to its author, who spared no pains to make it as full and accurate as possible, and all will regret that he has for so short a time survived the completion of it.

The Treasurer's balance-sheet, annexed to this Report, shows an income for the financial year of £492 16s. 5d. (inclusive of a balance of £66 5s. 6d. brought forward from 1897), and an expenditure of £645 3s. 1d., being an excess of expenditure over income of £152 6s. 8d. It should, however, be pointed out that this excess on the wrong side is apparent rather than real, and has ceased to exist since the beginning of the present year. The unusual expenses were caused by the almost simultaneous issue of an unusual number of publications, and the deficit has been already met by a portion of the current year's income. The Council therefore have the satisfaction of being able to announce that the actual balance in hand this evening is £109 14s. 9d., which will be sufficient, they estimate, with other receipts yet to come in, to meet all liabilities for the publications to be issued in 1899. The Society also has, at the present date, the sum of £719 13s. 1d. invested in the names of three Trustees in 2½ per cent. Consols, so that its financial position may be considered thoroughly sound.

The publications issued during the year have been: the first number of the sixth volume of *Proceedings*; the first volume of the *Threadneedle Street Registers*, edited by Mr. Moens; the concluding volume of the *Canterbury Registers*, edited by Mr. R. Hovenden; the *La Patente Registers*, edited

by Mr. Minet and Mr. Waller; and the *History of the Walloon and Huguenot Church at Canterbury*, written by Mr. Cross, and to which allusion has already been made.

There are now in the press the second number of the sixth volume of *Proceedings*; the *Returns of Aliens*, edited by Mr. Kirk; the second volume of the *Threadneedle Street Registers*, and the *Registers of the Dutch Church at Colchester*, edited by Mr. Moens; and the *Registers of the Nonconformist Huguenot Churches at Dublin*, edited by Dr. La Touche.

The usual friendly relations have been maintained with the various other Societies with which the Society is in correspondence, especially with the Huguenot Society of America in connection with the commemoration in New York of the Tercentenary of the Promulgation of the Edict of Nantes. The Council gladly avail themselves of this opportunity to again express their grateful sense of the extreme kindness and hospitality shown to the Society's representatives on that occasion by their fellow-Huguenots and other friends in the United States.

After the reading of the Report the ballot was taken for the Officers and Council for the ensuing year, with the following result:—

Officers and Council for the year, May, 1899, to May, 1900.

President.—William John Charles Moens, F.S.A.

Vice-Presidents.—Major-General Sir Edmund F. Du Cane, K.C.B.; Arthur Giraud Browning, F.S.A.; Robert Hovenden, F.S.A.; William Minet, F.S.A.

Treasurer.—Reginald St. Aubyn Roumieu.

Honorary Secretary.—Reginald Stanley Faber.

Members of Council.—Lieut.-General Stephen H. E. Chamier, C.B., R.A.; J. C. Colyer-Fergusson; Arthur W. Crawley-Boevey; Major-General M. W. E. Gosset, C.B.; Edouard Majolier; David Martineau; William W. Portal; Wyndham S. Portal; Ernest S. Saurin; William A. Shaw; Sir Arthur Vicars, Ulster, F.S.A.; William C. Waller, F.S.A.

The President then gave a brief summary of the Society's work during the past year, and of that of the foreign Societies having similar objects. He specially referred to the American Society's Commemoration of the Tercentenary of the Promulgation of the Edict of Nantes, and to a Commemora-

tion of the same event held at Nantes itself; also to the energy still shown by the Commission pour l'Histoire des Églises Wallonnes in spite of the severe losses they had recently suffered by the death of several of their most valued members. He also made sympathetic allusion to the Society's own loss of his predecessor in the Presidential chair, the late Sir Henry Peek, of Mr. Edward Ernest Stride, Mr. Francis W. Cross and others.

DONATIONS TO THE LIBRARY.

THE Society is indebted to the undermentioned Fellows, Societies and other friends for donations of books, pamphlets, etc.: Mr. E. Belleruche, Dr. Béringuier, Mr. A. G. Browning, Mr. A. W. Crawley-Boevey, Mr. F. A. Crisp, Mr. R. Day, Mr. J. J. Green, Mr. C. E. Lart, Mrs. Stride, Miss E. Perronet Thompson, Sir Arthur Vicars, Ulster; Mr. M. G. Wildeman, the Royal Archæological Institute, the Society of Antiquaries of Newcastle-upon-Tyne, the Société Jersiaise, the Société de l'Histoire du Protestantisme Français, the Commission pour l'Histoire des Églises Wallonnes, the Nederlandsche Leeuw, the Société d'Archéologie de Bruxelles, the Deutsche Hugenotten-Verein, the Verein für Geschichte und Alterthumskunde zu Frankfurt-am-Main, the Société d'Histoire et d'Archéologie de Genève, the Société d'Histoire Vaudoise, the Reale Società Romana di Storia Patria, the Huguenot Society of America, the Virginia Historical Society, the Holland Society of New York.

From the 1st of January to the 31st of December, 1898.

1898.		£	s.	d.	Cr.	£	s.	d.
To Balance brought forward from 1897		66	5	6				
" Subscriptions from 294 Fellows		808	14	0				
" " " (in advance)		4	4	0				
" " " (in arrear)		10	10	0				
" Entrance Fees from 16 Fellows		16	16	0				
" Composition Fees from 8 Fellows		81	10	0				
" Sale of Society's Publications		97	1	6				
" One year's interest on Investment of Composition Fees, less Tax		17	8	7				
" Various receipts		0	6	10				
		<hr/>						
" Expenditure over Income		£493	16	5				
		163	6	8				
		<hr/>						
						374	9	6

1898.	£	s.	d.
By Cost of Printing and Distributing <i>History of Huguenot Church of Canterbury</i>	£99	11	9
" " " Printing and Distributing <i>La Patente Registers</i>	59	16	5½
" " " Printing and Distributing <i>Canterbury Registers</i>	97	1	11½
" " " Printing and Distributing <i>Thraceadneedle Street Registers</i>	88	10	0
" " " Printing and Distributing <i>Proceedings</i>	69	9	4
" " " Printing and Distributing <i>List of Fellows</i>	10	0	0
" " " Transcribing <i>Thraceadneedle Street Registers</i>	82	8	0
" " " Transcribing <i>Dublin Non-conformist Registers</i>	9	17	9
" " " Illustrations for Publications	42	5	9
" " " Printing Notices and Circulars	45	18	6
" " " Stationery	10	10	6
" " " Bookbinding	5	1	0
" " " Diplomas	6	2	11
" " " Rent of Rooms, Hanover Sq. (Library)	1	19	7
" " " Hire of Rooms (Hotel Windsor)	15	15	0
" " " Fire Insurance Premium	4	4	0
" " " Medals presented to the Huguenot Society of America	1	7	0
" " " Bank charges	9	8	0
" " " Petty Cash Disbursements, Postages, etc.	0	8	0
" " " Tea and Coffee, etc., after Meetings	41	9	4
" " " Assistant Secretary's Salary	4	14	0
" " " £28 18s. 2d. at 2½ per cent. Consols (see <i>contra</i>)	50	0	0
" " " <i>contra</i>	81	10	10

London: 14th April, 1899.

Examined with vouchers and found correct.

£645 8 1

CHARLES F. ROUSSELET.
L. H. Le BAILLY.

Note.—The Society stands (January, 1899) possessed of a sum of £719 13s. 1d., 2½ per cent. Consols, representing the investment of the Life Composition Fees received from 66 Fellows since its inauguration.

The Church at Calais and its Poor Fund.

1660-1681.

BY WILLIAM MINET, F.S.A.

STATISTICS are admittedly dull, and, of all statistics, accounts are perhaps the dullest. But statistics can be made, we are told, to prove anything; I believe that they can even be made to prove interesting. How this can be will best be shown by an illustration. Offer to a connoisseur a glass of last year's vintage, and he will turn from its roughness with disgust; but lay that same wine away till it be matured, and, after a lapse of fifty years, again set it before him, he will savour it, consume the whole bottle, and even, like Oliver Twist, ask for more.

So is it with accounts—a dreary necessity of our every-day life—we are apt to turn from them with disgust; but, after the lapse of 200 years, they lose their roughness, and come to us only with the aroma of age; an aroma from the midst of which rises the picture of the men who kept them, as well as of the times in which they lived, a picture all the more valuable in that it was painted quite unconsciously.

For us these Guines accounts have a special interest, as having been kept by men from whom we are proud to be descended, men of whom we are anxious to learn all we can. But they have also a wider and a more general interest, inasmuch as the seventeenth century had to meet and to deal with the same problems and difficulties of life that surround us to-day. How did it meet them, and what were the methods it adopted?

The poor we have always with us, and the nineteenth century is apt to boast that the problem of how to deal with pauperism is only now being scientifically attacked. I venture to think that we shall rise from the perusal of these old accounts in a humbler spirit, with a conviction that the

adage that "Old age is wiser than youth," may sometimes be true. The accounts we are considering deal entirely with the relief of the poor, and we shall find that, on all points, the principles adopted are those of the wisest philanthropy of to-day. Old age pensions granted only after inquiry, and subject to constant revision as to their recipients and their amounts; relief in kind rather than in cash; orphans boarded out with the poor widows of the church and taught until they were of age to be apprenticed; the girls taught to sew; the sick not only treated medically, but also provided with nursing and necessary food. All these points I shall be able to illustrate from the accounts of the poor-relief fund of the Huguenot church at Guines between 1660 and 1681.

The history of the congregation which met originally at Guines, and, after the dispersion, at Dover, is sufficiently well known to us during a period of seventy-one years (1660-1731); partly through the Registers of the church at Guines, and partly through the Registers and the Account and Minute Books of the Dover church, which have formed the subject of publications or papers already issued by the Society.¹ A happy chance has put into my hands a fresh document, which enables us to make the story of this congregation far more complete than has ever been possible in the case of any Huguenot church. This document is an Account Book kept by the churchwardens, for the period extending from April, 1660, to August, 1681. How it survived I am unable to say; but it seems to have been found in private hands at Guines by M. Landrin, formerly of that town, and now keeper of the archives at Calais, whose assistance I have often had occasion to acknowledge, and who has further increased our debt to him by entrusting to me this manuscript.

I have been in great doubt what use to make of it; I first thought to transcribe it in full, but this would have been a very lengthy task, and moreover, many of the entries are uninteresting repetitions. I next thought of printing such portions of it as seemed to have special interest; but even this would take more space than can well be spared, nor would it bring out for us the full value and meaning of the book. I have therefore decided to use it as the

¹ *Publications*, vol. iii., 1891. *Proceedings*, vol. iv., 1894. *Registers of the French Church at Dover*, privately printed for F. A. Crisp. 1888.

subject of this paper, and to endeavour, by extracts, to complete the picture of the life and organisation of a typical Huguenot congregation.

The book itself is a folio (11½ + 7¼ inches), bound in vellum, and the paper has for water-mark the arms of the town of Amsterdam. It consisted originally of 174 leaves, but 15 having been cut out, there now remain 159. Twelve of these being blank, there are left 147 leaves, or 294 pages, of closely written manuscript. The first page is as follows:—

REGISTRE DE LA RECETTE ET DEPENSE FAITTE POUR LES
PAUVRES DU TEMPLE DE GUISNE DEPUIS 1660; JUSQU'A
1681; PAR LES NOMÉS;—SÇAVOIR.

DIACRES REÇEVEURS

Samuel Gatou
Jacques Robelin
Jean Sauchelle
Isaac Le Turcq
Daniel Bilart ou Pilart
Jacob de Hane
Abraham Verbreghe
Adrien Lernoult
Isaac de la Croix
Antoine Maressal
L. De Le Becque

ANCIENS

Isaac Sigart
Jacques de Cassel
Hays
Jean Vromon
Pierre Le Duc
Mathieu Houcque (diacre)
Jean Beursee
F. De le Becque
Duponchel
Francois Sigart
Jona Magnie
Jacob Squiper
Samuel Dhoy
Abraham Loizel (diacre)

AUTRES DIACRES ASSISTANS

Abraham Balissau
Ambroise Minet
J. De La Balle
A. Maire (et ancien)
Jean Le Clercq (ancien)

PASTEURS & MINISTRES

M^{re} Tricotel
De Prez
Trouillart
et J. Devaux

NOTA.

Les Pasteurs et Ministres sont les premiers; ensuite les anciens, les Diacres receveurs et les Diacres assistans. Le mot de Diacre signifie icy des personnes chargées de Recevoir et distribuer les aumones, et de faire les fonctions de Marguilliers sous l'inspection des Pasteurs, Ministres, et des anciens.

Comme Sabi Signe qui A nous ven a examine la
 Conte Du furey par le tany pour son bon air
 Dot pour que a Rode a Dohomle Dapina le Compe
 Yuni Do moy me by Cen Sois sans Enry Juy po a
 Yuni Soy nene mona tume qd a la Red pila a fide
 Je onte a la fomme d a trois onie quatre Ce quatre
 neme onie Lue doue Souh Six Dikhe a La Doy pou
 mome a La fomme de trois onie dix Ce neme d dix
 Lume Saize Souh Six Dikhe par mome a part qu la di
 Quel a tany a la Rode a la vic onie d La
 fomme de dix Ce a Cingons qui Lume saize
 Souh Saize Celine a quatre Dikhe juis d apmie
 me Saize Ce Sois sans Souh

Triotel partur. *Je* u bon hedy drcis
 Libe Beque *Je* n'os via ligant juy
 Carmel *Je* Jean Saiz haly Lia cre
 Diuere *Je* Joy S. Laballe

This title page, though of about the same date, cannot be contemporary with the MS., from which, however, it was evidently compiled. The first list, that of the "diacres receveurs," gives in their order the names of the successive treasurers; while the three following lists are made up from the names of those who appear as signing the auditors' certificates. But the lists are not accurate, some of the names being incorrectly spelt, and two, *viz.*, Michel Porrye and Jean la Mare, omitted altogether. Moreover, there were many more officers of the church who did not act as auditors, but whose names appear in the entries as "diacres" of the various "quartiers"; of these no account is taken. Again, no contemporary would have been in doubt as to the name of Pilart.

What first strikes one in going through these accounts is the neatness with which they are entered, and the accurate and methodical way in which they are kept and balanced; and this is the more remarkable, seeing that during the twenty-one years over which they extend, they were kept by eleven different hands. The "diacres receveurs" took the office of treasurer in turn; but, throughout, the same system is followed, and the same care shown. This point is one that the original only can prove, and I have therefore had two pages of the MS. reproduced in facsimile.¹ At the end of each treasurer's term of office his accounts were audited, generally by six auditors, and a carefully worded certificate was appended to them. The form of this varies a little from time to time, but the following may be taken as a good example. This also I have reproduced in further illustration of the business-like minuteness and accuracy we find throughout.

"Nous soubsigné qui auons veu et examiné le conte du frere Isaac Le Turcq pour tous les deniers des pauure qu'il a reçu et déboursé depuis le cinquiesme jour de May mil six cent soisante cinq jusqu'a ce jourdhuy, nous auons trouué que la recette qu'il a faite se monte a la somme de trois mil quatre cent quatrevain onze liure douze soub six deniers, et la despense monte a la somme de trois mil deux cens trente deux liure saize soub six deniers; partant appert que ledit fr. le Turcq est redeuable a la diaconie de la somme de deux

¹ Appendix I.

cens cinquante huit liure saize soubz. Fini a Calais ce quatorzesme jour d'Apruil mil six cens soisante sept.

"TRICOTEL pasteur.

L. DE LE BÉCQUE ancien.

DANIEL PILART diacre.

J. DU PONCHEL ancien.

FRANCOIS SIGART ancien.

JEAN SAUCHELLE diacre.

JEAN DE LA BALLE."

The period of time during which each *diacre* remained in office as treasurer varied very much, the shortest being twenty-five weeks, and the longest two years and fourteen weeks. As the accounts are only balanced at the end of each term of office, it is impossible, without a great deal of trouble, to ascertain exactly what the yearly receipts were. This I have not thought it worth while to do, but I have taken instead the average for the whole period. This gives a total for each year of 2476 *l.* 10 *s.*¹ The amount sounds large, but we must remember that the French currency was much depreciated, and the livre therefore much less in value than the English pound. By reducing the amount into English money, we shall obtain a better idea of the meaning of the figures. This we are able to do with certainty, since the accounts themselves, in more than one place, give us the exchange of the day, which may be taken at 13 livres to the English pound. The French livre being thus worth just over *1s.* 6*d.* of our money, the average yearly receipts expressed in English money of the date amount to *£190* 10*s.*

The purchasing power of money was, of course, very different in the seventeenth century from what it is to-day; nor is it at all easy to establish a correct relation. The livre of 1680 may, however, be taken as equivalent to six francs to-day; this would make the average annual receipts, expressed in present value, 14,784 frs., or *£591* in our money.

One cannot but feel regret that these accounts deal only with the relief of the poor. Had they included the general church accounts, we should have learnt more of the times to

¹ French coinage at this date consisted of livres, sols and deniers, related as ours, *i.e.*, 12 deniers = 1 sol; 20 sols = 1 livre. Other coins were however in use, and are mentioned in our accounts. 1. The ducat = 6*l.* or 9*s.* 2*d.* English money, at the rate of exchange I have adopted. 2. The ducat = 8*l.* 14*s.* 8*d.*, rather more than the half ducat. 3. The ecu = 8*l.* 4. The Louis d'or = 11*l.* 5. Deniers Tournois, to which no value is assigned. In the case of all these different coins there were many local varieties; Cotgrave, for instance, enumerates six different livres, all of different values.

which they relate; but, with one or two exceptions, to be noted later, all the payments recorded are for relief of various kinds given to the poor. It would seem certain that a separate account must have been kept for the church expenses. But as to whence the poor fund was derived, and how it was administered, we have the fullest information. By far the most interesting portion is that which shows in what manner the poor were relieved; and when we come to deal with this we shall find, I think, such principles adopted as might even furnish a lesson to charity organisation of the present day. I propose first to deal with the income. Among the sources from which this was derived, the most important, as one would expect, are the collections made in the church, by means of the "boitte des pauvres" as they are called.

It would seem that the collection was only made once a fortnight, and, as a point which is curiously typical of the extreme care with which everything was done, we may note that the money was always taken out of the boxes and counted by the treasurer in the presence of one or two other members of the consistory. Four times a year, as we know, the sacrament was celebrated, and on these occasions the collection was very much larger, though only one half of the sum collected on these days came to our fund, the other half probably going to the church expenses. There is little to remark as to this part of the income, except that we have occasional evidence that human nature is much the same all the world over: for example, the entry of 23rd September, 1660, is as follows: "Recu de la visitte de la boitte des pauvre avecq le confrere Gatou et Sausel 366 l. 8 s. 0 d., sur quoy s'est troué ung duscast de 6 l. faux, reste 360 l. 8 s. 0 d.". Sometimes foreign coins were found, e.g., "Vendu des deniers Tournois quy estoy dans le coffre, 5 l. 9 s. 0 d.".

Occasionally the receipts were not sufficient to meet the payments; as, for example, in 1663, when we have the following entry:—

"Ce present conte a esté veu et calculé et arresté, par lequel il appert reuenir audit Sauchelle la somme de 1241 l. 17 s. 3 d., de laquelle somme il sera remboursé sur les deniers de l'église, et sur les premiers quy proviendront de la collecte quy se fera dans peu de temps".

It is clear from this that there was another fund, probably the one for church expenses, which is nowhere directly

noticed in our accounts, and it was, doubtless, from this source that Sauchelle was repaid, seeing that the adverse balance is not carried forward. Sometimes a special "cuillette" was resorted to.

"Festins" provided a not infrequent source of income. These were clearly marriages, as a reference to the Registers proves, but the sums so given seldom exceeded 5*l.* Of a similar nature are the offerings made on the occasions of "fiançailles": for instance on 4th April, 1667, Jean Sauchelle gives 6*l.*, "pour ses fiançailles," an entry on which I am able to throw light from my own family records, where I find, among the notes left by this same Jean Sauchelle, the following: "Moy Jean Sauchelle ay pris a feme a Calais la fille du S^r Isaac Sigart et de Susanne Delacroix ses pere et mere, et sommes marié a l'église de Guisne par le ministre nommé Tricotel le 27 Fev^r 1667"¹

From gifts and legacies a great deal was realised. In 1662 I find a sum of 1,000*l.* paid over by my own ancestor, Ambroise Minet, who was, it would seem, the executor of "mere C. B.," and the payment must have been delayed, as he adds 50*l.* "pour les interest".² Another legacy of £20 sterling from "la veuve Nicolas Desanthims," of Canterbury, proves the existence of a connection between the two churches before the Revocation.³ Some of the legacies take the form of land or houses, the rents of which are entered as receipts; for example, "de Jean Becard, et de quoy il a quittance, et c'est pour louage des terres aparte' a Judith Bourgeois, desquelz Isaac le Turcq est crée curateur par justice"⁴ Among individual donors, "Le cousin Michel Hensch d'Amsterdam" deserves the first place for his constant and liberal gifts; between 1662 and 1681 his donations amount to not less than 642*l.* Madame la Contesse de Noorthombe-

¹ *Huguenot Family of Minet*, p. 90.

² One would wish to know who C. B. was; but the only light on the question comes from an entry of the previous year, which seems to prove that she died away from Calais, and that the pall was lent for her funeral, "Païé le frais du voiage de drap po^r C. B. : arresté avec M. Hais et M. Gatou".

³ *Canterbury Registers*, Publ. of the Soc., vol. v., p. 601: "Jan. 25, 1670-1. Marie, vefve de Nicolas de Santhuns". This is an excellent illustration of what I may call "undesigned coincidence". True, it is not often that we are able to check the accounts with an English register; but whenever a birth, marriage or death is mentioned, the event referred to will be found in the Guines registers. This legacy was paid in three instalments, amounting to 267*l.*, which gives an exchange of 14*l.* 7*s.* per pound sterling, or more than what Calais seems to have been able to obtain when sending money to England.

⁴ The last entry in the second of the two facsimile pages reproduced in Appendix I. relates to this matter.

land sends 16*l.* in 1673, and we wonder whether it was Elizabeth, Dowager Countess, who died in 1709, at the age of ninety-seven, or her daughter-in-law Elizabeth, who died in 1690. Whichever it may have been, what was their interest in Calais?¹ In 1680 the name of Ruvigny occurs twice; first, 17*l.* 17*s.* 6*d.* is received "pour un domestique de M. Ruuigny," and, shortly afterwards, 150*l.* "que M. Ruuigny a donné aux pauvres" is noted. In this case the explanation is a simple one. A Ruvigny had married, early in the century, the heiress of La Caillemotte, a property situated close to Calais. Their son was the Marquis de Ruvigny, who fled to England, as did his two sons, Henry, afterwards Viscount Galway, and Peter. The interest in Calais shown by this family is, of course, due to the fact that they were owners of land in the neighbourhood.

Some of the gifts must have been in kind; as, for example, a gold ring given by Sauchelle in 1668, and sold for 4*l.* 18*s.*; and again, in 1675, "Abraham Verbreghe, pour un diamant quy apartenoit aux pauvres, a luy vendu par l'aduis des confreres, 95*l.*." Often we have such entries as "vendu une cotte noir"; "la valeur d'un drap donné"; "pour 4½ a. de baye a 35*s.* l'aune, prouenant du doeuil de feu M. Marquety"; this class of entry sometimes, no doubt, represents gifts, but frequently, also, the sale of articles pledged with the church, and never redeemed, and sometimes the property of some deceased person, whose estate was taken over and administered by the deacons for the benefit of the poor fund.

Another source of revenue carries us far back into pagan times, when, on the completion of a bargain, it was thought expedient to offer a part of the price to appease the deity. As a survival of this custom, we have payments of which the following are good examples: "recu un denier a Dieu d'un nauire que M. Benest a vendu"; "le sieur de Dour proche de Marcq a baillé pour les pources a cause d'une acquisition 11*l.*." Unfortunately, except in one of the two instances I have quoted, we are not told the nature of the transaction in respect of which the offering was made, and the only other entry of this kind which gives any detail savours, I am sorry to say, of malversation. In 1676 Jacob de Hane makes this entry: "J'ay retenu pour un denier a Dieu que je douois donner aux S^{rs} de l'eglise Romaine 3*l.*."

¹ Elizabeth, who died 1690, was daughter of Thos. Wriothsley by his second marriage. His first wife was Rachel de Massue, of the family of de Ruvigny. The de Ruvignys were, as stated above, connected with Calais.

A considerable sum was derived from payments made for the use of the parish pall. For example, M. Trouillart, father of the minister of that name, dies on 16th October, 1680, and on 28th November following we have the entry: "receu de Mad^{me} Marie Trouillart p^r le drap noir quy a serui a Mons^r Trouillart son pere 24 l.;" again on 3rd August, 1679, "la vefue Minet" pays "pour le drap noir 9 l. 15 s.," her husband having died on 16th July previous. Sometimes the payment is said to be "pour le drap et manteau noir". Occasionally, but here always in the case of children, the "drap" is said to be "blanc". The payments made vary very much, and would seem to have depended on the rank and position of the deceased. I was at one time in doubt as to whether my translation of the word "drap" was correct, and whether it was not rather the shroud; but I feel confident that I am right, and for these reasons: elsewhere in the accounts payments are made for a "linceuil," which is clearly the shroud, and it is well known that a supply of the trappings of woe, which have in all ages been thought appropriate to funerals, was often kept by the church for the use of the parishioners. Again the coupling of the "manteau" with the "drap" points to the same conclusion. The custom can be paralleled in England.¹

I come now to the payments, and here the difficulty lies in the wealth of material before us. To deal with the whole of it would be impossible: I propose to divide it roughly into certain classes, and to illustrate these by examples. The first point which strikes one is the elaborate organisation of the system. The church was at Guines, but Calais was clearly the administrative centre, and there the accounts were kept. The ecclesiastical district was mapped out into divisions called "quartiers," and for each "quartier" one or more "anciens" and "diacres" were responsible.² The

¹ In 1696 Lady Mary Turner gives to the parish of South Mimms her hearse cloth of black velvet, to be kept by the overseers. For its use at a burial, five shillings was to be paid and given to the poor. Again, in 1738, Elizabeth Wroth, by her will, provides that her black velvet suit be made into a pall, and bequeaths it to be let out for hire to such persons as shall have occasion for the same. The hire was to be not more than ten, and not less than five shillings. I take both these instances from Mr. Waller's *Loughton Wills*, p. 46 (privately printed). See also on this subject, *Les Protestants d'autrefois*, P. de Félice, Paris, 1896, p. 256.

² These "quartiers" were ten in number: *vis.*, Le Faubourg, La Basse Ville (now St. Pierre), Coulogne, Guemp, Vieille Eglise, Marcq, Offequerque, Ardres, Les Attaques, and Guines. *Vide* the map issued with the Registers of Guines.

treasurer for the time being was responsible for all the payments, and evidently lived at Calais; but oftentimes the need for relief arose in other parts of the district, and in this case the local deacon either brought the matter before the treasurer or dealt with it at once, being afterwards repaid from Calais on the presentation of his account.¹

But not only was the system perfectly organised, it was also admirably administered, and by this I mean that the principles followed were such as, even in these days of reformed charity administration, we have hardly yet fully attained to. Charity, if it is to do good and not harm, must conform to two main rules: first, it must only be given after full inquiry into the merits and needs of the case; secondly, it must be given in the form which such inquiry shows is the most likely to relieve the case permanently. We shall all agree that it is wiser so to assist a man as to enable him to earn his own living, than by continued doles to keep him a perpetual pauper.

We shall find that at Calais these principles were recognised and acted upon; and first, let me take a few cases to prove what inquiry was made. Over and over again there are entries such as these: "Un passant venant d'Hollande, et retournant a Lausanne en Suisse, avec attestation," "Christian de Brougher suivant son tesmoignage de M. Drelincourt". Those who know anything of the organisation of the Huguenot churches will at once recognise the meaning and value of the "témoignage" and "attestation". Where these fail, the case is only dealt with after consultation with some other official, or by order of the consistory: "Assisté Adrienne Picotte par ordre du Consistoire"; "Un passant pour France de l'aduis du frere Sauchelle"; "Un passant de Geneve de l'aduis des confreres"; "Capon pour noeuif semaines de nourriture de Jean de la Rue du consentement et aduis de Jean Sauchelle".

Next, as to the nature of the relief given. Sometimes, of course, it is in that most elementary but most dangerous form of charity, money; but instances of relief in kind are also

¹ To quote one of many instances which could be given: in 1664 we find "payé a Pierre Piffreman diaire des Atacq quy luy estoit debue par le compte qu'il a rendu ce dit jour, sortant de charge, la somme de 31 l. 1 s. 8 d.". Pensions too were paid by the deacon of the "quartier": for example, one Gatebled, who had long been a pensioner on the Calais books, is paid 15 s. "pour aller a Guisnes demeurer"; and the next entry of the weekly pensions runs, "payé la sepmaine, a la reserue de Pierre Gatebled allé demeurer a Guisnes," where he was no doubt cared for by the Guisnes deacon.

numberless. The wayfarer has his passage paid to England ; a poor woman has a cow bought for her ; another, a spinning wheel ; another, flax. A man has the repairs to his barrow paid for, or his clothes taken out of pawn, or a part of his rent paid. If I do not stay to give instances of these now, it is that they will be found fully dealt with later on, in the quotations I shall have to make in illustration of the various classes of charity practised.

The needs of the poor are so various that only a very rough classification of what was done to meet them is possible ; but of difficult questions the treatment of orphans is not the least difficult, and I propose to take this first. The practice adopted was one much in favour to-day, namely, boarding-out—a practice which served a twofold end, in that it benefited both the children and the poorer members of the congregation, whose means of livelihood were thereby increased.

With whom and at what cost orphan children should be boarded out is an important question, which we can well understand would have to be passed upon by a committee before the payment would be allowed :—

“ Païé a Meurisse le mois des enfans Marcq Armont que les freres de la basse ville ont mis en pension le 14 Auril a 8 l. par mois pour 2 garson ” ;

but that the same machinery should have to be set in motion before the orphan could be supplied with a pair of socks, seems a little cumbrous :—

“ Baillé par ordre de Jean Luze, quy avoit ordre du Consistoire, pour les enfans Delaport a la femme Terin, deux cammisol et deux paires de bas de rolle ”.

In fact the repetition of the words “ par ordre du Consistoire,” “ de l'avis de la Compagnie,” becomes almost wearisome ; and, if I insist on it, it is only that I may bring out to the full how systematised their charity was, and how loyally the system was carried out.

The story of Pierre de Winter illustrates in full detail the method in which orphans were dealt with. When the accounts first open, in 1660, he is supported by the church, and is boarded out with a widow ; 4 l. 10 s. is paid per month for his board, and 5 s. for his “ escolage ”. By 1663 he must have grown, and the monthly payments are increased to 5 l. and 6 s. respectively. Up to 1665 he remains

with one or other of the church widows, and during the whole of this time there are frequent entries of sums paid for his clothing, as well as for mending his shoes, while he is also supplied at school with paper, and, on one occasion, with an "escritoir". In June, 1665, the lad must have been old enough to learn a trade, and we then find him started with a new set of clothes, including a "camisole" and five "collets de toille," and placed with Nicolas Martinot, whom we know from the Registers to have been a "boutonnier"¹: no definite sum is paid for his apprenticing, but whereas 5 l. per month had, so far, been paid for his board, he now costs only 3 l., and we may well infer that the reduced charge was counterbalanced by the work he was able to do for his master. For two years and eight months he remains with Martinot, and is supplied with clothes during the whole time. The next break in his life is evidenced by the last payment made to Martinot for his board; "payé a Martinot pour deux mois escheu 22 fev. der. d'apprentige. Pre. de Winter, party pour Laide". It is clear from this that the boy had been sent to Leyden, and, as we should expect, we find that he was fully fitted out. He has socks, a "juste-à-corps," a "cringrame," and, lastly, what I take to be an overcoat—"baillé le frocq de Jean Dubois a Pierre de Winter allant pour Hollande". This "frocq" must have been a garment on which the church had advanced to its former owner the sum of 8 l. 1 s., which he had omitted to repay; it is charged when given to Pierre at 4 l. 16 s., and the balance of the sum advanced is noted as remaining due from its former owner. The boy was too young to travel alone, and the next payment is: "Païé au filz Marye Ferras pour mener Pierre de Winter a Laide, et au confrere Le Turcq pr. son passage". The petty expenses of the journey are repaid to his convoy later on: "Pour divers au subject de Pierre de Winter a Laide, de Jacob filz de Marye Ferras". We hear no more of Pierre until the end of this year, 1668, when he was evidently well established with his new master at Leyden. This appears from the two following entries: "Rendu a Mad. Le Moine 1 port de lettre venant par terre de Leyde, de Marq Desguynes, touchant Pierre de Winter"—the letter was to ask for the apprenticing fee which had been promised should the lad prove satisfactory, and a week later comes the entry: "Païé a Jean Aymery 1 lettre change 23 l. 12 s. envoié a Mr. Marcq Desguiens a Leyde pour achever Pierre de

¹ *Gulnes Registers*, p. 199.

Winter apprendre le mettyer de grogrenier". We hear no more of this case, but from the entries I have extracted and pieced together we have the whole story of the boy during eight years, until he was finally started in life as master of a trade, which would enable him to earn his own living. And I venture to think that the most modern system of dealing with orphan children could not improve on that adopted at Calais.

The girls were, in their degree, treated as well as the boys, for they were taught sewing and darning, and were clothed and sent to school. The story of Judicq Mattou illustrates this very completely. She seems to have been a widow, and we first find her relieved in April, 1663. In the May following she dies, and is buried at the expense of the church. Her property must have been taken possession of; for, on 8th January, 1664, there is a receipt noted "pour la vent de meuble de Judicq Mattou, vefeu de Robert Guise, suivant l'inventaire et vent fait la somme de 158*l.* 18*s.* 6*d.*; faut deduire 5*l.* 10*s.* payé a Jean Bequelin pour son louage de sa maison". With the estate came its obligations, and immediately after her death there are payments to a widow "pour auoir gardé," and to Marye Le Jeune "pour auoir laué le lainge de Judicq Matou". Her rent, as we have seen above, was paid out of the estate, so also are her debts; for in June, 10*s.* appears "payé a une femme que Judicq debuoit". She left a boy and two girls, who were at once boarded out, the girls with Marie Le Jeune, and the boy elsewhere; the latter being apprenticed at a cost of 60*l.* in February, 1664. The girls continue for a long time to be a charge on the fund; their foster-mother receives 10*l.* a month, besides payments for their "escolage" and clothing. But the special point this story serves to show is that, within a month of their mother's death, Marye Gregoire is paid 5*l.* "pour auoir appris a coudre la fille Judicq Matou". In 1661 a similar payment is made in respect of another orphan: "baillé a une fille pour auoir montré a ung orfelin a lacher¹ des bas".

Books, paper, and all other school requisites are also found, but the only books specially named are "livres de siuilité"² and "catéchismes". Nor was their religious educa-

¹ Darn.

² "Livres de civilité" were common at this time, as manuals for the instruction of the young. One, well-known, was written by Erasmus; this was translated into French, and, with several others, will be found fully described in A. Franklin's *La vie privée d'autrefois*, Paris, 1887.

tion neglected. Guines was at some distance from Calais, and the journey thither was made by canal boat; frequent entries appear of sums allowed the children to go to Guines, no doubt to attend the instruction given in the church there.

The widow and the orphan come naturally together, and of widows, pensioners upon the fund, there was no lack. The number of pensioners varied from time to time, but at the beginning of each new set of accounts the names, with the sums paid to them weekly, are always set out in full. In subsequent entries by the same treasurer the weekly total only is given, under the heading of "les ordinaires," or "la semaine". It is clear that the amount of these pensions was carefully considered, as we are always told that they are paid "par ordre du Consistoire," or were "arresté au Consistoire"; and if ever any variation in the amount is made, it is always noted as being made on the same authority, e.g., "la compagnie lui ayant augmenté a cause de sa maladie".

Suzanne Gannione is as good an instance of this type of case as I can find. She is on the books as a pensioner at the commencement in 1660, and continues there till her death in 1679. The first entry shows her as in receipt of 1*l.* weekly. At the end of 1660 she drops out, perhaps able to support herself, and only receives occasional doles; but in 1662 she is again on the regular list, receiving 15*s.* In addition to her pension, she receives from time to time further relief, of which the following may be taken as examples: "une chemise baillé a Suzenne Gannion, de l'aduis des confreres 1*l.* 15*s.*"; "une cotte de frize et un cors portant 10*l.* 10*s.*, sur quoy elle en a payé 4*l.*," the balance 6*l.* 10*s.* being duly charged. In 1668 she was encouraged to do something to earn her own living, and 2*l.* is spent for "un grand rouet, ballot a filer". Toward the end her health failed, and we find payments to her "pour se faire saigner"; and in 1678 she receives money "pour auoir de la graisse pour mettre a sa cuisse". Probably also she was bedridden at this time, as there are several payments to her "pour 2 bottes de paille a se coucher". In September of this year her pension is increased "a cause de son indisposition et viellesse"; and on 19th May, 1679, comes the final entry "les ordinaires, deduit 1*l.* a Gagnionne morte"; how she died, or how she was buried we are not told.

Another point to be noted about these pensions is the moral control exercised over the recipients. One Decaufour who receives 1*l.* 10*s.* weekly, presumably sufficient for his

support, is found to have pawned his clothes for 6*l.*; they are released for him, but only "a condition de luy deduire 7*s.* 6*d.* par semaine de son ordinaire"; and in another case, the widow Marchant is found to have allowed her rent to run into arrears for six months; this debt coming to the knowledge of the authorities, is paid for her, but the amount is deducted by instalments from her weekly pension.

Poverty leads to the pawnshop, and none know better than the charitable that a man's tools, or even his clothes, have oftentimes to be redeemed before he can be given a fresh start. There is no disgrace in pawning, and to receive in pawn is oftentimes an act of charity. Of this the church of Calais was well aware, for over and over again it acted as pawnbroker. As before, I single out a few cases as examples of this aspect of its beneficence: "Par ordre de la compagnie j'ay rendu au confrere Jean Vremault 15*l.* qu'il a donné a Marie Hebbert sur sa promesse, et les gages, saavoir des abits de camelot noir, d'une cotte de sarge rouge, d'une paire de pseumes a blouque d'argent,¹ et deux mouchoirs a dentelle, laditte promesse paib. a la St. Jean prochain cy". I can find no trace of the redemption of these miscellaneous articles; on the contrary, it would seem as though Marie Hebbert had been reduced to pawn more of her property, for in the following year there is this: "retenu des hardes de Marie Hebert, a bon conte, 5*a.* toille, d'environ 5*s.* l'a., dont j'ay faict une paillasse pour Gagnonne".

The pair of silver psalm-books pawned by Marie Hebbert can be paralleled by another advance: "assisté Marye Lesel, allant a Dieppe, de 3*l.* sur le gage un pseume & l'interpretation de l'apocalipse".

In 1673 Engrand Bien receives 21*l.* "par ordre de la compagnie pour faire son voiage avecq son mesnage en Ang^{re}, sur quoy a baillé en gage un habit de femme noir de serge, que l'on luy rendra alors qu'il rendra l'argent". Alas! Engrand Bien does not seem to have prospered in England, for two years later comes the end of the story: "Rendu au confrere Fremau un habit de serge noir qu'y a esté mis en

¹ *Le Dictionnaire de Furetière* (1701) nous apprend que le mot "paire" se dit aussi par extension d'une chose qui est unique, et qui n'est point appariée. Ainsi on dit "une paire d'Heures," pour dire un livre d'Heures. Blouque est ici dans le sens de fermoir d'argent. En vieux Français on disait blouque pour boucle. Ainsi dans *L'esclaircissement de la langue francoyse* de Palgrave (1680), "Bucle for a shoo = Blouque". Nos paysans disent toujours "bloucle" pour boucle, et "ablouquer" pour boucler (note by M. Ch. Landrin).

gage par ingran Bien le 6^m Octob., 1673, pour 21 l., que les pauvres luy ont pretté, pour par ledit Fremau enuoyer ledit habit audit ingran quoy qu'il n'ayt rendu lesdits 21 l., & ce par commiseration & par ordre de la compagnie. Ce cy pour renseigner."

The pawnbroking does not always seem to have been carried on in a very profitable way, to judge from the case of Esther le Jeune, to whom 15 l. had been advanced on certain pledges; these, on being sold "par ordre de la compagnie," realised only 3 l. Another transaction which resulted in a loss may be mentioned here: the widow Marchant, of whom we heard above, when she was in arrears with her rent, died in 1679, and certain expenses were incurred at that time; the entry runs as follows: "pour 31 l. 3 s. 6 d. déboursé et reste de 37 l. 3 s. 6 d. payé apres la mort la vefue Marchant, ayant receu 6 l. p. 2 jupes vendus suivant le mem^e au dos de l'inventaire fait avec le frere Verbreghe, le reste des hardes estans dans un coffre a vendre".

Incidentally a whole chapter might be written on clothes, for every kind of garment is at one time or another provided by the charity of the church for every age and both sexes. Shoes, stockings and shirts we need not dwell on, but the names of some of the garments, as well as of the materials of which they were made, are worth noting for their antiquarian interest. "Un abit de creseau¹ froc, et fasson" costs 14 l. 14 s. 6 d., the same material being used elsewhere for "un corsets". Another material much in use was "rolle," of which both "camisole" and "canneson" are made, as well as stockings, its cost was 1 l. 18 s. the aune. The "camisole," I may note, was a man's garment (Angl., waistcoat), as the "froc" was usually a woman's: *tempora mutantur*, and to-day the man wears the "frac," and his wife the "camisole". Of outer garments, there seem to have been many varieties; we find "cors de froc violet" or "rouge," "cors couvert de froc," "habit de camelot noir," "habit juste-au-cors," with the "camisole de froc" and "corps," while the "cotte" has become the petticoat. These with the "costillion," or under-shirt, are enough to furnish forth a fashion paper of the seventeenth century, while of slighter female adornments we have the "pigne," the "cornette," the "brassier," the "coiffe," with "mouchoirs," "devanteau" and "esguilliette".

Of men's garments, after the camisole, the "haut-de-

¹ Angl., kerseie: Cotgrave. Etoffe de laine croisée a deux envers: Littré, s.v.

chausses" was the most important; a pair of these "de sarge a poil, doublés de frize et fasson," cost 6*l.* 16*s.*, and, together with an "habit de sarge a poil, doublure, et garniture"—which comes to 14*l.* 19*s.*—makes the cost of the suit 21*l.* 16*s.*, or £1 13*s.* 5*d.* in English money of the same date. Occasionally we are reminded of a modern dressmaker's bill, by the detail with which all that goes to the making of a garment is set out and charged for: "la vefue de Gille de Grootte" has, for instance, "1½ a. frog at 33*s.*, et ¾ a. canevas at 20*s.* l'a., baleine, soye, fil, galon, et cuir, pour un cors"; while another widow, whose dress does not seem to have needed so much stiffening, has "2½ a. frize at 36*s.* l'a. napé, fil, et façon de coste".

So far I have only illustrated the relief given by the church to its own members, but fully as much again was distributed to strangers in what we should call casual relief. To deal with all these cases would be to reproduce the whole account book; I can only attempt a few typical instances. And first let me take the one of "le Suisse, simple d'esprit". On 19th July, 1679, a payment is made "a ung homme quy a amené icy ung Suisse simple d'esprit," and the same day a bed, with "pottage, pain, boeure, biere," are provided for him. Three days later 3*l.* are paid "pour retirer la clef de la chambre Descaufour, pour y loger le Suisse simple". Descaufour was put in charge of the case, as further payments are described as being made to him. One of these, on 24th July, "a Descoufour, a cause qu'il logoit la femme et l'enfant du Suisse," shows that the sick man's family had joined him, and thenceforward they become pensioners at the rate of 3*l.* a week. It is moreover clear that lodging this family with Descaufour was a double charity, since he himself was obviously in need of assistance; for about the same time a payment is made to him "sa femme estant malade," and a further payment "d'augmentation".

In January of the next year the Swiss was got rid of, for a sum is paid "a la mere de Descaufour pour la chambre ou a esté le Suisse"; but a fortnight later he had returned, for we find "a la femme du Suisse, son mary reuenu," and the pension continues until 30th March, on which date 9*l.* are paid "au Suisse simple pour s'en retourner a Dunquerque, et sa famille".

Another very similar entry gives equal proof of the thoroughness with which these cases were worked, and how everything that could be was done for their alleviation:—

“Retiré du Courgain,¹ de l'aduis des confreres, Jacque l'Avoine, filz de Estienne de Dieppe, luy estant malade, et mis chez Marye Hennin, et payé

a Pierre de Vos et La Plenne pour le porter	0	7	6
pour une chemize 35 s., a la femme ou il a esté logé 30 s.	3	5	0
Marye Hennin, a deux fois pour luy faire bouillon	1	16	0
a laditte pour luy faire du bouillon	4	10	0
a laditte, paye pour son lit, chambre, et de l'auoir gardé	10	9	0
a Caras pour saignées et purges	3	0	0
	<hr/>		
	23 7 6”		
	<hr/>		

It is interesting to know that, three years later, the sum spent on Avoine was repaid, by whom we are, unfortunately, not told.

The majority of the strangers were, however, only “passants,” and to show how various were the nationalities of these, and their destinations, I take four consecutive entries on the same day. “Un passant de la Luserne;” “Un passant Suédois, bossu”; “Un passant pour Douure”; and “Un passant venant d’Irlande”. Sometimes we are told the reason of their need: “Un passant, pour retirer ses hardes du paquet botte, de l'aduis de M. De La Croix”; “Deux hommes attendant le vent propre”. Some of these packet-boat entries, of which, as we should expect, there are a great many, enable us to fix the price of the channel-passage in those days; such are, “au M^{re} du paquet botte pour passer une femme avec trois enfants, 4 l. 18 s.”; “payé pour le passage d’un pouure passant en Angleterre, 5 schelin, 3 l. 5 s.”²

In such troublous times the ranks of the poor were largely recruited from soldiers and prisoners, and among the “passants” these two classes were fully represented; “Deux

¹ The fishing suburb of Calais.

² This is one of the entries which enables us to ascertain the rate of exchange. I may note here that in the case of many of the “passants” a curious formula is used, in which we seem to catch a faint echo of the days when Calais was not, politically, a part of France; they are described as “passant pour France”; and once the phrase is employed in an even more curious way, where an inhabitant of Calais is spoken of as “sorny du Faubourg pour aller en France”.

Anglois venant des prisons de St. Omer, pour deux chemizes, pour despence qu'ils ont fait au logis Mary Clain, et 30 s. que je leur donne, et payé pour leur passage;" "A Joseu, Amsterdam, passant, ayant esté pris de Turq;" "Fourny a St. Omer pour les prisonniers Anglois;" "Un passant venant de Bordeau, et pris par les Anglois;" "Par ordre de la compagnie, pour liberer le fils de Mathieu Foix, esclave;" "Payé au Mortier d'Or pour Saussoucy, soldat malade 22 l. 18 s., receu 3 l. de son capitaine;" "Un passant de la Rochelle, prisonnier;" "Deux passants venant des prisons de Flessinghe;" "Un jeune garçon pris par les Ostendois sur mer, pour s'en retourner;" "Un Grison reuenant du seruice d'Espagne, pour s'en retourner en son pays, avec attestation". Nor was this kind of help limited to those of the faith, for among those relieved are "une religeuse," "un moine defroqué," and "un juif".

A very large proportion of the relief granted was in cases of sickness, for here the charity of the church seems to have known no bounds. I have already quoted instances sufficiently numerous to show how illness was dealt with. The point I would call your attention to here is, that 230 years ago the value of nursing and special food in sickness, as adjuncts to medical skill, was clearly felt. The entry "payé a diuers fois, et a la garde quy le garde, et pour l'apotiquer," sums up two of these elements very tersely. Sometimes the payment to the medical man is entered at the time; as, "payé a l'Auoine, serugien, par ordre de la compagnie, pour auoir pensé un pouure garçon d'un coup de pistole"; but more usually the doctor's account is presented and paid from time to time, not always, it would seem, without dispute, as an entry of 1664 proves: "pour un billet de Pierre Michel qu'il m'a donné pour ce qu'il a treté nos pouures, portant 57 l. 4 s. Il a donné 11 l. pour les pouures quant nous auons fait la culliet, reste 46 l. 4 s. qui luy reuiens. Nous luy auons de ce deduit 16 l. 4 s." and only 30 l. is actually paid to the poor man.

Occasionally the principle, "no cure no pay" is adopted; "de l'aduis du confrere Sigard j'ay fait marché avecq une femme pour guérir les enfans de Gilles Lelou des galles pour 9 l., a condition de les guérir, sinon point d'argent; et a elle auancé 30 s. pour auoir des drogues".

Sickness leads to funerals, and of these there is no lack; not only do we find them burying their own poor, but they were constantly, it would seem, called on to bury soldiers

who died while stationed in Calais: "l'enterrement d'un soldat mort a la citadelle," being a very common entry, varied once by "l'enterrement d'un soldat quy a esté tué sur la Place". It is clear that there must have been a large number of Protestant soldiers serving in the French army at this date, a fact of which we find full confirmation in the Registers; for example, in 1685 a child is baptised who is described as son of a "Cappitayne au Regiment Suisse de Salis". No doubt when any of these Protestants died, the military authorities were only too glad to relieve themselves of the obligation of burying them.

Sometimes the sum paid for the funeral is entered in a lump, but often the full details are given.

1670. 5 Jan.

Est décédé Isabeau Garde une femme logé au Mortier d'Or, et payé pour la visite du chirugien	0 15 0
Le suere ou linsuil	1 8 0
Pour le luseau ¹	2 10 0
La fosse 10 s.; porteurs 20 s.	1 10 0
Pour sa despence audit lieu	5 15 0
Pour lauoir enseuely	0 10 0
	<hr/>
	12 8 0
	<hr/>

But very few payments were charged against the fund which were not directly connected with the poor; these few I propose to note. Chief among them is the "Quint-denier". This, M. de Félice tells us, was "le cinquième de l'argent recueilli pour les pauvres, et qui servait à payer la part contributive des Eglises pour les Académies et Collèges". The amount varied a good deal, and was not always regularly paid, but on the whole the contribution was a fairly large

¹ Luseau is a curious word, and one quite unknown to me. Mr. Landrin writes: "dans le glossaire de Du Oange, au mot Lucellus, on voit le vieux français Lusel, avec le sens de cercueil. Le patois wallon (Donal) a encore aujourd'hui le mot Lugeot, ou Lugian, pour cercueil. A Lille 'Luisseau' = cercueil; à Valenciennes c'est Lustau." Mr. Landrin is probably correct, and no doubt in most of the cases the word is used in this sense; but one or two entries are a little difficult to reconcile with this interpretation; e.g., in 1677 we have "payé a Pierre de Vos pour un luseau qu'il dit auoir fait faire pour porter les poures a l'auentr". But perhaps a custom obtained in the case of pauper funerals which could be paralleled in Naples, where the coffin is not always buried with the corpse.

one. I have given the details in the appendix, as they are of some historical interest.¹ It will be noticed that on one occasion a special grant of 100*l.* is made, "pour les églises affligées"; another entry of the same year, 1672, shows that the charity of the church was not always limited to its own body: "de l'aduis du confrere Verbrugue assisté ceux quy cueillaient pour les pouures Eglises d'Allemaigne". There are but two payments marking any connection with the general church organisation; in 1660 there was paid "a M. Tricotel, par ordre de la compagnie, suiuant sa quittance, pour son voiage du Sinode Nasionale"; and in 1664, 23*l.* are paid "quand Michel Poreye fut au Sinode".

In 1660 the poor box was broken, and Le Maistre is paid for repairing it, and "plus pour deux cadenas"; and in 1673 a new one had to be provided at a cost of 5*l.* On one occasion the door of the cemetery needs repair, and twice the Communion cups are noticed: once they are "refet" at a cost of 2*l.*, and shortly afterwards 20*l.* is paid "pour la fasson de deux couppes"—these probably being the very cups spoken of by White Kennet,² which later became the cause of much dispute between the churches of Cadzand and Dover.³ All the expenses connected with the administration of the sacrament seem to have fallen on this fund, for payments for wine and bread occur at regular intervals. In 1673, to give but one instance, there was paid "pour 5 pains pour 4 cenes de Noel, 5*l.* 14*s.*," and for wine, 18*l.* 10*s.* The bread must have been supplied from Calais, seeing that, in 1672, there is purchased for 1*l.* "une mandelette⁴ d'ozier avecq un cadens pour enuoyer le pain a Guisnes".

The fund seems to have been in possession of two estates, one consisting of twelve measures of land, coming to it from Mathieu Pittre, and leased to the widow Outre Titrecat at the yearly rent of 72*l.* Of this we hear nothing beyond the entry of the receipt of the rent; but with the other estate they were not so fortunate, as in 1673, 38*l.* 15*s.* has to be spent on its improvement; the details of this are fully given, and are worth reproducing, if only that they make us acquainted with several archaic words.

¹ Appendix III.

² *Proc. of the Soc.*, v., 446.

³ *Idem*, iv., 108.

Mande is a local form of the word "manne," and is still in use in the district; compare the English "maund," basket.

Fossoyage de 24 verges de fossé a 10 l. la verge	12	0	0
Pour abbatre les terres dans la rue de Bari- zeau	0	15	0
Chariage de 40 bēnelées ¹ de sable hors la rue, a 18 d. la bēnelée	2	0	0
Et 70 bēnelées pour faire un fossé du coté de Barizeau, a 18 d. la b.	5	5	0
Et pour retournage de la terre	16	10	0
Touzes ² et plantage	2	5	0
	<hr/>		
	38	15	0

I have dwelt on the detail of these old accounts for so long that I fear to leave you under the impression that it is their antiquarian interest alone I would have you note. Antiquarian interest, no doubt, they have—nor is the field yet fully harvested, but we, Huguenots, shall value them not so much as a record of the seventeenth century, as for the light they shed on the lives and characters of the men who kept them.

We have had laid before us a complete picture of one aspect of the lives of our forefathers; let me sum up the main outlines of that picture as I seem to see it. A vision of charity at its best, a charity of steady purpose, and guided by a wise policy; a charity devoted to the service of the poor, to the care of the fatherless, to the tending of the sick and

¹ Note by M. Landrin: "Bēnelée, ou bellēnée, ou encore belnée, est le contenu d'un bēniau, benniau, bēgneu, ou banyaux. C'est ainsi qu'on appelle dans le Calaisis un tombereau, véhicule à deux roues qui sert particulièrement à transporter de la terre, du fumier, des cailloux. Une bellēnée, ou un bēnelée, est, donc, plein un bēniau ou tombereau. Les deux mots sont toujours en usage. Ils sont, semble-t-il, d'origine celtique. Benniau paraît dériver du mot Benne qu'on retrouve dans Banne, qui désigne un chariot en osier chez les Gaulois." An entry of 1661 may be quoted in support of this explanation: "payé a Duflos pour auoir livré du fer a Balcut, pouure de la basse ville, pour luy faire deux roues a son beniau".

² Note by M. Landrin: "Touzes est un mot absolument du Calaisis. Ja ne le rencontre dans aucun des patois des pays voisins. Il est synonyme de Bouture, Plancon, ou Plantard. Les Touzes sont en effet des boutures de 10 a 12 pieds de haut, sur, au moins, 6 pouces de circonference vers le milieu. On ne peut pas dire qu'une touze est une bouture ordinaire. Ce sont de grosses branches de saule ou de peuplier qu'on plante dans nos marais, au bord des fossés ou des chemins. On lit dans une charte de Saint Bertin *Tonsura arborum*, la tonte des arbres. Le bas latin a le mot *Tonsare*, tondre, comme nous avons encore en patois Touser, faire de touses, tondre un arbre pour en faire des touzes. Dans le Boulonnais ou dit d'un arbre coupé à tête qu'on l'a touse, c'est-à-dire tondu.

needy; above all, a charity inspired by the desire for a permanent uplifting, rather than for a merely temporary alleviation.

To-day we are still fighting for these principles, and the battle is far from won; what shall we say then of the men of the seventeenth century with whom these ideas were as commonplaces?

We have admired, without always fully understanding, the character of our Huguenot ancestors in the wider field of religious persecution. I cannot but think that the knowledge of how they dealt with the lesser problems of every-day life will enable us to grasp the secret of the completeness and strength of that character better than we have ever done before. For of them also have we found this true: "Faithful in that which is least they were faithful also in that which is much," "They laid down their lives for the brethren".

APPENDIX I.

IN order to give some idea of how the accounts were kept, I have had two pages reproduced in facsimile. These are necessarily on a smaller scale than the original; and, in order that they may be easily read, I have transcribed them both.

The first is a page showing the receipts in 1667, when Daniel Pilart was treasurer, and may be taken as a sample of the worst writing we have to deal with; while the second represents the best, that of Isaac le Turcq, being a page taken from the payments made by him in 1665.

These two examples illustrate very well the accuracy and method which characterise the whole volume. It must be remembered that the whole of the ruling had to be done by the writer, prepared account-books being unknown at this date.

TRANSCRIPT OF A PAGE OF THE RECEIPTS OF DANIEL
PILART.*Recepte faicte pour les pauvres p^r Daniel Pilart.*

1667. 25 Avril.	pour la bourse de la derniere cene . . .	88	2
2 May.	pour la bourse de dimanche d ^r . . .	56	2 6
6 " .	receu de conf. Delbecq p ^r donôn M ^e Housch d'Amstredam l. 50—et conf. Houche a receu m. Marguët l. 30. ensemble . . .	80	
17 " .	Conté avec conf. pas la B. d. dm. 15 d ^e . . .	54	1
24 Juin.	Conté la bourse de dimanche l. 45 avec la p ^{re} et 2 ^e cenne porte l. 123: 1 . . .	168	1
26 " .	Conté la B: du 26 d ^e chez conf. Pas . . .	50	2 9
12 Juillet.	Conté la bourse du d ^y . 10 cour . . .	53	17 6
19 " .	pour $\frac{1}{4}$ de la B. du jour de jeusne et les confres de guines autant . . .	56	1 6
25 " .	La Bourse de dimanche dernier . . .	48	1 3
8 Aoust.	La Bourse du dim: 7 ditto . . .	43	17 4
15 " .	receu de ph. descaufour . . .	15	
23 " .	Conté la bourse du dimanche 22 d ^e . . .	47	4 9

5 7	temb.	Conté la bourse de dim : 4 d ^e	45	15	
19	"	pour la b : de dimanche 18 cour ^t	46	11	6
30	"	receu de conf : dalbecq et sigart p : Judith Roubay vient d'Elizabeth vefue Le- secq pour ses enfans	15	6	
19	Octobre.	Bourse de dimanche 16 d ^e derniere cene. Ceux d : g : ¹ ont les 2 —	79	2	
"	"	receu de confrere Isaac le Turoq le reli- qua de son compte	258	16	
30	"	Conté la bourse de ce jour	18	4	2
14	9	Conté la bourse de dimanche d ^e	27	5	6
25	"	Le confrere Pas a mis en main un billiet des boittes qu'il a receu a la basseuill	189	16	2
27	"	Conté la bourse dhuy porte	35	8	3
2	deceomb.	Confrere Dalbecque m'a païé pour donna- tion de feu sa famme	200		
"	"	receu de luy pour donation de M ^r Michel Heusch a Amstredam	50		
11	"	Conté la bourse de ce jour	28	5	
23	"	receu de Jean dubois partie de son billiet de l. 30—qu'il doit fournir en drape pour et [au nom?] de Jean delmotte po ^r les enfans fr. rozeau deliuray a conf. Jacq. gaddem	20		
"	"	receu de Abr. Crins partie de pay ^t de la donnation vefue de fresne — de l. 50 qu'il doit paier	6		
Somme			<u>l. 1766</u>	<u>14</u>	<u>4</u>

TRANSCRIPT OF A PAGE OF THE PAYMENTS OF ISAAC LE
TURCQ.

Desbours fait pour les Poures Par moy Isaac Leturcq.

1665.

May 8	Payez pour les ordinaires, scauoir				
	a Jean de la Rue	l. 1.	2.	6	
	a susenne ganionne	l. .	5.	0	
	a sara frilleu	l. .	10.	0	
	a David Real	l. .	10.	0	
	a Anne Ochin	l. .	7.	6	2 15
.edit jour	Assisté andré fortier sa femme et sa famille pour retourner en Normandie de laduis des con- freres Sauchelle & Gattou				5
Ditto 11	assisté un passant a la tour dargent de laduis J ^e Sauchelle				2 15
dudit jour	a cappon pour noeuf sepmaine de nourriture de Jean de la Rue du consentement et aduis de Jean Sauchelle				13

¹ i.e., De Guines.

1665		D'ordres faits pour les dits termes par le Curé	
M. j. 9	Exp. pour le mariage de Jean de la Rue & Suzanne Garnier.	£ 2:6	
	a Sara Filleu.	£ 3:00	
	a David Real.	£ 3:00	
	a Anne Olliv.	£ 7:60	
Pdit jour	Assiste André Faurie la femme sa femme pour retourner en Normandie de ladus de son frere l'auchois & Gauthier		2 15
Ditto 11	assisté en passant a la trou d'argent de ladus 1 ^{er} l'auchois	5	
Pdit jour	a Cappot prieur de la Roche de Normandie de son frere de	2 15	
Ditto 12	Exp. aux 3 rages pour faire de vie par ley l'auchois au	13	
	a 1 ^{er} l'auchois	48	1
Ditto 15	Exp. un chaise de bois a la nef, par un que de ladus 1 ^{er} l'auchois	1 13	6
Pdit jour	Pais de ordinaire, mis a l'auchois de la rue de la Roche, 5 ^{es} 1 ^{er} l'auchois 10 ^{es} a l'auchois 10 ^{es} a l'auchois 10 ^{es} a l'auchois	2 17	6
Ditto 19	Assiste en pour par un l'auchois de l'auchois venant de France	1 10	
Ditto	Pais a l'auchois l'auchois le 1 ^{er} l'auchois	40	
Ditto	Pais pour un chaise de bois de l'auchois de l'auchois	2	
Ditto 22	Pais de ordinaire, mis a l'auchois de la rue de la Roche, 5 ^{es} 1 ^{er} l'auchois 10 ^{es} a l'auchois 10 ^{es} a l'auchois 10 ^{es} a l'auchois	2 17	6
Ditto 23	Assiste la nef, par un que de ladus 1 ^{er} l'auchois	11	
Ditto 27	Assiste l'auchois l'auchois passant, aux 3 rages de	11	
Ditto 29	Pais de ordinaire, mis a l'auchois de la rue de la Roche, 5 ^{es} 1 ^{er} l'auchois 10 ^{es} a l'auchois 10 ^{es} a l'auchois 10 ^{es} a l'auchois	2 17	6
Jun 2	Assiste l'auchois l'auchois passant, aux 3 rages de	13	03
	pour la chambre la rue de la Roche, pais a l'auchois	20	
Ditto 3 ^{es}	Pais de ordinaire, mis a l'auchois de la rue de la Roche, 5 ^{es} 1 ^{er} l'auchois 10 ^{es} a l'auchois 10 ^{es} a l'auchois 10 ^{es} a l'auchois	2 17	6
Ditto 5	Pais de ordinaire, mis a l'auchois de la rue de la Roche, 5 ^{es} 1 ^{er} l'auchois 10 ^{es} a l'auchois 10 ^{es} a l'auchois 10 ^{es} a l'auchois	1 15	
Ditto 8	Assiste la nef, par un que de ladus 1 ^{er} l'auchois	5	
Ditto	Assiste la nef, par un que de ladus 1 ^{er} l'auchois	12	
Ditto 10	Pais de ordinaire, mis a l'auchois de la rue de la Roche, 5 ^{es} 1 ^{er} l'auchois 10 ^{es} a l'auchois 10 ^{es} a l'auchois 10 ^{es} a l'auchois	12	
Ditto	Pais de ordinaire, mis a l'auchois de la rue de la Roche, 5 ^{es} 1 ^{er} l'auchois 10 ^{es} a l'auchois 10 ^{es} a l'auchois 10 ^{es} a l'auchois	15 15	
Page premier Page		202	12

Ditto 12°	Payez au s ^r Hays pour Rotte de vin par luy liuré jusque au 24 ^e decembre dernier	58	1
Ditto 15	Pour une chemise donné a la vefue pancouque de laduis de J. Sauchelle	1	13 6
Ledit jour	Paie les ordinaires scaouir a Jean de la Rue 22 s. 6 d. Gannionne 5 s. sara frilleu 10 s. dauid Real 10 s. anne Ochin Reglé a 10 s. ensome	2	17 6
Ditto 18	Assisté un poure garcon idropicque de Rotterdam venant de Rouen de 20 s. et un demy pots deau de vie de 10 s. ensemble	1	10
Ditto	Paié a Isaac Peudepiece diacre le 16 ^e du mois	40	
Ditto	Paie pour un demy mois de pension de Pierre de Winter	2	
Ditto 22°	Paié les ordinaires scaouir a Jean de la Rue 22 s. 6 d. a suz ^{me} ganionne 5 s. a sara frillieu 10 s. a dauid Real 10 s. a Anne Ochin 10 s. ensemble	2	17 6
Ditto 23°	Assisté la vefue pan=quouque de	10	
Ditto 27°	Assisté Jacques Christien passants avec tesmoignage de	10	
Ditto 29 ^c	Paié les ordinaires scaouir a Jean de la rue 22 s. 6 d. a suz ^a ganione 5 s. a sara frillieu 10 s. a Anne Auchin 10 s. ensemble	2	17 6
Jun 2	Assisté Willem Andris flamend et malade venant de Rouen pour Retourner a Rotterdam en argents de l. 1. 10.		
	Pour le faire conduire a dunque par charroy l. 1. 15.		
	pour sa despence au petit prince avec un sien compaignon l. 4. 10.		
	pour Plusieurs nourritture faict donner audits pendant 10 a 12 jours suivants memoire l. 3. 8.		
	pour la chambre la ou il a couché paié a Lenel l. 2.		
		13	03
Ditto 3°	Paié au confrere Isaac Peudepiece diacre	20	
Ditto 5	paie les ordinaires comme dessus	2	17 6
Ditto	pour une chemise baillé a Suzenne gannion de laduis des confrere	1	15
Ditto 8°	baillé a Jean de la Rue pour refaire ses souliers		5
Ditto	assisté la vefue pan-quouque de		10
Ditto 10	paie a pierre le compte diacre	12	
Ditto	paie pour linstance a cause de Judicq bourgeois pour assignaon et a frais l. 4. 15.		
	Pour lacte de Curatelle l. 11. 0		
		15	15
		<hr/>	
	Page premier Porte	202	12 6

APPENDIX II.

SUMMARY OF THE ACCOUNTS.

Showing by whom they were kept and for what periods.

I.

SAMUEL GATOU.

2ND APRIL, 1660, TO 23RD SEPTEMBER, 1660.

<i>Dr.</i>	<i>l. s. d.</i>	<i>Cr.</i>	<i>l. s. d.</i>
Receipts	509 8 0	Balance, paid to Jacques Robelin on previous account	273 2 5
Dute by Gatou on account of Jacques Goubert	670 3 0	Payments	761 9 7
		Balance	144 19 0
	<u>1179 11 0</u>		<u>1179 11 0</u>

II.

JACQUES ROBELIN.

24TH SEPTEMBER, 1660, TO 23RD MARCH, 1661.

<i>l. s. d.</i>	<i>l. s. d.</i>
Balance	144 19 0
Receipts	382 16 0
Balance	71 12 9
	<u>599 7 9</u>
	<u>599 7 9</u>

III.

SAMUEL GATOU.

23RD MARCH, 1661, TO 3RD NOVEMBER, 1661.

<i>l. s. d.</i>	<i>l. s. d.</i>
Receipts	1266 1 0
Balance	82 4 6
	<u>1348 5 6</u>
	<u>1348 5 6</u>

¹ An error of 1*l.* in bringing forward this balance, which seems never to have been discovered.

IV.

JEAN SAUCHELLE.

4TH NOVEMBER, 1661, TO 12TH APRIL, 1663.

	<i>l.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>		<i>l.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
Receipts . . .	4912	14	6	Balance . . .	82	4	6
Balance ¹ . . .	1241	17	3	Payments ² . . .	6072	7	3
	<hr/>				<hr/>		
	6154	11	9		6154	11	9
	<hr/>				<hr/>		

V.

SAMUEL GATOU.

13TH APRIL, 1663, TO 27TH NOVEMBER, 1663.

	<i>l.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>		<i>l.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
Receipts . . .	941	17	0	Payments . . .	841	16	0
	<hr/>			Balance . . .	100	1	0
	941	17	0		<hr/>		
	<hr/>				941	17	0
	<hr/>				<hr/>		

VI.

SAMUEL GATOU.

28TH NOVEMBER, 1663, TO 3RD JUNE, 1664.

	<i>l.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>		<i>l.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
Balance . . .	100	1	0	Payments . . .	849	9	3
Receipts . . .	638	0	10		<hr/>		
Balance . . .	111	7	5		849	9	3
	<hr/>				<hr/>		
	849	9	3		<hr/>		
	<hr/>				<hr/>		

VII.³

JEAN SAUCHELLE.

23RD APRIL, 1664, TO 5TH MAY, 1665.

	<i>l.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>		<i>l.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
Receipts . . .	3672	17	2	Balance . . .	111	7	5
	<hr/>			Payments . . .	3328	17	3
	3672	17	2	Balance . . .	232	12	6
	<hr/>				<hr/>		
	<hr/>				3672	17	2
	<hr/>				<hr/>		

¹ This deficit was met by a special "cueillette," and is not therefore carried forward.

² 1290 *l.* 7 *s.* 8 *d.* of this was disbursed by Samuel Gatou, though entered in Sauchelle's accounts.

³ This account overlaps the preceding one.

XIII.

ABRAHAM VERBREGHE. /

30TH AUGUST, 1672, TO 24TH JULY, 1673.

	<i>l.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>		<i>l.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
Balance . . .	196	9	0	Payments . . .	2610	7	6
Receipts . . .	2301	9	3				
Balance . . .	112	9	3				
	<hr/>				<hr/>		
	2610	7	6		2610	7	6
	<hr/>				<hr/>		

XIV.

ADRIEN LERNOULT.

23RD JULY, 1673, TO 27TH OCTOBER, 1675.

	<i>l.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>		<i>l.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
Receipts . . .	6101	18	0	Balance . . .	112	9	3
				Payments . . .	5825	19	1
				Balance . . .	163	9	8
	<hr/>				<hr/>		
	6101	18	0		6101	18	0
	<hr/>				<hr/>		

XV.

JACOB DE HANE.

28TH OCTOBER, 1675, TO 11TH MAY, 1677.

	<i>l.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>		<i>l.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
Balance . . .	163	9	8	Payments . . .	3947	1	9
Receipts . . .	3494	11	10				
Balance ¹ . . .	289	0	3				
	<hr/>				<hr/>		
	3947	1	9		3947	1	9
	<hr/>				<hr/>		

XVI.

ADRIEN LERNOULT.

12TH MAY, 1677, TO 22ND MAY, 1678.

	<i>l.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>		<i>l.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
Receipts . . .	3697	18	5	Payments . . .	3778	8	8
Balance . . .	80	10	3				
	<hr/>				<hr/>		
	3778	8	8		3778	8	8
	<hr/>				<hr/>		

¹ This balance is wrongly given in the auditors' certificate as 289 *l.* 6 *s.* 3 *d.*, and is not carried forward into the next account.

XVII.

ISAAC DELACROIX.

23RD MAY, 1678, TO 9TH JULY, 1679.

	l. s. d.		l. s. d.
Receipts . . .	3693 12 11	Balance ² . . .	80 10 0
Balance ¹ . . .	446 18 5	Payments . . .	4060 1 4
	<u>4140 11 4</u>		<u>4140 11 4</u>

XVIII.

ANTOINE MARESSAL.

10TH JULY, 1679, TO 4TH AUGUST, 1680.

	l. s. d.		l. s. d.
Receipts . . .	3257 0 10	Payments . . .	3167 13 2
	<u>3257 0 10</u>	Balance . . .	89 7 8
			<u>3257 0 10</u>

XIX.

LOUIS DELEBECQUE.

5TH AUGUST, 1680, TO 3RD AUGUST, 1681.

	l. s. d.		l. s. d.
Balance . . .	89 7 8	Payments . . .	2767 16 4
Receipts . . .	2672 9 7		
Balance . . .	5 19 1		
	<u>2767 16 4</u>		<u>2767 16 4</u>

APPENDIX III.

THE QUINTDENIER.

THE history of the "quint-denier" is somewhat obscure, and I do not propose to enter into it here. As an aid to those who may wish to study the question, I have thought it well to print all the entries relating to it to be found in the Calais accounts, since these throw considerable light on the amount paid by this church, and the method of payment. The question is dealt with in two of M. Paul de Félice's works

¹ This balance, like the one in Account XV., was not carried forward. How these somewhat large deficits were met does not appear.

² *Sic.* The amount should have been 3 *d.* more.

on "Les Protestants d'autrefois," viz.: *Temples, Services religieux* (Paris, 1896); and *Vie intérieure des Eglises* (Paris, 1899). The *Bulletin de la Société de l'Histoire du Protestantisme Français* may also be consulted with advantage.

Its amount does not justify its name, at least, so far as Calais is concerned, as the total paid over on this head does not come to one-fifth of the receipts. It would be interesting to know how the sum payable by each church was arrived at. At Calais it varied a good deal; it is only possible to ascertain with certainty the yearly contribution for a few of the years. In 1664 it was 225 l.; in 1672, 440 l.; in 1673, 473 l.; and in 1674, 1677, 1679, it remained at 440 l.

1662	13 Dec.	Payé au frere Jean Beursee pour le quintdenier quant il est alé au Sinode . . .	422	10
1664	6 Feb.	Remis a Paris pour une anné de contribution suiuan la quittance de Mons ^r Lecocq du dat du 29 Janvier 1664 . . .	225	
1666	4 Feb.	Remis a M ^r Lecocq 225 l. et 1% de change . . .	227	10
	" 14 Oct.	Remis a Mons ^r Lecocq pour le quints deniers, a bon compte . . .	300	
1667	9 Avr.	Remis a M ^r Lecocq pour le quintdenier . . .	500	
1669	2 Sep.	Donné a Louis Delebecq une lettre de change de 340 l. sur Paris, et 10 l. d'argent pour le quintdenier . . .	350	
1670	21 Avr.	Remis a M ^r le Noble 200 l. avec change 1% pour quintdenier . . .	202	
1671	16 Avr.	Remis a M ^r le Noble 300 l. pour le quintdenier avec 1½ pour cent . . .	304	10
	" 27 "	Remis a M ^r Deprez par M ^r Delebecque 210 l. a 1½%, 213 l. 3 s., pour une quittance Mad ^{me} Caulier pour le quintdenier . . .	213	3
	" 15 Aoust.	Payé Le Turcq 220 l. qu'il auoit obmis demplour dans ces comptes payé a M ^r Le Noble pour le quintdenier; Sauoir, 200 l. qu'il a paye 13 Oct. 1670 suiuant la quittance dudit jour dudit S ^r le Noble avec le change a 1% cy . . .	202	
		18 l. a cause qu'il a remis audit S ^r le Noble 618 l., suiuant la quittance du 8 May 1671, et ledit Le Turcq ne passe a compte que 600 l. cy ¹ . . .	18	
1671	4 Dec.	J'ay remis audit Lenoble 220 l. pour nostre quintdenier avec le courtage, suiuant sa quittance cy . . .	222	9

¹ There is no trace in Le Turcq's accounts of either of those payments said to have been made in October, 1670, and May, 1671. Le Turcq's accounts extend from February, 1670, to August, 1671, during which period he made three payments on account of the quintdenier, none of which agree with the statement above.

1672 29 Avr.	Par ordre de la Compagnie 25 cour ^d remis a M ^r De Vaux, pasteur Doisemont 100 l. a bon compte du quintdenier, a quoy M ^r Lenoble a consenty	100
„ 8 Juil.	Par ordre du consistoire le 25 Mars lernier, laquelle m'ordonne de remettre a M ^r Lenoble de Paris 120 l. restant de nostre contribution escheu au pacque dernier, & 100 l. d'extraordinaire pour les pauvres esglises affigée, ce quy a esté cejourdhy fait cy, Aneq le change a 1 ^o /o	222 4
1673 18 Feb.	pour les portes de lettre	14
1673 18 Feb.	Quintdenier, payé au S ^r Ph. Marchal par ordre de Mons ^r de Vaux ministre de Wasmond ¹ a bon comte de 473 que nous deurons pour une année escheant le dernier Mars	100
„ 19 Avr.	Baillé a Mons ^r Sigart un billet sur M ^r Margas pour payer a M ^r Le Noble sur l'année escheue le dernier mars 1673 pour la soïme de 273 l. 1 ^o /o. de change 2 l. 15 s.	275 15
1674 22 May.	Payé, je dis remis a M ^r Lenoble pour une demye année du quintdenier, Sauoir 200 l. au 25 ^{me} May sur Mons ^r Proudre a Paris, plus 20 l. a veue sur Mess ^{rs} Vankessel a Paris pour un port de lfe dudit S ^r Lenoble	220 5
1675 22 Avr.	303 l. pour lettre de change de 300 l. a 1 p. c. fourny au S ^r Jean Delaballe allant au Synode pour deliurer au S ^r Lenoble recepueur des esglises, a bon compte de ce que nous luy debuons pour le quin denier : sur M ^r Henault a Paris	303
„ 18 Sep.	Pour lettre de change de 220 l. pris de Ab. Lejeune sur Duval & Dublas a Paris a 8 jours, remis a M ^r Lenoble sur ce que l'on luy doit du quindenier. Pour le change a 1 ¹ / ₂ p. c.	223 6
1676 18 Feb.	Remis a M ^r Lenoble a Paris pour partie de nostre contribution sur M ^r Terrac, Conseiller 360 l. Notta que nous debuons a la fin de Mars prochain $\frac{1}{2}$ année cy remise	360
1677 27 Aoust.	pour le change a 1 ¹ / ₂ %	5 8
1677 27 Aoust.	Payé a M ^r Lenoble par le confrere De Hane estant a Clermont, suiuant sa quittance de ce jour pour une année et demye de nostre contribution escheu le dernier jour de Mars dernier, quy font 660 l.; sur quoy j'ay fourny la valeur audit De Hane partant icy	660

¹ No doubt Oisemont, see entry of 1st April, 1678, *infra*.

		pour le change a 1 p. c.	6	12
		pour le courtage a $\frac{1}{2}$ p. c.	16	6
1678	1 Avr.	Assisté M ^r Desvaux, ministre d'Oizemont par ordre de la compagnie en billet sur Guillaume Fondens d'Abbeville 8 jours 50 l., sur quoy les confreres de Guisnes m'ont deliure 21 l. 14 s. 6 d. : reste a passer a conte icy seulement ¹	28	5 6
1679	20 Avr.	Pour ma lettre de 880 l. payable a M ^r Le Noble pour 2 années du quintdenier escheue au moi de Mars dernier de- liuré au frere Du Poncehel, depputé et 17 l. 10 s. pour le change	897	10

¹ This does not seem, on the face of it, to be a payment on account of the quintdenier, but see the entry of 29th April, 1672, *supra*. Oisemont is a small place near Amiens, dep. Somme. I suggest that the Guines share came from the church fund.

Notes and Queries.

THE SOCIETY'S FOUNDER.

ON the 8th June the Founder of the Society, Mr. Arthur Giraud Browning, V.P., now Deputy-Governor of the French Hospital, celebrated the twenty-fifth anniversary of his wedding, and on the 10th the occasion was commemorated by a dinner to Mr. Browning and his family in the Court-Room at the Hospital which was attended by a number of the Directors and other friends, the chair being occupied by the Treasurer of the institution, Mr. Charles Norris. Mr. and Mrs. Browning received an enthusiastic welcome from their hosts and from the inmates of "La Providence," and in the course of the evening were presented with a silver tray, tea and coffee service as a memento of their twenty-five years of married life, and of the almost identical period during which Mr. Browning had been a Director of the Hospital and its Honorary Secretary. The exact dates of his election to office are: Director, 11th January, 1873; Secretary, 3rd July, 1875; Deputy-Governor, 1st October, 1898.

Mr. Browning's Paper on "The Origin and Early History of the French Protestant Hospital" in the last number of the *Proceedings* gives an admirably full and sympathetic account of that "splendid and lasting memorial of Huguenot piety," as he himself calls it, down to the death of its first Secretary, Philippe Ménard, in 1737. For a continuation of its history from that time till now, all readers are still looking to the pen of the present Deputy-Governor.

WILL OF JAMES BAUDOUIN.

(Communicated by Cecil T. Davis, Esq., Wandsworth Public Library.)

IN Mount Nod is a large altar tomb near the road opposite to Huguenot Gardens. It is enclosed by iron railings. A

large tree has forced its way up through the stones forming the platform, and somewhat disarranged them. On it is the following inscription :—

“Under this tomb are deposited ye remains [of] James Baudouin, Esqr., who was born at Nismes, in France, but in the year 1685 fled from thence to avoid tyranny and persecution and enjoy a Protestant liberty of conscience, which he afterwards happily found, and was gratefully sensible of in the communion of ye Church of England. He constantly answered (*sic.*) this pious resolution in his life, and went to enjoy the blessed fruits of it by his death the 28th day of February, 1738. Aged 91.”

He built a house at Putney, known as Winchester House. He owned property in Wandsworth, some being in the district now known as Frogmore.

By the kindness of Mr. William Cock a copy of his will is here given.

“In the Name of God be it Amen in the year one thousand seven hundred and thirty three and the first of July about the end of the fourscore and fifth year of my age I the underwritten James Baudouin being by the grace of God of sound Body and mind foreseeing by my great age my approaching Death I have thought it necessary to annul all former wills on account of some Alterations which have since happened in my effects which I had in the Government and to substitute in their place this as the only Rule of my last Will O Lord God as according to Thy Decrees my Departure out of this world cannot be very distant And as I do not know the Day or the Night in which Thou wilt demand my soul from me I beseech Thee O my God and my Heavenly Father to be pleased to prepare me by a renouncing to this World and by a salutary repentance and that Thou wouldest be pleased in Thy mercy to forgive me my sins which being great and in a great number make me fear Thy justice accept graciously I beseech You the sorrow and compunction which I have in my heart and grant me Thy grace that being of the number of those whom Jesus Christ has redeemed by the Sacrifice of His Body I may also be of the Number of those whom Thou wilt receive in Thy mercy into the mansions of Thy glory there to celebrate with them that Thy fatherly Goodness to all eternity Amen

“1st Article I constitute for my heiress and executrix generally of all the estate which God has given me either in Houses Land or Effects in the Government my Niece

Mary Molineer the wife of Mr. David Montolieu de Sante-polite Brigadier in the Army upon the conditions following which she or her heirs or Administrators shall be obliged to observe

“First to cause my Body to be interred in the plainest manner that Decency will permit and therefore she shall get it done before Night without Flamboys Escutcheons or Hangings and instead of this worldly expence she shall distribute one hundred pounds one month after my decease to the poor French Protestant Refugees to each as her prudence and charity shall deem it proper 2nd Article Six months after my decease my aforesaid Heiress shall pay to the treasurer of the French Hospital five hundred pounds to help towards the maintenance of the poor of the said hospital upon the express condition that the Gentlemen who are directors shall be pleased to grant the right to my aforesaid Heiress and successors hereafter of putting in two poor persons into the said Hospital who shall be maintained therein at the expence of the Corporation and after the death of one of them successively another in his place That if contrary to the favor which I desire them to give me they should refuse me that favor in case of such Refusal my aforesaid Heiress shall not pay them the aforesaid five hundred pounds And my Will is that she shall place the said five hundred pounds in some of the Government Securities as she shall think fit and the Interest of the said sum shall be distributed by my aforesaid heiress and by her successors hereafter among poor French Protestant Refugees and the capital shall always remain in some of the said securities without any of her successors being able to appropriate the same to themselves and frustrate of it the poor French for whom I design the same

“3rd my aforesaid Heiress shall pay to the Receiver of the House of Charity in Spitalfields two hundred pounds and to the Receiver of that of Soho one hundred pounds for the poor of French Protestant Refugees

“4th my said heiress shall also pay to the Receiver of the Society of Nismes the sum of two hundred pounds which shall be put out to interest in some of the Government Securities and that none of the Consuls or any other person shall be able to sell or mortgage the same without an express consent of my aforesaid Heiress or of her successors and the interest only accruing from the said two hundred pounds shall be distributed among the poor of the said society

"5th she shall pay likewise to Mr. Claris de Florian minister of the Holy Gospel thirty guineas which I desire him to accept of as a small token of my friendship

"6th Article My aforesaid Heiress shall distribute twenty pounds among the servants to each according to his deserts and as in her equity she shall think proper

"7th I charge my aforesaid Heiress and her successors to make a pension for life to my sister her mother of one hundred pounds a year during her life payable quarterly

"8th She shall likewise make to my brother a pension for life of two hundred pounds a year during his life But it shall be upon condition that my said brother shall come out of France and come and pass the remainder of his days in England among those of his family with freedom of body and mind and his pension shall commence but from the day he shall be arrived here And if he should let one year elapse from the day of my death without complying with the request which I make him to come and join his relations which he has promised us to do and if he persists in remaining in France and lets the year which I hereabove allow him elapse In such case the pension shall be void as well as all other the pretensions which he might have upon my estate as a brother my conscience not allowing me to increase his income in a country of persecution and idolatry believing if I did it would be a motive for him absolutely to fix himself there the more My aforesaid Heiress shall transfer to my brother or to his order the five hundred pounds stock in the Bank of England which I have of his under my name

"9th as to my nephew James Molinier as God hath liberally bestowed estates on him in this world and that he has but one daughter if I should add to the Estates which he has any considerable sum out of my own it would only be attaching him but the more to this world and could be but of prejudice to him and to his wife I shall therefore confine myself to give him five hundred pounds which my Heiress his sister shall pay him six months after my death and these five hundred pounds shall be generally for all pretensions whatsoever which he might pretend to have of which sum I desire he would be satisfied without murmuring being if he had not so good an estate as he has I would have shared him equally with his brother and sister As on the day of my death both he and his brother Charles may have some Notes of mine which are due to me they shall deliver the same to my Heiress their

sister as well as what they may owe me entirely with Justice and sound conscience

"10th As to my nephew Charles Molinier as I hope God will give him grace to make use of this world without making ill use of it I give him four thousand pounds upon the express condition following that is to say that in order to prevent his loosing that sum in trade either by losses of ships by sea or by bankruptcy's which at this day are so frequent prudence requires that this sum should be secured from these accidents and therefore my will is that in order to secure the same it shall remain in the hands of his sister my Heiress who for his satisfaction and to remove all fears shall make a mortgage for the value of this sum either upon the houses or effects which I have in the Government to the satisfaction of my said nephew or if they should like it best part upon houses and part upon effects in the Government The above mortgage shall properly be for the security to my said nephew for in order to save him the trouble of receiving the rents of what have been mortgaged for him my niece his sister or her successors shall pay to my said nephew the interest of the said four thousand which I fix to one hundred and forty pounds a year and the said interest shall begin to run six months after my decease If my said nephew Charles Molinier should marry and if he should have children who should attain the full age of twenty one years in such case my aforesaid Heiress or her successors shall pay to my aforesaid nephew or in case he should be dead his children when arrived to the age hereabove the aforesaid sum of four thousand pounds and if my said Nephew Charles should happen to die without Children the same sum shall be divided among the children of his brother and those of his sister to each of them his share a regard being had to the Number

"11th Article My aforesaid heiress May Molinier wife of Mr. David Saintepolite after she shall have paid my legacies and left in being a sufficient part of my estate that out of the produce and income thereof the pensions which I leave to my sister and to my brother may be regularly paid during their life she may afterwards dispose of the rest of my estate whatsoever the same may Consist in either in Houses Lands or in those which I have in several offices of the Government she shall think proper to the benefit of her children when they shall have attained the full age of twenty one years as her eldest daughter is my God-daughter I Will that out of

my estate she shall have five hundred pounds more than the shares of my others leaving to my aforesaid heiress the right and the power of depriving out of my inheritance her or him of her children who might be so unnaturally inclined as to marry without the consent and approbation of their father and mother

"12th Mr. de Saintepolite the husband of my Heiress may however in order to assist his wife receive the Rents Dividends and Interest so far as concerns my inheritance but he shall not have the power of selling or mortgaging any part of my estate without an express Power of Attorney from his wife and the consent of my nephews He shall not likewise be able in case of the death of his wife to be administrator of the inheritance he having too much at heart the interest of his children notwithstanding the candor of heart he has to prevent him from being partial in his administration.

"13th If my aforesaid Heiress shall happen to die before she has disposed of my inheritance according to my Will hereabove set forth and if her children should happen to die before they shall have attained the full age of twenty one years which God in his Grace forbid but in case of the above supposed death Mr. de Saintepolite shall have no right to my inheritance being it is upon that condition that I have made his wife my heiress and that he has consented to it by his own declaration which will be found in a tin box together with this my will and therefore supposing the death hereabove Mr. Saintepolite shall deliver over the said inheritance to my Nephews James and Charles Molinier share and share alike observing the same conditions as are prescribed to their sister if Mr. de Saintepolite shall deliver over the same to them faithfully and justly as I hoped from his equity that he will in return my aforesaid nephews or their successors shall make him a pension of one hundred pounds a year during his life.

"In confirmation of this my will I do hereto subscribe my Name and hereto set the Seal of my Arms in presence of the witnesses who have hereto subscribed their names

"Done in London the day and year above written in the reign of our Good King George the Second James Baudouin L S The said James Baudouin having assured us that this present testament containing his last Will at his Request We have signed the same as Witnesses Ph Menard P. Crespigny Ch De St Maurice.

"By this Codicil I charge my aforesaid Niece my Heiress

to pay to M. Madire forty pounds in consideration of the friendship there was between his family and ours She shall also pay the like sum of forty pounds to Mr. James Varnier Life Guardsman to his Majesty in consideration that he is my god-son and that I have held him in baptism at Breda and besides that he is honest and fearing God These two Articles which I had forgot shall be exactly paid as well as those hereabove James Baudouin

“Out of the One Hundred Pounds I charge my Heiress to distribute among the poor in the first article of this will I will have her give twenty pounds thereof to Mr Amerville as a token of the friendship which there has been between the family of the late Mr Miget and mine and the fourscore pounds my aforesaid Heiress shall distribute the same as she shall think proper James Baudouin This codicil made in London the 3rd October 1735

“The Alterations which have happened in my will on the other side made the first of July 1733 have obliged me to make this last codicil in order that my Niece Mary Molinier wife of Mr. David Saintepolite my Heiress and Executrix may execute what I enjoyn her that is to say that the pension of One hundred pounds sterling which I had given to my sister and the thirty guineas which I had given to Mr. Claris de Florian shall have no more effect being God has taken them both out of this world As to what concerns my nephew Charles Molinier in the 10th Article of this my will as his age of passed fifty years and his bodily infirmities cannot reasonably encline him to marry and to load his mind and body with the heavy burthen of marriage of which many who were free have made themselves slaves I have therefore thought fit by this codicil annul the legacy of four thousand pounds which I had made him in the aforesaid 10th Article of my Will and to reduce my legacy to the interest which this sum of four thousand pounds might have produced in the Government which I fix at one hundred and forty pounds a year which sum my aforesaid niece my Heiress or her heirs shall pay him every year to wit seventy pounds sterling every six months and this during all the time which God shall preserve my said nephew Charles Molinier alive and for a security of the said pension of One hundred and forty pounds sterling a year my aforesaid niece shall give him her note for the same in writing by which Note she shall oblige her children and heirs to pay the said pension to my said Nephew during his life and after his decease this pension

shall be void and no person shall be able to pretend thereto In the 13th Article of my aforesaid Will I had ordered that in case my aforesaid Niece my Heiress and Executrix should happen to die before she shall have disposed of my inheritance according to my Will and that her children should happen to die before they shall have attained the full age of twenty one years In such a case my estate shall be delivered over to my Nephews James and Charles Molinier, but having considered that my brother might still be living I have thought it but just that he should have a share in the estate which God has given me for that reason I will that he shall during his life not only have the pension of two hundred pounds sterling which I give him in the 8th Article of this my Will but also the moiety of all my other effects whatsoever the same may consist in the other moiety being to my aforesaid Nephews the legacy which I have now given my brother shall have effect but on condition that he shall quit France that country of idolatry and come and live and end his days in England and there to work to his salvation by putting into practise the commands which Jesus our Redeemer has prescribed and ordained for us to observe in his Gospel that if my said brother should be so obstinate as to remain in France and that the request which I and all the family to make him to come and joyn us in order that we may altogether work publicly to our salvation If (I say) our prayers as well as his promises shall prove fruitless and of none effect in case of such refusal the legacy which I had given him of two hundred pounds sterling pension and of one moiety of my other effects which I had given him shall be void and he shall not be able to have any pretensions upon my estate such is my Will which I confirm by my Name and the Seal of my Arms Done in London the first September One thousand seven hundred and thirty seven James Baudouin The said James Baudouin having protested and assured us this present codicil contains his last will at his request we have signed the same as witnesses this day the 29th March 1738 J Delafont Israel Anthony Aufrere James Serces

“ Faithfully translated out of French at Doctor’s Commons London this 13th March 1738 by me Ph Crespigny Notary Public

“ Proved at London with three codicils 15th March 1738 before the Worshipful John Andrews Doctor of Laws and Surrogate by the oath of Mary de Saintepolite otherwise

Molinier wife of the Honourable David Montolieu Baron de Saintepolite the sole executrix to whom administration was granted having been first sworn duly to administer

“ HENBY STEVENS	} Deputy Registers
“ GEO. GOSTLING	
“ JNO. GRENE	

“ The foregoing is a true copy of an attested copy and examined therewith this 6th day of May 1818

“ JOHN MYERS	} Clerks to Mr. John Ellis Southampton Buildings Chancery Lane ”
“ JAMES DULLING	

THE FRENCH COLONY OF INNISHANNON.

(Communicated by Alexander M. Alcock, Esq.)

About the year 1760 a number of Huguenot refugees settled in and near the village of Innishannon. They were great weavers, and the Squire, Mr. Adderley, gave them every encouragement for their art, as he was most anxious to introduce the rearing of silkworms into this country.

About thirty families, therefore, took up their abode there, and remained for some twenty years or more when, the silkworms not thriving, they took their departure to Spital-fields in England.

The spot where these Frenchmen lived is still named “The Colony,” and is situated on the old Bandon Road, about four hundred yards from Innishannon Bridge. One of their houses still exists, but in a ruinous state, so that even this in a few years will probably be gone.

These refugees brought over with them a French pastor, the Reverend Peter Cortez, who was licensed in 1760 (*vide Brady's Parochial Records*) to preach in French by the then Bishop of Cork. This old clergyman died here, and was interred in the tomb of Mathew Balsaigne, Esq., another Huguenot, which tomb is still in a very good state of preservation in the old churchyard. A field in the townland of Dromkeen for years was known as “The Mulberry Field,” and an old villager, who died only a few years since, remembered seeing the remains of the mulberry trees, from which this field derived its name.

The French colonists, “their houses, their mulberry trees are now only things of the past. *Sic Transit Gloria Mundi.*”

De Prez—Squeden—Harlé.—These names appear written in the covers of a Bible in French, dated 1687, of which the following is a copy. I shall be glad to correspond with any person who may be a descendant of either of these families. The Bible measures $6\frac{1}{2}$ inches long by $3\frac{1}{4}$ inches wide by 2 inches thick.

E. A. FRY.

172 Edmund Street, Birmingham.

On the inside of the front cover.

“Anna de Prez. 14 Mars, 1711. Je donne cette Bible a mon filleul Piere Squedin.

“Pierre Squedin est né le troisieme de May de l'année mil sept cens cinq et baptisé en l'Eglise des Reffugies protestants Wallons et autres etrangers qui s'assemblent sous les voutes du Temple archespiscopal de la ville de Cantorbury ayant pour pere [blank] Squedin et pour mere Susanne harlé alias Squedin.”

On the inside of the back cover.

“Pierre Squedin fils de [blank] Squedin et de Susanne harlé est né a Cantorbury le troisieme de May de l'année mil sept cens cinq, son baptistere est dans le Consistoire de Mess^{rs} les Ministres et Anciens de la Congrega'o des Wallons de Cantorbury.

“Ses ancestres grand pere et mere tant du coste de son pere que de sa mere sont des environs de Calais ou de Calais même.”

Wanted—Certificate of Baptism or Birth of John Lart in or about 1753. Buried Wilford, Nottingham, 1795. Probably born in London or Nottinghamshire. I should be greatly obliged if any readers would inform me of any persons known to them of the same surname. Information concerning a family of this name in America (Indiana) and Holland will be gratefully received. The name is variously spelt De Lar, Lard, Delart.

CHAS. E. LART.

Lyminge, Hythe, Kent.

Huguenots in Bedfordshire.—The Rev. A. J. Edmonds, Vicar of Great Gransden, Beds., writes: “Two of my predecessors here are said to have been descended from Huguenots, viz., Peter Stephen Goddard, D.D., who was inducted to this

living 29th June, 1742, and was made Master of Clare College, Cambridge, in 1761; and John Fallowfield, who was inducted 1st March, 1795. He was a Fellow of Clare, and died 6th March, 1812. These are both reputed to have been Frenchmen by their fathers. Mr Fallowfield's father was a refugee minister at Exeter, where he had a small congregation of his own nation; Dr Goddard's father was a barber in Cambridge. In the Clare Admission-Book Fallowfield's Christian name is entered as 'William,' which was afterwards corrected to 'John'. He is also stated to have been born at Hull. I should be glad of any further information respecting these persons, and the original French equivalent of the name 'Fallowfield'."

Bonneval, La Roux and Say Families.—An American correspondent desires information about members of these families. Particulars may be addressed to the Hon. Secretary at 90 Regent's Park Road, N. W.

François de Bonneval retired into England by invitation of William III. What were the names of the relatives who accompanied him? What was the date of the marriage of George de Bonneval (supposed to be the son of François), who married into the Granville family sometime in 1695-98? Is there any record of the birth of a son of George de Bonneval in London on 24th July, 1703?

Bartholomew Le Roux and his brother Pierre came to America and settled at New Rochelle, N. Y. Query, when and whence? A Barthelemie la Rue was witness at the baptism of Marie Boudaux at Norwich, 7th Jan., 1609. Are there any records to connect him with the emigrant to America?

Query, names of parents and date and place of birth of William Say, a Huguenot emigrant to America about 1688, and great-grandfather of Thomas Say, the natural historian?

FIRST ORDINARY MEETING OF THE SESSION,
1899-1900,

HELD AT

THE HOTEL WINDSOR, VICTORIA STREET
WESTMINSTER,

WEDNESDAY, 8TH NOVEMBER, 1899.

W. J. C. MOENS, Esq., F.S.A., President, in the Chair.

THE Minutes of the Annual Meeting held on 10th May were read and confirmed.

The following were elected Fellows of the Society :—

Thomas Edward Bryers, Esq., Sidecliff, Roker, Sunderland.

Arthur Philip Cazenove, Esq., 51 Cadogan Place, S.W.

Thomas Cope, Esq., 35 Great Tower Street, E.C.

S. Campbell Cory, Esq., D.L., J.P., Cranwells, Bath.

The Rev. William Dawson, Susancourt, Loughton, Essex.

Major-General Edward Renouard James, R.E., 27 Nevern
Mansions, Earl's Court, S.W.

Captain Hugh Sandham Jeudwine, R.A., Shoeburyness.

The Linen Hall Library, Belfast.

E. Sydney Luard, Esq., Malabar Hill, Bombay.

The Rev. Benjamin Maturin, The Vicarage, Lympington,
Hants.

Henry Perrin, Esq., 23 Holland Villas Road, W.

A paper was read by Mr. W. C. Waller, F.S.A., on "Early Huguenot Friendly Societies".

SECOND ORDINARY MEETING OF THE SESSION,
1899-1900,

HELD AT

THE HOTEL WINDSOR, VICTORIA STREET,
WESTMINSTER,

WEDNESDAY, 10TH JANUARY, 1900.

A. G. BROWNING, Esq., F.S.A., Vice-President, in the Chair.

THE Minutes of the Meeting held on 8th November, 1899,
were read and confirmed.

The following were elected Fellows of the Society :—

Bowdoin College Library, Brunswick, Maine, U.S.A.

Lieut.-Colonel Henry Dacres Olivier, R.E., Bombay.

Robert A. Patterson, Esq., Rossmore, Chislehurst.

M. Louis Meschinet de Richemond, Archiviste of La
Rochelle, France, was elected an Honorary Fellow.

A paper was read entitled, "A Vanished Castle, or the
Fortunes of the Château de Coutras," by Miss Ida H.
Layard.

THIRD ORDINARY MEETING OF THE SESSION,
1899-1900,

HELD AT

THE HOTEL WINDSOR, VICTORIA STREET,
WESTMINSTER,

WEDNESDAY, 14TH MARCH, 1900.

W. J. C. MOENS, Esq., F.S.A., President, in the Chair.

THE Minutes of the Meeting held on 10th January were read and confirmed.

The following were elected Fellows of the Society :—

Arthur William Ballance, Esq., Park Lodge, Blackheath Park, S.E.

George Beaumont Beeman, Esq., 182 Earl's Court Road, S.W.

John Martineau Fletcher, Esq., 9 Stanhope Street, Hyde Park Gardens, W.

Mr. W. Minet, V. P., read an abstract in English of a paper by Baron Fernand de Schickler, entitled, "Un Chapitre de l'Histoire des Églises du Refuge de langue française en Angleterre après la Révocation de l'Édit de Nantes ; Les deux Patentes".

SIXTEENTH ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING,
 HELD AT
 THE HOTEL WINDSOR, VICTORIA STREET,
 WESTMINSTER,

WEDNESDAY, 9TH MAY, 1900.

W. J. C. MOENS, Esq., F.S.A., President, in the Chair.

THE Minutes of the Meeting held on 14th March were read and confirmed.

The following were elected Fellows of the Society :—
 Benjamin Martell, Esq., The Briars, Lee Road, Blackheath,
 S.E.
 Mrs. Warrillon, Westbrooke House, Alton, Hants.

The Annual Report of the Council was read as follows :—

Report of the Council to the Sixteenth Annual General Meeting of the Huguenot Society of London.

Since the last Annual Meeting there has been a loss of twelve Fellows, three by death and nine by withdrawal, and a gain of eighteen new Fellows, making a net increase of six. This compares favourably with the loss of twenty-two and gain of twenty during the preceding year.

There have also been two losses by death among the Honorary Fellows, *viz.*, Dr. J. Digges La Touche and Mr. John Shoveller. Mr. Shoveller was formerly Keeper of Records in the General Register Office, Somerset House, and was one of the few surviving original Honorary Fellows of the Society, having been elected in April, 1885. To the name of Dr. La Touche a pathetic interest attaches. After doing much good work for the Society, he felt compelled, on what proved to be his death-bed, to relinquish his latest undertaking, the editing of the Dublin Nonconformist Registers. In acknowledgment of his great services, the Council elected him to fill the then sole vacancy in the list of Honorary Fellows. Intimation of this was at once sent to him,

and, though the news only reached him just before he passed away, the Council had the satisfaction of hearing that he was able to receive the intelligence, and to express his great pleasure at such a recognition of his interest in the Society.

The Treasurer's accompanying balance-sheet shows an income for the financial year of £466 9s. 9d., and an expenditure of £374 5s. 1d. There has also been debited to the past year the deficit of £152 6s. 8d. from 1898, thus making the total expenses of 1899 amount to £526 11s. 9d., or an excess over income of £60 2s. The Council are very gratified in being able to announce that this sum of £60 has since been fully met by the sale of the Society's publications, which during the last four months has been larger than in any preceding twelve. The actual balance at the bankers' this evening, therefore, is £231 13s. 11d. The Society also possessed at the close of 1899 the sum of £739 9s. 4d. invested in 2½ per cent. Consols, which sum has since been increased to £760 12s. Although the Society's accounts are simple enough, yet the accurate keeping of them involves the expenditure of no little time and trouble. For the ungrudging spirit with which, year after year, the Treasurer devotes much of his leisure to this work, the Council desire to offer Mr. Roumieu their hearty thanks.

The publications issued during the past year have been: the second number of the sixth volume of *Proceedings*, and the second volume of the *Threadneedle Street Registers*, edited by the President, Mr. Moens. The first part of the *Returns of Aliens in London*, edited by Mr. Kirk, is now in course of delivery, and the *Registers of the Dutch Church at Colchester*, edited by the President, are well advanced towards completion. There are also in the press the *Registers of the Nonconformist Huguenot Churches of Dublin*, edited by Mr. J. P. Le Fanu.

The Council have recently arranged with the Directors of the French Hospital for an amalgamation of the Society's library with that of La Providence, and the books will shortly be deposited at the Hospital. The Council and Directors hope that by this means both institutions will benefit, and the utility of the collections be greatly increased, as at present each possesses many works which are wanting in the other. Fellows of the Society will be able, by this arrangement, to consult the books in the entire library instead of only those heretofore lodged in Hanover Square.

The mention of the library induces the Council to draw

attention to the satisfactory number of foreign public libraries which desire to subscribe for the Society's publications. There are now eleven such on the list, the latest addition being a very welcome one, *viz.*, that of Bowdoin College in the United States, so named after James Bowdoin, Governor of the State of Maine, and grandson of the refugee Pierre Baudouin, who went to America in 1687.

In conclusion, the Council desire to take this opportunity of gratefully acknowledging the continued cordial goodwill of the representatives of the sister Societies on the Continent and in America. The exchange of publications, and more especially the maintenance of friendly feeling between these Societies of differing nationality, but of common origin and interests, cannot fail to be of happy result for each and all.

After the reading of the Report, the ballot was taken for the officers and Council for the ensuing year, with the following result:—

Officers and Council for the year, May, 1900, to May, 1901.

President.—William John Charles Moens, F.S.A.

Vice-Presidents.—Major-General Sir Edmund F. Du Cane K.C.B., R.E.; Arthur Giraud Browning, F.S.A.; Robert Hovenden, F.S.A.; William Minet, F.S.A.

Treasurer.—Reginald St. Aubyn Roumieu.

Honorary Secretary.—Reginald Stanley Faber.

Members of Council.—Lieut.-General Stephen H. E. Chamier, C.B., R.A.; J. C. Colyer-Fergusson; A. W. Crawley-Boevey; Frederick A. Crisp, F.S.A.; G. Beresford Fitzgerald, F.S.A.; Charles E. Lart; Edouard Majolier; David Martineau; Sir Cuthbert E. Peek, Bart.; Wyndham S. Portal; Sir Arthur Vicars, Ulster King of Arms, F.S.A.; William Chapman Waller, F.S.A.

ABSTRACT OF TREASURER'S ACCOUNT WITH THE HUGENOT SOCIETY OF LONDON.
from the 1st January, 1899, to the 31st December, 1899.

	1899.		Cr.	£ s. d.	
	Dr.	£ s. d.		£	s. d.
To Subscriptions from 295 Fellows	5	309 15 0	By deficit from 1898 . . . . .	.	152 6 8
" " " " (in arrear)	7	5 5 0	" Cost of Printing and Distributing—		
" " " " (in advance)	24 3 0	7 7 0	<i>Threadneedle Street Registers</i>	£141 12 6	
" Entrance Fees from 28 Fellows . . . . .	.	24 3 0	" <i>Proceedings</i>	11 16 8	
" Composition Fees from 6 Fellows . . . . .	.	63 0 0	<i>Transcribing Threadneedle Street</i>		
" Sale of Society's Publications . . . . .	.	38 4 6	<i>Registers</i>	17 17 0	
" One year's interest on Investment of Composi-			<i>Abstracting Naturalisation Acts</i>	6 14 0	177 19 9
tion Fees, less Tax		18 13 9	<i>Purchase of Back Numbers of Proceedings for</i>		
" Various Receipts		0 1 6	<i>re-sale</i>		6 15 0
" Expenditure over Income		60 2 0	" <i>Printing Notices and Circulars</i>		8 14 6
			" <i>Stationery</i>		3 16 6
			" <i>Bookbinding</i>		5 16 6
			" <i>Diplomas</i>		4 13 0
			" <i>Rent of Rooms for Library, Hanover Square</i>		15 15 0
			" <i>Hire of Rooms (Hotel Windsor)</i>		4 4 0
			" <i>Fire Insurance</i>		1 15 0
			" <i>Bank Charges</i>		0 7 0
			" <i>Petty Cash, Disbursements, etc.</i>		24 8 4
			" <i>Tea and Coffee after Meetings</i>		3 10 6
			" <i>Assistant Secretary's Salary</i>		50 0 0
			" <i>Cost of £57 16s. 5d., 2½ per cent. Consols (see</i>		
			<i>contra)</i>		63 0 0
			" <i>Subscription to the Archæological</i>		
			<i>Congress</i>	1 0 0	
			" <i>Copies of Index, Archæological Con-</i>		
			<i>gress</i>	2 10 0	8 10 0
		£526 11 9			£526 11 9

Examined with Vouchers and found correct,
 CHARLES F. ROUSSELET.
 A. E. T. JOURDAIN.

REGINALD St. A. ROUMIEU, *Treasurer.*

Notz.—The Society stands possessed of a sum of £739 9s. 4d., 2½ per cent. Consols, representing the investment of the Life Composition Fees received from 72 Fellows since its inauguration.

The proceedings concluded with the
*Annual Address of the President, W. J. C. Moens, Esq.,
F.S.A.*

The past year having been a somewhat quiet one as regards conferences and publications, an opportunity is given to utilise this occasion by saying a few words on a subject that has been suggested to me, which may interest many of our Fellows who desire to look up the history and genealogy of their families before as well as since the time when their ancestors fled for refuge to this country on account of religion.

With regard to the sources of such information in this country, I may refer to the first paper read at our meetings after its inauguration. This I had the pleasure of giving on 13th May, 1885, and it is fully recorded in Vol. I of our *Proceedings*, page 17. Reference to this shows that the subject as regards this country was then almost exhausted, but the work of our Society has cleared the way much by publishing with full indexes many of the registers of the French churches in England established before the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes, those of the Threadneedle Street or Mother French Church in England being completed to the end of 1685; besides the latter, those of Norwich, Canterbury and Southampton have also been issued. It is important to note with regard to the registers of the *post-Revocation* French churches in London that those of Glasshouse Street, Leicester Fields, Ryder's Court, Swallow Street, Le Charenton, Le Quarré, Le Tabernacle, Berwick Street, Castle Street, Leicester Square, Hungerford Market, French Chapel Royal, West Street, Soho, Le Temple, Savoy Chapel, Les Grecs, and St. Martin Orgars, all dissolved, and, being numbers 1 to 16 inclusive in the List of Registers of Foreign Churches in the custody of the Registrar General, were indexed by the late Mr. Ogilvy. A carefully written copy in a large volume bound in red is to be found at Somerset House, and there is a second copy in the library of the College of Heralds.

Our Society has determined to continue the publication of the *Threadneedle Street Registers*, and as those of *La Patente*, Spitalfields, have been issued to our Fellows, only the registers of the other seven London French churches remain untouched. It may be considered advisable that those of the other four churches formerly in Spitalfields

should be taken in hand as opportunity affords, so as to complete the register information of this formerly important centre. Besides the London churches there were those of Bristol, Plymouth, and Thorpe-le-Soken in Essex, the registers of which are at Somerset House.

It is very unfortunate that the registers of so many of the French churches outside London are now missing. Those of Wandsworth (Mount Nod) and Greenwich must have been of very great interest and importance.

If funds allow it would be very desirable that we should proceed to have transcripts made of several of these registers, for purposes of ready reference, which could await the time for being published in print. The continuation of the *Threadneedle Street Registers* from 1685 has already been authorised by our Society.

With regard to wills, very much has been done by Mr. Wagner, who has extracted those of interest up to 1800, but an exhaustive list of strangers' wills from the year 1550 to 1800 would be most useful and desirable. The Calendars of the Wills in the Consistory Court of Canterbury, kept at Somerset House, are being printed by the British Record Society to the year 1603, and this most useful work is nearly complete. The Calendars of the Devon, Lincoln, Dorset, Gloucester, Leicester and Worcester district Probate Courts are also being similarly treated. The same Society is also printing the Calendar of the Marriage Licences in the Faculty Office, commencing 1642. The late Colonel Chester only extracted a selection of these for his well-known collection, which has been printed by the Harleian Society. The Acts of the Naturalisation of Aliens 1509-1603, edited by Mr. Page, F.S.A., and issued by this Society, gave those to be found up to the latter date. This series is now being continued to 1803, our Fellow Mr. H. Wagner having contributed his transcripts 1680-1780; when completed this will be a most valuable source of information of the places from whence the refugees came and, in most cases, of their fathers' names.

The numerous lists of strangers in England have been sought for, copied and arranged by Mr. R. E. G. Kirk from the reign of Henry VII. to 1603, and are now in type, being nearly ready for issue by our Society. Many of these give places of origin, time of residence in England, names of wives and number of children and professions. With regard to the member books of the foreign churches, I have

transcribed and arranged in alphabetical order those of the London Dutch Church. Unfortunately, many of the member books of the French Church of London are missing, but it would be very desirable to transcribe and arrange those that are available. With regard to the lay Subsidy Rolls, these are a most valuable source of information, as they give all the aliens in each parish, and the rateable value of their land or goods. Those having none paid a poll tax. No history of the strangers in any town is complete without the names of those living there who were born abroad.

Dr. Williams' library has yet to be exhausted for many memoirs of French ministers and others who took refuge in this country; and the Domestic Series of State Papers might very profitably be gone through, all papers relating to the refugees being noted and the slips arranged under names and various subjects. The admirable calendars, as far as they have been issued, afford easy means of carrying out this desirable work. To this source might be added the calendars of the private and other collections of MSS. which have been issued by the Historical MSS. Commission. Lastly and not least are the archives of the French Church of London in Soho Square, which, when duly arranged in order, will prove a most fertile means of tracing members of the different French churches in London.

The special sources of information concerning the refugees to this country having been indicated, it may be desired to know what means there are for tracing the history of families before they left their native places of origin. The first reference, for French families, would naturally be to the admirable work *La France Protestante*, by MM. Eugène and Emile Haag, which gives memoirs of a vast number of French Protestants. A new edition, under the direction of M. Henri Bordier, was commenced in 1877 and continued to 1888, as far as the sixth volume, part ii., *Gasparin*, when difficulties occurred. It is understood that the work has been recommenced, but no fresh volume has, I believe, yet made its appearance. The preface to this edition gives the sources whence the memoirs were obtained. The Dictionary of Moreri, ten volumes folio, and also that of Bayle, four volumes folio, may be often consulted with profit. The general index of the first fifty volumes of the *Bulletin* of the French Society, when it appears, will contain very many references to Huguenot families.

The largest collection perhaps of acts of baptisms, mar-

riages and deaths of French refugee families, arranged in order by names, is that of the Commission des Eglises Wallonnes de Hollande. Families in times of trouble and flight did not always escape together, and often some members came to England and others went to Holland, Germany or Switzerland, joining sometimes in the one country or the other. Thus no search for any one family is complete without utilising the two millions of slips collected together at Leiden under charge of M. Ch. Dozy, the learned and indefatigable secretary of the Dutch Society. A very small charge per act is made to help cover the expenses of keeping this vast collection in order. The former Walloon churches in Belgium, and some in the North of France and Germany, are represented in this collection, as wherever opportunity afforded the late M. Enchedé had the registers copied and the slips amalgamated. With regard to Switzerland, the Public Library at Geneva has very many MSS. and collections connected with Huguenot history and families, and the learned communal archivist is well versed in the subject.

A work of M. J. A. Gallifée, now discontinued, entitled *Généalogies des Familles Genevoises*, in six or seven volumes, may be consulted with profit.

In France the Société de l'Histoire du Protestantisme Français has a very large collection of books and manuscripts at their house in Rue du St. Père, Paris.

Any one desiring to make a personal search in the State and other archives of France, Belgium, Switzerland or Holland will do well to obtain from the Foreign Office not only an ordinary passport, but a formal letter of introduction to the ambassadors and other English authorities representing Her Majesty in these countries. Letters can then be generally obtained to the Ministers of Justice of the countries where search is made, from whom, in turn, it is desirable to get general credentials to those under whose charge are the registers of parish and other churches, and the Acts of the Notaries, which contain the contracts of marriage, wills and other family documents.

The parish registers are always kept in the town halls and by the prefects or burgomasters of the country communes. As a rule, in towns these are now indexed with references to the pages of the original registers, so that the work of extracting all entries of any desired family is made very easy. Three copies of these indexes are generally made—one for

the Etat-Civil of the locality, one for the archives of the Arrondissement de Justice, and the other for the State Archives. At the Court of Justice are deposited those of communes in the arrondissement, so that much trouble is saved by access to these archives. The adoption of this admirable system is much to be desired in this country. With regard to the Acts of the Notaries in Holland, these are under the charge of the junior notary of the district, but by Dutch law these are secret documents, so that difficulties sometimes occur in gaining access to them. Any one of the family, however, giving the name of the notary who passed the Act, and the approximate date, has the right to see the document, being interested in it. There is less difficulty, however, in obtaining access to the notarial collections in other countries. In France, Belgium and Holland all the communal documents, land registers, and those of the orphan chambers and of other descriptions, have been deposited in the provincial State Archives. The chief State Archives at Paris, Brussels and the Hague contain very many series which enable searchers to trace the succession to lands on which fee farm or other rents were due to the Crown or State. The registers of criminal convictions and confiscations of goods and sales under bankruptcy afford evidence at times, and account for the disappearance of individuals. Commission books for the Army and Navy, passports, etc., are also useful. With regard to church and cathedral archives abroad, one must find means—not, as a rule, difficult—to gain access to them. On one very important occasion when making research, I had testimonials from three Bishops, three Archbishops, two Cardinals, and some Jesuit Fathers supporting me as a Protestant. There are certain books of reference which help one much when pedigree-hunting. *The Genealogist's Guide*, by Dr. Marshall, gives references to genealogies to be found in printed books; amongst these are those of many Huguenot families. For the Netherlands, there is the *Indicateur Nobiliaire*, by J. Huytens (Paris, 1869), referring to manuscript collections. A previous volume by the same author and M. Goethals, printed at Brussels, 1865, refers to genealogies in printed books. The admirable volume of our Fellow, M. Arthur Merghelynck, of Ypres, is of the highest value to those who are descended from the refugees from West Flanders, 1567-1600. This book, called the *Vade-Mecum ; or Catalogue Répertoire*, gives the references to names found in the many

sources of the archives of West Flanders, with indications of those sources. Amongst these are the citizen-rolls, rate-books, terriers, yearly accounts, school lists, loans, court registers, guilds, army rolls, public works, fines, rent-books, leases, sales of land, dates covered by parish registers, etc., etc.; various collections of genealogies by the Chanoines Hellin and de Pamele, MM. de Crombrughe, E. Gailliard, de Vegiano, Goethals, Vit and others; États de biens, inventories and other executorship accounts, *partages* of estates after the death of owners, armorial bearings, records of the law courts, etc.

At Lille the State Archives contain such like series of documents, and it is the centre for all the communes of Le Nord, whence came so many refugees to England. Calendars have been printed of the Departmental Archives and of the Chamber of Accounts of Lille.

With regard to armories used by French families, an *Armorial général* was ordered to be compiled by Louis XIV., 1696-1710, which is the only ancient one that has an official character.

This is contained in thirty-four folio registers, which cover the whole of France, and is now in the Bibliothèque Nationale. The arms of all families are given who then registered them by paying the due fees. Volume i. being the armorial of Flanders, of Hainault and of Cambrésis, was edited and printed (Paris, 8vo, 1856) by M. Borel d'Hauterive, and it is probable that other volumes have appeared. In the above volume referred to 4,907 armories are recorded. As the towns, etc., of those who registered their armories are mentioned as well as their status, valuable indications are given of where those families lived of whom particulars are desired.

It will be found that the greatest difficulties in obtaining due proofs are experienced in the period of the Reformation, say 1530 to about the year 1600, when the disasters of the time of the troubles, as it is termed, occasioned the destruction of many of the archives, especially in the smaller towns and villages. Lawsuits concerning the succession of property often caused the suitors and their families to be described to the court in the form of a genealogy. It was my happy fortune to find this in the case of my own family, covering the period of 1488 to 1614, thus establishing the legal proof of an old MS. genealogy which turned up independently. By the careful use of such sources as described above (especially the Citizen Rolls) it is possible to

find a leading member of a family, establishing himself in a town or other locality, identified by the name of his father and mother, place of birth and profession. Then his marriage, with the marriage contract or settlement, and his appointment to local positions and honours. The birth of his children, with the names of their sponsors at baptism and sometimes their christening presents. Then comes the death of father or mother, when according to custom the children under age (twenty-five) became wards of the Court of Orphans, guardians on both sides of the family being appointed to act with the official guardians, and the personal property of the one or other was paid into court unless the surviving parent gave security for the amount. Accounts were rendered yearly, which named the children, whether of age or not, and if they were married. The final executorship statement being filed on all wards becoming of age, when the Act of *Partage* was passed, all receiving equal shares. Like proceedings took place when the surviving parent died. The record of death was registered and sometimes the particulars of the funeral were recorded. A finely illustrated work, the *Inscriptions Monumentales de Flandres*, gives copies of the monumental inscriptions in the various churches.

Thus from birth to the grave dates and particulars can in very many cases be found, and the searcher is enabled to trace his family to an early date (in some instances to the twelfth century); but before the time of parish registers, which were ordered to be kept by the Council of Trent in 1530, it is very difficult if not impossible to establish a genealogy, unless the family was possessed in some way or other, as owner or occupier, of land or houses—the registers concerning which were very carefully kept both by the State, town authorities and the lords of manors.

Histories have been compiled of very many towns and communes in France and Belgium, which give the names of the leading officials and échevins with particulars of the devolutions of the manors, etc. These help much to embellish the dry bones of the pedigree, and when the ancient register kept by the family itself, concerning which research is made, can be found, with the touching changes of handwriting as member to member passed away, and perchance the old emblazoned genealogy attested by the heralds, with an accompanying book of proofs with details of the various families with whom filiations had taken place, the pleasure brought about by the successful work of some years in

establishing one's family history with due proofs is great indeed. No more pleasant time can be passed in foreign travel and research than in bringing such work to a successful end.

It remains for me to say a few words on the publications of our sister Societies abroad during the past year. These have, as usual, contained much valuable and interesting matter, and have appeared with that unfailing regularity which we have now long learned to expect from them, especially in the case of the French and German Societies.

In the *Bulletin* of the former have been printed, among many others, some excellent articles by M. F. Teissier on the Huguenots of Languedoc, whilst the indefatigable editor, M. Weiss, is to be congratulated not only on the many papers by various writers which he has been enabled to include, but also on his own extremely valuable contributions. By the end of next year the fiftieth volume of the *Bulletin* will have appeared, and I believe the Société contemplates the issue of a very full index to the entire series. This will supply a long-felt want, and be one of the most welcome additions possible to Huguenot literature.

The *Geschichtsblätter* of the Deutsche Hugenotten Verein have continued to afford numerous monographs on the history of the Huguenots in Germany, written with all the fulness and accuracy which the scholars of that country have made their special distinction. Dr. Tollin, the President of the German Society, has also contributed to the *Erlangen Reformiste-Kirchen Zeitung* a series of papers dealing with that vexed question, the origin of the word *Huguenot*. These papers he has kindly permitted us to reproduce in an English form in our *Proceedings*, and our thanks are due to him and also to Mrs. Minet, who has been good enough to undertake the translation.

But of all the foreign publications which have lately reached us, the handsomest is undoubtedly the volume of the Huguenot Society of America, commemorative of the Promulgation of the Edict of Nantes, though to an American work I ought not perhaps to apply the epithet "foreign," especially when I recollect the fraternal welcome accorded to our representatives on the occasion in question in 1898. In this beautifully printed book we find not only the papers of our delegates, Mr. Browning and Mr. Belleruche, but also those by Professors Jackson and Baird, M. Weiss, and other contributors, all of the highest value, to

say nothing of the eloquent speeches of Mr. F. J. de Peyster, President of the American Society, and other speakers, and the extremely interesting Report of Mrs. Lawton, the Secretary of the Celebration Committee. To her enthusiasm and exertions indeed, it is, I believe, an open secret that the initiation and successful achievement of the commemoration were mainly due.

I think I ought not to conclude without stating that our Society has received a graceful compliment from both the French and American Societies by their election of me as one of their Honorary Members in virtue of my office as your President; a compliment which I highly appreciate myself and have duly acknowledged as well on your behalf as on my own.

EXCURSION TO CANTERBURY.

THURSDAY AND FRIDAY, 14TH AND 15TH JUNE, 1900.

W. J. C. MOENS, Esq., F.S.A., President, presiding.

On the above days the Society visited Canterbury, in which city its first Summer Conference was held in 1887, and fine weather and the cordial welcome received made the excursion a most enjoyable one.

Amongst those present were the President, Mr. W. J. C. Moens; Messrs. Browning, Hovenden and Minet, Vice-Presidents; Lieut.-General Chamier and Mr. W. C. Waller, Members of Council; Mrs. Chamier and Mrs. Waller, Mr. R. S. Faber (Hon. Secretary) and Mrs. Faber, Mr. G. H. Overend (Assistant-Secretary), Colonel and Mrs. Durand (*née* Condamine), Mrs. J. Scott Elliot (*née* Durand), Lady Brooke Pechell and Miss Pechell, Colonel H. Montagu, Mr., Mrs., and Miss Roget, Mr. C. A. Govett, the Rev. J. B. Mayor, Mrs. and Miss Mayor, the Rev. G. W. Minns and friends, Mr. and the Misses Merceron, Mr. W. J. Mercer, Mr. and Miss Jayne, Dr. C. Mercier, Dr. W. P. Thornton, Mr. R. P. W. Reneau, Mrs. Gardiner, Miss Portal, Miss Browning, Miss Hovenden, Miss Wylie, Miss Gosset. Besides these Fellows of the Society and their friends, there were also present the Mayor of Canterbury (Mr. G. Collard) and the Mayoress, the Sheriff and Mrs. Horsley, the Town Clerk and Mrs. Fielding, Alderman and Miss Mason, Mr. F. Bennett Goldney (Curator of the Royal

Museum), and Mr. J. Meadows Cowper, Miss Holmes and Miss Phillpotts. The Dean of Canterbury (the Rev. F. W. Farrar, D.D.), the Warden of St. Augustine's (the Rev. G. F. Maclear, D.D.), and the Rev. Canon Routledge were unable to attend the dinner, though kindly giving the Society a hearty welcome at the Cathedral, St. Augustine's College, and St. Martin's Church; but the Bishop of Dover (the Right Rev. W. Walsh, D.D.) and Mrs. Walsh, the Rev. L. J. White Thomson, Rector of St. Martin's; the Rev. J. R. Barnabas, Pastor of the French Church; and Messrs. A. Parren and T. West, Treasurer and Secretary to the Consistory of the same, were present at the greater part of the proceedings.

These began at 10.30 on the Thursday morning with a reception by the Mayor and Corporation at the Beaney Institute, which, to those who had taken part in the Conference of 1887, recalled the similar friendly greeting accorded to the Society by the City on that occasion. In a felicitously worded speech, the Mayor welcomed the Society, and touched upon the long connection of the refugees and their descendants with Canterbury, a theme which the President eloquently enlarged upon in his reply. The Bishop of Dover also addressed the meeting with a cordial welcome in the name of the clergy of the diocese, and at 11.30 a move was made to the Cathedral, where the party was received by the Dean, who conducted it over the building and gave a most clear and animated description of the principal points of interest. On reaching the French Church in the crypt, the Society was welcomed by the Pastor, the Rev. J. R. Barnabas, on behalf of himself and the Consistory, in a beautifully illuminated address, to which the President made a suitable reply. After an interval for luncheon, a visit was paid to St. Martin's and St. Pancras, under the able guidance of Canon Routledge, and at half-past four the Society was entertained at afternoon tea at the Beaney Institute by the Mayor and Mayoress, who, by their graceful hospitality, made this social gathering one of the pleasantest parts of the whole proceedings. In the evening the Fellows and their friends and local guests dined together at the County Hotel, when several toasts were given, that of the City of Canterbury being proposed by the President and responded to by the Mayor; that of the clergy being proposed by Mr. Hovenden and responded to by the Bishop of Dover; whilst the Huguenot Society of London was given by Mr. J. M.

Cowper and acknowledged by Mr. Browning; Mr. F. B. Goldney returning thanks for the Visitors.

To Mr. Bennett-Goldney the Society was mainly indebted for the pleasant and successful arrangements for the second day's programme, which included St. Dunstan's and St. Mildred's, the West Gate, Dane John, St. Augustine's, and the "Canterbury Weavers'" Workshop, King's Bridge. At St. Augustine's the Reverend Sub-Warden acted as cicerone, and gave an admirable account of the ancient and recent history of the abbey and college. This concluded the day's doings, and the party broke up in the late afternoon after an outing which seemed to have given universal satisfaction and enjoyment.

THE LIBRARY.

Several donations have been made to the library during the past year by various Fellows and friends in addition to the publications received in exchange from the Societies in correspondence.

By arrangement with the Directors of the French Hospital, the Society's library has recently been amalgamated with the library of that institution, by which means the Council and the Directors hope that the utility and fulness of the united collections may be increased. All the books are now therefore preserved at the Hospital (Victoria Park Road, South Hackney, N.E.), where they may be consulted by Fellows of the Society on written application to the Secretary of the Hospital.

Early Huguenot Friendly Societies.

BY WILLIAM CHAPMAN WALLER, F.S.A.

THANKS to the prescience of our Hon. Secretary, we pre-faced our dinner this evening, as good Huguenots should, with ox-tail soup. I propose for a moment to regale you with a reminiscence of that succulent dish—perhaps unwisely, for comparison with the first may serve to make succeeding courses appear even drier than they otherwise would.

Those who have previously addressed you, as it is my privilege to do this evening, have on more than one occasion laid stress on the benefits conferred by the refugees on the land of their adoption. I do not, however, remember that among these either the introduction of ox-tail soup or the reintroduction of Friendly Benefit Societies has been included. And yet, British as these two things may now seem, it is to the French refugees that their existence among us at the present time is apparently due. Leaving the societies for the moment, let us consider the soup.¹

When the French refugees came to England it was still the custom among butchers to let the ox's tail go with his hide. What the fellmonger did with it remains a secret, but he did not, it seems, utilise it as foodstuff. This apparent waste of good material attracted the attention of the ingenious and generally impecunious strangers, who, procuring for themselves the unconsidered tails, thereby enriched not only their own pottage but also our English bill of fare. And no doubt, like ourselves this evening, those forerunners of our society sometimes ate their ox-tail soup together, for by a rule of the Norman Friendly Society, founded in 1703, it is provided that the soup is to be on the table at six o'clock (*la soupe sur la table à 6 h.*).

However grateful we may be for the introduction of a new *plat*, there are those who think that we should be even more so for the example set in the matter of Friendly Societies, whereby, it has been said, the refugees in large

¹ Smiles' *Huguenots*, p. 318.

measure, though indirectly, paid off the debt contracted with the English people for hospitality and generous subsidies. But, even if it were possible, we should not, I think, be anxious to reduce our reciprocal obligations to the level of a debtor and creditor account.

It is now some little time since the Chief Registrar of Friendly Societies, Mr. Brabrooke, a Fellow of the Society of Antiquaries, called the attention of our Hon. Secretary, Mr. Faber, to the existence of no less than five friendly benefit societies of Huguenot origin in the East End of London. Mr. Faber invited me to make inquiries on the subject, as being one of interest to our members; and anxious, like all the other Fellows of this society, to do anything and everything to show my appreciation of the solid service Mr. Faber has rendered, does render, and will, I trust, long continue to render to it, I accepted his invitation. Having opened communication with the various secretaries and made a pilgrimage or two to the east, I succeeded, with our Hon. Secretary's assistance, in procuring the loan of the earlier records of each of the societies, so far as these are known to be in existence. And I here take the opportunity of expressing our appreciation of the courtesy with which our requests were received, and the obligations I am under to Messrs. I. C. Levesque, C. G. Helsdon, T. Wilson, and C. J. Dupuy, the present secretaries of the societies in question.

The friendly society owes its origin, it would appear, in all countries to the burial club—an institution to be found even among the Chinese. The funeral was ever the occasion of a feast, and the Greeks had their *ἐπαισι*, the Romans their *collegia*, the Teutons their guilds. But it seems that England was "the birthplace of guilds," and it is stated on good authority, that the extant statutes of three of these guilds date back to the beginning of the eleventh century; while the provisions made by them show that, even then, care for the living as well as for the dead was included among the obligations of the members. It is curious also to note the similarity in small points of detail which exist between the rules of English guilds flourishing in the fourteenth century and those of the friendly societies founded in England by Frenchmen in the eighteenth.¹

¹ Vide *passim* *On the History and Development of Guilds*, by Luigi Brentano (1870); and *English Guilds*, by Toulmin Smith (Early English Text Society, 1870).



What happened to the English parish gilds after their practical suppression by Edward VI. does not very clearly appear, but the last of them is reported to have been in existence so late as 1628. The connection between the gild and the friendly society is said to be untraceable; but it is probable that the ideas at the bottom of both never entirely died out, being kept alive "from generation to generation in a succession of small and scattered societies". In the rural districts, at any rate, the gild and the friendly society find even now their connecting links in the processions to church, the banners, the attendance at funerals, and the festal meals partaken in common.¹

Crossing the channel, we find that the first *Association de secours mutuels*, or friendly society, was founded at Lille in 1580; while the Society of St. Anne, at Paris, being at once a religious and a commercial gild, is found in existence in 1694.² Whether such associations were at that date numerous or not, it seems clear that the refugees from France were familiar with the ideas embodied in them, since we find a still flourishing society claiming to have been instituted in 1687, and certainly existing in 1708, when an engraving of the famous 'Temple de Charenton' was reproduced at the cost of the members. A reproduction of this, which accompanies this paper, shows that it was "rimprimé sur l'Original par les Mrs. de la Société de Parisiens, l'an 1708," and the impression from which the plate has been made remains in the custody of the Society of Parisians to this day. The earliest recorded English society of a similar character was one known as 'The Amiable Society,' which was founded by charter in 1706; while 'The Shoemakers' of Newcastle date from 1719. But it seems generally admitted that the foreign refugees of Spitalfields were pioneers in the movement, and that to them we owe the example of providence which has been followed with such far-reaching and splendid results. In their case an additional incentive to self-help probably existed; for, as aliens, they had no claim on the poor-rate.

For a century or more the societies went their own way, but in 1793 they had become so numerous that an Act of Parliament, known as Sir George Rose's Act, was passed, whereby their existence was officially noted, and encouragement afforded to them by the State.

¹ *Encyclopædia Britannica*—Art. 'Friendly Societies'.

Dict. Universel de P. Larousse—Art. 'Association' (iv.).

The five societies with which we now propose to deal are, in the order of their institution, as follows :—

- The Society of Parisians, 1687.
- The Norman Society, 1703.
- The Society of Lintot, 1708.
- The Friendly Society, 1720.
- The Society of High and Low Normandy, 1764.

The Society of Parisians.—The early records of this society have unfortunately for the most part vanished, the earliest, apart from the engraving already alluded to, being a MS. volume of the rules, in French and English, stated to have been “made and approved by the society founded January 29, 1720”. This date conflicts with that adopted as the true one, and also with the statement on the engraving ; but, so far as the year is concerned, it coincides with the foundation of an anonymous society hereafter to be dealt with. Whatever the explanation may be, it is noteworthy that these rules nowhere mention the name of the society organised under them, and, unlike those of the kindred societies, they do not limit the qualifications for membership otherwise than by stating that Protestants, from eighteen to forty-one years old, of undeniable character (*d'une vie irréprochable*), sound in mind and body, and living within three miles of Christ Church, Spitalfields, are alone eligible, their total number being limited then, as now, to sixty-one.

To this society, which met on the last Saturday of the month, the entrance fee was 2s. 6d. The contribution to ‘The Box’ was 1s. a month, and *la cote* (the contribution towards the evening’s entertainment) at the monthly meeting was 4d., members who failed to attend it being fined 2d. The benefits received were 8s. a week during sickness—limited to fifty-two weeks, after which 4s. was payable, and £5 funeral money, payable as to £3 on view of the body, and, as to the remainder, on return from the burial. All members who were in the French Hospital, La Providence, received 6d. a week, but were disentitled to any funeral allowances.

In common with the other French societies, the Parisians adopted a sort of sliding-scale, in accordance with which the benefits receivable by the members rose and fell. In the case of the Parisians, if the accumulated funds fell below £120, then the pensioners ceased to receive anything until

that amount was again attained. Household servants, receiving wages, were excluded from benefit while their service lasted.

The morals of the members were safeguarded by certain rules which prohibited the playing of any game; and if anyone spoke with contempt (*avec mépris*) of another member, or interrupted the officers, or had the temerity (*la témérité*) to swear, blaspheme, or use shameful words to insult one of his brothers, he was finable. A further provision, with a curious added gloss, is found elsewhere: "If there be recognised among us a perjurer, a false witness, a blasphemer, or if any one be ill-disposed towards the Protestant Religion or the Government of the State, or accused of great crimes (*crimes énormes*), he shall be proceeded against with all the vigour of our laws". At the foot of this some one wrote, "Wilks and Liberty only expepted [*sic*]".

The continued existence of the society was, in like manner, protected by rules prohibiting the passing of new ones which did not tend to the good of the institution, and providing that no dissolution should take place so long as two members were in favour of continuance: indeed, even to propose the breaking-up of the box (*rompre la Boîte*) and a sharing-out of its contents, involved the proposer in a fine of 2s. 6d., or expulsion.¹ If differences arose, they were referable to a committee nominated by the officers, who were to take every ninth name on the roll of membership, beginning after the last officer—an ingenious method of ensuring impartiality in choice. From the decision of a committee there was an appeal to the society at large. By the forty-sixth and last rule the secretary, or clerk, may not be chosen from among the members of the society; he is to be paid 5s. for each meeting that he attends; and he is bound to attend all that are held.

From time to time fresh rules were added, and appear under the title of 'Articles Ajoutés,' the first being dated 1763. This was an important one, inasmuch as it limited the period of half-pay to one year, after which the recipient became a pensioner. In 1766 the attendance at the monthly meetings had so fallen off that the host barely covered the

¹ 'The box' is also a feature in the early gilds, and the phraseology of the Huguenots is anticipated by the words "and on þe peyne of xl. d. to paie to þe box," which are found in the statutes of the London Guild of SS. Fabian and Sebastian, framed before the year 1350. (Toulmin Smith, *op. cit.*, p. 10.)

cost of coal and candles out of what was spent in his house ; but an increase of the fine on absentees lasted only a year. In 1778, however, we find that they were made to contribute 4d., of which 2d. went 'to the box,' and 2d. was to be spent. In 1781 the resolution of 1763 was rescinded and half-pay was declared payable for life. But this was too good to last, and twenty years later (in 1801) the contributions had to be raised, as the following resolution shows : " Considering that three half-pay members, at 4s. 6d. per week, are drawing nearly the whole of the contributions, it was resolved that each member should pay 1s. 2d. per month to the box, as from February 7th ". The crises seem to have recurred at intervals of about twenty years ; for in 1824 Mr. William Grout solemnly proposed, and Mr. John King with equal solemnity seconded, the following order of the day : " That the funds of the society have decreased, and are decreasing, and will continue to decrease ". This having been solemnly carried or adopted, prophecy and all, an increase of 2d. per month in the contribution was adopted, but only by the chairman's casting vote, the numbers for and against being equal (22). In 1827 thirty-seven members voted for a limitation of half-pay to one year, nine only voting otherwise ; and a committee for a general revision of the articles was appointed. The rules as revised and accepted by the members did not, however, commend themselves to the authorities, and enrolment of them was refused. In 1831 a fresh revision committee was nominated, and a resolution in favour of enrolment under the Act 10 Geo. IV. passed. With this the book ends, and the society took a fresh lease of life ; for it still flourishes exceedingly, retaining its sixty-one members, and possessing an accumulated fund of £1,250. The entrance-fee, which was 2s. 6d. in 1720, and 5s. in 1783, is now £1. The French element is still perceptible among the names of the members, a Mr. Dongray being the treasurer, while Messrs. Ferry, Mignot, and Norris, occur among the rank and file.

The rules of the Parisians, so far as the volume under review presents them to us, were less elaborate than those of the other societies, and in various respects differ from them ; but all have as their foundation-stone some citation from Holy Writ. In this case the preface begins with the statement that " La charité est la plus excellente de toutes les vertus chrétiennes au témoignage d'un grand apôtre," and, after an allusion to the Epistle to the Corinthians,

continues: "c'est dans le dessein de cultiver cette excellente vertu . . . que Dieu nous mit au cœur de former cette société—c'est, dis-je, dans le dessein de nous secourir, de nous assister l'un l'autre, et de nous rendre toutes sortes de bons offices que nous avons formé cette compagnie".¹ This preface has, in the printed rules issued in 1882, been replaced by a 'Memorandum of the Origin of this Society,' which runs as follows: "Whereas, in the reign of Louis XIV., King of France, the Protestants in his dominions were cruelly persecuted, and many obliged to take refuge in this country; in particular at the famous epoch, the revocation of the Edict of Nantz [*sic*], when all the Protestant Churches in France were demolished; in particular the Temple of Charenton, near Paris. About two years after which a number of Parisians, late members of the said Temple, being refuged in London, formed the laudable resolution to raise a society, in order to establish a fund for the mutual relief of each other, which they then did under the title of 'Society of Parisians'. But in process of time, there not being sufficient persons of the above description to support the said Society, it was then deemed necessary to make it free for Protestants of all nations, which it now is, under the title of 'Friendly Society'."

These later rules are based upon the older versions and retain many of their peculiarities, including the sliding-scale. Protestants only are eligible; but the secretary must now be a member; pensioners who become inmates of the Union Workhouse forfeit their pensions for the time being; and the amount of the pension rises and falls with the amount of the funded stock. The box is still a feature, and must now be fitted with three locks of different construction, the secretary retaining possession of two keys, and the steward the remaining one. Relics of the social character of the gathering are found in the rule which states that any member may bring his friend to the society's office (*i.e.*,

¹ Before quitting the Parisians it is well to call attention to a rule passed in 1818, some time before the great trade-unions were thought of. It runs as follows: "If any member go into any poor or charity house through being out of employ, he shall be allowed 2 s. per week, and be excused all fines during his residence there, and when he comes out he shall be entitled to his whole and half-pay the same as before". It will be noted that the principle of out-of-work benefit is here conceded, although the grant is only one in aid of a member whose maintenance is already otherwise assured. How far the rule was acted on, or what claims were made under it, we have no means of discovering, the early records of the Society being, as I have already stated, confined to a single book of the rules.

place of meeting), by first asking leave of the steward, as also in others which provide for good order; and the loyal reservations in favour of soldiers and sailors, whether belonging to the regulars or to the volunteers, reveal a continued good affection to the State.¹

The Norman Society.—The materials for an account of this society—La société de la province de Normandie—instituted 11th January, 1703, are ampler, and the first volume of its records is probably contemporaneous with its institution. It is a boldly written quarto, on the fly-leaf of which is inscribed “Memorandum de la société qui a été fondée le onzième Janvier mille sept cents deux et trois”. There follow on the first pages the “Reglements qui ont été dressées pour être observées dans la société de la Province de Normandie pour Converser ensemble en Concorde, et bonne Union Fraternelle,” together with the first verse of the 133rd Psalm, which in the French is said to run: “Voicy o! que c'est chose bonne et que c'est chose agréable que les frères s'entretienne mêmes ensemble”. With these words as a text the authors of the rules go on to state the objects of the founders of the society, which is intended to maintain mutual friendship, and the fellowship (*société*) which all Christians owe to each other, especially in a land of refuge, and, above all, when they are natives of the same province; and also to resolve and put an end to the differences which may arise between members of the society, and to aid those of them who may become necessitous by some accident or affliction sent by God for their chastisement.

With a reference to the ‘retraite heureuse et agréable’ found in these islands, and an intimation that these foregoing objects had approved themselves to the society, the writer proceeds, ‘pour plus grande regularité,’ to draw up

¹ I am indebted to our President, Mr. W. J. Moens, for the following extract, which reveals the existence of a Dutch club of somewhat similar character:—

“Jan., 1669—Contract between the Deacons of the London Dutch Church and a London Dutch club of working men. The Book-keeper and Treasurer collected the contributions of the members, which were handed to the Deacons for a sick fund. Paid out to sick or injured on demand of Book-keeper and Treasurer after investigation by the Deacons. Should the club break up, the funds to be to the poor of the Church, but would continue as long as one member was on the books. Rules made could be altered by the Book-keeper and Treasurer. The members pledged their persons and property for the carrying out of the rules.”—*London Dutch Church Archives*, No. 3,723.

rules to the number of thirty-two—two more, also in French, but written in different hands and dated 30th August, 1742, and 26th March, 1750, were subsequently added.

From these rules we learn that the society met fortnightly at six o'clock, from 'la foire de Londres' (Bartholomew Fair) until Easter; and at seven o'clock during the rest of the year, breaking up at ten o'clock. The rules were to be always laid upon the table, in order that members who contravened them might have no excuse of ignorance. The contribution was a penny (*un sol*) a week, two sols being accordingly payable on assembly night when the expenditure was "fixée à Quatre sols par Teste, autant le premier que le dernier venu". Reference to the next rule shows that this contribution covered the cost of beer and tobacco, which alone were shared in common.¹ If any one wished to eat anything, he did so at his own expense. Gambling and betting were forbidden under a penalty of 6*d.* The secretary and treasurer were to be elected for six months, and then to nominate two successors; if the successor declined to serve he was liable to a fine of five 'chelins,' and the officers nominated some one else. Silence, or at least quiet, was, so far as possible, to be maintained, "to avoid confusion"; any member violating the rule was to be verbally rebuked by the officers, and, if contumacious, fined 2*d.* Thirty sols was the penalty for taking God's name in vain. Two sols were payable for unseemly conversation, and for absence without due cause; but if such absence were prolonged over seven meeting nights, exclusion was the penalty. To the officers it appertained to order beer and tobacco, and to appoint as their own auditors their predecessors in office. Strangers might be admitted to pass the evening with the society, but were to withdraw if any matter of deliberation arose. New members were voted for on the proposition of the officers, moved thereto by a member; if elected, they appeared a fortnight later, when the rules were read in their presence, "the whole company keeping silence". The candidate then promised to conform to the rules, signed the register, and paid £2 (40 *chelins*) as entrance fee, or £1 if he elected to receive no benefits (*distributions*) for a year. [A fragment of paper pinned in between Rules 16 and 17 states that the society "moreover found it apropos, in the

¹ A minute of the High and Low Normandy Society, dated 1844, states that refreshment tickets are to be provided for members "instead of drinking together".

case of the election of more than one candidate, to give each member a ticket (*billet*) for each candidate, and a blank ticket, and the latter answering to 'No' prevented admission, being of greater avail (*peut empêcher qu'aucun n'y entre, se trouvant le plus fort*)."]

On reaching the seventeenth rule we come to the provisions made in case of sickness. The officers, *i.e.*, the secretary and treasurer, were to visit those ill in bed and offer them 7s. a week, to begin a week after notice had been given: if the illness "venoit à tourner en langueurs" (became chronic), then the allowance was reduced to 3s. 6d., which sum was payable also to those prevented by a minor ailment from working. Advanced age was to be a ground for considering a report on particular cases drawn up by three members nominated by the society. [A subsequent addition to this rule was inscribed below it in order to meet the case of 'cy devant malades,' by whom the society had lost money, and it was provided that all fines and arrears should be deducted from the first benefit paid.] The voting was by tickets, 'Oui' and 'Non,' thrown into two hats. Secrecy was enjoined both as to the deliberations of the Society and also as to the fundamental articles of the rules; any one convicted of contravening the rules was to be fined 1s. (*un chelin*).

The social side of the society is further emphasised by the provision of a 'festin ordinaire,' to be held in the Michaelmas Quarter, at which all were expected to be present, even absentees contributing 1s. "Le cot [*i.e.*, la cote] commandera à 5 h. et le Soupe sur la table à 6 h." At nine o'clock the bill was to be called for and each member's share determined. All this fell on the officers, who, if they transgressed in aught, were mulcted in double fines; if absent, their place was taken by some predecessor in office. Non-payment of any fines involved exclusion. Three strokes of a mallet served to call for silence, and a penalty of 2d. fell on him who spoke thereafter without first asking leave—a provision which suggests the presence of an Irishman among the Gauls. If, when a member died, his representatives desired it, he was buried at the society's expense in an elm coffin, with a pall, and, generally speaking, all that went to the furnishing a decent funeral (*un enterrement honorable*), the cost not to exceed 50s. All members were to be warned when the funeral took place, and the two officers in charge, together with their four immediate predecessors, were designated pall-bearers. Bankruptcy entailed exclusion, unless

the bankrupt had done everything by his conduct and in his business to avoid it. The twenty-eighth rule provides for the case of members travelling in or out of the kingdom (the possibilities of remitting small sums being in those days less frequent than now), and also, in certain cases, for a certificate of the church or parish to which the member belonged, to the effect that an erring member had asked God's pardon and repaired the scandal caused to His Church (*demandé pardon à Dieu et réparé le scandalle fait à Son Eglise*).

The next rule provides, by unanimous resolution, that certain persons, thereafter named, shall serve the office of secretary in turn, and if any refuse he shall pay 5s. by way of penalty. (A list of thirty-eight names follows, but at least half of them were added afterwards.) Whether or no the subsequent rules are later additions remains uncertain, but their tenor seems to indicate it. The first of them, number 30, refers to the absentees from the meetings (two are named, but their names have been cancelled), who are to pay 2s. 6d. a quarter and be exempt from fines, provided that they serve as officers when called upon. Another provides that, although matters are generally decided by a majority of votes, the society shall not be dissolved or broken up in that way so long as three members wish to maintain and continue it. Fresh rules, when found necessary, might be carried by a majority of votes.

Article 33 seems to have been passed in August, 1742, when the sick-pay was raised from 7s. to 9s. a week, so long as the capital of the society remained above £100; if it fell below that sum, the sick-pay was to revert automatically to its original amount. In 1750 Article 34 was added, to meet the case of intrigues—"comme les brigues causent beaucoup de désordre dans les Societez"—and canvassing for votes was forbidden under penalties. The number of members was in 1753 limited to forty-five. In 1759 the sick-pay was raised to 10s. a week, but only for so long as the capital remained over £200, and in the same way the funeral money to £5, half of which sum was to be reserved for the widow or children or the heirs-at-law of the deceased member.

According to a cancelled rule of April, 1761, the entrance-fee was raised to 50s. (*cinquante chelins*), but in the following year this was reduced to 40s., being at the rate of 10s. per cent. of the society's capital ("*et cela à raison du Capital de notre Compagnie, qui est de Quatre Cents Livres, savoir à raison de dix Chelins par cent.*").

Rule or Article 34 is succeeded by two pages containing the signatures of the members from 1703 to 1768, with the dates of their admission. The list is headed by Abraham David, the first secretary of the society. He is followed by David Auber, without any date. Jaques Deprey was admitted in 1710; in 1716 a member, whose name has been obliterated, follows him, and to him succeeds Pierre Auber in 1717. In 1720 Jean Halbout signed the roll, and in 1730 Pierre David, leaving a gap of ten years unfilled. From that date the years are fairly consecutive, and under them the following fifty-seven names occur: Auber (2), Buneuf, Bredal (2), Baudouin, Campar (?), Catel, Croixmare, Delamare (3), Delorme, Duchesne (2), Duprey, David (2), Debeze (illiterate), Durand, Deveux, De la Ferté, De Bray, De Lonne, De Lanquetuit, Flammare (2), Hochecorne (4), Hebert (3), Hautot, Lambert, Louvet (2), Levasseur (?), Lamy, Le Vavasseur, Limmonier, Lemaitre, Le Conte (2), Le Brument (2), Le Bailly, Maze, Mauger, Nicolle, Ouvry, Sirvenet (?), Tournié, and two illegible.

Another copy of the rules, also in French, is contained in a quarto volume. In this the writing is extremely good and regular, the title-page (which is preceded by the signatures of 125 members from 1717 to 1800) being a masterpiece of calligraphy. The society is here styled that of 'Haute et Basse Normandie,' a name which did not cleave to it, but was, as we shall see, adopted by a much later foundation. An improvement in style as well as in handwriting marks this later version, the somewhat ragged and unscholarly French of the earlier preamble being modified and corrected, although the words used in it are in great measure the same. The rules, however, are rearranged, and the first runs as follows: "Pour être membre de cette société il faut être reçu à participer à la Sainte Cène du Seigneur, faisant profession de la Religion Protestante, être homme de bien et sans reproche, fidèle à l'Etat, bien affectionné à sa Majesté la Reine Anne, et à l'illustre maison de Hanover et à tout son illustre famille Protestante". The second declares that there shall be entire equality among the members "sans affection ou distinction d'âge, de préséance ou d'ancienneté, chacun de nous se regardant comme frère et ayant une déférence et honnêteté reciproque". From Article 3 'the fair of London' and Easter vanish, and Michaelmas and March take their places. Article 12 is so agreeably worded in this revised version that it deserves to

be quoted: "La compagnie ayant remarqué que plusieurs des Membres de son corps, négligent à se trouver aux assemblées ordinaires, a resolu, pour prévenir la confusion, et afin de ne gêner personne, que ceux qui souhaiteront de se mettre au quartier, le pourront faire, en payant Trente sous par quartier . . . mais non obstant cela ils seront obligés de servir les offices à leur tour ou de payer cinq chelins . . ." In 1769 quarterly members were made finable, but the rule, which was elaborate, was annulled before a year had passed. The voting arrangements had evidently been a source of trouble, and an article (26) on the subject states that "La Compagnie a jugé à propos, pour éviter les longueurs et les embarras, que, lorsqu'il se reconteroit plusieurs candidats, et qu'il n'y auroit qu'une ou deux vacances, c'est à dire que tous n'y pouvant être admis, mais tous également acceptables, qu'on y procederoit de cette manière, savoir: que tous les membres presens auroient tous autant de billets que de candidats, sur chacun des quels il y auroit le Nom d'un des candidats et un billet blanc qui repondroit à notre billet de non, ce qui peut empêcher qu'aucun n'y entre, et dans ce cas celui ou ceux qui se trouveront avoir les plus de billets où leur noms seront marquez, seront, ou sera, les, ou le membre, accepté". A footnote appended to the next rule (27) refers to a revision of the rules made by a small committee in 1762, when, among other things, attendance at funerals was dispensed with on the part of members not being officers of the society: "Toute la compagnie accompagnera le corps au tombeau si le Défunt l'a désiré, c'est à dire autant que faire se pourra, n'y ayant personne de gêné, que les deux officiers en charge, et les quatre derniers sortis," who had to act as pall-bearers. Article 28 refers to the 'Festin ordinaire,' to which all, except the sick, had now to contribute 1s. 6d. It took place, as of old, in the Michaelmas quarter, but supper (*le souper*) was served now at seven, although 'l'ecot' (*i.e., la cote*) still began at five. Under Article 31 no 'sergent de cour de justice ou autre tel office' could become a member; if he did get in, on the fact becoming known he was straightway to be "exclu et bani de la compagnie sans aucun bénéfice de la Bouëtte" (*i.e., boîte*). After Article 33 comes the "Conclusion: Dieu veuille repandre sa bénédiction sur nous tous, et nous faire la Grace de vivre toujours en concorde et en Charité fraternelle. Ainsi soit-il."

In 1773 a thirty-fourth rule provided that the last Monday

in the month should be the meeting day; that the contribution should be 8d.; and that the beer and tobacco money should be 4d. The last Monday, whether before or after Quarter Day, was to be held as such, and thereby, as is noted, "le Festin sera annullé". In 1794 a fortieth rule opened the membership of the society to the descendants of Norman women as well as of Norman men.

A third MS. volume is entitled 'Rules and orders of the Norman Society held at The Pitt's Head, Tyson Street, Bethnal Green, 1809,' and contains a revised version in English of the regulations drawn up in French more than a century before. The preamble briefly alludes to the utility of benefit societies in general, and to the history of the formation of the Norman Society in particular, recounting how "as descendants of those Glorious Martyrs to the cause of Religion, they [*i.e.*, the founders] determined to perpetuate the memory of it by forming themselves into a Benefit Club or Society to be enrolled by the Magistrates agreeably to the regulations of the different Acts of Parliament which have relation to Clubs or Societies of this description, passed during the reign of his present Majesty, George the Third." The meaning of the writer is clear, though carried away on the torrent of his eloquence, he hardly gave his thoughts their logical expression. In plain English, then, the society, founded in 1703, deemed it expedient to renew its youth in 1809, by taking advantage of a Parliamentary encouragement little dreamt of by the first founders. Reference to the accounts for the latter half of 1808 reveals the summoning of a general meeting, the purchase for 1s. 6d. of an Act of Parliament, and of a quarter-hundred of pens for 2s. Other general meetings followed and much paper was bought, and finally, in 1809, we come on two entries referring to the new rules. On 28th August £1 was paid to Mr. Levillian for writing the articles, and on 22nd December, three guineas was paid for 'ingrossing' them. Other expenses connected with the presentation of the articles at the Sessions House also occur. The copy engrossed on parchment was doubtless duly deposited with the clerk of the peace, after being confirmed by the justices, in accordance with 33, George III., cap. 54, sec. 2 (1793).¹ The rules themselves differ in many respects from their

¹ A copy of this Act, together with those of the years 1795, 1809, 1817 and 1819, is bound up with the MS. copy of the rules.

French originals, and are far more commonplace. The membership is still limited to Protestant natives of the Province of Normandy and their descendants, who must be well-affected to King George and his descendants. Each member is to contribute 8d. a month and spend 4d. for beer and tobacco—a relic of the social character of the society at its formation; absence involved a fine of 4d. to the box. This box, we learn from Article 7, contained the books and moneys (other than what was invested in Government securities) of the society, and was left in the care of the landlord of the house where the club met. By paying 15s. a year, members might be free from all fines; such annual payments were payable to a collector, who received £1 1s. for his pains. The ninth article limited the numbers of the society to fifty-five members. The entrance fee was £1 1s., and a candidate was proposed at three monthly meetings before the ballot was taken, nor could he receive any benefit until twelve months after his election. Sons of members were to have a preference, if notice were given. Sick pay was now 15s. a week, and those receiving it might neither work nor give orders for work to be done, nor receive orders in their business, nor play at any game whatsoever, “on pain of being excluded”. The certificate to be sent weekly by any sick member living more than three miles from the house where the society met, stated that the signatory firmly believed that the illness was “a real visitation from the Almighty God, and no ways brought on by any disorderly practice”; that the sick man was unable to work and deserved the benefit of the society. Pensioners, at 5s. a week each, were elected on account of their great age and infirmities and not allowed to work at their trades; but this allowance was reduced to 2s. 6d. in the case of members admitted to La Providence or any other house of charity. Article 15, which makes loyal provision for the relief of members ‘impressed’ into his Majesty’s service by land or sea or otherwise entering it, recalls a state of affairs long passed away. If any member lost a limb in the service he was to have 2s. 6d. a week, even though he were an out-pensioner of Greenwich or of Chelsea Hospital. Article 22 provided that any member burnt out and not insured should have five guineas from the box. Any member attending a meeting “disguised in liquor,” or causing “any quarrel or disturbance during the hours of business” incurred a fine of 3d.; if, on being ordered by the stewards to leave the room

he did not immediately do so, he was to pay 1s. for his refusal. Gaming and wagering were fined at 6d., as also was cursing and swearing; a blow cost 2s. 6d.; if inflicted on an officer, 5s., and in case of non-payment, exclusion. Article 32 provided for an automatic reduction of the benefits, when the capital stock fell to £1,000 4 per cent. consolidated annuities, to 12s. a week to the sick; half pay 6s.; pensioners 4s. 6d.; and eight and four guineas for funerals. In the event of the stock being reduced to £600, a further reduction of benefits was arranged for. Disputes were to be referred to arbitrators, three of whom were to be nominated by the aggrieved member, three by the society and a seventh by the six thus nominated. A final paragraph reveals the fact that the society had been re-established on 11th January, 1800, when its meetings were held at The Weavers' Arms, in Brown's Lane, Spitalfields; The Pitt's Head was held by one Mougou, whose name indicates that he was a compatriot. The committee of revision comprised the names of Goslin, Le Brument, Lelievre, Recher, Eude, Sampson, Mougou, Louvet, Boullen, Hotot and De Boos.

Included among the contents of this book is a list of the signatures of the members from 1813 (Joseph Chretien) to the present time. From 1876, in addition to the date of admission, the trade and age of each member is given. During eighty-five years 158 members appear to have been admitted, giving a yearly average of something under two.

The by-laws, being concerned with details of business management, need not detain us; with the exception, perhaps, of one passed in 1824. This set out that the allowances on sickness and death, with the pensions, should rise and fall in accordance with a schedule annexed, the income derived from invested funds serving as the mercury in the financial barometer. Taking the extreme limits, £24 and £64, we see that the allowance to the sick rises by gradations from 9s. to 15s.; half-pay, from 4s. 6d. to 7s. 6d.; pensions, from 3s. to 5s.; funerals from £7 and £3 10s. to £12 and £6.

In 1861 Mr. John Ferry, who was secretary of the society for the seven years ending in December, 1860, read a paper on its origin, rise and progress, which paper was afterwards printed in pamphlet form. Owing to the expense involved in printing tabulated statistical statements, certain elaborate tables compiled by Mr. Ferry in illustration of his work were not printed, but are included among the MS. books of

the society. It would be difficult to speak too highly of the labours of Mr. Ferry, who was evidently an enthusiastic member of his society, and spared neither time, toil, nor ability in compiling its history from the somewhat scanty materials at his command; and we owe much to his labours. The number of members, past and present, down to 1861 was 307, of whom 54 entered prior to 1730. The Le Bruments were probably original members; in any case, Isaac le Brument must have joined before 1730; another Isaac joined in 1745, and a third, who was for many years secretary of the society, in 1769 began a membership destined to endure during no less than sixty-eight years. A Pierre le Brument had entered in 1747, but he died before the end of the century. Between the years 1769 and 1816 no member of the family joined the society, but in the latter year a William le Brument appears, to be followed in 1837 by another of the same name; a fourth Isaac joined in 1843, and in 1845 Peter le Brument revived the memory of the Pierre who had become a member all but a century before him.

Mr. Ferry cites the case of one member who joined in 1795, and died, an inmate of La Providence, in 1859. Having paid in contributions and fines a total sum of £24 5s., he received in return benefits amounting to £290 9s. 9d., which was good for him; but a few more such cases and the society could hardly have gone on and prospered. The funerals of this member's two wives and of himself alone cost more than his contributions amounted to. In the same year, 1795, James Gosselin began a membership of sixty years, during which he never drew on the society, and to which by his will he bequeathed £10.

Mr. Ferry's first table shows the names of the members; date of entrance and age; whole pay, half pay, or pension received; and date of death or exclusion. The second gives the income and expenditure from 1800 to 1859, with the amount of stock, rate and amount of interest, and receipts from members, set out year by year; and also the sick pay, pensions, funerals, rates, and incidentals. A third shows the number of weeks' sickness in the four corresponding quarters of each year during the century, with further elaborate calculations. The fourth and fifth tables give the stewards, trustees, and treasurers of the society for some sixty or seventy years.

Another volume contains the accounts of the Norman Society from 1793 to 1831. For some years they are entered

in French, but in 1799 the last few entries on the payment side are made in English, which is thereafter continuously employed.

For the year 1793 the total receipts were £66 10s. 1d., and the expenditure £63 2s.; the former being made up of a balance of £7 16s. 5d. brought forward; certain sums received 'Pour la Bouette,' amounting in all to £24 3s. 8d.; and £34 10s. received as interest from Mr. Pierre Beuzeville. The expenditure was made up of payments to members on various accounts, not usually particularised, either by way of sick pay or pensions; but we learn that a woman's funeral cost the society £3 3s., and a man's just twice as much. 'Bouette,' sometimes written 'boette' and 'bouitte,' stands for *boîte*, as we learn in 1800, when its place is filled by the English equivalent 'box'. In 1831 the accounts, still kept in the same form, show receipts £130 0s. 2d., including £3 1s. 1d. brought forward and £34 16s. 11d. received "for the box," with an expenditure of £128 17s. 6d.

The present position of this society, limited formerly to forty-five, and now to sixty members, is exceedingly good, the rules having been in process of revision ever since its institution, and the management skilful. The last revision was made in 1897, and under it the benefits of the society are extended to natives, or descendants of a native (either male or female), of some place in the kingdom or republic of France, professing the Protestant religion, of good character, of a decent profession, and of an age between twenty and thirty years. Bailiffs and police-officers are excluded; but members who become soldiers or sailors may be reinstated without payment of arrears, and if rendered incapable of earning a living, or made indoor or outdoor pensioners at Greenwich or Chelsea, are entitled to receive as other pensioners. The sliding-scale, already alluded to, has been scientifically elaborated by the Norman Society, and a schedule adopted which provides for fluctuations in all the forms of benefit which accrue. The invested funds of the society amounted in 1897 to over £2,500, and at that date just half the members bore names which are obviously French.

*The Society of Lintot.*¹—This, the third society on our

¹There are two villages of this name in the department of the Seine-Inférieure: one in the arrondissement of Dieppe, with 220 inhabitants; the other, which is probably that referred to in the text, is in the arrondissement of Le Havre, with 557 inhabitants, and is seven kilomètres distant from Lillebonne. It is in the commune of Bolbec.

list, was founded on 5th July, 1708, in Phoenix Street, at the corner of Farthing Street, at the sign of The Magpie (*à l'enseigne de la Pie*).

There were present at this first meeting, we are told, eighteen persons; fourteen more came to a second one, and to a third thirteen more, making a total of forty-five, whose names are given as those of the founders of the society.¹ The tabular list of subsequent elections seems to have been carefully kept, and is carried down to 1775, when it ends with Pierre Huet, the three hundred and nineteenth in order from Salomon Malet, the first on the list of founders. From that date the admissions, down to 12th April, 1898, are contained in the same book in other forms.

The founders' kin seem to be now represented by one name only—that of Levesque. This family has been continuously represented in the society from the time when Jean l'Evesques appears as the thirty-fifth signatory on the roll of 1708 down to the present moment, when a member of it, Mr. Isaac Charles Levesque, most ably and courteously executes the duties attaching to the secretaryship. The Le Carons, or Carons, end in 1774, and the Huets in the following year. Down to 1824, when George Greenwood was admitted, being the three hundred and ninety-third on the list of members, the names are all clearly French; after that date names of English origin become increasingly numerous. The French element is, however, still strong; since, out of twenty-one members elected since 1886, seven, and possibly nine, bear names of distinctively foreign origin.

The ancient rules are prefaced, as is customary, with a statement of the objects of the founders of the society, which is, I think, sufficiently interesting and characteristic to be reproduced at length, preserving the original spelling.

“Les articles de la Société de Lintot fondée L'anée 1708, qui contient aussi une Liste de tous les membres qui en ont este receu depuis sa fondation jusques au temps da present 1764.

¹ Solomon Malet, Abraham Hatenville, Isaac Huard, Isaac Deramay, Jean Picot, Daniel Gilles, Isaac Campard, Isaac le Play, Jaques Fossay, Pierre Goubert, Jean Fauquet, Ezechias Jago, Jean de Sesard, Jaques Selingue, Pierre de Heulle, Pierre Forquet, François Hervieu, Isaac le Vailan, Jaques le Caron, Isaac le Brument, Jaques Huet, Jaques Bune, Isaac Houart, Isaac le Boiteux, Pierre Molloy, Jean Manfreulle, Abraham Glinchans, Pierre Rieuille, Isaac le Cointre, Jean Auger, Jean Goubert, Abraham Selingue, Ezechias le Ber, Pierre Rigueur, Jean l'Evesques, Pierre Goubert, Daniel Bentot, Matthew Campart, Jaques Croimare, Pierre Manfreulle, Pierre Pottier, Nicholas Goubert, Thomas le Brument, Jean Fichet, Daniel Durand.

“ Nous les Soussignez Refugiez pour la cause de la Religion dans la ville de Londres et ses dependance.

“ Apres avoir fait de serieuse Reflexion sur les malheurs de notre dispartion et reconoisant que ce sont nos pechez qui ont attiré sur nous la Juste collere de Dieu et que ce son ces gratuitez que nous n'avons pas esté entierement consumez, Benissons Dieu et la providence qui nous a icy menagé un asile dans un pays avec un peuple benin sous la protection des loix, et ou tombent sur nous très abondamment la mane celeste. Sencibles à toutes ces grace et considerant que l'union, la charité, et l'amour fraternelle sont les moyens les plus efficace pour engager le Seigneur à nous continuer le precieux avantage dont nous jouisons sous l'heureux gouvernement de sa Majesté le Roy George notre Legitisme Souverain, Nous avons resolu de nous unir etroitement par des liens de la Charité et de la Concorde qui sont les liens de la perfection, en formant une Société dont les haines et les discors soyent entierement banis pour y faire regner l'amour mutuel qui se propose ausy d'assister ses membres en cas de maladie et comme il est absolument nessesaire pour la subsistance d'une Société que toute chose se face honnestement et par ordre sy nous faisons ainsy la paix de Dieu demeurera avec nous prions le qu'il nous soit en aide, voicy donc nos Reglements.”

The membership of the new society, limited to members and the descendants of members, of the Church of Lintot, of recognised probity, good Protestants, and well-affected to King George and his Government, was governed by a secretary, a treasurer, two visitors of the sick, a director to bring forward propositions in the society (*compagnie*) and a provider to supervise the expenditure of the 4d. contributed by each member present at the monthly meetings, for any excess over which he was personally liable.

In 1771 it was resolved that no one should be proposed as a member who was not a member or descended from a father who was a member of the Church of Lintot; and in 1774 the officers were reduced to four, the duties of the visitors being put upon the treasurer and director. As however a funeral necessitated the presence of six officers (as pall-bearers), it was arranged that the two last out of office should attend under penalties. In 1797, a further reduction in the number of officers was made, and it was arranged that the steward (*l'officier pour la bière*) should visit the sick during the first three months of his term, and act as their

treasurer during the last three, some other member of the society taking the management of the beer money.

Before being put up for election, members were proposed, and a month had to elapse, during which inquiries could be made. The limit of age was thirty-five years, but fresh refugees for the cause of religion, if they came within two years of their landing, were received up to the age of fifty-two, provided they had the requisite qualifications; but the opposition of a single member, justly motivated, apparently served to exclude; et s'il n'a pas les qualités requise l'on chargera quelqu'un de l'avertir afin qu'il ne soit pas refusé en plaine compagnie. The secretary was liable to pay any fine he failed to exact. The second Monday in the month saw the meetings of the society, when each member paid 8d. (*huit sols*). In 1767 the society resolved by a majority to have a sermon and a feast (*festain*) at the July meeting in every year, in memory of its foundation, each member to pay 2s. to the officers (*deux chelains*) in June; the money received at the church after the sermon was to be distributed among 'our poor' at the society's discretion. In 1786 it was found necessary to make a stringent rule as to members receiving sick pay not entering public-houses (*cabarets*); and in 1790 the burial allowance was raised to £3 so long as the funds did not fall below £500 stock and £10 in the hands of the officers.

The conditions of membership were, the attainment of eighteen years, reception at the Holy Communion (as in the case of the Norman Society), membership of a church, and payment of an entrance fee of 7s. 6d.; or, in the case of a member's son, 5s. No new-comer was entitled to benefit until one year had elapsed; but, if one fell ill, or became poor, a collection was to be made among all the members "pour secourir l'affligé dans sa nessesité," the visitors and director being charged therewith. In 1786 the contribution was raised to 1s. per month. Old men, no longer able to pursue their calling, received 2s. 6d. a week, or, when ill, sick pay, if the society so voted. Any members who were "mis à L'Hopital Français apelé la Providence" received 1s. a week by way of pension, and were buried at the society's cost, but their relatives could not claim the £2 paid in the case of persons dying in their own homes. In 1794, a modification was made, and the aged pensioner could no longer claim extra pay when sick. In 1776 the pensions had been raised to 3s. and 1s. 6d. respectively; in 1784 they

were reduced ; in 1790 they were again raised to the higher level.

The sum allowed for a funeral was £2. Officers who failed to accompany the body to the grave (*à la fosse*) were fined 1s. 6d. ; other members, not being officers, contributed 6d. on all funerals paid for ' au depens de la Boite '. In 1763 it was resolved that when the officers were assembled for the interment of any member " Il seront permis d'ouvrir la boite et de retirer la somme de quatre livre sterlain à savoir 40 Shelains pour payer L'enterment et 40 Shelains quil payeront à la veuve du défunt," or, if there were no widow, then to the nearest of the relatives who had had care of the dead in his sickness. Subject to the capital funds not falling below £400 sterling, the funeral money was raised to £6, of which £2 was intended to bury the member's wife. The officers in this case were bound to visit the body, but not to attend the funeral.

The eleventh article deals with behaviour, and exhorts against blaspheming God's Holy Name ; any one so offending paid 1s. fine at the time, or was struck off the books. All fines went to ' the box,' and the guilty were " exortez par un esprit de charité de n'avoir point de resentment et de se pardonner les uns les austres avant que de se séparer de la Société".

In 1780 special provision was made in cases of paralysis, etc., when the sick man was under fifty, such sickness entitling to the pension of 3s.

Article XII. brings out with exceeding clearness the close connection between the society and the Church : " Sy quelquun se laisse entrainer dans quelques erreurs qui soit contraire à nostre Sainte Religion ou qu'il commette quelque scandale public qui peut deshonorer nostre Compagnie apres estre convaincu du fait par de bons témoins il sera reranché [*retranché*] de nostre Société jusqua ce quil aye réparé le Scandale par luy commis dans le Consistoire de l'Eglise d'ou il est Membre et sera derechef admis dans nostre société lors quil le fera connoistre par un bon temoignage desconducuteurs de la ditte Eglise en payans tous les arierages qui seront ecoulez depuis sa Rejection". No one being excluded or retiring could claim any return of money paid. The officers were to adjust differences with impartiality, but if one of the parties to a dispute " ne se voudra pas soubmettre par entestement," he was to pay 2s. to the box, " après quoy il luy sera permy de se pourvoir en Justice ainsy qu'il le jugera apropos".

The provisions for dissolution are curious, and those framed to avert it are elaborate. By Article XIV. it is provided that the society's funds must not be allowed to fall below £50 sterling, unless old-age pensioners have to be provided for, in which case "on pourra faire descendre le fonds jusqu'à la somme de trente livres, qui est le produit de la première année de la fondation de la dite Société, pour aider, sy les contributions ne peuvent fournir tant pour les malades que les vieiliards et eterments [*enterrements*]". If the number of members was above thirty, the contributions were to be raised; if below that number, the £30 might be drawn upon, so long as £1 a head remained; but if the membership fell to two, "ils ne seront plus reconnus pour Société," and each was at liberty to carry off his 20s. without liability to account to any one. No one, under pain of a fine of 1s., might leave the company until ten o'clock, in order to go to play in the same house, "d'autant que cela n'est pas moins que de mépriser la Société"; and all are exhorted to comport themselves "honnestement avec toutes modestie et respect les uns envers les autres," although quite free to express their views when the interests of the society were in question.

Everything belonging to the society was kept in a box having two locks with different keys; of these one was kept by the treasurer and the other by the first visitor; and, in the ordinary way, the box was only opened in the presence of all six officers.

In the rule relating to investments and trustees, it is stated that any one who wished to be excused from serving any office should pay £5, which would not only exonerate him, but also cause him to be recognised as a 'benefactor'. These benefactors, as it elsewhere appears, were well-to-do persons who joined the society "pour encourager les autres" and to help forward a good work. Occasionally, however, when misfortune overtook them, they were glad to be received later as members. Any member desiring to be included in the class could pay any sum he chose in excess of 15s. annually, and the secretary was bound to call for the benefaction at the benefactor's house, and to give a receipt signed.

The twentieth article, which wears an air of finality, says that those preceding it are not such that they may not be added to or taken from when need arises, but that changes can only be made by general consent on quarterly nights, when

“ s’il est nessesaire, les officiers auront voix double dans toutes les occasions ou la Nessesité le requerrera”. And then follows a kind of peroration, which sounds remarkably like the beginning of a sermon. “ Messieurs,” says the writer, “ la charité tant recomandé par Jésus Christ et sy souvent repeté par ses apostres nous apprend que c’est une des plus belles vertus qui compose le Christianisme, en cecy dit nostre Seigneur l’on connoitra t’on que vous estes mais disiples sy vous vous aimez l’un l’autres les fondateurs ayans en veue ses divins precepte ce sont joints ensemble par un zele qu’ils avoit pour leur Sion desollée, a ranimé et reveilé par leur charité pour sunnir estroitement et pour estre un Memorial perpetuel a la generation a venir pour se reconoistre toujours membres ou desandans diceux de notre Eglise de Lintot c’est pourquoi les Fondateurs exorte et prient ceux qui leurs succederous de maintenir toujours la Societé et afin que leur intention puisse estre executez. Ils ordonne quele soit grande ou petite La Companies de deux membres (*sic*) s’opposant a ceux qui voudrois chercher à la détruire l’emporteronts sur toutes Lasemblé quellque nombreuse quele puis estre.”

By a rule passed in 1785 full sick-pay was limited to seventy-eight weeks (*septente et huit semaine*) during the member's life. Having received so much he could only claim half-pay in case of sickness or accident.

The rules of the society were, as we have seen, added to and modified from time to time, and in April, 1800, they were, after a complete revision, confirmed by the Court of Quarter Sessions. At that time, owing to the clubs having omitted to take advantage in due time of the provisions of the “ Act for the Encouragement and Relief of Friendly Societies ” (38 Geo. III., cap. 54), it became necessary to treat the old society as a new creation, and accordingly we have a book of rules headed “ Club called Lintot, formed 10th February, 1800,” which at the time was held at The Flower Pot, kept by Jacob Delaforce. A preamble follows, with a list of fourteen founders appended. The rules are in English, but are almost identical with those of 1708, the limitation to members of the Church of Lintot being retained: these were eligible from the date of their reception into the church until they were thirty-five years old. Additional provisions as to receipts, etc., not to be found in the earlier version are however embodied, and conviction of “ living a bad life, such as thieving, drunkenness, committing

adultery, or other such vices," was followed by exclusion from the society. No loans were to be made with the society's funds. Any one who proposed the dissolution of the society was to be fined 10s. 6d. or be excluded. (In 1811 this was reduced to 5s.) If the steward informed the club that a candidate was "not proper for admission," the officers and six members chosen by the club were to settle the matter in a private meeting, the proceedings at which were to be kept secret under a penalty of 10s. 6d. The six officers now had to attend a member's wife's funeral. In 1803 the sick-pay was made 12s. until the fund was reduced to £800; funeral money was to be paid so soon as the deceased was "in a decent coffin," and the obligation on the stewards to attend the funeral was rescinded. The beer and tobacco money was raised from 4d. to 5d. In 1806 the pensions were fixed at 4s. 6d. and 2s. 6d., and funeral allowances at £8 8s. and £4 4s. until the fund fell to £1,000.

"At the celebration of the year secular of the foundation of this Society, Mr. James Guillemard in the Chair, It was unanimously agreed that when a member shall have contributed fifty years: the said member shall be entitled to receive 4s. 6d. a week without being deprived of following his usual occupation."

In October, 1811, a second revision of the rules was enrolled at Quarter Sessions, a new preface being added, reciting the objects with which the society had been founded by the members' ancestors, who "could fully appreciate the manifold evils attending the afflicted, for themselves had suffered much, persecuted with intolerable oppression and cruelty . . . exiled from the land of their nativity, they sought for shelter in that country which has ever been a refuge for the oppressed. In Britain they not only received protection, but through the benign influence of her laws and the generosity of her sons they met with every possible encouragement." The revision of the rules was made, "keeping in view their original spirit and meaning as far as consistent with those statutory regulations made by various Acts of Parliament passed in the reign of his present Majesty, K. Geo. III." In 1824 admission was extended to the descendants of Huguenots from the whole province of Normandy, preference being given to those from the district of Lintot.

The rules which at present govern the Society of Lintot are the result of a revision made in 1886, whereby the

membership is opened to all Protestants of French descent, as in the case of the Norman Society, with which that of Lintot is, and apparently always has been, intimately connected. Though modernised, the new rules still bear the marks of their origin, and have a more or less close resemblance to those of the Norman Society. The number of members is limited to sixty, and the benefits rise and fall in accordance with the amount of the society's invested funds, which in 1898 amounted to just under £2,500. Out of fifty-nine members (one vacancy existing) some thirty, more or less, bear French names; of these ten are Lievesques; eight, Colliers; three, Lamys; and three, Dongrays.

The Friendly Society.—This society, as appears from the introduction to a copy of its rules issued in 1891, was instituted in 1720, by some French Protestant refugees. In 1794 its rules were confirmed at Quarter Sessions, and in 1831 they were certified by the Registrar; those at present in force date from 1889, when the last revision took place.

The earlier records of this society are, so far as is known, no longer extant; those in the custody of Mr. Dupuy, to whose courtesy I owe the information I possess, dating from 1866 only. It possesses, however, certain relics which are interesting: a box, to wit, measuring about 2 ft. × 1 ft., which contains a small pair of scales and counters, or tokens, of four different sorts, some of which are still in use on 'quarterly nights'; specimens of these are exhibited to-night, and kindly offered for the acceptance of our society by Mr. Dupuy.

The society is open to all who have attained the age of twenty-one, and not exceeded thirty-one, sound in body and mind. The entrance fee is 7s. 6d.; the contribution is 1s. 4d. per month, so long as the Stock is at or above £600; if it fall below that the contribution rises to 1s. 5d.; if under £500, to 1s. 6d. And a similar sliding-scale is in force as to the benefits, which start with 8s. a week sick-pay. Members who become inmates of any union are allowed 1s. a week while sick. These few characteristics the society has in common with those we have already considered; in other respects no trace of its special origin remains. The accounts for 1897 exhibit an accumulated fund of over £500, and a membership of forty-two, of whom seven bear names of undisguisedly foreign origin, though not all are French.

The Society of Protestant Refugees, from High and Low Normandy.—Although this society dates from 28th July, 1764, its earliest extant record, I regret to say, carries us no farther back than 1826, at which date a small Minute Book is found to begin. We have, therefore, no means of accounting for the institution of such a society, so long after the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes, and must fall back on the conjecture that it was an offshoot from the older Society of the Province of Normandy, founded, as we have seen, in 1703.¹

At the time when this society first offers itself to our examination it numbered some twenty to thirty members, who met at an inn—it will be noted that all these societies have always met at inns—known as The Gibraltar. It removed its headquarters in 1834, and during the next thirteen years occupied in turn The Dolphin, kept by Mr. Burdett in Church Street, Bethnal Green; The Pitt's Head, in Tyssen Street, kept by Mr. Potter, and The Hope in Pollard Row. Ten years afterwards (in 1857) it removed to The Norfolk Arms, Ivimey Street, which still remains the headquarters of this, as also of three other out of the five societies at present under review. In other matters the society was more conservative, for the earliest minute preserved is one in which a proposal to extend the number of members was negatived "by a great majority." On the same occasion a general meeting was arranged to consider a report, to be furnished by a committee appointed "to inquire concerning the funds appointed by Government in favour of benefit societies," and, later on, twenty-four members voted in favour of a transfer from 3 per cent. consols. A similar transfer to the National Debt Office, where £3 16s. per cent. was obtainable, is recorded in 1842, and others in 1847 and 1849.

It is interesting to note that in 1826 a committee of eight, appointed to revise the rules, consisted of men bearing thoroughly French names: Le Bailly, Le Brument, Sully, Ferry, Lanthois (2), Le Ruheux and Grew. The committee's labours were approved and the revision adopted, the meeting night being changed to the last Saturday in the month. In 1844 it was again changed to the first Saturday, but in 1858 the last Saturday was again fixed upon.

¹The accounts of the society date back, I learn from Mr. Helsdon, the secretary of the society, to 1801, and the names of the members, with the dates of their admission, somewhat earlier than that.

Early in the year 1827 a proposition to advance the contribution to 1s. 3d. and abolish monthly fines, in order to prevent "a decrease of the stock," was lost, though by two votes only out of twenty-two members voting. In 1831 it was decided, by ten to six, to conform to the regulations of the Act 10 George IV., and a fresh committee of revision was appointed, and here again French names hold the field: Lanthois (2), Mousset, Galopin, Haye (2), Grew, Hautot (2), Fremaux, and Tripcony. Rather more than ten years afterwards, in 1842, a revised table of payments and allowances was unanimously adopted; and a further revision was embarked on in 1846, when, by fourteen votes to six, the following provisions were agreed to: The widows of future members, on attaining the age of sixty, were to have £2 2s. a year, but if in the hospital £1 1s.; future pensioners were to have one quarter of sick pay; and members serving by land or sea, except in the militia, were to be exempt from contributions. Further changes were mooted in 1850, of which some were approved and some not. Among the former were a reduction of the sick allowance, a levy for the widows' pensions, when more than four were on the list at one time, and revision of the rules. A motion to reduce the widows' pensions to £1 10s. was lost by nine to sixteen. The Rule Committee, which again numbered eight, was composed as follows: Hautot, Ferry (2), Fremaux, Racine (2), Galopin, and Brown—the last-named being the only member with an English name. In 1858 a committee was appointed to arrange the rules for printing; and in 1866 some changes in them were sanctioned, when, after a vote of thanks to the Chairman, "the members passed an hour by vocal music, which used to be so frequent by members of this Society". The years 1871 and 1877 saw further modifications effected in them, and the last revision seems to have been a radical one, as five guineas was voted to a member for his services in the matter.

Like the Lintot Society, this one had its 'festin,' and in 1827 the anniversary dinner took place at The Plow at Blackwall, when there sat down a company of sixty-one, of whom three were 'benefactors,' thirteen were members, and forty-five were visitors. These 'benefactors,' to whom allusion has already been made, at first afforded considerable pecuniary assistance to the society, but the contributions they furnished grew gradually less, until they disappeared altogether from the accounts, no new contributors coming

forward to take the place of those removed by death. The visitors, it will be noticed, largely outnumbered the members, and it would appear that there was something unsatisfactory about the arrangements. In the following December a general meeting was asked for, in order to discuss "the propriety of altering the plan of the annual dinner". Twenty-seven members and a "benefactor" discussed it at length in January, and then postponed further consideration until the dinner had once more taken place. When it did so, forty-six people dined, of whom fourteen were members and two "benefactors". On this occasion, or not long afterwards, the cost of the dinner tickets was raised from 3s. 6d. to 5s., with the result that, in the following year, the diners numbered only twenty, of whom one was a "benefactor" and seven were members. Two years afterwards (in 1831) there was no dinner at all, two proposed stewards "deferring" and two others "declining" to serve the office. (It seems to have been the practice to elect at one dinner the stewards who were to act in the following year.) But with wavering fortune the institution was kept alive, until in 1858 the company, numbering but one short of forty, sat down at home in The Norfolk Arms, having forsworn rural pleasures. The list of these social functions is fitly concluded by the visit paid to The Talbot Inn, Passingford Bridge, near Abridge, on 28th July, 1864, when nineteen members and pensioners and six visitors met to celebrate the centenary of the society's foundation. Towards the expenses £10 was voted from the society's funds, though not without some misgivings as to what Mr. Tidd Pratt, the registrar, might say. The secretary, however, managed to extract a crumb of comfort from an old book which showed that, in 1815, £5 9s. 4d. had been withdrawn from the funds to meet the expenses of the Jubilee meeting.

Down to the year 1861, the minutes are very meagre, and it was only then that the practice of confirming those of one year by a resolution passed in the next seems to have begun. After that date fuller notes are given, and the book wears a more official air. Among the few earlier entries is one of mild protest against a certain resolution as not being in accord with the rules. In 1848 the society had to deal with a defalcation of £4 10s. 3d., and again in 1860 another, slightly larger in amount, occurred. The latter seems to have led to much angry discussion, and a page or two

having been torn from the minute-book the details of an ancient scandal are decently buried in oblivion.

In 1854 the society lost its much-valued secretary, Mr. Charles Tripcony, as to whose worth the following resolution bears testimony: "The meeting cannot separate without expressing their feeling of great satisfaction at their long connection with the late Mr. Charles Tripcony, their Secretary, and they sincerely condole with his survivors on their mutual loss". Mr. Tripcony, who had been secretary for twenty years, was succeeded by William le Brument—a name already familiar in connection with the Norman Society. Five years later the new secretary obtained six months' leave of absence, Isaac le Brument being appointed his deputy. At the end of the time, the secretary definitely resigned, having successfully established himself at Maidstone—he was admitted to the society in 1836, being then less than twenty, under the description of "robe-maker"—received a vote of thanks for his services, and was succeeded by his deputy.

Widows received, under the rules, a sum of £5, known as 'acquittance money,' but on one occasion when a widow applied for this a curious point was raised and decided against the applicant by eleven votes to three. The widow had, it was alleged, been separated for twelve years from her husband and could consequently have sustained no loss by his death. Somewhat illogically a subscription was subsequently made among the members and given to the disappointed applicant. Another slight difficulty arose when an unfortunate member committed suicide; but a proposed change in the rules, calculated to meet any similar case in the future, was negatived and it was decided that the funeral money should be paid on production of the coroner's certificate.

It is interesting to note that only one case of attempted imposition on the society is recorded, and that occurred in 1835, when, after examination by the stewards, a member was excluded on that ground, eighteen voting for and twelve against the resolution. On the same day, says the minute, died the father of the culprit and, on his funeral-money being applied for, the stewards were authorised to pay the undertaker and divide the balance among his three children, "and that the Society be responsible for the consequences". The rash act seems to have been unattended by any consequences, as no more is heard of the matter.

By 1855 the restriction to persons of Norman descent seems to have been found too narrow, and, by twenty votes to two, it was agreed that the word Norman should be struck out and French be inserted in its place in the first rule; but the name of the society remains to this day the same.

In 1863 the secretary made a joyful announcement to the effect that, the Stock having increased to over £1,000, the contributions would be reduced 2d. per month, and the sick pensions and funeral-moneys increased. And at this point we may turn for a moment to the society's finances.

Some thirty years after its foundation the society possessed Stock to the amount of £375; in 1810 it owned just double this amount; and in the year of Waterloo £1,000 was reached. Five years later, having attained to £1,250, it began to drop, but by 1836 £1,250 was again reached. Between 1840 and 1842 it dropped from considerably over £1,300 to £1,200. Pensioners appear to have received sums varying between 3s. 6d. and 1s. 3d. per week, and widows had small allowances of £2 2s. per annum. Sick-pay was, in 1856, 9s. per week; but, so far as one can make out, the payments at an earlier date were on a larger scale, as was commonly the case with similar societies in the prescientific era. The accounts of the society, presented in 1827 and 1877 respectively, and given in an appendix to this paper, exhibit its working. The Stock, it may be added, amounted, in 1898, to just below £1,300.

A list of 'benefactors' between the years 1801 and 1830 occurs in one book and is as follows: The Rev. George Paroissien, West Hackney (dead); 1801, Mr. Peter Fremont, Brown's Lane; 1810, Mr. James Racine, Hare Street, and Mr. James Jaques, Hare Street; 1811, Mr. Joseph Racine, Northumberland's Head (declined); 1814, Mr. George Deboos, Vine Court¹; Mr. John Jaques, Hare Street; 1817, Mr. William Racine, Hare Street²; 1825, Mr. John Wooding, Purim Place, Dog Row; Mr. Peter Godefroy (declined); 1818, Mr. James Darling, Leadenhall Market; 1827, Mr. Robert Brutton, Bethnal Green, East Side; 1828, Mr. William Wilkinson, 12 Chatham Place, Blackfriars; 1830, Mr. Bamford, Milk Street, Cheapside; Mr. Bromley, surgeon, Deptford; and Mr. Brown, Stamford Street, Blackfriars.

¹ Trustee in 1896, on the death of James Racine.

² In 1898 William Racine was, by ballot, removed from the list of benefactors to that of members.

The following names occur in the list of members from 1789 to 1845: Le Bailly, Lanthois, Frebout, Le Richeux, Eude, Gopp, Mousset, Bellinger, Haye, Tripcony, Godefroy, Ferry, Allen, Martin, Clay, Hautot, Fremaux le Brument, Brown, Sully, Mignot, Galopin, Grew and Racine.

This society, which is limited to thirty-five members, is confined to Protestants, who must be the son, brother, son-in-law, or nephew, of a present or deceased member, or a native of, or lineal descendant of a native (either male or female) of, some place in the kingdom or republic of France. Its rules, as revised in 1877, resemble, with some slight modifications, those of the other four societies, and comprise a sliding-scale of benefits. They are prefaced now, as also in a copy of 1832, by a prayer, which takes the place of the preambles to the rules of the older societies. And with it I will conclude my extracts from the documents which have been before me:—

O God, our heavenly Father, who art the God of peace and charity, permit us to implore Thy blessing upon this Society now prostrate before Thee, and formed under Thine eyes. Entertain union and peace among us: penetrate our hearts with all the sentiments of affection and love, that we may be but one heart and soul, that our desires and our interest be just and common, and that we may help each other. Banish from us all disputing and quarrelling, every haughty and domineering spirit, that our affections be pure and sincere towards our brethren, and that this Society may contribute to the honour of our Holy Religion, to the advancement of our salvation and to the establishment of the reign of our Lord Jesus Christ. Amen.

I would willingly end on that note, the intimate piety of which recalls that of the older refugees, and reveals to us after the lapse of more than a century its continued existence among their descendants. But I can hardly conclude without a word of thanks for the patience with which you have kindly listened to what I am sure must, after all, have been very dry details. I have varied them as much as was possible, but books of rules, even though old and written in French, do not furnish material of a very tractable character; and, as you have gathered, these, with a few accounts and one minute-book of a not very early date, alone seem to have withstood the lapse of years. It is perhaps somewhat remarkable that so much has survived, in view of the conditions under which friendly societies are carried on, and the general tendency of busy mankind to destroy what is of no immediate present use. But there is more than enough to

show in what spirit the exiles founded these societies, and that some of them should have weathered the storms of well-nigh two centuries without suffering shipwreck is a testimony to the skill and business capacity of their founders and members. For, in this connection, we must bear in mind that at the time, so far as we know, no actuarial data existed on which tables of contributions and benefits could be based, and many of us here can recall the disastrous results which, even in the present century, overtook many small rural societies in consequence of the promise of payments out of all proportion to the sums contributed. These small Huguenot Societies, profiting by their experience, modified themselves from time to time, gradually accumulating capital, and, as I said at the outset, have formed the model on which the colossal friendly societies of to-day, with their invested millions, have been built up.

APPENDIX.

THE RECEIPTS AND EXPENDITURE FROM JUNE, 1826, TO JUNE, 1827.

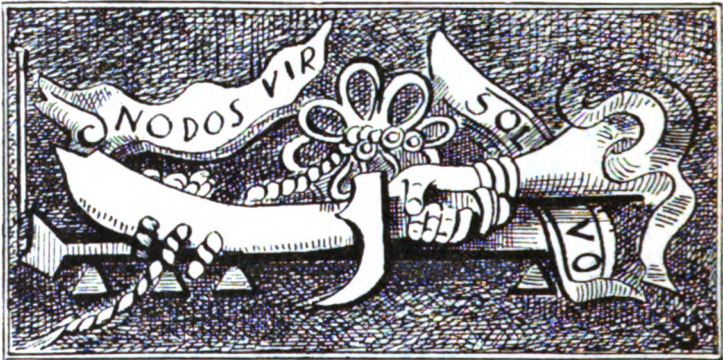
1827.		1827, June.		Cr.	£	s.	d.
Dr.	£	s.	d.				
By Benefactors			7 15 0	To Sick Members			20 5 0
" Yearly Members			8 5 0	" Pensioners			23 8 0
" Monthly Members			10 6 10	[No 'Funeral' in this Account.]			
" Fines of Members			2 16 2	" Widows			12 0 0
" Interest, six months, on £1,250, 3 per cent.			18 15 0	" Acts of Parliament			0 2 3
" Interest, six months, on £1,200			18 0 0	" Mitchell's Treatise on Societies			0 1 6
				" Five Committee Meetings at 12s.			3 0 0
				" Four General Meetings			1 10 0
				" Writing-paper			0 1 9
Sold £50 Consols at 89½, Com. 2s. 6d.			£65 18 0	" Postage of Letters			0 1 0
			41 11 8	" Proving the death of Mr. Racine			0 18 6
			£107 9 8	" Transfer of the Stock			0 15 0
			98 18 0	" The Secretary, for writing a book of the Re-			
				vised Articles, attending Hicks' Hall, the			
				Actuaries of several Offices, etc.			1 15 0
				" Three Account-books			0 12 0
				" The Landlord, for Fire, etc.			1 0 0
				" The Servants' Christmas Box			0 5 0
				" The Secretary's Salary			4 10 0
							£70 0 0
				Balance due to Mr. Eude, June, 1826			28 18 0
Balance			£8 11 8				£98 18 0

P. D. GALOPIN }
 SAMUEL GREW } Auditors.
 J. P. FERRY }
 W. BAUMINT }

CASH ACCOUNT FROM 24TH JUNE, 1876, TO 30TH JUNE, 1877.

1876 Stock	£1,129 14 6					£1,155 18 6 $\frac{1}{2}$			
1877 "	£1,111 18 7	Cash	£25 18 11 $\frac{1}{2}$	Total		£1,127 16 1 $\frac{1}{2}$			
		"	£15 17 6 $\frac{3}{4}$	"					
1877. By Interest	£	s.	d.			£	s.	d.	
June 30.	42	11	2	1877. To Sick Members (11s. and 9s.)			45	16	4
" Contributions	19	11	0	June 30. " Pensioners (9s.)			7	16	0
" Monthly Fines	4	16	6	" Three Men's Funerals.			25	10	0
" Fines for not serving Steward	1	5	0	" Two Women's Funerals			8	10	0
" Admissions	1	10	0	" Five Medical Certificates			0	12	6
" Statements	0	4	10	" Printing and Audit			0	18	6
				" General Meeting			0	7	6
				" Secretary's Salary			5	0	0
Decrease in year.	£69	18	6	" Steward's Allowance			2	0	0
	27	17	4	" Landlord and Servant			1	5	0
	£97	15	10				£97	15	10

R. MATAULE
B. WINHULL
W. J. WILTSHIRE } *Auditors.*



A Vanished Castle, or the Fortunes of the Chateau de Coutras.

By IDA H. LAYARD.

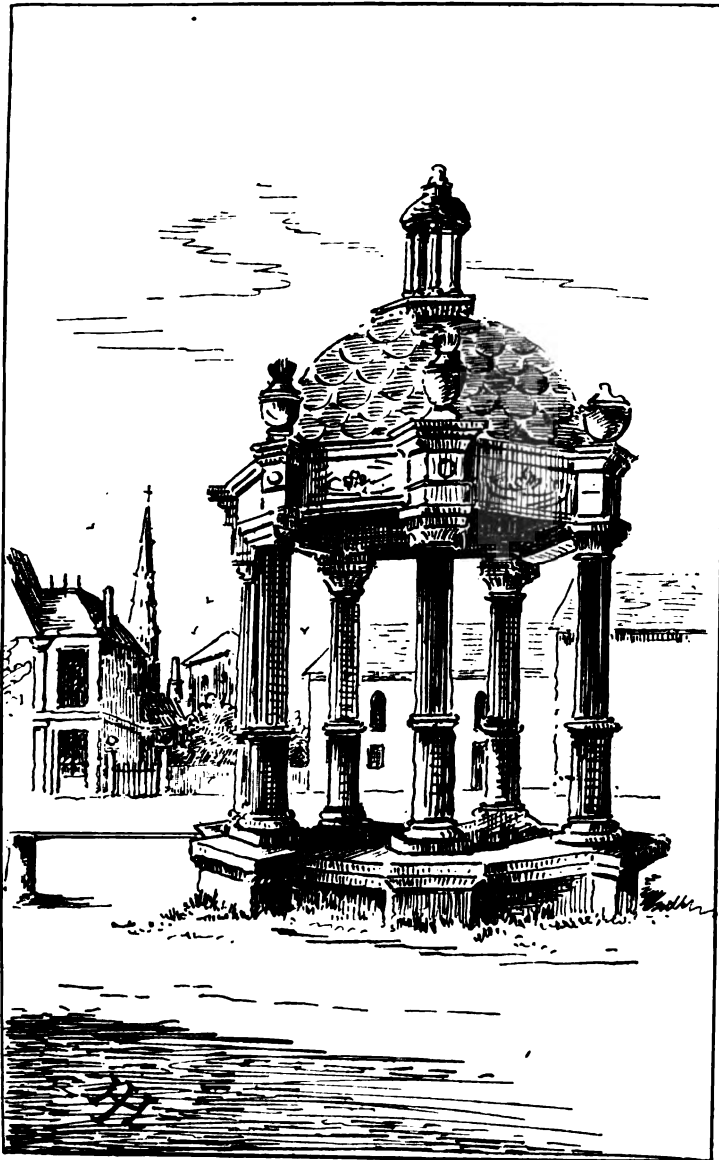
WHO has not, in the days of imaginative childhood, built castles in the air from floating cloud masses overhead, and surrounded them with lakes and moats of most celestial blue?

And who, in the dreamy hours of youth or the reveries of old age, has not seen many such castles, glowing and vivid, in the red heart of a winter's fire?

But here we have a stranger and far more difficult task. For, round a six-pillared well, roofed with scales like a dolphin's back, and under a cloudless blue sky, we must "build and complete this beautiful house of Coutras" (as Brantôme terms it in his Memoirs); "one of the most beautiful dwellings, with the finest spiral staircase in France, as I have seen and heard tell by the great lords and ladies who have seen it, and by great architects, not wishing you to be led by my opinion".¹

This well, from which even the water has vanished, is hexagonal. Six pillars of the Doric order support a sculp-

¹ "(Odet de Foix) fit bastir et achever ceste belle maison de Coutras . . . la fit ainsi parachever belle comme elle est, qu'on peut dire le plus beau corps de logis et la plus belle vis qui soit en France, ainsi que j'ay veu et ouÿ dire aux grands seigneurs et dames qui l'ont veue et aux grands architectes, ne voulant point qu'on s'en arreste à mon dire" (Brantôme, vol. ii., p. 135. liv. viii.).



WELL AT COUTRAS.

tured architrave, which in its turn bears a cupola roofed with fish scales of slate.

The dome is surmounted by a small *replica* of the lower part, only with four columns instead of six, bearing the scaly roof which is crowned with a small dolphin.

Each of the six compartments of the architrave bears alternately a coat of arms and a bas-relief, representing a mailed hand clutching a scimitar and cutting several "Gordian knots". Above, on a wavy scroll, is inscribed the device of Jacques d'Albon, Maréchal de Saint André, "Nodos virtute resolvo"—Virtue cuts knots, that is to say, Virtue dissolves all difficulties.

The ledge of the well is very low, and worn away by the friction of three centuries of water drawing.

Silent, useless, and as if dreaming, it stands in the centre of a spacious square, once the quadrangle of the lordly castle.

Opposite it, a few steps off, a door-post, a few large stones one upon another, with the spring of an arch, complete the dream entrance to this castle of the imagination.

The arched portal opened on to the courtyard, and an arcade of rounded arches rose above it.¹

The town of Coutras is to the north-east corner of the Department of Gironde, in the *arrondissement* of Libourne.

The castle, with its domains, covered much ground. On one side it faced the chancel of the Church of St. Jean and the old cemetery; and on the other, the grounds extended across the Warren (La Garenne) for the space of a mile.

Here were the famous gardens, the "Pleasaunce"² with its great ponds and shady groves, where many a love story was whispered. The park was of great extent, and the cavaliers and ladies spent the day in galloping in gay folly after each other, leaving the more sentimental courtiers to their amorous wooing in the luxurious rooms of the castle.³

The lakes have dried up, and only low-lying fields show their beds.

On the west side of the castle was the town moat. A large ivy-covered tower, with its base in a ditch, and traces

¹ *Histoire de Libourne* (Coutras) by Guinodière.

² "Jardin de plaisance"—Brantôme.

³ Pierre Lenet speaks of "la belle maison, les beaux jardins de ce lieu," and of some of the nobility who "ne sortoient point de la chambre et s'y entretenoient paisiblement," whilst the others "montoient à cheval et galopoint tout le jour par le parc l'un après l'autre" (*Memoires de Lenet*, part i., liv. vi., pp. 411, 412, 421, 422).

of walls still exist. The house stood on a slight eminence scarcely raised above the surrounding warren.

ORIGIN OF THE CASTLE.

Odet de Foix, Comte de Foix and de Comminges, Maréchal de France, married Charlotte d'Albret, third daughter of Jean d'Albret, Seigneur d'Orval et de Coutras, and Catherine, Comtesse de Foix, Queen of Navarre.¹

Through his wife, Odet became the seigneur of Coutras. The quiet little town on the banks of the river Lisle, with its long straggly street, and its green meadows and vineyards encircling it, was a favourite residence of the great captain when tired with the brunt of his long campaigns in Italy. The first Italian war between François I. and Charles Quint was disastrous for France, and Odet, Governor of Milan, shared in the disgrace and retired to Coutras in 1521. His castle sprang into being during this war, but, perhaps for lack of the master's eye, the work continued slowly and was unfinished at the time of Odet's death at the siege of Naples in 1528, during the second Italian campaign.

Brantôme describes Odet de Foix, Seigneur de Lautrec, as having "a haughty and forbidding face, . . . intrinsically, and also owing to the great wounds and scars on his face which he had received at the Battle of Ravenna (most honourable marks, nevertheless) whilst defending as much as he was able, both with voice and sword, M. de Nemours, his cousin, crying out, 'Ah, sirs, do not kill him! it is our general, and your queen's brother, who will give you good ransom'. But they dispatched him for all that, and gave M. de Lautrec so many blows that they left him on the field as one dead."²

It is satisfactory to know that the brave champion was picked up by the Duke and Duchess of Ferrara, who bandaged his wounds so carefully (*si curieusement*) that "he lived to fight—and die—another day".

¹ Grandparents of Henry of Navarre—Henri IV. of France.

² "Une mine fort arrogante et formidable . . . tant de soy que des grandes playes et ballafrés qu'il avoit au visage reçues à la bataille de Ravenne (marques d'honneur pourtant fort estimables) avec son cousin M. de Nemours, qu'il deffendit le plus qu'il put, tant de son espée que de sa voix et parole, en criant toujours, 'Ah, Messieurs, ne le tuez pas! c'est nostre général et frère à vostre reyne, qui vous donnera bonne rançon'. Mais pour cela, ne laissèrent à le parachever, et à donner tant de coups audit M. de Lautrec, qu'ils le laissèrent sur le champ comme mort" (Brantôme, vol. i., p. 229).

The historians Davila¹ and De Thou² both state that the gallant captain built the Castle of Coutras, but Brantôme has a curious little story which transforms the gay château into a

MAUSOLEUM.

"There was once upon a time," he says, "a Bishop of Tarbes, for whom M. de Lautrec had obtained the bishopric of that ilk; who governed him, and too much so, for all the affairs of the general concerning the Duchy of Milan passed through his hands, and he did naught there of any good. He was by name Manaud, and he, not being able to recover his master and benefactor's bones, nor raise to him a superb tomb, did, at his own cost and expense, build and complete this beautiful house of Coutras, which had only reached the foundations thereof when its master died; and, continuing the design, he finished it beautiful as it is now, so that one can say it is the finest in France."³

It seems scarcely credible that a bishop, however grateful, should have finished the house when the widow, Charlotte d'Albret, and her daughter Claude were alive. Perhaps he favoured her with advice and money. Be this as it may, the "Memorial Château" descended to Claude de Foix, her father's heir, to retain or dispose of at will. After the death of her first husband, Guy XVI., Comte de Laval, she sold both Coutras and Fronsac to Jacques d'Albon, Maréchal de Saint-André, Knight of the Order of St. Michael, and of that of the Garter. This was about the year 1550.

COUTRAS UNDER THE MARÉCHAL DE SAINT-ANDRÉ.

The bishop's gratitude and energy sink into oblivion before the architectural celebrity of the new owner and the brilliancy of his fame.

Saint-André, favourite of the Dauphin, first gentleman

¹ Davila, *Histoire des guerres civiles de France*, traduite par J. B. Audoin, t. ii., liv. viii., p. 388.

² De Thou, *Histoire Universelle*, t. x., liv. lxxxvii., ed. de Londres.

³ Brantôme, *Memoires*, t. ii., liv. viii., p. 135:—

"Il y eut un evesque de Tarbes, à qui M. de Lautrec avoit fait avoir l'evesché de là, qui le gouvernoit, et trop, ayant tous (*sic*) les affaires du général en main de le Duché de Milan, et n'y fit rien qui vaille: il s'appeloit Manaud, qui, ne pouvant recouvrer les os de son maître et son bienfaiteur et ne lui ériger un tombeau superbe fit, à ses propres couts et despens, bastir et achever ceste belle maison de Coutras qui n'estoit qu'aux fondemens eslevez lorsque son maître mourut; en, en continuant le dessain, la fit ainsi parachever belle comme elle est, qu'on peut dire le plus beau corps de legis . . . qui soit en France," etc., etc.

of the chamber—proud, brave, elegant; one of the most magnificent and gorgeous of the brilliant nobles in a sumptuous Court, came in 1550 to his new possessions, bringing with him his young wife, Marguerite de Lustrac, aged twenty-three, and their little daughter, Catherine d'Albon, only four years old, over whom as yet brooded no shadow of the awful death by that same mother's hand.¹ They came hither from their Château de Valléry, in Gâtinais, near Sens, where they held regal Court.

In those days, Marguerite de Lustrac, daughter of Antoine de Lustrac and Françoise de Pompadour, was considered a pattern of beauty and sweetness, although jealous whispers even then breathed less favourable reports of her character.

The Sieur de Billon, in his book entitled *Le Fort Inexpugnable de l'Honneur du Sexe Féminin*, calls her the "Marguerite de douceur".

On the other hand, her detractors said that the splendour and extravagance of the Saint-Andrés was immense, that she reigned like a queen amongst her ladies-in-waiting, was received as one on her travels, and that she even scandalised the lax morals of that indulgent age by her pride and ostentation.

Whilst the castle was in course of construction, Henri II., King of France, erected the Viscounty into a County, and four years afterwards into a Marquisate, to give pleasure to the Maréchal, his favourite.

But the favour of kings is proverbially uncertain. The Maréchal incurred the monarch's displeasure, and the couple retired to Coutras in disgrace.

A few years later they again sought the friendly protection of the château walls, not only from Catherine de Medici, but from the host of creditors who were dunning them.

According to De Thou,² Jacques d'Albon, having bought the castle, enlarged it and ornamented it with gardens, ornamental water and sandpits (*sablonnières*). These sandpits were in all probability for rabbit-coursing. He loved the house and grounds, and was there in the years 1559 and 1560, at the time when (according to their enemies) the Huguenots provoked hostilities at Coutras and Libourne.

¹ Catherine d'Albon died suddenly, at the age of nineteen, of a mysterious malady in the Convent of Longchamps. As her mother inherited the vast estates, public opinion and most historians have asserted that she was poisoned by Marguerite de Lustrac.

² De Thou, *Histoire Universelle*, t. x., liv. lxxxvii.

Two years later, the Maréchal de Saint-André was killed at the Battle of Dreux, and six years after his widow married Geoffroy de Caumont, on the 16th October, 1568.

Marguerite de Lustrac had employed her six years of widowhood in laying ineffectual siege to the heart of the Prince de Condé, he being only thirty-three (although the father of seven children) and she two years his senior. For his sake she became a Huguenot, and, freed by death of the true heir to all her late husband's property (*i.e.*, Catherine d'Albon), she would have laid at Condé's feet all her immense wealth, including the Marquisate of Fronsac with its Château at Coutras.

Condé declined her heart, but magnanimously accepted the lands of Valléry, with its title of Count, its castle and sumptuous furniture.

Still beautiful, rich and celebrated, Marguerite de Lustrac married in Geoffroy de Caumont a man whom Brantôme qualifies as the very opposite of her first husband, who was handsome and valiant. The ex-Abbé of Clairac seems to have been esteemed by neither friend nor foe. Although of the Huguenot party, he made no common cause with them, and followed Jeanne d'Albret and her son to the Court of Charles IX.¹

In 1574 Marguerite de Lustrac was again a widow, and again through violence. Geoffroy de Caumont was killed with poisonous mushrooms, leaving his widow with a little son, Jean, Marquis of Fronsac, and on the point of giving birth to a child. This child, Anne de Caumont, became on the death of her young brother, Marquise de Fronsac, and heir to all the estates, by possession; but by right of will they were claimed by her first cousin, Jacques Nompar, afterwards the celebrated Duc de la Force.

The widowed Marguerite de Lustrac belonged to the Court of Catherine de Medici, who appears to have invaded the château with all her train of ladies of the blood royal and the *haute noblesse*.

The queen dowager sweeps through the halls in her large-sleeved robe of cloth of silver, lined with lynx fur. Always superbly dressed, tall and handsome, and of great majesty, she charms the court with her gay and pleasant humour, and urges them on to all the pleasures of the chase.

Under her hood with its border of great pearls, Catherine's

¹ *Hist. des Seigneurs de Caumont*, par l'Abbé Alis, chap. viii.

face looks out astute and white and self-contained, while her hands, noted for their whiteness and shapeliness, gleam out from the folds of her sleeves.

The Catherine who lords it in the halls of Coutras is not to be recognised as the Catherine who but a short time back planned and carried out the Massacre of St. Bartholomew. Brantôme is a true courtier. All that is royal is excellent. "Her court," says he, "was an earthly paradise, and the school of all courtesy and virtue" ("un vray paradis du monde, et escole de toute honnesteté, de vertu," etc.).¹

More than 300 ladies swelled her train and accompanied her everywhere, so that the Château de Coutras must needs have had considerable room to accommodate them all.

Through its vast courtyard and banqueting halls passed—to mention only a few names—Elizabeth of France, afterwards Queen of Spain; Madame Claude, afterwards Duchess of Lorraine; Madame Marguerite, afterwards Queen of Navarre; and, perchance, even Mary Stuart, "reyné dauphine," gleamed like a fair vision in the new and lordly castle. With this "bevy of fair women," came Éleonore de Roye, Princesse de Condé, one of the few holy women in that frivolous train; Madame la Maréchale de Brissac, of the Norman House of Estelan; also Madame d'Andelot (Charlotte de Laval), another rare saint, and last, but certainly not least in her own estimation, Marguerite de Lustrac, owner of the castle.

A few years later the younger generation of fair daughters is springing up, and the Court at Coutras grows more and more frivolous, and certainly far from being a school of virtue.

There are the demoiselles de Rohan, Sourdis, Bourdeille, Limeuil (worst of women, fairest of the beauties, and Marguerite de Lustrac's victorious rival for Condé's heart), and with them Davila, the young Cypriot, escaped from the sack of Cyprus, and sister to the historian. Then the sisters d'Estrées, Gabrielle and Diane, the former possibly already casting perilous darts from her lovely eyes towards young Henry of Navarre; Mademoiselle de Guise "fraischement eslevée, très-belle et honneste princesse," and Mademoiselle de Longueville, the elder, "of like virtue".

The mothers of all these damsels accompanied the queen, but in the alleys and groves, and in the retired nooks of

¹ Brantôme, *Dames Illustres*, Discours ii.

Coutras Park, but little supervision was probably exercised or solicited.

Catherine de Medici treats the castle as her own property. Henry of Navarre, after some skirmishes in the vicinity of Coutras, accepted one of the ephemeral truces with the "League" in the month of September, 1577. To prove their sincerity, the prince, then twenty-five, and married since the fatal year of the Massacre, demanded his wife from the Court of France by the hand of Monsieur de Duras.

After much shilly-shallying, the request was complied with, and Catherine de Medici left Paris with her daughter Marguerite and a gay train of ladies and courtiers for Gascony, which to them seemed a distant and unfashionable province. They started on the 2nd August, 1578, and the Court was left lamenting.

"The Court is widowed of her beauty," they cried—

"The Court is very dark, its sun is lost!

How dark it is at Court, the torches are gone out—

All is over! the Court and France have lost the loveliest blossom from their chaplet."¹

With them went the Prince de Montpensier, his son the Cardinal de Bourbon, Paul de Foix, La Mothe-Fénelon and Pibrac, and besides these the Duchesse de Montpensier, the Duchesse d'Uzès, Madame de Sauve, also the maids of honour, Bazerne, Davila, the Cypriot (called at times Dayelle), D'Aquaviva, Le Rebours and Françoise de Montmorency-Fosseuse, of ill repute.

"The arrival," says the Viscount Charles de la Hitte, "of the two queens and their *suite* transformed the Court of the King of Navarre into a veritable 'Court of Love'. Every moment was passed in games, festivities, balls, and gallantries of all sorts. The Queen-mother arrived with that bevy of young women, elegant and coquettish in the extreme, which had been nicknamed the 'flying squadron' because she had, as it were, enlisted them, and taken them everywhere with her to further by their seductions the resources of her diplomacy."²

¹ La Cour est veuve de sa beauté—

La Cour est fort obscure, elle a perdu son soleil!

Qu'il fait noir à la Cour, il n'y a plus de flambeau—

Cela est fait, la Cour et la France ont perdu la plus belle fleur de leur guirlande.

—(Brantôme, *Dames Illustres*, Discours v.)

² *Lettres Inédites de Henri IV. à M. de Pailhès*, 1576-1602, note, p. 21. Publiées par le Vicomte Charles de la Hitte, Paris, 1886.

Marguerite de Navarre, young, gay and flighty, fascinated every one save her husband and mother-in-law. It is amusing to compare Jeanne d'Albret's criticisms with Brantôme's extravagant praise.

The former writes to her son before he has seen his bride-elect that Marguerite has a beautiful figure, but "pinched" extremely. As to her face, she so covered it up with powder and paint that it was quite spoilt.

The truth was, that Marguerite, of whose marble whiteness of skin all the courtiers raved, was afflicted with erysipelas, a secret which has been betrayed by letters to "Sybille," her most confidential friend, wherein she continually begs her to send her the receipt for the "wash" which did her so much good, but to be careful not to send the kind she had previously sent, for it had turned green upon her face!¹

Marguerite had prominent eyes like Catherine de Medici, full cheeks, upper lip fine, the lower pendant. She was of middle height, with little feet. This is the prosaic description.

Listen to the courtier's!

"Her features are beautiful, her eyes so limpid and charming that there can be found no fault in them; and this beautiful face crowns a body of the most superb proportions ever seen, and therewith she has the carriage of a goddess, and a grave majesty." In her "robe of cloth of silver, with hanging sleeves, and on her head a white veil, neither too long nor too short, she was of such beauteous majesty and such good grace, that she was rather a celestial goddess than a terrestrial queen". Her hair was black, but she preferred wearing elegant and becoming wigs.²

THE COURT OF NAVARRE AT COUTRAS.

Henry of Navarre however did not see with Brantôme's eyes, but more with his mother's, and the four years, 1578-82, which he and Marguerite spent together in Gascony were ill spent by both.

Catherine de Medici returned to Court, and the King and Queen of Navarre were continually at one place or another in Gascony and Béarn.

Coutras opens to them its spacious halls. In sweeps the

¹ *Lettres Inédites de Marguerite de Valois*. Publiées par M. Philippe Lauzun.

² Brantôme, *Dames Illustres*, Discours v.

king and his train of eighty persons; and the butchers and bakers, the wine merchants, the fruiterers, and all the purveyors to his royal majesty are on the alert to make "hay while the sun shines". The stables have been put in fresh order for the horses of the king and his gallant gentlemen; hay and oats ordered for them, straw for the bedding, oil for rubbing up the harness, wood for firing.

The forage purveyor had preceded his majesty and ordered in stacks of wood and fagots for the kitchen fire.

The major-domo carried his ledgers with him and laboriously entered into them every item of the expenses. *He* could have had no time to wander in the shady alleys.

It was the month of July, 1580, the first of the month and a Friday. The band of Huguenot gentlemen certainly did not do "maigre," whatever Marguerite as a good Catholic may have done. They consumed 62 dozen rolls; 48 lb. of veal, 70 lb. mutton, 16 chickens, 1 turkey, 12 lb. bacon, etc., etc., besides eels and cod (probably for the queen who fasted).

To illumine the banquet, 6 lb. of candles were ordered; and for the cheering of the gay company numberless barrels of white wine were broached. The Court drank nothing but white wine, chiefly from the vineyards of Jurançon, a suburb of Pau.¹

The king went hither and thither that summer; his wife possibly may have stayed at Coutras for longer periods, for she writes frequently from the château. Summer went and winter came and Marguerite must have been thankful, in spite of her own errors, to be able to hide her growing misery and ill-treatment in the beautiful castle.

She spent the whole month of December there, and in January her gay spouse rode in again.

There was a grand dinner on New Year's Day, a Sunday, 1581. The baker sent in 50 dozen rolls (or loaves?), 72 lb. of beef, 115 lb. of fresh pork, 164 lb. of mutton, 31 capons, 12 rabbits, etc., etc., and the feasting was continued on the following days. On Monday, the 2nd, in addition they had a pigeon pasty, 2 pigs, 20 capons, 16 chickens, 4 chine of pork, 29 lb. of bacon, and only 19 lb. of mutton.

They burnt 7 lb. of candles and a great deal of wood in the wintry weather, and drank largely of white wine,

¹ *Archives des Basses Pyrénées*, B. 50, "Dépense ordinaire du roi, Juillet 1580, à Coutras commencé le vendredi, premier juil [torn sheet] quatre vingt du Roy de Navarre".

On Tuesday, the 3rd January, the baker sent in only 7 dozen of bread, and there seems to have been a little bargaining to cut down the sum he charged, "il s'y faut rabattir quatre . . ." but the major-domo wrote a most illegible hand and his figures are undecipherable.

Besides the usual large amounts of beef, mutton and bacon, the court consumed a fat capon, a hare, 20 ordinary capons, 2 pullets, a chicken, 3 partridges and other game; 2 ox-feet, possibly for soup-meat.

The pastry cook (*pastrious*) was especially paid for a hare pasty.¹

The expenditure on white wine was considerable, and the items were kept in a separate ledger (B. 66).

On the following Monday, the 9th of January, the ubiquitous king rode off with his train to Castillon, to return, however, later to meet his royal cousin Henri III., who came to Coutras to discuss affairs relative to the Protestants.

On the 25th of April Marguerite writes from Coutras to her mother "la Roine, ma dame et mère," by the hand of one René, to assure her of her "obedience" and to say that her brother (the king) would leave Coutras in a couple of days.

She writes again the next day by one Seguier and expresses the desire she has to kiss her mother's hand, and hopes that when peace is made her husband will let her do so.

Henri III. left Coutras on the 27th April, 1581, and we can see the strain of sadness which his absence caused to his sister.

As for the King of Navarre, he enjoyed both his fighting and his amusements, and changed from one to the other with the same light-hearted spirit.

In the month of August of the next year, 1582, the Councillor and Treasurer-General of his Majesty's household, Maitre Julian Malet presents his Lord the King (Seigneur Roy) with a bill for ninety-five crowns, forty-six to fifty livres.²

There are eight entries for the month of August, all the items being for the king's "pocket-money" (*menus-plaisirs*) and for his journey to Pau. The journey to Pau, including money in his royal pocket to amuse himself, cost 100 crowns.

¹ Archives, B. 58, Janv., 1581, Dépense ordinaire du Roi à Coutras.

² B. 2,578, "Etat des Deniers mis en mains du Roy de Navarre ou payés par son exprès commandement pour employer à ses menus plaisirs durant le mois d'Aout donnés par Maitre Julian Malet, conseiller tresorier général de la maison de sa Majesté".

Henry

Loys de Bourbon.

Loys de Bourbon

Jacques de saint georges

The rest was expended at Coutras in the Base-court, where he wiled away his time playing at "la paume" with the gentlemen of his suite.¹

This game, which he may have introduced into the castle grounds, was one which Henri IV. loved and practised in his park at Pau. It is a species of tennis played with the hand, the ball being propelled from one antagonist to the other by means of a leather strap fastened on the *palm* of the hand. The game was played for money and the stakes were high.

The king's gentleman in waiting whilst at Coutras in 1580 was Nicolas de Roquefort, Sieur de Bastanés, and the queen's, Joachim de Saint Georges, Chevalier de l'ordre du Roi, Seigneur de Vérac, Baron de Couhé, son of Gabriel de St. Georges and of Anne d'Oyron.

Marguerite vanishes from Coutras, and silence falls upon the castle, till the clash of arms awakes it, till the bombs fall on its roofs and alleys, till Huguenots and Catholics again meet beneath its shelter as victors and vanquished.

BATTLE OF COUTRAS.

Neither the visit of Henri III. to the Castle of Coutras nor his interviews with the King of Navarre had any beneficial result for the Protestant party.

The *League* again raised its head, and the King of France threw in his fortunes with its partisans.

One of his favourites, Anne, Duc de Joyeuse, Admiral of France, advanced with an army, consisting of the flower of the Catholic nobility, to bar the passage of the "Béarnais".

Henry of Navarre and his troops occupied on the night of the 19th of October, 1587, the castle and town of Coutras, the neighbouring villages and the wide Warren round and beyond the castle.

¹ "Estant sa Maté à Coutras a esté mis dans ses mains la somme de cinquante ecous 50 l. par les mains du controleur Jugeat (?) pour jouer à la paume contre . . .

"*Ibid.* . . . dans ses mains par l'argentier la somme de quatre vingt neuf ecous pistolets pour jouer à la paume . . .

"Le dit jour [7 August] a esté mis en mains du sieur de Frontenat (?) par commandement de sa Maté la somme de cent ecous pist: fait pour emploi [employer] à ses menus plaisirs que pour frais à sa dépense du voiage fait par ledit Seigneur Roy au poste de Coutras à Pau."

The paper is sealed with the arms of Béarn and Navarre; the sealing-wax is applied to the document, and over it a lozenge-shaped piece of paper; the seal is stamped on this piece of paper so that the impression is on the paper and not on the wax. The paper is then folded down like an envelope.

They had been there, as is proved by the register of the "king's military expenses" (B. 2,886), since the 4th October.

With the king were Saint Gelais, Panjas, Vivans, Mesmes, Castelnau, Madailhan, Vignoles, Parabère, all noted leaders of the Huguenot party.

Their pastor Chandieu ministered to them and stirred up their zeal, having promised the King of Navarre that God would give them the victory; he, the king, having done public penance for one of his numerous sins and having humbly acknowledged his sin before God.

Having thus his conscience absolved on one score, Henry of Navarre looked forward with confidence to the issue of the battle. Strange piety! to be shriven for one sin, and to confidently hug another; to reject Esther Imbert at La Rochelle and to fight and win his battle for fair Corisande at Pau. Be it as it may, these men, in whom strong faith and lax morality went usually hand in hand, woke on that autumn morning in firm confidence in the Lord of Hosts, and Henry, ere he left the castle, called his favourite minister, his bold and uncourtierlike friend, and chose the twelfth verse of the one hundred and eighteenth Psalm for their battle song (a version *ad libitum* of verse 24 ff. of Ps. cxviii., Prayer-book version):—

La voici l'heureuse journée
 Qui répond à notre désir ;
 Louons Dieu qui nous l'a donnée,
 Faisons en tout notre plaisir.
 Grand Dieu, c'est à toi que je crie
 Garde ton oint, et le soutiens ;
 Grand Dieu, c'est toi seul que je prie :
 Bénis ton peuple et le maintiens.

—(Huguenot Psalter, Geneva Edition, 1812.)

Behold the happy day
 Which answereth to our desire ;
 Then praise we God whose gift it is
 And do therein our pleasure.
 Great God, to thee I call,
 Guard Thine Anointed, him sustain ;
 Great God, to Thee alone I pray,
 Thy people bless and them maintain.

The famous battle was fought, and victory remained with the Huguenots. The Duc de Joyeuse and his brother Claude de Saint-Sauveur were amongst the slain. The former might have survived save for the treachery of an opponent,

S. Luc, who basely killed him while Joyeuse was tendering his sword to a Huguenot officer.

Great was Henry's grief on hearing of the dastardly deed. He ordered a party to search for the bodies of the noble brothers; and, when they were discovered under heaps of corpses, they were carried into the château, where, in the great hall opening on to the quadrangle, the bodies were laid on a table and covered with a sheet.

In the same chamber the king's supper was spread, awaiting his return from the field of battle. There, after routing the enemy, Henry rendered thanks to God, and saw that the dead were buried and the wounded carried carefully to a place of safety. Then, passing the prisoners in review, and speaking "most obligingly" to them, he gave orders that the enemy's camp should be burnt, and returned to the castle.

Almost the first thing on which his eye rested were the silent, rigid figures with the white pall drawn from the handsome young faces, and the hall crowded with careless or sympathetic onlookers, gazing down on them.

The prince recoiled in horror, and refusing to sup in the awful presence of death retreated to the hall above, where he ordered his meal to be served.

[It seems cruel to descend from pathos to bathos, but Henry was nigh going to bed supperless, for one of the bombs of the Duc de Joyeuse's army fell in the castle kitchen and nearly blew up the cook. He was granted a compensation of twenty crowns for his injuries, . . . a year after! (B. 126.)]

During the repast prisoners were brought to the prince from all parts, and the soldiers hastened to offer him the banners they had taken—twenty-two regimental banners, besides others.

Courtiers, prisoners, men-at-arms thronged round the king, who received them all with the gay kindness and absence of pride which endeared him to all.

Chandieu, who was standing a silent spectator of the victory he had foretold, whispered to some of the nobles in attendance:—

"Happy and truly favoured by Heaven is the prince who can see his enemies humbled beneath his feet by the hand of God, his table surrounded by the prisoners he has taken, his chamber tapestried with the standards of those whom he has conquered, and who, without growing prouder or

vainer, knows how to keep in the midst of the greatest victories the same firmness which he shows in the most unlooked for reverses of fortune".¹

The eventful day at last drew to a close. The wounded fell into a troubled sleep, and in the great hall the silence of death seemed to throb and pulsate in the darkness.

Did Henry dream that night of Corisande wandering under the great elms and beeches of the royal park at Pau, with the river gleaming upward through the trees; or did the faces of the dead youths beneath sadden the joy of that "heureuse journée"?

THE MORROW.

Morning dawned on the castle, with more vigorous life for some, and sad duties for others. The Sieur Maron, secretary to the duke, aided by the Vicomte de Turenne, kinsman to the brothers De Joyeuse, laid the bodies in a leaden coffin in order to convey them to Paris for honourable burial.

The secretary received 100 crowns for the conveyance of the same from King Henry of Navarre.

But ere the melancholy cortège wended its way from the castle gates Henry was galloping off post haste to Pau with the elegant Comte de Soissons, his sister Catherine's lover, to lay his banners at the feet of the beautiful Corisande, and sun himself in her smiles instead of following up his victory.

Though the two and twenty and more banners gaily waved in the breeze as they were borne southwards to the Béarnais capital in the train of the king, yet the army continued to occupy Coutras until the 4th November of the same year (B. 2,886), during which time the king paid out in grants of money to the wounded officers, and to prisoners, in order to permit them to return to their homes, the sum of 4,446 crowns (signed by the king at Nérac, on the 14th Dec., 1587).

Even the poor were remembered by "le bon roi," although the relief might sometimes be long in coming. Twenty crowns were granted to "Renée Gautier, a poor woman, widow of the late Matthew Chevallier, who was killed at the battle of Coutras"—the poor suppliant was very destitute. She received relief on the 13th June, 1588 (B. 2,987).

¹ De Thou, t. x., liv. lxxxvii., p. 18 ff.

AMEL WMT

Concordia. Idemabof.
reterungf.

Marty chongnon

Marty chongnon

INTERLUDE.

In consequence of the temporary inertness of Henry of Navarre the League again raised its head, and the Guises, having partisans at Coutras, and even more enemies, stirred up new troubles in that town. A company of Roman Catholic cavalry garrisoned the place, and kept both parties for a time in check, but at last the minds of all were so exasperated that frays broke out between the citizens, in one of which an inhabitant named Jean Ferchat was killed by Morin, son of Arnaud Morin, on the open square before the castle.

Another time the Huguenots, in ambush behind the House of the Chestnut Trees (*Les Châtaigniers*), killed a soldier called Bonafix.¹

THE PROTESTANT HEIRESS OF COUTRAS.

Thus, while Henry of Navarre was fighting the League at every point, the little owner of the Castle of Coutras was being tossed from hand to hand without peace or happiness.

On the death of her elder brother Jean in 1579, at the age of nine, Anne de Caumont had become Marquise de Fronsac and possessor of Caumont, Tonneins-Dessus, Fauillet, Castelmoron, Goudourville, Castelnau-les-Milandes, Fronsac and Coutras; to all of which towns her first cousin, Jacques-Nompar de Caumont had laid claim.

Only five years old at the time, the child was placed under the tutelage of her father Geoffroy's first cousin, *i.e.*, Jean des Cars (or d'Escars), Seigneur de La Vauguyon, son of François d'Escars and Isabeau de Bourbon-Carency. The Seigneur de La Vauguyon no sooner learnt the death of the heir of the Caumonts than he meditated a marriage for his son, Claude des Cars, Prince de Carency, with the little Protestant heiress, Anne, Lady of Coutras and other places.

As usual it was a party question. La Vauguyon was for the Royal and Catholic side; Marguerite de Lustrac, Anne's mother, for Henry of Navarre, under whose suzerainty nominally were her castles and lands.

In 1580, while the "*Béarnais*" was amusing himself at Coutras with his regained wife, and with all the pomps and vanities of the Court of Catherine de Medici, the child was living with her mother at the Castle of Castelnau in Périgord.

It is the spirit of the Roman Catholic party to represent

¹ Archives de l'Hôtel de ville de Coutras—registre de l'Etat civil.

Marguerite de Lustrac as a mass of vice, heartlessness, avarice and cruelty, a bad mother and a bad Protestant, but even with these qualities one can imagine that the poisoning of her husband in 1574 and the death of her first-born in 1579 must have saddened and weighed down the haughtiest spirit; and that in 1580 the widow, attacked on all sides, and left without a single protector, must have felt infinitely forlorn and defenceless.

ANNE'S ABDUCTION.

Full of his prospect of a rich marriage for his son, Anne's guardian, with the king's consent, went, accompanied by some friends, to Castelnau to propose for the child's hand.

It was refused.

Not a whit baffled, he promptly abducted both mother and daughter and carried them off in honourable durance to his castle of La Vauguyon, and there celebrated the betrothal of the bride of six to her bridegroom of fourteen.

La Vauguyon retained the little Lady of Coutras and dismissed her mother, who immediately sought means to annul the contract.

Jean d'Escars, in retaliation, appropriated every one of the castles belonging to his ward, including Coutras.

This only threw Marguerite de Lustrac more hotly into the party of Henry of Navarre; and so successfully did she light the flame of war, with Geoffroy de Vivant to aid her, that La Vauguyon lost all the towns again, excepting Castelnau, Fronsac and Coutras.

Anne continued to reside at the Castle of La Vauguyon, still adhering steadfastly to the religion of her fathers.

ANNE'S SECOND MARRIAGE.

At twelve years old Anne's marriage contract was rendered still more definite and binding by the marriage vows, but the young people concerned pursued their separate ways.

A duel, provoked by Charles de Gontaut, proved the truth of the proverb—"There is many a slip 'twixt the cup and the lip," for Claude de Carency was killed in March, 1586.

This proved no hindrance to Jean d'Escars; he transferred the little Lady of Coutras to his second son Henri, and without any delay the child was contracted for the second time, three months after the death of her first husband.

Marguerite de Lustrac, as Huguenot and mother, was ex-

asperated, and defying Church and State, she sent Vivant with the Roman Catholic Duc de Mayenne to demand her daughter.

This they did with 12,000 men at their back, and received the young marchioness, whom they carried off to Paris. The duke's chivalry towards a forlorn maiden was not disinterested, for the heiress was offered him as a bride for his son, the Duc d'Aiguillon, then aged eight!

ANNE'S ABJURATION.

This second abduction caused great sensation. The Kings of Navarre and France were appealed to; Mayenne proposed arbitration. But might continued right, and Anne was placed under the care of the Duchesse de Mayenne (Henriette de Savoie), and was a prisoner in everything but the name.

Whilst Anne had been under La Vauguyon's care, her religion was never interfered with.

But once under the charge of the Duc de Mayenne, a quiet system of coercion began. We might have concluded as much, but, in spite of the assertions of some Roman Catholic writers, the fact is confirmed by the statements of even one of their own party.

Père Hilarion de Coste writes: "The Duke intimated by others to his daughter-in-law (as he already called her) that he wished her to make profession of the Catholic religion, Roman and Apostolic, and that she should attend Mass. And in order that she should receive no contrary impressions, he removed from her her governess and those damsels and waiting-maids who were not Catholic. Although the Marquise de Fronsac was but a child, she grieved much (*eut beaucoup d'ennuy*) at being deprived of her 'gouvernante' and her other domestics whom they put far from her; and so it was she went to Mass and to sermons with the Duchesse de Mayenne and her eldest daughter, Catherine de Lorraine, afterwards Duchesse de Nevers. Later, she acknowledged frankly that in her soul she had changed naught of her belief until the time when they wished her to communicate, when she asked to be given a Bible."¹ This being given her and the passages marked, she studied the subject, and this, with exhortations from a priest attached to her person, culminated in the "conversion" of the help-

¹ Hilarion de Coste, *Eloges des Princesses*, p. 96.

less, storm-tossed girl. In 1587, the same year as that of the battle of Coutras, Anne made her first Easter Communion.

ANNE'S THIRD MARRIAGE.

At the age of eighteen, Anne was widowed for the second time, without ever having been a wife. This left the Duc de Mayenne free to arrange the long-desired marriage of the Marchioness with his son of thirteen.

But at last, after ten years of detention, after disappointments and troubles of all kinds, the widowed maid of twenty-one realised a veritable marriage with François d'Orléans, Comte de Saint-Pol, on the 2nd February, 1595; and as his much-neglected wife Anne reappears at her Castle of Coutras after long years of an unhappy married life.

At Henri IV.'s death in 1610, Anne de Caumont was thirty-six years of age, having been married fifteen years, and blessed with one son, Léonor, a boy of six, on whom she expended all the affection which in her troubled and bitter life had had no other outlet. Until the age of seven, Léonor, the little Duc de Fronsac, struggled for life, but with boyhood came health and beauty.

At that age his face was like his father's—narrow, with a forehead promising much intelligence, and with eyes quiet and thoughtful, so earnest as almost to presage his early death. His mother set such store upon him that she could not trust him out of her sight at Court at the age at which most boys became pages.

PORTRAIT OF THE LITTLE DUKE.

Hilarion de Coste describes the boy as prouder and handsomer than any other of his birth or of his time. Skilful in bodily exercise and in all he undertook, he showed himself full of "bonne grâce" either on foot or on horse, and owing to his rich and fine figure he seemed older than his age. There never was a more excellent combination of majesty and sweetness than that which shone from his face. Courteous, with noble and generous manners, he was enthusiastic for noble things, and excelled in study.¹

Most of Anne de Caumont's married life was spent at Amiens. Later the Comte de Saint-Pol obtained an appointment at Orleans, but his style of life and his extrava-

¹ *Eloges des Princesses et Dames Illustres*, Hilarion de Coste. Paris, 1647.

gance were fast alienating his wife from him, and it ended in a judicial separation.

The registers at Coutras show that the countess retired to her beautiful château with her son, now eleven years old, and was there with him until 1618, if not later, and again alone in 1622.

DOMESTIC LIFE AT COUTRAS.

The mother and son lived very quietly, and evidently interested themselves in the famous gardens and in the gardener.

The gay throngs of lords and ladies had fled, leaving only their names on the barks of the trees and their "remembrance" as that "of a guest that tarrieth but a day".¹ The castle is purer without them, cleaner and quieter.

Until the archives of the little town emerge from the silence and dust of centuries, we must content ourselves with the scant light which the worm-eaten, faded registers shed on the daily life of the mother and son.

Like all great seigneurs, they were active in standing sponsors to their subjects. The gardener, Martin Chougnon, was the most favoured.

On the 22nd April, 1617, the countess was godmother to the gardener's baby. The register runs as follows:—

"Le vingt deuxieme d'Apruil mil six cent dix sept a esté baptizé François Chougnon, fils de Martin, Jardinier de Monseigneur, et de Marie de la Croix.

"Parrain, Mon^r [Monsieur] M^e [Maître] Jehan de Massiot, notaire du pr^t [present] lieu de Coutras.

"Marraine—très haute et puissante Princesse Madame Anne de Caumont, Comtesse de St. Pol, Duchesse de Fronsac."

The sponsors sign, and his little lordship also. All the Caumonts sign alike, a high straggly hand, in the style prevalent then at Court.

The gardener did not presume to sign in the presence of his masters, but he had an excellent signature of his own when he himself was standing sponsor on other occasions. At first he signs in a little neat hand, but aspires later to a larger flourish.

The year previous, 20th November, 1616, the duke and duchess honoured Notary Drouillan with their presence at the parish church.

¹ Wisdom v. 14.

“Le mesme Jour a esté baptisé Anne Drouillan, fille de M^{te} François Drouillan et Dam^{lle} Marye Sira.

“Parin (*sic*) haulte et puissant Prince Monseigneur Leonor d'Orleans, Duc de Fronsac.

“Marrine, haulte et puissante Princesse Madame Anne de Caumont, Comtesse de St. Pol, Duchesse de Fronsac et du Château, bourg, ville et paroisse.”

On the 22nd January of the next year, 1617, they again stood sponsors.

“Le xxii^e Janvier, 1617, a esté baptisé en la presante eglise de Coutras, François du Verger fils de Denis du Verger, et de Bertrande Ardouin; son parin haulte et puissant Prince Leonor d'Orleans, Duc de Fronsac.

“Marrin (*sic*), haulte et puissante Princesse Madame Anne de Caumont, Comtesse de Fronsac.”

On the 25th May the young prince and his mother were again godparents to a child, son of N—— (name illegible) and Jacqueline Mussan, who received the name of Léonor, an honour which the other boys did not share.

But it is noticeable and pathetic that the countess in the two cases under notice gives to the godchildren the name of her husband, of him who was flaunting at Court, and spending on evil pleasures the money she lavishly sent him to pay his debts. Afterwards, though separated from him “de corps et de biens,” she nobly and unwisely lavished her “goods” upon him, and let her heart cling to the father of her only child.

By an entry of the year 1618, we learn that a Monsieur François Dor was acting lawyer (*notaire praticien*) to the young duke. These entries are in the registers of the Roman Catholic Church of St. Jean de Coutras, and kept at the *Mairie*.

There was a Protestant *temple* in the town and a private chapel in the castle, which in the times of Geoffroy de Caumont and Marguerite de Lustrac must have been used for Huguenot worship; in fact, the seigneurs of the reformed religion are said to have “profaned” it, and later the Cardinal of Richelieu (who became Duc de Fronsac) to have given it back to holy worship. The historian (Guinodié, I think) errs a little as to Richelieu, for Anne de Caumont spent many an hour in prayer in the so-called profaned chapel, and, devout Catholic as she was, must have restored the chapel to Romish uses.

The day came only too soon when she had sore need of all the strength and comfort of prayer.

LÉONOR'S DEATH.

Léonor d'Orléans broke at last from his mother's tutelage, and throwing off her tender fetters, asserted the claims of his manhood and his lineage. "He never ceased," says old Father Hilarion, "begging his father and mother to send him to the king's army during the siege of Montauban in 1621. The king spent that winter in Paris, returning to the army in the spring of 1622, after which Léonor was permitted to follow his Majesty to the Isle de Rié, where the Seigneur de Soubise was defeated."¹ Afterwards the young prince went with the army to the siege of Royan, and from thence to the town of Montpellier, which the Catholic army was besieging under the Duc de Montmorency.

The day after the prince's arrival the garrison of the invaded city furiously attacked and repulsed the royal party. On the king perceiving this, he ordered help to be sent them. The duke, with ten or twelve noblemen, including Léonor, rushed to their succour, and the latter fell in the assault.

Thus perished, on the 3rd September, 1622, at the early age of seventeen, one "who had already given such proofs of his generous nature and excellent qualities that he gave promise of soon being capable of commanding an army".²

With him ended the famous line of the Orléans-Longueville, Comtes de Saint-Pol.

A MOTHER'S MOURNING.

The desolate mother was at her château at Coutras when the news reached her. According to her custom of many years (we learn from a servant who was with her thirty years), Anne de Caumont was awake at seven on that eventful morning. Then closing the curtains of her bed, her women left her to commune with God, for the space of about a quarter of an hour.

Then having risen, she entered into her oratory and remained there until ten o'clock, not suffering herself to be interrupted save for something of great importance which could not be delayed, or to speak to persons of such high rank that they could not be dismissed without incivility. At ten o'clock she left the oratory and dressed, simply and modestly, as was her wont, without much jewellery, her

¹ Hilarion de Coste, *Eloges des Princesses*, p. 106.

² Godeffroy, *Hist. des Grands Officiers de la Cour*, vol. i., p. 220.

only indulgence being good scent, of which she was greatly fond.¹

It must have been either about this hour, before she went to hear Mass, or later in the afternoon, after her simple meal, that her Jesuit chaplain (having been informed by a messenger from Montpellier of the untoward fate of the young prince) went to the countess's chamber to break the news.

They conversed at first about the meditation which the countess had made that morning in her oratory. "It was on this subject," said the Comtesse de Saint-Pol, "that God permits very justly and mercifully things to happen to wean our souls from the excessive love which binds them to creatures, for from this source flows all our care. I feel it in myself every day," she continued, "for my son, being the only object of my thoughts upon earth, from him proceed all my griefs; if he is in health, I apprehend that he may fall sick; if he is ill, the fact of his being so gives me deadly anguish; and from this son, whom indeed I love but too well, comes all my affliction."

She talked at length upon this subject so near to her heart, until little by little the reverend Father led the conversation round, and broke to her the death of her son.

"On hearing the news, she remained as one in a trance, and her women laid her on her bed, where she remained for some time, her eyes raised to heaven, and her hands clasped.

"The first words she spoke were these from the 115th Psalm (in the English version 116th), verses 14 and 15:—

"Dirupisti, Domine, vincula mea,
Tibi sacrificabo hostiam laudis.'

[Thou hast broken my bonds in sunder,
I will offer to Thee the sacrifice of thanksgiving.]

"Having thus said, she remained a long while again without speaking or weeping, after which she asked if none of the servants of her son had arrived.

"Being answered in the affirmative, she bid them call the messenger at once, and he being in her presence, the first thing she inquired of him, after having cried 'Ha! je n'ai plus de fils,' was if he had confessed before his death, and then as to the wounds he had received."²

¹ Hilarion de Coste.

² Hilarion de Coste, p. 115 note: "Un père de la Compagnie de Jésus (le Rev. Père Pierre Le Moine, liv. vii., *Peintures morales*) loue cette pieuse Héroïne pour sa modération en ce triste accident". Possibly Pierre le Moine may have been the chaplain.

First for his soul and then for his body, like every true mother! Sadly must her dim eyes, from which the shock kept the tears from falling, have wandered from her window across the great square to the melancholy churchyard 'neath the church eaves, where the autumnal tints were just beginning to show amongst the still summer-hued leaves.

Each human heart can picture how the lonely wife, the bereaved and childless mother, passed that blank night of misery, and what prayers went up from the deserted château to the Throne of Grace. The only chain which bound her to earth was snapped, and she had the faith and courage to offer praise.

On the morrow she received one letter and wrote another. The royal post brought her an autograph letter from the king, who sought to console her by the thought that in "God's will is our tranquillity," and that the boy had left an honourable name to posterity.

She occupied the day by writing to her husband to tell him of their irreparable loss, and to exhort him to make good use of this sore trial—a counsel it is needless to say he did not follow, although he truly sorrowed for his only son.

Thus the short-lived episode of three generations (1550-1622) begun in the overweening extravagance of a frivolous marriage ends in a mother weeping over the last of the race.

LOUIS XIII. AT COUTRAS.

The events of the castle remind one of those quaint good-and-bad-weather barometers of former days, where a little man pops out of one door to herald fair weather, and retreats when his little wife puts her head out of the other to announce a storm.

Joy and sorrow alternate at the castle. When its real proprietor is absent the king and the Court seem to take possession.

The Kings of France and Navarre appear to have found Coutras a most convenient half-way house for business and pleasure.

Before the Saint-Pol tragedy occurred, Louis XIII. had passed through it on the 8th July, 1621, and given audience to the deputies from the town of Saint-Emilion.

The king was travelling through Guienne after leaving Saint Jean d'Angély, and was on his way to Bergerac, spending the night of the 7th at Coutras.

On his arrival he was visited by Maleret de Feuillas, deputy from Boisse-Pardaillan, who complained of the protection which the Duc de Rohan extended to the Maréchal Jacques Nompar de Caumont, Duc de La Force, and assured the king of his (Boisse-Pardaillan's) fealty and of that of the towns of Sainte-Foy, Castillon, La Mothe Montravel, Gensac and other places.

The king had little repose allowed him, for early next morning, at nine o'clock, the deputies arrived from Saint-Emilion, nominated by Mathurin Chevalier, the mayor, and by the whole civil assembly.

"The Seigneur de la Curie brought them in, conducted them to the chamber where his Majesty sat, and presented them to him.

"And they being there, his Worship the Mayor, together with the worshipful councillors and other worshipful gentlemen, went down on their knees before his said Majesty, to whom the said Master Chevalier, the Mayor, presented the keys of the town, bound with a cord of green and red silk, and prayed his Majesty to take and receive them after assuring him of the obedience and fidelity which they had always shown in his service, and which they desired to maintain and continue, offering him to this effect, on behalf of all the inhabitants in general and particular, their life and their property, protesting that they would never be aught but his most faithful subjects.

"Upon which his Majesty, after having given audience to the said worshipful Mayor, would neither take nor receive the keys, bidding him keep them, esteeming them well guarded in his hands, and to continue always his good subjects and he would be to them a good king. The which having done and having been dismissed, the said mayor, councillors, and other assistants who had accompanied them returned the same day to Saint-Emilion."¹

INTERLUDE.

Here follows, for want of access to the archives at Coutras, which have not yet been classified, a gap in the history of the castle.

Anne de Caumont, bereft of her son and heir, sold Fronsac

¹ *Histoire de Libourne*, by Guinodié, vol. ii., p. 390, quoting from the archives of Saint-Emilion, Registers 1574-1621, folio 371 verso to 375.

on the 25th May, 1628, to the "noble homme Claude Charlot, conseiller secretaire du roi".

Later Richelieu was created Duc de Fronsac, and possessed the estates. Coutras probably shared the fortunes of the dukedom, as the duke-cardinal is mentioned as interesting himself in the restoration of the castle chapel.

COUTRAS AND THE FRONDE.

It would take too long to detail the wars of the Fronde the "Old Fronde" from 1648 to 1649, and the "Young Fronde" from 1649 to 1653.

Its original cause was the bad administration of Mazarin. The Prince de Condé at first sided with the Court, but hatred for the Minister induced him later to head the rebels. He, with his brother and the Duc de Longueville, were thrown into the Bastille in January, 1650.

Claire-Clémence de Maillé-Brezé, Princesse de Condé, was at Chantilly at the time with her little son the Duc d'Enghien, aged seven.

With the help of Pierre Lenet, the historian, Seigneur de Meix, de Charette et de Villotte, the princess escaped in disguise from Chantilly, together with her mother-in-law, her child, the Dukes of Bouillon and de La Rochefoucauld, the Counts of Coligny and De Guitaut, Sessac, Comte de Clermont; Duras, Comte de Lorges; Foix, Comte de Meillé; the Marquis de Gourville, and numerous noblemen from the province of Limoges.

Young as the princess was, she had a plucky heart, and, wasting no time in vain regrets, soon stirred up the south of France to revenge and free the prince, her husband.

Bordeaux openly declared for her, and Coutras became the point of centre for rallying the troops.

In spite of the gravity of the situation, a great deal of amusement diversified this war, and the noblemen in her train spent more time in love passages than in passages of arms.

On the 29th day of the "merry month of May" of the year 1650, the Princesse de Condé, her suite, and her army marched from Bordeaux to Saint-Antoine, where they dined.

By the evening they reached Coutras, encamped there, and rested the night, being joined by the Chevalier de Thodias with 200 horse and 500 foot. The chevalier had previously received a command through Langlade to order

commissariat bread to be prepared at Coutras for their coming.

Pierre Lenet, who accompanies his mistress, recalls to his mind when he reaches the place the famous battle of Coutras, Henri IV. and Joyeuse, and revels in "the beauty of its situation between the rivers of the Lisle and Dronne, and the beauty of the House and its great gardens surrounding it".¹

"For this reason," Lenet adds, "it was considered wise to make some sojourn there."

A DAY IN THE PLEASAUNCE.

Pierre Lenet, Seigneur de Meix, was over head and ears in love with an English girl, Mistress Gerbier. This lively young damsel had been chiefly instrumental in the escape of the Princesse de Condé, personating that lady and feigning to be laid up in bed—as the princess had been—with a severe feverish cold. She rejoined them at Libourne, and accompanied them to Coutras.

The ladies of the princely Court delighted in the prospect of flirtations in the gardens.

Lenet's lady-love occupies all his thoughts, almost to the exclusion of the other beauties. A brunette, eighteen years of age, with sparkling eyes, a beautiful mouth, and a charming, easy figure, she captivates his eye, and her intelligence and winning ways, her shrewd and ready wit, please his mind.²

They fell in love over Italian lessons which Lenet gave her. So that conjugating the verb "to love" under the form of tuition, and its inevitable results, have been the same in every generation.

Next to the English maid-of-honour, his greatest admiration is the youthful Marquise de Gourville, daughter of the Comte de Tourville, one of the bravest soldiers and most cunning courtiers of his time. Her husband was secretary to the Duc de La Rochefoucauld. Eighteen years of age also, of great beauty, with eloquent eyes and mouth, full of charms

¹ "La beauté de la situation entre les rivières de Lisle et de la Dronne, et par la beauté de la maison et des grands jardins qui l'accompagnent" (*Mémoires de Pierre Lenet*).

² "Mademoiselle Gerbier, jeune fille Anglaise, fille d'honneur à la Princesse de Condé la jeune; pleine d'esprit et de gentillesse; brune, d'une taille agréable et aisée, les yeux vifs, la bouche belle, l'esprit accort et adroit" (Lenet, *Mémoires*, liv. ii., p. 194).

and delights,¹ she was an arrant flirt. Sessac, Duras, Foix and Guitaut, all four of the same age, all four young, and friends, each was at her feet, and so adroitly managed that each gallant thought himself the one she truly favoured. The Comte de Guitaut imagined himself especially the chosen lover and would not share the good graces of his lady with any other; in fact, was rather too masterful for a cavalier whose heart is pierced with the dart of love.

On her part, the Marquise found Guitaut amiable and gallant.

No sooner had all the ladies set foot in the castle than they dispersed into the lovely gardens, wandering in the groves and along the banks of the great canal shaded by tall and stately laurels, which excited the admiration of Pierre Lenet, who had never seen such an avenue of laurels in his life.²

Whilst he gazed at the trees and the water, and the great gardens, from which the mournful shades of Anne de Caumont and Léonor had fled, and where the clever gardener, Martin Chougnon had worked, his eyes wandered with playful amusement to Mistress Gerbier and her lover, the Duc de Bouillon, and to the marchioness with her four cavaliers, all busy scrawling their initials on the barks of the laurel trees.

Wandering about in the garden also must have been the gentle little Duc d'Enghien, with his child-like grace and old-fashioned ways, and ready speech, in baby language, to thank those veterans who are endeavouring to release his "papa".

The child wears mourning for his grandfather, the Maréchal de Brézé, lately dead—a suit of white tabby silk ("tabis" a silk moiré of fine texture) ornamented with silver and black braid, with a hat trimmed with black and white plumes.

But alas for "love's young dream"!

Into the midst of the flirtations descended a bombshell in the shape of a war messenger. All the plans were altered,

¹ "Marquise de Gourville pleine d'appas et de charmes, belle, spirituelle et jeune, d'une grande beauté, dix-huit ans. Elle trouvait Guitaut aimable et galant. Elle avait les bouche et yeux éloquents" (Lenet, *Mémoires*, liv. ii.).

² "Et déjà les Dames, et quelques-uns de ceux que j'ai nommés sur leur sujet commençoient à faire des chiffres sur les écorces des lauriers les plus hauts et les plus beaux que j'aie vu de ma vie, et qui forment une belle allée sur le bord d'un très grand canal" (Lenet, *ibid.*).

and on the morrow, the 30th May, the Princesse de Condé and the gay throng swept back to Bordeaux, followed by the army, passing through Quessac and Lormont.

The queen, Anne of Austria, had arrived in Gascony, and her advent changed the aspect of affairs. Negotiations were entered upon, and on the 1st October of that year the City of Bordeaux capitulated, the Fronde party sued for peace, the Princesse de Condé made preparations for her departure, and on the 3rd October, 1650, she embarked with all the amorous lords and ladies on board a galley which conveyed them to Bourg, where the queen was staying.

Here, holding her little son by the hand, the princess asked pardon for her rebellion and liberty for her husband, which was granted.

The next day they left Bourg, slept the night at Fronsac, passing on the following day to Libourne, which is, either by land or water, only half an hour distant.

FLIRTATIONS RESUMED.

Without staying at Libourne, the gay cortège proceeded to Coutras, towards whose alleys flew the thoughts of the cavaliers and their ladies.

"The beautiful house, the lovely gardens of this spot, and the weather, which was magnificent," says Pierre Lenet, "stirred up the love of the Duc de Bouillon for Mademoiselle Gerbier, and that of the Comte de Guitaut for the Marquise de Gourville, their love-making having been interrupted by the bustle of departure from Bordeaux and by the journey to Bourg."

The English girl stayed indoors with the duke and chatted quietly, whilst the fascinating marquise tore in mad folly on horseback round the park, pursuing and pursued by the Comte de Guitaut. Many a shady spot witnessed the soft nothings which Guitaut whispered in the ear of the marquise. Possibly, as the marquis was of the princess's party, they found the distant alleys of the park more favourable for interviews than remaining indoors. Under the evergreens, where their initials shone white in the bark, Guitaut confided to his lady many a matter which, on their return to the house, the marquise retailed to the Seigneur de Meix.

Mademoiselle Gerbier also, after having listened with wily interest and tender glances from the depths of her brown eyes—unreadable, as are all brown eyes—promptly

imparted all and every word of Turenne's confidences to her faithful and watchful lover.

Far from being jealous or anxious about this passion, Lenet rejoiced, for it gave him a handle by which to govern the duke. "It is very extraordinary," he said to himself, "that a man of so much intelligence and ability as is the duke should confide everything to a young girl of eighteen. The respect I feel for him shall keep me from betraying him, however, in my memoirs. For I pity the weakness of man, and mine more than any one's, when a violent passion takes hold of their heart!"

The next day and the following passed in walks and festivities, while the young princess, more sober than her maids, transacted business as befitted Condé's brave wife and the little duke's mother.

LEAVE-TAKING.

"Rien qu'un jour, un seul jour,
Est-ce assez pour tant d'amour?"

sighs the ballad¹ and the Marquise de Gourville no doubt also, for on the morning of the 6th the Duc de La Rochefoucauld took leave of the princess, and returned to his ancestral home at Verteuil. We may conclude his secretary and the secretary's charming young wife accompanied him. The Comte de Guitaut would have to find his pleasure elsewhere.

The 7th and 8th of October passed in walks and festivities, and on the 9th another parting took place, which, as the "perfidious" daughter of Albion had a permanent lover, could not have grieved her much. The Duc de Bouillon bid farewell to the princess and the English girl on the 9th to return to Turenne. He wept "tears of tenderness" when saying good-bye to the noble mother and son, and assured her, with great protestations, that he would faithfully execute all he had promised for the future.

The princess was deeply touched at parting with a man whose ability, firmness, and constancy had so ably supported her party.

The duke rode off with a crowd of nobles, and Pierre Lenet escorted him two leagues on his journey homeward. At a little village the friends alighted and entered into a cottage, where the duke indited a little epistle to his lady-love, which

¹ *Marthe*, Opéra par Flotow.

he entrusted to Pierre Lenet to deliver to her on his return to the Castle.

"I gave it to her without fail," her other lover drily remarks, "but I refused to read it when she handed it to me!"

As we gaze into the smouldering embers where the dream castle has been glowing and playing out its drama before our eyes, suddenly the flames leap up, crackling, hissing. The grand façade, with its beautiful arched portal, is outlined in fire. The galleries totter and fall, the beams of the ceiled chambers sink in on the gorgeous furniture, the tapestries smoulder and drop to rags. All round the quadrangle the fire of great destruction rages, until naught but shapeless ruins remain, and in the midst a fanciful six-columned well.

Appendix to accompany Plan drawn up by E. Hardy.

APPENDIX.

JOURNÉE DE COUTRAS.¹

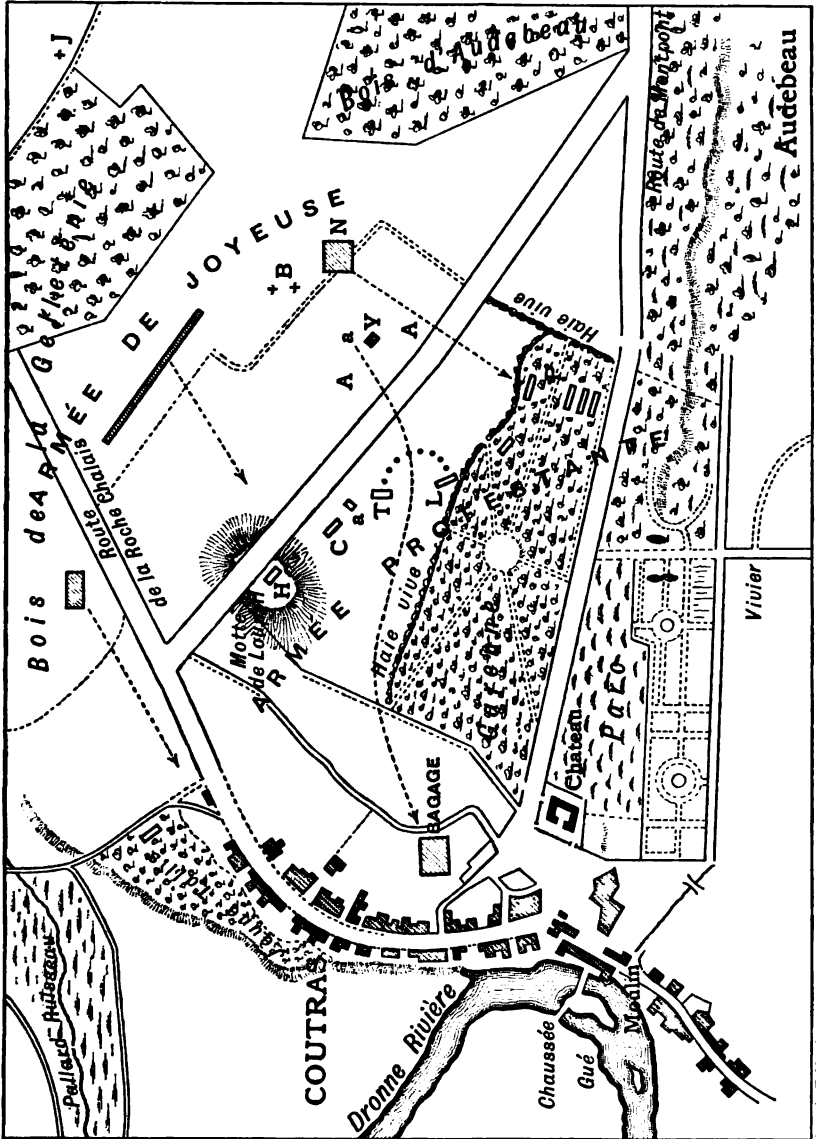
"La petite plaine, de 600 à 700 pas de largeur, qui s'étendait entre la Dronne et le bourg, étant défendue, du côté de l'ennemi, par les marais du Pallard, le Roi appuya son front de bataille aux premières maisons de Coutras et au taillis d'un an qui les bordait à l'ouest" (Aubigné).

Il désigna pour y placer l'artillerie le sommet d'une croupe arrondie, nommée *la motte de Loupsil*, qui commandait la route de la Roche Chalais et les bois que cette route traversait. Loupsil devint la clef de la première position défensive, le point d'appui central, d'où la ligne se courbait en demi-lune pour se relier à l'enclos de la Garenne, fermé de haies vives; cet enclos était le point d'appui de droite. A 500 mètres en arrière du premier front, le château, construit par Lautrec, le parc, les jardins et les viviers formaient une deuxième ligne inexpugnable.

Vers six heures du matin, La Trémoille, commandant des avant-postes, les replia successivement et vint annoncer au Roi que l'armée Catholique approchait des bois de la Gelleterie et qu'il allait y avoir bataille. Henri forma aussitôt toute sa cavalerie en 5 escadrons, qu'il déploya entre la Garenne et la route de la Rochechalais, dans l'ordre suivant.

À gauche, les 200 cuirasses du comte de Soissons, sur 3 rangs (S); au sommet de Loupsil, la *Cornette blanche*, sur 6 rangs, de 50 chevaux de

¹ Extract from *Batailles Françaises—Guerres de Religion, 1562 à 1620*, p. 104, by General Hardy de Périni, printed by the kind permission of the author.



d'après E. Hardy.

BATTLE OF COUTRAS.

front (H) ; l'escadron de Condé (C), de même force, était à quinze pas en arrière de la troupe royale.

Les 220 cavaliers gascons et auvergnats du vicomte de Turenne (T), sur 3 rangs, faisaient le *ventre du croissant*. Les 120 arquebusiers à cheval de Vignolles (V), devant servir d'*enfants perdus*, garnissaient l'intervalle de soixante pas qui séparait l'escadron de Turenne des 200 chevaux-légers de la Trémoille et de Vivans (L).

Chaque escadron avait, pour *garnir ses étriers*, un peloton de 25 arquebusiers à pied (a) choisis dans la garde des chefs. . . .

En attendant l'entrée en ligne des 3 régiments de l'arrière-garde, les 2,500 arquebusiers dont le Roi disposait furent placés aux ailes de la cavalerie ; 500 sous Castelnau et Montgomery (Ca), sur la lisière du taillis et dans les premières maisons de Coutras ; 2,000 sous Salignac (Sa) et Parabère (P), le long des haies vives de la Garenne. Le bagage resta parqué dans Coutras.

Quand ses troupes furent rangées, le roi de Navarre donna, du tertre de Loupsil, le signal de la prière et 4,000 voix entonnèrent ensemble un cantique de Clément Marot.

Joyeuse débouchait au même moment, des bois de la Gelleterie, à la tête de son brillant état-major. . . .

Il laissa son maréchal de camp grouper toute l'infanterie aux ailes de cette haie, en deux bataillons : à droite, 2,000 arquebusiers (M) sous M. de Cluseaux ; à gauche, 1,000 corselets et 1,800 arquebusiers des régiments de Picardie et de Tiercelin (N). On n'avait amené de la Roche-chalais que 2 canons ; on les mit à l'aile gauche.

De ce côté, Lavardin disposa l'avant-garde, composée de ses 400 lances triées (La), des 6 cornettes de cavalerie légère de Montigny (Y), et des Albanais (A, A') de Mercure, afin de menacer le *ventre du croissant*, point faible de la position ennemie.

Pendant que l'armée de Joyeuse prenait cette formation, les 3 régiments retardataires (O) étaient venus renforcer l'infanterie protestante ; Charbonnières à l'aile gauche (T), Neufvy et Bories dans la Garenne.

L'artillerie avait gravi le tertre de Loupsil : le Roi l'avait placée (K, G) aux deux flancs de la *Cornette blanche*. Il était neuf heures. Rosny et Clermont-Gallerande pointèrent les deux canons (R) et Boys-du-Lys la coulevrine (G).

[The Huguenots opened fire, the Catholics replied. Lavardin led the attack, charging with his troop across the Warren as far as the town of Coutras.

Joyeuse, with 1200 lancers, galloped towards the mound of Loupsil, where, after a vigorous tussle, the Protestants remained the victors.]

"Joyeuse avait traversé le bois de la Gelleterie, lorsqu'il fut renversé de son cheval (J') et tué de 3 coups de pistolet, bien qu'il eût offert 100,000 écus pour sa rançon."

Un Chapitre de l'Histoire des Eglises du Refuge de
Langue Française en Angleterre après la Révoca-
tion de l'Édit de Nantes.

Les Deux Patentes.

PAR M. LE BARON FERNAND DE SCHICKLER,
PRÉSIDENT DE LA SOCIÉTÉ DE L'HISTOIRE DU PROTESTANTISME FRANÇAIS.

PREMIÈRE PARTIE.

PENDANT L'UNION.

L'IMPRESSION et la publication, par les soins éclairés de MM. W. Minet, et W. Chapman Waller, des *Registres* de l'Eglise de la Patente en Spitalfields, bien digne de figurer dans la série qui fait tant d'honneur à la Huguenot Society de Londres, m'a rappelé des notes que j'ai recueillies il y a une quinzaine d'années sur cette communauté et sur celle du même nom à Soho. Il m'a semblé qu'elles complèteraient les renseignements donnés dans l'Introduction sur les déplacements successifs, fusions, séparations diverses et destinées finales de ces Eglises, en fournissant quelques dates et détails précis que j'ai glânés dans des documents originaux autres que ceux consultés par nos collègues. Je veux parler des *Actes* de quelques-unes des Eglises du Refuge à Londres. J'en avais déjà consigné les résultats sommaires dans une liste des principales églises et chapelles françaises de Londres (Notice sur ces Eglises lue à la séance de la Société du 11 Nov., 1865, *Proceedings*, I., 95). Mais ce rapide aperçu a besoin d'être repris avec plus d'ampleur, modifié sur quelques points, et appuyé de preuves. C'est ce que je vais essayer de faire pour les *Patentes*, en m'excusant à l'avance si toutes les lacunes ne sont pas encore comblées ni tous les problèmes résolus.

La monographie des deux Patentes nous remet forcément en contact avec presque toutes les Eglises, quelques-unes il est vrai très éphémères, du Refuge de langue française à Londres. On me permettra donc de la faire précéder d'un

court rappel de faits antérieurs à la Révocation de l'Édit de Nantes.

Au moment où l'Angleterre accueillait, dans un esprit de chrétienne et protestante solidarité, les victimes de l'intolérance de Louis XIV, deux de ces Eglises, fondées depuis longtemps, étaient en pleine vitalité : l'Eglise Wallonne Française de *Threadneedle Street*, instituée aux débuts de la Réformation, en 1550, par Edouard VI pour les réfugiés du seizième siècle et demeurée, avec son annexe de l'Hôpital, strictement calviniste dans sa forme et sa discipline, et l'Eglise dite de la *Savoie*, issue sous Charles I d'un culte chez le duc de Soubise, transférée de Durham House à Somerset House Chapel et officiellement reconstituée par Charles II en 1661, sous sa dénomination de la Savoie (avec une annexe à Spring Gardens), mais à la condition expresse d'adopter le rit anglican. Ces deux Eglises, l'une non-conformiste, l'autre conformiste, existaient seules à Londres, avec leurs deux annexes, lors de l'avènement de Jacques II. L'immigration en masse des Réfugiés après l'édit de Révocation les rendit bientôt absolument insuffisantes, mais il fallut compter d'abord avec le mauvais vouloir d'un souverain qui, passé lui-même au Catholicisme romain, était loin de ressentir pour les épaves de la "grande tribulation" les mêmes sympathies que ses sujets.

Ce fut à grand'peine que, le 16 juin 1686, le célèbre pasteur de Charenton, Pierre Allix, obtint l'autorisation d'établir un culte à Jewin Street (devenu plus tard St. Martin Orgars), avec la condition de se conformer au rit anglican. En 1687 s'ouvrit l'église de St. Jean Swanfields, celle-là calviniste. En 1688 les fidèles et les pasteurs expatriés se multiplièrent au point de provoquer l'ouverture presque simultanée de plusieurs lieux de culte, deux conformistes dans l'ancienne chapelle des Grecs et à Hungerford Market, une non-conformiste à Glass House Street (devenue plus tard Leicester-fields), alliée aussitôt avec St. Jean.

C'est le 13 août de cette mémorable année 1688 que Jacques II, par un revirement inespéré, ordonnait de préparer la Lettre Patente scellée et datée le 5 septembre suivant, d'où provient le nom des deux églises dont nous avons présentement à nous occuper.

Nous ne reproduirons pas ici cette Patente royale imprimée *in extenso* en tête de la publication récente de MM. Minet et Waller et qui s'appuie sur l'insuffisance des lieux de culte attribués à Londres ou dans les environs à ceux

“ of the French Nation professing the Protestant Religion ”. Bornons-nous à rappeler qu'elle concerne expressément les pasteurs désirant exercer “ their Ministry according to the manner as they did in France, conformable to the Confessions of Faith of their Churches and Liturgy and Discipline used amongst them ”. A dix d'entre eux, nommés individuellement dans l'Acte, et à leurs successeurs à perpétuité, était accordé “ to be one body political and corporate of themselves, in deed and in name, by the name of the French Ministers of the French Congregation of Protestant Strangers in or about our City of London and Suburbs of the Same, of the foundation of King James the Second ”— avec pouvoir “ to have, purchase and possesse, for them and their successors for ever, or for any terme of yeares, life or lives, any land or ground whereon to build one or more Church or Churches, place or places of Worship ”.

On ne saurait trop insister sur le caractère exceptionnellement large de cet Acte qui, après avoir donné aux ministres le droit, en cas de décès ou de déplacement de quelques-uns d'entre eux, d'en choisir eux-mêmes les remplaçants, ordonne à tous les magistrats civils et à tous les dignitaires ecclésiastiques de laisser “ the aforesaid Ministers and their successors quietly and peaceably exercise their ministry among their own people according to their own Customes, Ceremonies and Discipline notwithstanding they are not conformable to the Customes, Ceremonies, Rules and Discipline of the Church of England or any Act, Statute, Proclamation, Injunction, Restriction, Canon, Ordinance, Constitution, Usage or other matter, cause or thing whatsoever, in the contrary in any wise notwithstanding ”.

Il est permis de se demander si cette tolérance à laquelle Jacques II n'avait pas habitué les Réfugiés, et dont les stipulations si expresses dépassent même de beaucoup celles d'Édouard VI ou d'Elisabeth, n'a pas été un effet des menaçantes conjonctures intérieures du royaume, et de la crainte éprouvée par le monarque de voir l'influence grandissante de ces Réfugiés s'exercer en faveur de ses adversaires. C'est le 25 novembre, l'avant-veille du dernier retour de Jacques II à Londres, que les dix ministres entrèrent officiellement en fonctions. La Patente royale leur créait une situation vraiment privilégiée: étant illimitée elle les mettait à même d'étendre au besoin le bienfait à d'autres congrégations non encore officiellement reconnues et à leurs ministres. Et tout d'abord il en résultait la constitution à

peu près simultanée non d'une seule, mais de deux églises dites des *Patentes*, desservies toutes deux par le même groupe de dix pasteurs, premiers bénéficiaires du brevet, mais possédant chacune son Consistoire particulier. Il a semblé vraisemblable d'après les dates des premiers Actes ecclésiastiques,¹ bien qu'on n'ait pu l'affirmer de façon positive, que des deux Congrégations celle en Spitalfields fut fondée avant l'autre ; le titre de *Nouvelle Patente* par laquelle on la désigne parfois ne s'appliquerait alors qu'au fait de sa création de par une patente royale *nouvelle* venant s'ajouter à celles d'Edouard VI pour Threadneedle Street et de Charles II pour la Savoie—tandis que si, au contraire, la *Patente* en Soho a précédé l'autre, le mot de Nouvelle indiquerait que celle en Spitalfields est une nouvelle Patente à côté de celle-ci. Cette dernière interprétation devrait cependant être adoptée et la priorité reconnue à la Patente de Soho si, comme l'écrit Kennett, l'obtention des lettres royales est dûe au pasteur Benjamin de Daillon qui les aurait sollicitées "pour l'érection dans les champs de Soho d'une église française nonconformiste et indépendante, d'où elle est appelée jusqu'à ce jour la Patente".² Toujours est-il que les formations des deux communautés se sont suivies de près.

L'une et l'autre ne possédaient à ces débuts que des locaux provisoires. Le troupeau de la Nouvelle Patente s'était établi en location à Glovers' Hall (cité dans les Actes du 25 août et 13 oct., 1689) dans Glovers' Hall Court, côté sud de Beech Lane, Cripplegate Ward : il y resta jusqu'en 1707, où il prit possession d'une chapelle dans Paternoster Row, d'où le nom qui lui fut quelquefois attribué d'église de Paternoster Row ; il y resta jusqu'en 1716.

L'autre Patente s'était ouverte d'abord dans la chapelle de Berwick Street : cinq ans plus tard un don de 300 livres sterling remis par Lady Hollis, "mais qu'on croit provenir de la Reine Marie," permit l'acquisition d'un terrain et

¹ Pour les Actes ecclésiastiques Spitalfields précède Soho : le premier inscrit dans ses registres est, à la date du 30 janvier 1689, le baptême de Charles Nicolas, présenté par Benjamin Daillon, écuyer, ministre de cette église, son oncle par alliance, signé Souchet, ministre ; le premier mariage est du 4 avril, Louis Queniot, de Mer près Blois, et Rachel Boulaye ; tandis que les premiers baptêmes à l'autre Patente, ceux de Prat et de Ladevèze, ne sont que du 18 août suivant.

² A noter également que dans l'approbation du livre *Forms of Prayer used in the Reformed Churches in France before their persecution*, London, 1699, le nom de Blanc est suivi de ces mots : "Minister of the Old Patente french Church in Soho". Ceci paraît trancher la question.

l'érection en 1694 d'un temple spacieux dans Little Chapel Street, Ward Street, Soho. Ce fut son sanctuaire définitif.

L'histoire des deux communautés-sœurs est la même dans ses grandes lignes pendant près d'un quart de siècle : la perte du 1er volume des *Actes* de la Nouvelle Patente (1688-1716), consignée en tête du second qui commence avec l'année 1716, ne nous permet pas d'en connaître les incidents journaliers. Nous savons néanmoins que les dix ministres prêchaient par alternance régulière dans les deux temples, et que les deux Consistoires, indépendants l'un de l'autre pour les questions particulières à la paroisse, "s'assemblaient de temps en temps pour régler les affaires communes ou celles dont il y avait appel".¹ La nature des deux troupeaux n'a pas dû être tout à fait identique ; Soho a dû renfermer un élément commercial, voire même aristocratique, dont il n'y a, pour ainsi dire, aucune trace sur les registres de Spitalfields si ce n'est en qualité de parrains et marraines : l'immense majorité des fidèles de la Nouvelle Patente, ainsi que l'ont relevé MM. Minet et Waller, sont des ouvriers tisserands en laine et en soie.²

Sauf pour Henri Gervais, les Eglises qu'avaient desservies en France les dix ministres formant en premier cette corporation des Patentes, nous sont toutes connues. Plusieurs d'entre eux avaient enduré les violences de la persécution. Ainsi le plus en évidence de tous, Benjamin de Daillon, sieur de Levrée en Anjou, ministre de La Rochefoucauld, accusé injustement en 1684 d'admettre des relaps dans son église, avait été condamné à l'amende, enfermé à la conciergerie de Paris tandis qu'on démolissait le temple, et finalement relâché avec liberté de s'exiler.³ Simon Canolle (min. de Castelsagrat 1665, Castelnau 1668, Turenne 1670, Gours 1671, Gontaud 1677-1685) avait été condamné à 3,000 livres d'amende au roi, 1,000 livres au clergé, 30 livres d'aumônes et au bannissement perpétuel pour avoir persisté à prêcher dans un lieu de culte interdit. Samuel Mettayer, ministre de St. Quentin en Picardie (1660-1684), avait été mis en jugement pour avoir tenu chez lui des assemblées et induit des catho-

¹ Minute d'une lettre du Cons. de la N. Patente à celui d'Amsterdam, *Archives de Threadneedle Street*.

² Quant à la provenance, les fidèles, comme leurs premiers pasteurs, sont en majorité du Poitou, de la Saintonge et de la Normandie.

³ Il retrouva en Angleterre son frère Jacques qui, pourvu d'un bénéfice par les Stuarts, leur resta fidèle, et fut sous Guillaume III accusé de haute trahison pour sermon séditieux, mais acquitté.

liques à changer de religion, d'où fermeture de son église. Guillaume Bardon, d'abord ministre à Ferrières dans l'Albigeois, desservit jusqu'à la Révocation l'église de Bruniquel dont le temple était le seul resté debout dans toute la province de Basse-Guyenne. Timothée Baignoux, à l'interdiction de son église de Poitiers (juin, 1685), avait été l'un des cinq ministres chargés officiellement jusqu'à la Révocation de tous les baptêmes du Poitou. Jean Louis Malide était ancien ministre d'Espiens, de la Bastide et de Casteljaloux dans l'Agenais, Charles Souchet l'avait été de Ciré, de Tonneins et de Rochechouart, Barthélemy Balaguier d'Aiguefonde et d'Aussillon en Languedoc (1677-1685), Jean Forent de Sion en Bretagne (1672-1685); c'est lui qui fournit à Quick les Actes des Synodes de France.

Plusieurs de ces pasteurs ne restèrent que peu de temps en fonctions aux Patentes. La signature de Canolle ne figurant nulle part, il est probable qu'il y aura à peine exercé le ministère et que c'est lui qui a été remplacé le premier, à l'élection, le 21 janvier 1689, de Jean de Farcy (ancien ministre de Herby, la Norville et Mouchamps en Poitou), qui n'est lui-même indiqué sur les registres qu'une seule fois. En 1692 Gervais se retire ou meurt: c'est aussi l'année où l'on retrouve en dernier la signature de Souchet et où l'on élit Antoine le Blanc (ancien ministre d'Aigremont, 1665-1667, et de Marvejols, 1667-1685; aux Patentes jusqu'en 1708). En 1694 Bardon se retire et il est inscrit sur la liste des ministres nécessaires à secourir par la Royal Bounty: il est remplacé aux Patentes par N. Valot du Val, prosélyte converti à Zurich, qui en 1696 passe à Crispin Street. En 1694 aussi Balaguier se consacre aux églises des colonies françaises établies en Irlande par le Bill de 1692 (d'abord à Kilkenny, puis à Portarlinton et à Dublin, où il mourut 1705), exemple suivi par Benjamin de Daillon acceptant en 1698 le poste de Portarlinton. Jacques Cartaut, élu en 1696, passe trois ans plus tard à Canterbury, Mettayer meurt en 1698, mais Malide reste jusqu'en 1702.¹

¹ Les noms et dates ci-dessus et les suivantes se justifient, à l'exclusion de tous autres, par des documents officiels nous permettant d'affirmer que les autres signatures de pasteurs qui se retrouvent au bas d'actes des Eglises des Patentes pendant leur union ne sont que de ministres occasionnellement autorisés, soit par relations personnelles avec les familles, soit en l'absence des ministres ordinaires, à y célébrer un baptême ou un mariage, mais ne faisant point partie de leur corps pastoral en titre. Les noms des ministres officiels de la Patente de Spitalfields, et par conséquent jusqu'à la séparation en 1718-1719 également de la Patente de Soho, sont inscrits avec la date de

Ces vides furent comblés par les élections suivantes : Jean Baron (ancien ministre de Gijounet et de Mazamet ; aux Patentes 1699-1713) ; Jean de la Salle (ministre à Chizé 1678-1685, puis à Wandsworth ; aux Patentes 1700-1703, puis à Wheeler Street) ; Jean Balguerie de Chautard (1700-1701, où il passe à St. Jean) ; Jacob Gillet (prédicateur intérimaire à Newport Market 1693-1694, ministre à Portarlington 1694-1700, aux Patentes 1704-1706, puis à West Street et Crispin Street) ; Pierre Ricotier (1704-1711) ; Phil. Amaury Fleury, fils de Louis Fleury de St. Lo (1705-1706, passe à West Street et Crispin Street). Bourgeois, un prosélyte, et Casamajor ne sont mentionnés que lors de leur élection en 1705, tandis que Paul Forestier, fils d'un ancien pasteur de St. Mesme et de Cozes, lui-même à Dartmouth en 1707, élu en 1708, reste aux Patentes jusqu'en 1712, où il passe à Canterbury, alors que Pierre Barbault, élu en 1709, acceptait un poste à Leicesterfields et l'Artillerie. Ajoutons qu'en plus des dix ministres de l'origine et de leurs successeurs en titre, les deux consistoires acceptèrent les offres d'auxiliaires et les chargèrent, par interim, du troisième service du Dimanche : on peut au moins l'affirmer pour Du Plessis, Crégut et Babault.

Les vingt-six ministres officiels ci-dessus nommés ont desservi les deux Patentes, plus une troisième Eglise, Wheeler Street, de 1703 à environ 1712, même une quatrième de 1703 à 1705. En effet il était éclos, de divers côtés de la grande cité, plantes éphémères et sans racines sérieuses, de petites congrégations nées sous l'impulsion d'un ministre nécessaire et sans poste, ou sous celle de familles réfugiées d'une même contrée ou ville de France, et qui, retrouvant dans l'exil leur ancien pasteur, cherchaient en se groupant autour de lui à se rendre l'illusion du "home spirituel" d'autrefois. Elles s'étaient multipliées au point, parfois dans le voisinage immédiat les unes des autres et presque dans la même rue, d'attirer sur elles les justes méfiances non seulement des con-

l'élection sur le *Copie de Lettres* original de la Patente (archives de l'ancienne Eglise de Threadneedle Street). C'est la liste donnée par Burn, p. 171, et qui est absolument certaine (ce que nous nous garderons de dire pour d'autres données par lui). Dans le manuscrit elle est suivie de celle des anciens jusqu'en 1794. Les dates des sorties des ministres sont beaucoup plus difficiles à déterminer ; celles que nous donnons sont tirées des Actes des autres Eglises ; il en reste d'indécises, mais on peut affirmer pour quelques-unes de ces dernières que les ministres dont les noms ne figurent pas en tête du troisième Registre des Baptêmes et Mariages de la Patente de Spitalfields, qui s'ouvre au moment où elle prend possession de la chapelle de Paternoster Row, ne faisaient plus partie officielle des deux Eglises en 1707, bien que leur signature puisse encore y apparaître de loin en loin.

grégations françaises plus régulièrement constituées, mais encore des autorités ecclésiastiques et civiles de Londres. Les conformistes, ressortissant directement de l'Église nationale, n'avaient pu s'établir sans son autorisation et lui étaient connues. C'est des non-conformistes, beaucoup plus nombreuses, que l'Evêque de Londres avait, par son Injonction du 14 mai 1700, ordonné au Consistoire de Threadneedle Street de certifier "le nombre et les droits d'établissement"—ce à quoi le Consistoire fit une réponse volontairement incomplète et étrangement défectueuse. C'est à elles aussi que s'appliquent les paroles du prélat "que le Roi n'était pas content de la liberté qu'on se donnait d'ériger ainsi des Eglises; que l'on abusait de l'indulgence qui n'était donnée que pour les sujets du Roi et qu'il tâcherait d'apporter de l'ordre aux choses".¹

Devant ces menaces d'un prochain orage les petites congrégations, qui souffraient d'ailleurs du manque de ressources financières, cherchèrent leur salut dans l'association avec les Eglises officiellement autorisées et leur demandèrent, tantôt d'étendre sur elles le bénéfice conféré par les Lettres Patentes royales, tantôt en plus de les faire desservir à la place de leurs propres ministres devenus démissionnaires. C'est ainsi que les pasteurs des Patentes consentirent à en faire participer à leurs droits d'existence légale en leur accordant le concours de leurs ministres. Ils le firent d'abord pour un troupeau dont les éléments restent encore incertains. Dans le Registre de l'Église de Newport Market ou La Petite Charenton, qui s'était installée dans la chapelle laissée vacante par la migration à West Street de la congrégation du Tabernacle, les dix Actes de Baptêmes et Mariages de 1703 à 1705 sont signés par Le Blanc, Forent, Gillet, Ricotier et Fleury, avec la désignation de "l'un de nos pasteurs," ou de "ministre de cette Église". Or, à ces dates les cinq ministres appartenaient aux Patentes : elles avaient donc pris la charge pastorale de cette petite congrégation qui disparaît quand deux des pasteurs, Fleury et Gillet, signataires des derniers actes, quittent les Patentes pour entrer à West Street.²

¹ *Actes de Threadneedle Street*, séance du Consistoire du 2 juin, 1700.

² Le troupeau réuni à Weld House vers 1690 par Gommarc et Fleury, transféré en 1693 par les mêmes, plus Morin et Chaix La Place, à Newport Market, l'était de là en avril 1700, par La Place, du Val, Basset, Pons et Yver dans un temple qu'ils avaient construit dans West Street sous le nom de la Tremblade ou la Pyramide (depuis 1694 ils avaient union pastorale avec Crispin Street).—*Actes de West Street*. Dans Newport Market se constituait alors une nouvelle congrégation, formée peut-être de quelques familles

Cette alliance a été d'importance secondaire vu son peu de durée. Celle avec *Wheeler Street* a été plus longue et ne soulève aucun doute. Tout au plus peut-on se demander si cette congrégation ne s'était pas recueillie dans un autre local de la même rue avant la dédicace solennelle consignée dans les Registres de l'Eglise à la date de la Pentecôte, 1703, car le Consistoire de Threadneedle Street, énumérant à l'Evêque de Londres les Eglises non-conformistes de la capitale, en cite déjà en 1700 une à "Willow Street."

Toujours est-il que les Actes de Wheeler Street commencent le 16 mai 1703, par un baptême signé du Bourg (unique mention de ce prosélyte, porté sur les listes d'assistés de 1702), et qu'ils se continuent avec les signatures constantes des ministres des Patentes, Baron, Ricotier, Le Blanc, Gillet, Balguerye, Fleury, de la Salle, ce dernier finissant par s'y consacrer presque tout entier; car, tandis qu'après 1703 et jusqu'à 1712 il ne souscrit plus aucun acte des Patentes et n'est plus inscrit sur la liste officielle des pasteurs en 1707, sa signature continue au contraire au bas de ceux de Wheeler Street jusqu'à la fin de son ministère, longtemps après la cessation de l'alliance.

Cette cessation s'est produite en 1711 ou 1712, année où s'arrête le premier registre de Baptêmes et Mariages de Wheeler Street. En 1711 on y trouve la signature de Crégut, "min. de cette église," ce qui indique un changement, et elle s'y continue dans le registre suivant avec celle de La Salle.

L'année 1712 marque une douloureuse étape dans l'his-

de l'ancienne, réfractaires au transfert. "Le 13 avril 1701," ainsi que l'écrit l'ancien et secrétaire Jean Buffart en tête des Actes, "de la Charenton, Newport Market, paroisse de Ste. Anne, appelée le Petit Charenton, l'ouverture de cette dite Eglise a été faite par M. Henry D'Aubigny." Pasteurs et anciens avaient signé la Confession de Foi des Eglises de France, donc elle était non-conformiste. Le 21 juillet ils nomment, conjointement avec M. D'Aubigny, M. de Leacure de Laprade, de Riderscourt, avec jonction des deux Eglises, mais les deux signatures font bientôt place à celles de Legros et d'Auberoche, qui elles-mêmes disparaissent après la célébration, octobre 1702, par Legros d'un mariage pour Wapping dont l'acte est inséré avec la mention: "comme le peu de temps que ladite église de Houapin est érigée et n'ayant point encore de livre ny compagnie réglée, M. Legros nous ayant demandé de recevoir la dispense du dit mariage et d'en charger notre livre". Dès lors Legros se consacre à Wapping (où il est bientôt remplacé par Laprade), troupeau de marins Jersiais et Guernesiens et de leurs familles, et les pasteurs des Patentes signent les Actes du Petit Charenton jusqu'à sa clôture. Il se pourrait que les fidèles aient alors rejoint leurs anciens coparoiens à West Street, entraînant ou suivant les pasteurs Fleury et Gillet: on se rappelle que ce dernier avait d'ailleurs commencé son ministère dans ce troupeau, avant d'aller en Irlande et de là aux Patentes.

toire des Patentes. L'organisation désormais indépendante de l'annexe de Wheeler Street avait réduit les deux troupeaux au ministère de deux pasteurs, Baignoux et Forent ; tous deux étaient du nombre des premiers concessionnaires du Brevet du Roi Jacques : pour les seconder ils avaient appelé le 8 mars un prosélyte, J. Delpech, et un suisse, J. J. Favre : on est tenté de se réjouir en constatant que ni l'un ni l'autre n'appartenaient par leur origine aux Eglises du Refuge. En effet, à peine entrés en fonctions, les nouveaux-venus conçurent le projet de se soustraire au contrôle de leurs vénérables collègues, et gagnant à leurs vues une partie des anciens de la Patente de Soho ils ne craignirent pas d'accuser Baignoux d'avoir, en sa qualité d'un des commissaires dispensateurs de la Royal Bounty, soustrait six à sept cents livres de ces fonds sacrés.

Delpech avait reçu l'ordination anglicane l'année précédente ; Favre suivit son exemple. Bien qu'il en coûte d'avoir à suspecter les motifs d'un tel acte, il est difficile de n'y pas voir le dessein de se concilier par avance les sympathies des autorités ecclésiastiques, et de fortifier la rupture projetée en ralliant la Patente de Soho à l'Eglise officielle du pays.

Mais ils comptaient sans l'impartialité de l'Evêque de Londres et des Conseillers. Déférant ses accusateurs, les anciens St. Amour, Bihoreau et Dr. Jortin, à la Cour du Prélat, le pasteur inculpé obtenait, le 4 décembre 1713, une sentence d'excommunication majeure contre St. Amour (Jortin venait de mourir), sentence lue en pleine cour épiscopale, puis un dimanche dans la paroisse du haut de la chaire. Le calomniateur fut contraint en plus à demander pardon publiquement dans la Salle de la Savoie, ce qui ferait croire à la présence de délégués des principales autres Eglises du Refuge, d'autant plus qu'elles allaient être saisies à nouveau de la question.

Baignoux, froissé de voir récompenser par de tels procédés un ministère de plus d'un quart de siècle, avait présenté sa démission au Consistoire de Soho et se retirait définitivement quelques mois après, acceptant de celui de Spitalfields le titre rarement concédé de pasteur honoraire. Il cédait sa charge à J. Jembelin (pasteur de St. Lo 1632-1685, et depuis de Thorney Abbey), élu le 12 avril 1713, un des membres les plus distingués du clergé du Refuge.

Mais les sécessionnistes de Soho n'avaient pas renoncé à leurs projets et c'est maintenant à Forent qu'ils s'attaquèrent.

Au mépris de toutes les traditions, sans avoir convoqué l'Assemblée générale des deux Eglises, le Consistoire prononçait contre lui une sentence d'excommunication. Le pasteur, s'inspirant du conseil apostolique aux premiers chrétiens de prendre pour juges de leurs différends leurs frères en la foi, fit d'abord appel aux Eglises sœurs.

Depuis 1700 des délégués de ces Eglises se réunissaient de loin en loin en Assemblées générales, dans des circonstances exceptionnelles, avec charge de convocation à tour de rôle. C'est l'Eglise de West Street, la Pyramide, qui la lança cette fois le 27 décembre, sur la demande de Forent, "afin de prendre connaissance du différend qu'il a avec son Consistoire. . . Peut-être, Messieurs et très honorés Frères," est-il dit dans cette lettre, "que Dieu se veut servir de ce moyen pour faire cesser un Schisme qui règne depuis longtemps dans une Eglise et qui déshonore notre Refuge, un Schisme qui fait triompher les Papistes et gémir une infinité de bonnes âmes. Et si Dieu ne juge pas à propos de répandre sa bénédiction sur nos travaux, nous aurons du moins la consolation d'avoir fait nos efforts pour rétablir la paix parmi nos Frères; notre conduite à cet égard édifiera nos troupeaux, les Etrangers parmi lesquels nous vivons pourront voir que nous ne nous plaisons pas dans la division, les Eglises qui sont au-delà de la mer approuveront notre zèle et nous attirerons par ce moyen la bénédiction de Dieu sur nous et sur notre ministère."

"(Signé) Les Pasteurs et les Anciens de l'Eglise de la Pyramide et pour tous M. Yver, mod., et Ol. Nourichel, secrétaire."

Les Actes de l'Eglise de West Street nous donnent la "*Liste des Députés qui se sont trouvés à l'Assemblée Générale des Eglises françaises de Londres tenue dans ce temple le 5 de Janvier, 1714.*" Malgré sa longueur nous croyons utile de l'insérer, à cause des précieux renseignements qu'elle renferme sur l'existence à ce moment des diverses Eglises, et les noms de quelques-uns de leurs conducteurs.

<i>Pasteurs.</i>		<i>Anciens.</i>
De la Rivière.	Eglise de la Savoye.	Pujolas.
Sorin.		Baron de la Court.
Durand.	Eglise de S. Martin Orgars.	Baudouin et Bureau.
Graverolles.	Eglise du Quarré ou Soho.	De Gaillardy.
Lombard.	Eglise de Castle Street.	Vautier.

<i>Pasteurs.</i>		<i>Anciens.</i>
La Motte.	Eglise de Leicesterfields.	Bourdeaux.
Scoffier.	Eglise de Riderscourt.	Fouchard.
Pégorié et Le Blanc.	Eglise de l'Artillerie.	
	Eglise de la Patente en Paternoster Row.	
Bignon. ¹	Moses	} plaignans } qui se sont } retirés.
Forent	Bernard	
Jembelin	Barthélemy	
	Eglise de Willer Street.	
Gillet.		Boitault.
	Eglise de St. Jean.	
Suitre.		L'Etudois.
	Eglise de Wapping.	
Gaujac.		
	Eglise de Hagsden. ²	
Babault.		
	Eglise de West Street.	
Yver, mod.		Thérial et Péraudin.
	Eglise de Crispin Street.	
Fleury.		Buffard
	Olivier Nourichel, secrétaire. ³	

Trois Eglises font défaut : Threadneedle Street, affectant comme toujours de se tenir à l'écart des nouvelles-venues, par un sentiment excessif de sa primo-géniture ; la chapelle royale française de St. James, et la Patente de Soho elle-même.

Forent s'en était remis à la décision de l'Assemblée. Vu l'absence de tout délégué de la Patente de Soho, on décida de lui envoyer quatre délégués (les pasteurs Pégorier et Scoffier, et deux anciens) pour lui demander d'accepter le même arbitrage ; renvoyant l'affaire à une seconde réunion on adressa une lettre de rappel à Threadneedle Street et à St. James. L'Assemblée du 11 janvier où figurent les mêmes membres, sauf De La Rivière, où Rival représente St. James et à laquelle Threadneedle Street a envoyé une lettre d'excuses, est informée que le Consistoire de la Patente de Soho

¹ Ce nom doit avoir été mis par erreur dans la colonne des pasteurs, nous n'en connaissons pas qui s'y rapporte : ce doit être soit l'ancien de l'Artillerie, soit un des rares de Soho restés fidèles à l'union et inscrit en conséquence à côté des plaignants.

² Il faut évidemment lire *Hoxton* : c'est la première mention de cette toute petite communauté dont Burn n'a trouvé de traces que de 1748 à 1783, alors qu'elle était desservie par Bourdillon, pasteur successivement des deux Patentes. A remarquer aussi que le pasteur délégué est Babault, qui faisait à ce moment-là un quart de ministère dans les Patentes.

³ *Actes de l'Eglise de West Street.*

a refusé de recevoir les députés, et l'on doit se contenter de donner copie à Forent des Actes de cette réunion et de la précédente.

Le Consistoire de Spitalfields tenta alors un dernier effort. Avant de s'adresser au tribunal ecclésiastique anglican, se fortifiant de quelques anciens de Soho demeurés fidèles à l'union, et de trois ministres réfugiés domiciliés dans le voisinage, Uchard, Solignac (ancien ministre de Réalville) et Farcy, un des fondateurs, il cassa le 27 mai la sentence d'excommunication, déclara Forent injustement déposé et lui enjoignit de continuer son ministère dans les deux Eglises. De son côté la Cour ecclésiastique, se saisissant de la question, le rétablit d'office à Soho, où il continua, de par la loi, à prêcher à son tour pendant deux années sans toucher aucun traitement du Consistoire opposant. Cette question de traitement fit l'objet d'un procès devant la Cour, mais quand il se termina en 1717 par l'ordre d'avoir à en opérer le paiement rétrospectif, le vieux pasteur était affranchi des préoccupations terrestres ; il était mort en janvier, précédé de quelques mois dans la tombe par Delpech. Le renvoi par les anciens de son collègue d'opposition Favre laissait espérer le rétablissement de la paix. Il n'en fut rien. Soyer, ministre de Veere en Zélande, nommé en 1717, n'avait pas accepté la succession de Forent ; Michel Colombe, natif de Caen, la recueillit le 19 janvier, 1718, après avoir signé l'engagement (bien que pourvu de l'ordination anglicane et ayant desservi l'Eglise conformiste de West Street depuis août, 1716) de ne rien changer au service de l'Eglise. Il l'emportait sur Babauld, qui, "ayant fait un quart de ministère depuis 1712 comme ministre externe prêchant par emprunt," avait demandé la place, et prenait alors son congé : du Plessis, le ministre de Pest-House continuait à prêcher le troisième sermon, confié jusqu'en 1716 à Crégut".¹

Quand Jembelin et Colombe se présentèrent à Soho pour y prêcher, les anciens se refusèrent à les laisser monter en chaire, et la plainte adressée à la Chancellerie Episcopale semble être restée sans résultats, puisqu'on ne trouve plus aucune trace d'union entre les deux Eglises ni aucun nom des pasteurs successifs de la Patente de Spitalfields sur les registres de celle de Soho, que vint desservir un prosélyte D'Agneaux.

Les échos de ces tristes dissentiments s'étaient répercutés

¹ Actes de la Patente de Spitalfields.

au loin. Aux interrogations du Consistoire Wallon d'Amsterdam la Patente de Spitalfields répondait le 18 janvier, 1719, par une longue lettre à laquelle nous avons emprunté la plupart des détails qui précèdent. Désormais il s'agira de deux congrégations tout à fait distinctes et indépendantes l'une de l'autre, s'alliant chacune à d'autres et dont l'histoire ne peut plus être confondue.

DEUXIÈME PARTIE.

DEPUIS LA SÉPARATION.

I.—LA PATENTE DE SPITALFIELDS.

LA rupture définitive et irrévocable de la Patente de Soho coïncide à deux ans près avec le transfert de la Patente de Spitalfields dans un nouveau temple. C'est en 1716 que l'on songea à remplacer celui de l'allée de Paternoster Row, "trop incommode par sa grande profondeur en terre et la trop grande proximité de ses bancs," et dont le loyer était aussi trop élevé, en achetant de M. de la Place pour 300 livres sterling, produits d'une collecte spéciale commencée par les dons spontanés des pasteurs et des anciens, le temple de Crispin Street et le bail restant à courir pendant trente-deux années de la maison avoisinante avec un loyer de 19 livres sterling. Sur l'acte du 10 décembre figurent encore, avec la signature de Jembelin, celles de Forent et de Baignoux. "On appellera le Temple la Patente en Spitalfields," disent les procès-verbaux, qui mentionnent également la "fin des Actes faits et passés au temple de Paternoster Row le 29 décembre, 1716".

Le 1 janvier, 1717, Jembelin ouvrait le service à Crispin Street par une prédication sur le verset 12 du xiii. ch., 2 Ép. aux Corinthiens: "Saluez-vous l'un l'autre d'un saint baiser". Ce texte ne serait-il pas une allusion à la fusion dans la congrégation de la Nouvelle Patente d'une partie au moins de celle désormais dissoute de Crispin Street dont elle venait occuper le sanctuaire?

En s'y établissant le Consistoire constatait avoir reçu comme location des places du 14 février, 1716, au 16 mai, 1717, la somme de £159 14s., ce qui donne quelque idée de l'importance du troupeau. Le produit des "Boîtes," moins un cinquième prélevé pour les nécessités de l'Eglise, était consacré aux pauvres; celui des bancs servait à la subsistance des ministres. La démission de Baignoux et la mort

de Forent les avaient réduits à deux qui touchèrent à partir de 1719 soixante livres au lieu de cinquante (en 1723 quatre-vingts ; quatre vingt-dix en 1726, où l'on décide la suppression du troisième sermon sauf pour les jours de Communion et de Jeûne). On célébrait chaque année un de ces Jeûnes solennels à l'anniversaire de la Révocation et il nous est resté le Formulaire rédigé à cet effet par Jembelin.¹ Les années de son ministère et de celui de Colombe s'écoulèrent sans autres faits marquants que l'acceptation du projet d'union pour les questions générales des Eglises du Refuge de Londres, conformistes et non-conformistes, définitivement adopté à l'Assemblée générale des délégués de ces Eglises le 10 août, 1720, au Temple de la Savoie (voir *Proc. Hug. Soc.*, vol. i.).

À la mort de Colombe, mars, 1725, le Consistoire élut Jean Balguerie de Chautard, revenu, après vingt-huit ans de pérégrinations dans des Eglises diverses, à celle où il avait commencé son ministère évangélique, qu'il allait y poursuivre pendant plus d'un quart de siècle.² Le 26 décembre, 1727, Jembelin terminait le sien avec sa vie, et le 7 février suivant le Consistoire, "après examen des témoignages avantageux envoyés de Hollande en faveur de M. Daniel de Beaufort, proposant à Utrecht, a trouvé à propos et même nécessaire de ne pas différer davantage ladite vocation et l'a élu par voix unanime." Il fut confirmé et installé publiquement le 16 juin par un sermon de Balguerie de Chautard sur Jérémie iii. 15, suivi l'après-midi du même jour de celui d'entrée du récipiendaire sur 2 Ep. aux Cor. iv. 2.

En appelant Daniel de Beaufort le Consistoire implantait

¹ Formulaire pour la Publication du Jeûne.—Mes Frères, nous vous donnons avis que . . . prochain . . . jour de ce mois, nous célébrerons Dieu aidant en ce lieu selon notre coutume un jeûne solennel en mémoire de ce que en l'an 1685 l'exercice de notre Sainte Religion fut défendu et aboli dans tout le Royaume de France par un Edit fatal et injuste qui a causé la démolition de nos temples, notre dispersion en différents lieux et une longue et furieuse persécution. Nous vous exhortons de venir ici en ce jour là avec des cœurs humiliés et pleins de repentance de vos péchés, et de compassion pour vos frères désolés, afin de travailler tous ensemble à émouvoir les entrailles de la miséricorde de Dieu et envers nous et envers eux par des prières ardentes, par une Piété non feinte, et par une sincère Conversion à Dieu. Et afin d'exciter en vous ces pieux et Chrétiens sentiments et d'animer votre dévotion et enflammer votre zèle, il y aura deux sermons ce jour-là aux heures accoutumées, la lecture de la Parole de Dieu et le chant des Psaumes continuans depuis un sermon jusqu'à l'autre. Il y aura un troisième sermon à cinq heures et demie du soir." Rédigé par M. Jembelin, examiné par la Compagnie et adopté le 4 mai, 1718.—*Actes de la Patente.*

² Les Patentes, 1700-1701—St. Jean, 1703-1713—Oosburg en Hollande, 1713-1715—Zierichsee, 1715-1720—Wheeler Street, 1720-1725—La Patente, 1725-1753.

en Angleterre une famille de vieille noblesse française, persécutée déjà aux jours de la St. Barthélemy, et destinée à faire honneur à sa nouvelle patrie ; mais le jeune pasteur ne fit que passer à la Patente, et son entrée, au bout de quelques mois, au service de Leicesterfields, l'Artillerie et Riderscourt, après qu'un projet d'union avec ces Eglises, proposé déjà en 1724, eut été "entièrement et absolument rejeté en Nov. 1728," fut sans doute la cause de l'introduction dans le règlement de cet article : "Si un ministre quitte l'Eglise avant deux ans, il devra rembourser les frais de route qui lui étaient alloués". Il fut remplacé, le 18 mai 1729, par Charles Barbe, de la Patente de Soho (avant à Bois-le-Duc et chapelain de l'ambassadeur de Hollande à Paris, 1717, puis à la Brille, 1721-1722), mais qui "abandonna" l'Eglise dès le 17 avril, 1730. On choisit alors Jean Manuel (25 oct., 1730), natif de Zurich mais descendant de Réfugiés, accordant la place de lecteur au vieux ministre Jean Lefèvre.

Dix ans plus tard le troupeau accomplissait son dernier exode, par l'achat de la chapelle de Brown's Lane : des 315 livres sterling nécessaires, 100 provinrent de la vente de la chapelle de Crispin Street.¹ Le 14 mars, 1742, l'Eglise de Wheeler Street, évoquant les souvenirs d'une ancienne alliance, demandait sa complète incorporation à la Patente de Spitalfields. Elle venait de perdre un de ses deux pasteurs, S. Say : l'autre, Philippe Masson, qui la desservait depuis 1745, acceptait au nom du troupeau et signait les conditions suivantes :—

"Les deux troupeaux n'en feront qu'un : le temple de Wheeler Street sera fermé : MM. Balguerrie de Chautard et Manuel continueront à prêcher à leur tour, M. Masson sera chargé du troisième sermon avec un traitement de 50 livres". D'autre part "ils présideront par tour au Consistoire, distribueront de même la Cène et auront chacun sa semaine de visite des malades. Les anciens des deux troupeaux ne feront qu'un Consistoire qui pourra être réduit." (Le 25 juillet on décidait d'établir huit quartiers au lieu de six et vingt-quatre anciens au lieu de dix-huit.) Les deux lecteurs restent en charge avec 6 livres par an et 10 livres au survivant.

Cette adjonction rendait à l'Eglise un regain de forces : les baptêmes réduits à 15 en 1740 et à 17 en 1741, remontent

¹ Le livre de "L'Enregistrement des Baptêmes de l'Eglise de la Patente en Brown's Lane" commence le 13 avril, 1740.

en 1742 à 25, et en 1743 à 39; mais on était retombé à 20 en 1753 à la mort de Balguerie, suivie en 1754 de celle de Manuel. François Gautharel (aumônier de 1749 à 1753 de la garnison d'Ypres) fut appelé à remplacer le premier; on pensionnait Masson et supprimait le service du soir. Le second poste, d'abord accepté puis refusé sur raison de santé par Bellamy de Genève, fut occupé par Samuel Tavan. Les années accentuant la diminution du troupeau, le 30 mars, 1761, on réduisait les anciens au chiffre primitif de dix-huit, restant en fonctions trois ans¹; en 1762 les ressources permettaient d'allouer aux pasteurs un traitement de 100 livres, réduit de nouveau en 1767 à 90 livres. Notons en 1768 un acte de courtoisie fraternelle de la vieille Eglise de Londres, accordant au troupeau de la Patente en Brown's Lane pendant les réparations de leur temple d'assister au culte de Threadneedle Street. Tout à coup, en 1769, on put espérer un retour aux meilleures traditions du passé, lorsque la triple confédération de Leicesterfields, l'Artillerie et la Patente de Soho entrèrent en négociations pour la conclusion d'une alliance pastorale. Mais l'Eglise de l'Artillerie persista seule dans ce projet.² Se détachant de ses confédérées par sa décision du 5 août notifiée le 27, elle contractait le 25 mars, 1770, par l'organe de son pasteur Bourdillon, union définitive avec la Nouvelle Patente, sur les bases suivantes, qui avaient été arrêtées déjà le 28 septembre dans l'Assemblée générale des deux Consistoires :—

“Les Eglises de la Patente et de l'Artillerie seront désormais unies indissolublement, mais chacune d'elles sera, comme elles l'étaient avant l'union, indépendante de l'autre en toutes choses excepté en ce qui regarde le Saint Ministère, soit pour les fonctions pastorales, soit pour la vocation et les honoraires des pasteurs dont elles jouiront en commun. Tant que les deux Eglises pourront se maintenir séparément elles resteront sur le pied qu'elles ont actuellement, mais si la diminution des membres venait à le requérir, alors l'une des deux Eglises s'incorporerait dans l'autre avec tout ce qui lui appartient. Les deux Eglises seront desservies par trois

¹ En cette année, 1761, a lieu la dernière “Reconnaissance,” celle de Quentin Coquard de Picardie. Elles étaient devenues rares, 4 encore en 1735, 3 en 1748, puis 1 en 1749, 1752. 1755. Voir les citations dans le Préface de MM. Minet et Chapman Waller, entr'autres du forçat pour la foi Pierre de Fague de Nîmes.

² L'Artillerie, fondée 1691 (d'abord à Petticoat Lane), alliée 1691-1701 à St. Jean, de 1691 à 1769 à Leicesterfields, de 1701 à 1750 aussi à Riderscourt, et de 1735 à 1769 à la Patente de Soho.

pasteurs qui en partageront également les fonctions et les honoraires (par la location des bancs et autres revenus). Il y aura annuellement après Pâques une Assemblée complète des pasteurs et des anciens : quinze jours après la mort ou la démission d'un pasteur les deux Consistoires s'assembleront, alternativement dans l'un et dans l'autre, l'élection se faisant à la pluralité des suffrages et chaque Consistoire envoyant le même nombre de députés. L'Eglise de la Patente adressera une vocation à M. Bourdillon et l'incorporera à la Patente, afin de n'en pas perdre les privilèges, et celle de l'Artillerie adressera aussi une vocation à MM. Gautarel et Tavan. S'il arrive des disputes les Compagnies choisiront des arbitres."¹

Désormais les registres des Baptêmes et Mariages des deux Eglises portent indistinctement les signatures des trois pasteurs. Avec Jacques Bourdillon, La Patente se rattachait un des conducteurs spirituels qui a fait le plus d'honneur et laissé le plus de traces dans le Refuge en Angleterre, celui qui dans son Sermon de Jubilé devait constater, avec tristesse, la mort pendant son ministère de cinquante-deux pasteurs des Eglises françaises de Londres, la fermeture de neuf de ces Eglises et le déclin croissant des onze autres.²

Ce déclin s'accroissait en effet avec les années : l'alliance dernière n'était que le prélude de la dissolution. Et pourtant en 1771 le troupeau de la Patente put se croire revenu aux heures les plus caractéristiques du passé en assistant à l'abjuration de Nicolas Le Richeux de Basse Normandie.

En 1774 Tavan sollicitait pour se rendre à Lausanne un congé d'un an, à l'expiration duquel il recevait sa décharge, son service de prédication étant confié à des ministres intérimaires—Brilly (1776), Carle et Lescure (1778), Van Swinden (1780)—à raison d'une demi-guinée par sermon. Les ressources des deux congrégations accusant des différences sensibles, La Patente décidait en 1781 de ne plus fournir au fonds commun qu'une somme égale à celle de l'Artillerie. Mais déjà les approches de la fin se faisaient sentir : depuis 1753 aucun mariage n'est inscrit sur les registres de la Patente, en 1783 il n'y a que quatre baptêmes. Lors du centenaire de la Révocation les négociations étaient déjà entamées en vue de l'union des deux congrégations avec la

¹ *Procès-verbaux de la Patente et procès-verbaux de l'Artillerie.*

² *Sermon de Jubilé prononcé dans l'Eglise Française de l'Artillerie en Spital-fields le 13 janvier, 1782, par J. Bourdillon, qui en a été le pasteur dès le 25 décembre, 1781.*

plus ancienne de toutes les Eglises de langue française de la capitale, celle fondée par Edouard VI à Threadneedle Street.

Toutefois la solution ne fut pas obtenue sans difficultés. On lit dans les *Actes* de Threadneedle Street à la date du 2 novembre, 1785 : "Ouverture faite par quelques anciens des Consistoires des Eglises de l'Artillerie et de la Patente de quel oeil on envisagerait l'idée d'une réunion de ces Eglises avec la nôtre. Cette proposition ayant généralement fait plaisir, on nomme, pour l'étudier, un Conseil composé du pasteur La Chaumette, de deux anciens et de deux diacres. L'enquête aboutit à un refus, à cause du second article du projet : 'qu'une vocation soit adressée à leurs pasteurs'."¹

Le vieux principe si inflexiblement maintenu par Threadneedle Street s'affirmait une fois de plus : pas d'union pastorale, simple fusion, absorption du troupeau par l'Eglise l'aînée de toutes. Quand Gautarel et Bourdillon consentent à ne pas recevoir vocation (d'après la décision de l'Assemblée Générale de leurs deux Consistoires du 5 septembre, 1785, portant "qu'ils se déchargeront en entier de leurs fonctions dans les deux Eglises"), mais à la condition que leurs honoraires leur soient conservés, la clause est acceptée par Threadneedle Street à la grande pluralité des voix, avec fermeture des deux temples et pension accordée au lecteur : mais, bien que la lettre de ratification du pasteur La Chaumette soit du 24 mai 1786, un nouvel obstacle surgit ; on remet d'abord de mai en juin le "dîner d'union" ; même en novembre tout est encore en suspens et le Consistoire de Threadneedle Street en adresse ses plaintes à Gautarel.

C'est de lui en effet que venait l'empêchement. Par le décès le 5 juin de son collègue l'octogénaire Bourdillon, Gautarel se trouvait désormais représenter à lui seul la "Corporation des dix Ministres" établie par la Patente de Jacques II : il en concentrait tous les pouvoirs si complets, si étendus ; il ne pouvait se résoudre à s'en déposséder. Céder ce précieux document, ainsi que l'exigeait le Consistoire de Londres, c'était renoncer à jamais et comme anéantir une des conquêtes du passé—n'était-ce pas aussi effacer jusqu'au nom qui la rappelait, puisque l'ancienne sœur, la Patente de Soho, avait elle-même disparu depuis 1784 ? (*voir plus loin*). Enfin le 13 décembre 1786, dans une dernière assemblée générale des deux Compagnies de la Patente et de l'Artillerie, Gautarel se résignait à demander sa décharge : l'acte signé

¹ *Actes*, volume complémentaire.

de Jean Lesouef, secrétaire de la Patente, met fin à l'existence personnelle de cette Eglise qui avait tenu pendant près d'un siècle une place distinguée parmi les françaises du Refuge.

Le Consistoire de Threadneedle Street, devenu par l'acte d'incorporation propriétaire du temple de Brown's Lane, le loua à une congrégation luthérienne allemande; celui de l'Artillerie est devenu le siège d'une communauté baptiste sous le nom de Parliament Court Chapel. En se fusionnant le Consistoire de l'Artillerie versa son capital de 650 livres sterling.

II.—LA PATENTE DE SOHO.

L'HISTOIRE de la Patente de Soho, devenue indépendante de son homonyme de Spitalfields, fut singulièrement mouvementée. Et d'abord, après sa rupture de propos délibéré, le Consistoire, qui avait provisoirement adjoint J. Rod. Holard (1719) au prosélyte Daigneaux, sentit le besoin de se consolider par une alliance nouvelle. C'est à un troupeau conformiste affaibli par la cessation de son confédéré de Crispin Street, celui de West Street (la Tremblade ou la Pyramide), qu'il s'adressa. Le 14 mars, 1720, les deux ministres Gillet et Yver "proposent de joindre l'Eglise de la Patente à la leur, et en même temps d'appeler M. Daigneaux pour être leur collègue, afin de prêcher alternativement dans les deux Eglises et d'être associés pour le ministère. La Compagnie a approuvé unanimement la jonction des deux Eglises, aussi bien que la réception de M. Daigneaux sous la condition qu'il recevra les ordres de l'Eglise Anglicane". Cet acte, signé par les anciens de West Street, fut soumis aux fidèles, qui l'acceptèrent sans opposition.¹ Malgré l'ordination anglicane stipulée pour Daigneaux la Patente de Soho conservait le culte strictement réformé, comme le prouvent les actes d'union et de vocation des pasteurs.² Elle en acquérait

¹ Actes du Consistoire de West Street, St. Giles, sign. Perraudin, secrétaire.

² "Aujourd'hui 22 mars, 1720, M. Daigneaux modérateur, la Comp. (de la Patente) ayant considéré que selon la résolution qu'elle a prise d'adresser une vocation à MM. Gillet et Yver pour être ministres de cette Eglise . . . il avait été fait une union de chaire entre ces deux Egl. après avoir mûrement délibéré sur la nature de cette union, il a été arrêté unanimement que les deux Consistoires demeureraient séparés, jouissant chacun de ces deux Cons. de leurs constitutions particulières, et que le service divin sera continué dans cette Eglise de la même manière qu'il a toujours été et qu'il y est à présent établi sans que jamais on y puisse faire aucun changement. . . . Et que dans le seul cas de la vocation d'un ministre les Consistoires s'assembleront, ou prendront l'avis et consentement l'un de l'autre.

ainsi deux de plus, Gillet qui avait déjà desservi les Patentes en 1705 et 1706, d'où il était passé à West Street; Yver, entré à l'Eglise de West Street lors de sa confédération avec Crispin Street, et qui était resté à la première à la dissolution de la seconde.

L'alliance de la Patente et de la Pyramide ne dura que neuf années, sur lesquelles les Procès-Verbaux de West Street fournissent quelques détails. Dès 1721 "les deux Consistoires, vu les fréquentes rechûtes (?)" de Daigneaux, décident d'adresser vocation comme quatrième ministre à Daniel Olivier, pasteur de la Brille, frère de celui de Leicesterfields. Nommé le 19 mars, il prêche à West Street le 7 avril, puis "entre dans la chambre du Consistoire pour confirmer sa vocation". "Il donne la main d'association à Messieurs ses collègues et anciens de West Street et la Patente, comme un sceau de son engagement, priant le Seigneur qu'il veuille le bénir dans toutes ses saintes entreprises pour l'avancement du salut de tous les hommes." Pour lui assurer 70 livres sterling de traitement on augmentait de 2s. le prix des places, mais le 29 septembre Olivier ayant "manqué de parole" (il entrait à S. Martin Orgars), les deux Consistoires se réunissent et le remplacent par Charles Barbe (min. de la Brille): on le reçut le 2 mars, 1722, comme quatrième pasteur des deux Eglises. Chacune contribuait pour moitié à son traitement, mais le plan proposé par la Patente pour l'union financière complète des deux congrégations avait été désapprouvé et rejeté par les membres de West Street. Le 21 décembre l'assemblée du Consistoire de la Patente décidait que les pasteurs Gillet et Yver prendraient tous les revenus de la Pyramide pour leurs gages à condition de demeurer chargés de ses dettes sans être engagés davantage dans celles de la Patente, restant par contre avec les revenus de cette dernière à Daigneaux et à Barbe, stipulations transcrites dans un Acte formel auquel on ajoutait ces mots: "A l'égard des vocations elles continueront à se faire par les deux Consistoires".

En 1725 ils se réunissent pour étudier la demande de

"5 avril 1720, Nomination par la Patente de Jacques Gillet et Jean Yver, ministres, à condition que les Consistoires demeureront séparés, jouissant chacun de leur constitution et privilèges particuliers et que le service divin sera continué &c. . . . Et se sont lesd. sieurs Gillet et Yver et Daigneaux soumis à la discipline de nos Eglises de France, et promettent de l'exercer dans ce Consistoire autant que faire se pourra, pour le gouvernement de l'Eglise."—Extraits des Actes de la Patente de Soho annexés à ceux de West Street dans son registre.

Gillet d'être autorisé, pour cause de santé, à lire ses sermons. "La Compagnie, considérant qu'on ne pouvait pas accorder cette permission sans nuire à l'édification de leurs troupeaux et sans faire un tort considérable à l'intérêt des pasteurs qui les servent, il a été résolu, à la pluralité des voix, de lui refuser sa demande et de le prier de faire remplir sa place jusques à ce qu'il soit en état de la remplir lui-même, ce qu'il a refusé de faire, déclarant hautement qu'il userait de son droit et qu'il lirait les sermons à l'avenir" (signé Dagneaux, mod.). Les traditions du sermon oral réformé entraient en opposition avec celles du sermon lu anglican. Il y a ici un premier germe de désaccord, mais il ne devait éclater et être poussé jusqu'au bout qu'après la décharge accordée le 28 avril, 1729, à Barbe, qui passait à Spitalfields (*vide supra*).

Le 22 juillet suivant, dans une Assemblée du Consistoire de la Patente que Gillet refusa de présider, le Secrétaire de la Compagnie proposa deux moyens de pourvoir à la vacance : la réunion des deux Consistoires, ou la notification à celui de West Street "de la personne sur laquelle le Consistoire a jeté les yeux". Choisisant le dernier mode, le Consistoire nomma *proprio motu* Pierre Stéhélin (ministre de l'Eglise française de Hammersmith) et députa trois anciens pour le notifier au Consistoire de West Street.¹

Ce dernier, réuni le 18 août sous la présidence d'Yver, décida unanimement de protester contre l'élection, "comme tout à fait irrégulière et contraire aux articles de l'Union et à la clause du 21 déc. 1722". Quand ils en invoquaient les termes formels, "les vocations continueront à se faire par les deux Consistoires," les délégués de la Patente insistaient, assez singulièrement il faut l'avouer, sur ceux, "ils prendront l'avis et consentement l'un de l'autre". En vain le modérateur fit appel à la justice et à la charité chrétienne de ceux de Soho, en vain on envoya auprès d'eux les anciens Defaux et La Porte : dans leur réponse du 19 septembre, ils persistent à penser "qu'il résulte des clauses de leur acte d'union que toute élection faite dans l'un des deux Consistoires doit être censée nulle à moins que l'autre ne l'approuve et n'y consente," mais qu'elle est valable sans cela ; autrement dit, ils ne reconnaissent au Consistoire allié que droit de veto et non de choix d'un commun accord, prétextant d'une part que le Consistoire de West Street, étant le plus nombreux,

¹ L'acte de notification était signé Lefanu, secrétaire, Dagneaux, mod., André Vergade, P. Laval, Jacques Gorge, Is. Blesberg, P. MacCulock, Jean Beauvais, P. Jounard, P. Bacot.—(*Actes de West Street.*)

pourrait se rendre maître des vocations, d'autre part, qu'étant chargés d'entretenir le ministre, c'était à eux de le choisir. A un nouvel appel la Patente répondit par des mesures violentes dont rend compte la délibération du Consistoire de West Street assemblé extraordinairement "par rapport à la rupture de l'Union".

"La Compagnie a résolu unanimement de dresser un Acte par lequel elle déclare hautement que le blâme de cette rupture ne peut être rejeté que sur le Cre. de la Patente — soit parce que led. Cons. a refusé absolument d'agir de concert avec elle dans l'élection d'un nouveau ministre — soit parce que M. Daigneaux à leur sollicitation s'est retiré du service de cette Eglise en prenant congé des anciens le 18 nov. dernier sans qu'aucun ministre fut présent, en quoi il a contrevenu aux Règlements de la Discipline et violé les lois de l'ordre, de la bienséance et de la justice, soit parce que led. pr. Daigneaux a délivré à cette Cie. un acte par lequel led. Cons. dispense et décharge MM. Gillet et Yver des fonctions de leur ministère dans l'Eglise de la Patente, de sorte que l'union ne pouvant plus subsister pour toutes ces raisons lesd. Srs. G. et Y. ont été contraints de se retirer du service de cette Eglise et de borner les fonctions de leur Ministère à celui de l'Eglise de West Street, en attendant que la Providence leur présente l'occasion de faire avec quelque autre Eglise une union qui lui soit avantageuse. Il a été aussi résolu qu'à l'avenir aucun prosélyte ne sera appelé pour être pasteur ordinaire de cette Eglise."¹

Le dernier mot, à l'adresse de Daigneaux, n'est-il pas la suite et la conclusion du désaccord de 1725? L'Eglise de West Street continua désormais sans alliance jusqu'en 1748, où elle s'éteignit dans celle de la Savoie.

Quant à la Patente de Soho, le nom de Daigneaux disparaît des Actes en 1733, tandis que Stéhélin y reste jusqu'à son décès en 1753, aidé dans son ministère par l'alliance contractée depuis 1736 avec le groupe important de Leicesterfields, l'Artillerie et Riderscourt.² Le traité d'union, à peu près identique à celui qui liait déjà Leicesterfields et l'Artil-

¹ Signé: Gillet, de Laporte, Viger, Maingott, Du Faur, Ségalas, Lemaitre, Justamond, Priorreau, Pottier, Laffitte, Bence, secrét. (*Actes de West Street*).

² L'union pastorale de Leicesterfields avec l'Artillerie datait de 1691, accrue depuis 1701 de Riderscourt: elle s'était resserrée en 1722 par un nouveau traité très explicite et par l'union des anciens des deux compagnies, prenant la responsabilité du traitement et pensions des ministres, ceux-ci cédant aux anciens les revenus des bancs et autres locaux.

lerie, stipule : l'indépendance respective pour le gouvernement particulier de chacune des Eglises ; leur union en un même corps en tout ce qui regarde les affaires générales, c'est à dire l'exercice et l'entretien du saint ministère, ainsi que pour les choses sur lesquelles il faudra délibérer dans les Assemblées Générales des Eglises françaises de Westminster et de Londres, et dans ce cas les Eglises conféreront ensemble à l'avance de la résolution à prendre ; la réunion des Consistoires quinze jours après la mort ou la démission d'un ministre pour en nommer le successeur ; en cas de dispute entre les Consistoires nomination d'arbitres, ou paiement par le Consistoire non consentant de 200 livres sterling. Aucun changement dans la liturgie et dans le service ne pourra être introduit sans le consentement des trois Consistoires. Ceux de Leicesterfields et de l'Artillerie adresseront vocation en bonne et dûe forme à M. Stéhélin, comme la Patente à MM. J. Blanc, P. Barbauld, J. Barnouin et J. Bourdillon. Un article additionnel arrête que tant que subsistera l'Eglise de Riderscourt, les ministres servans en partageront également le produit.¹ Cette congrégation se maintint encore environ une dizaine d'années.

Stéhélin, qui avait reçu en 1724 l'ordination anglicane, dut promettre de se conformer à la Confession de foi et à la Discipline des Eglises de France, "autant que la chose sera possible ou praticable dans ces royaumes".

Cinq pasteurs desservaient donc les quatre troupes, et parmi eux Pierre Barbauld que nous avons déjà vu aux Patentes de 1709 à 1711. A sa mort en 1738 on se réduisit à quatre ; cependant en 1745 on adressait vocation à Louis Marcombes, pasteur de l'Eglise de Menin en Flandre qui venait d'être dissipée par la guerre. Les dépenses des trois Eglises s'élevaient cette année à 120 livres sterling pour l'Artillerie, 170 livres sterling pour Leicesterfields et 150 livres sterling pour la Patente de Soho ; il n'est plus mention de Riderscourt, sans doute définitivement fermé. Détail caractéristique, les cinq pasteurs recevaient l'injonction de prêcher de *vive voix* les Dimanches et les "sur-semaine," sous peine d'une guinée pour les sermons du Dimanche et d'une demi-guinée pour les sermons sur-semaine, au profit des pauvres.² En 1748 Mdle. Dina Dufour léguait 574

¹ Actes de l'Eglise de l'Artillerie.

² Actes de Leicesterfields. En 1748 on accorde la lecture du sermon du Jeudi, et en 1768 à Barnouin par faveur spéciale il est permis de lire désormais ses discours.

livres sterling partagés entre les pauvres de Leicesterfields pour 267, et ceux de la Patente pour 307.

Il nous faut maintenant enregistrer une série de mutations pastorales. Stéhélin, mort en 1753, est remplacé le 9 octobre par Jean Gaspard Mieg, Jean Blanc en 1757 par H. Durand, qui démissionne en 1760 et auquel succède Louis de la Chaumette; l'année suivante il entre à Threadneedle Street et après des prédications intérimaires de Bugnion (min. de l'Eglise suisse) les trois Consistoires élisent un proposant de Hollande, David René Bouillier. A la démission de Marcombes en 1763 on se contente de quatre pasteurs, abolissant les services de lendemain des doubles fêtes. A la mort de Mieg (sept., 1765) on élit Georges de la Saussaye. Les comptes de cette année donnent pour Leicesterfields, £166 15s., pour la Patente, £133 17s., pour l'Artillerie, £229 14s. En 1767 double démission de Barnouin par raison d'âge—il mourait en 1770—et de Bouillier pour entrer à la Savoie. Les Consistoires nommaient Charles de Guiffardière, d'Utrecht, qui dès 1769 rejoignait Bouillier à la Savoie tandis que son collègue de la Saussaye entrait à Threadneedle Street.¹ Les trois Eglises en étaient donc arrivées à n'avoir plus qu'un seul ministre, le vénérable Jacob Bourdillon. Un projet d'alliance avec la congrégation helvétique établie à Castle Street ayant échoué² et le pasteur Jean Jay de Rotterdam ayant refusé la vocation offerte, les Compagnies se décidèrent à demander l'union avec la Patente de Spitalfields dont il a été question dans le chapitre précédent.

Cette union, pour Soho la ré-union, qui eût effacé jusqu'à un certain point les persistants nuages laissés par l'ancienne séparation, n'était, paraît-il, qu'un rêve irréalisable. Après de longs pourparlers Bourdillon dût se rendre à l'évidence; les ressentiments dureraient toujours et les Patentes n'étaient pas destinées à terminer ensemble l'existence ensemble commencée. Découragé par les difficultés et les entraves opposées à cette réconciliation des deux sœurs, le pasteur demanda sa décharge de Leicesterfields et de la Patente et

¹ *Actes de l'Artillerie.*

² Le 14 juillet, 1769, les pasteurs de l'Eglise helvétique Bugnion et Roustan et le secrétaire F. des Barres expriment leurs regrets de ce que le projet d'union du 4 juin ait été si facilement rompu (lettre insérée dans le Registre de Leicesterfields). Le projet d'union a été conservé; ses clauses particulières étaient qu'un des quatre pasteurs serait toujours suisse, qu'on n'aurait qu'un temple dont chaque troupeau paierait la moitié et occuperait un des côtés, et que si les deux Consistoires étaient réduits à un seul, l'Eglise porterait le nom de celui qui pourrait remplir les engagements.

entra (ainsi que nous l'avons dit plus haut) à la Patente de Spitalfields avec toute la congrégation de l'Artillerie.

Nous lisons dans les actes de Leicesterfields: "L'union entre les 3 Egl. de L. la Pat. en Soho et l'Art. ayant été rompue par une résolution de cette dernière du 5 Août 1769, un nouvel Acte d'union fut arrêté et ratifié le 3 Avril 1770 entre les Egl. de Leicesterfields et la Patente en Soho". En décembre on avait élu Elie Brilly à la place de Guiffardière, et Van Swinden à celle de Bourdillon: deux pasteurs devaient amplement suffire: "vu le petit nombre de communicants à Leicesterf^m on réduisait les communions à sept pour an": il a dû en être de même à la Patente. Van Swinden, démissionnaire (1773), fut remplacé par Etienne Gibert. Réfugié de la onzième heure, il était le digne représentant du pastorat français sous la Croix. A 17 ans il accompagnait déjà dans les périlleuses tournées de prédication "au Désert" son frère Louis, était condamné à vingt ans par contumace aux galères à perpétuité (1756), et après deux années passées près d'Antoine Court au Séminaire de Lausanne, était consacré et affecté à la Saintonge, puis à Bordeaux où il resta dix ans. Des divergences théologiques, une tendance vers les doctrines des Moraves, le forcèrent à s'en éloigner. En 1771 il reçut à Londres l'ordination épiscopale et "prêcha à peu près tous les Dimanches pour soulager les autres ministres" jusqu'à son entrée à la Patente de Soho en 1776, où sa signature figure seule sur les registres après 1778.

A Leicesterfields à partir de 1775 Lescure signe avec Brilly et les deux sont indiqués en 1779 comme ministres de l'Eglise. Il semblerait donc que les liens s'étaient relâchés, sinon entièrement rompus, entre les deux confédérées. D'ailleurs Leicesterfields a survécu pendant trois ans à la Patente de Soho.¹ Celle-ci, dont le dernier Acte inscrit est du 3 avril, 1782, voyait approcher la fin du bail de son temple. Plutôt que d'en commencer un nouveau la congrégation prit la résolution de se dissoudre, et c'est à l'Eglise conformiste des Grecs, l'ancienne Savoie, qu'elle demanda son incorporation. "On les verra avec plaisir grossir le troupeau et se conformer aux Actes et usages de l'Eglise sans rien changer à la constitution de nos Assemblées de Consistoire. Cette Eglise ne se chargera en aucune manière du ministre de la Patente, dont les fonctions cesseront le jour que les membres

¹ N'ayant pu obtenir en 1786 son union avec les Grecs, que cette Eglise trouvait "trop onéreuse," Leicesterfields se fusionnait en 1787 avec le Quarré.

viendront se fondre dans notre troupeau. Mais l'on choisira parmi les chefs de famille de cette Eglise quelques personnes propres à veiller conjointement avec nous à l'administration des deniers des pauvres, continuant à assister les pauvres de la Patente selon la liste et le taux que ces chefs de famille communiqueront, moyennant qu'ils nous mettent en possession de tous les fonds de leur caisse."¹

En effet on agrégeait aux Anciens des Grecs quatre de ceux de la Patente, Chassereau, Charron, Michel et Hureau (18 avril, 1784). Cette adjonction est un témoignage de la vitalité de l'Eglise au moment où elle renonçait à son existence propre : l'augmentation immédiate des recettes de celle des Grecs en est une autre ; loin d'être éteint, comme ce fut le cas à la cessation de plusieurs autres Eglises, le troupeau procurait à la caisse des pauvres un accroissement de recettes de 32 livres sterling et à celle des ministres de près de 300 livres sterling.

Le nom de la *Patente* est mentionné une dernière fois officiellement, juste un siècle après sa première apparition dans l'histoire des Eglises du Refuge : en 1788 le testament de M. Bourget lègue 20 livres "aux pauvres de l'Eglise française dernièrement connue sous le nom de la Patente et maintenant jointe à l'Eglise appelée des Grecs".

Ce n'est pas sans une certaine mélancolie qu'on assiste à l'agonie et à la mort lente de ces communautés nées à la suite de la Révocation. Rien de plus naturel cependant que cette assimilation progressive, et parfois rapide, des descendants des immigrés à la nation qui avait si fraternellement accueilli leurs pères. Du reste elles sont représentées encore à l'heure actuelle par les deux Eglises françaises de la capitale où elles sont venues toutes converger, et nous savons que la Société Huguenote de Londres s'efforce, avec succès, d'en retrouver et d'en perpétuer les souvenirs.

¹ *Procès-verbaux de l'Eglise des Grecs, la Savoie.* Gibert, devenu d'abord un des aumôniers de la Chapelle Royale de St. James, termina sa carrière pastorale à Guernesey.

The Irish Pensioners of William III.'s Huguenot Regiments, 1702.

TRANSCRIBED AND EDITED BY WILLIAM A. SHAW, LITT.D.

THE following paper is transcribed from the original return contained in a miscellaneous bundle (No. 17) of Civil List books preserved among the Treasury Records at H.M. Record Office.

The paper itself is entitled "Abstract of the Examination of the French Pensioners now on the Civil List of the Establishment of Ireland". I have, however, given it the title which appears at the head hereof, in order to make more plain the military nature of the pensions, and the proper character of the recipients.

The return itself is in book form with very wide pages divided into columns, these latter being headed as follows:—

- | Column 1. | No. | Folio of the Book. |
|-----------|-----|---|
| " | 2. | (a) Names and stations, either by first commission, second, or incorporated by warrant. |
| " | 3. | (b) Allowance on the establishment per diem. |
| " | 4. | (c) Where served and how long. |
| " | 5. | (d) What substance and in what it consists. |
| " | 6. | (e) What family they maintain. |
| " | 7. | (f) Able or not to serve, and why not. |
| " | 8. | (g) When disbanded. |

As it is manifestly impossible to reproduce the return in this tabular form, it is faithfully reproduced here by the simple device of lettering the columns (a), (b), (c), (d), and so on. Where, therefore, in the case of any pensioner's name the information only refers to (say) columns (a), (c), (e), it is to be understood that the remaining columns are blank in the original MS. and afford no details.

Prefixed to the abstract is the original report, dated 29th June, 1702, from Charles Dering, Auditor General of Ireland, the report forming the covering document under which the abstract was forwarded to the Lords Justices of Ireland, by

whom they were both doubtless transmitted to the English Treasury under cover of another covering document—now apparently lost. Dering's report is sufficiently succinct of itself to explain the circumstances under which the abstract was drawn up and the nature of its contents.

It will be sufficient here to indicate in brief an antecedent fact or two in further explanation.

As early as April, 1689, the Huguenot Refugees had formed three regiments in William's army.¹ The reference to them as "the 3 French regiments of foot" is constant up to 1698.²

In March, 1698-9, they suffered the fate of the other regiments on both the English and the Irish establishments in the disbandment of that year—a disbandment which the military historian has condemned in the strongest terms.³

Within fifteen months the policy of the disbandment was reversed upon the outbreak of the war. Existing regiments were brought up to war strength, and new regiments raised. The return contained in the following pages was doubtless demanded by the Lords Justices with a view to the recruiting exigencies of 1702, and it might be conjectured from the heading of the return "Galway's regiment," that a, possibly futile, attempt had been made to distinguish the pensioners according to their old regiments. Unhappily it is not possible to say whether all the pensioners here enumerated are to be taken as being of that regiment and that alone.

That the return was asked for more with a view to ascertaining the possibilities of recruiting among the French pensioned soldiers is plain. In the following year a warrant was issued by the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland for the raising by Col. Sibourg of a regiment of Dragoons consisting of French Protestants, and to be commanded by the Duke of Schomberg.⁴

There was doubtless a second but much subsidiary motive in the return—*viz.* the ascertaining of the qualifications and pretensions of the various pensioners—*i.e.* with the mere niggardly view of pension economy. In connection herewith the following return may be compared with two

¹ Commons Journals, x., 88, 103; 15th and 24th April, 1689.

² Cal. Treasury Papers, i., 192, 381, 423; ii., 258. In January, 1694-5, they were serving in Flanders. In May, 1699, reference is made to "the late 5 French regiments"; unless this would appear to be a mistake for 3, the other two regiments would be regiments of Hussars.

³ Fortescue, *History of the British Army*, i., 386-9.

⁴ Treasury Board Papers, lxxvi., 137, 26th July, 1703.

other returns on the same matter contained in the Treasury Board Papers.¹

It is perhaps necessary to add in conclusion that in the report the various abbreviations are quite simple. Pt. = Piedmont, Ire. = Ireland, Fl. = Flanders, Bran. = Brandenburg, Holl. = Holland, Com. = Commission, the figures 1 or 2 standing for first commission or second commission, and so on. When an officer is described as re. or ref. the abbreviation is for *réformé*, which is the then equivalent of our "retired".

1. DERING'S COVERING REPORT.

TO THEIR EXCELLENCIES THE LORDS JUSTICES OF IRELAND.

May it please your Ex^{ties},

In obedience to your order to me directed dated the 5th of May last, requiring me to inform myself the best way I could of the circumstances, qualifications and conditions of the several French pencon^{rs} placed on the Civil List of the estab^t, and to require an acco^t of them as soon as conveniently I could, and that to that purpose I should give notice to all such French pencon^{rs} wheresoever residing in this kingdom to appear before me by a certain day to be by me prefix'd, and should then cause them every one to answer to the several questions menconed in y^r Excys order: I have examined them accordingly upon the said several questions, and have taken their several answers in writing signed under their own hands and likewise caused them to produce their several commissions at the same time w^{ch} I have certified under their several answers, and have ordered the same to be bound in a Booke as by y^r Excys ord^r is directed: w^{ch} Booke I now lay before you. But in regard the particulars of the s^d answers are long and tedious being 590 sheets of paper I humbly take leave to lay before you a list (by way of abstract to the s^d Booke) containing the most material heads menconed in y^r ord^r. And for y^r Excys satisfacon in the first place do here offer some observacon^s in general on the several articles menconed in y^r order: w^{ch} [said articles or questions] are as follows.

Qu. 1. If any & w^{ch} of the s^d pencon^{rs} are allowed any other allowance upon the establishm^t then [than] what is given the like officers and the station they last served [in] at disbanding: and w^t such allowance is and the reason how such allowance came to be made.

Ans^r. I find no other allowance made to any penconer on the estab^t then w^t is given the like officer in the station he served in at disbanding: except some few who were placed by particular order wth the reasons menconed in the Booke why so placed which are marked thus † in the list.

¹ Treasury Board Papers, lxxv., No. 2, 4th July, 1701. "Names of the pensioners of the late three French regiments of foot who had appeared with their accounts stated and certified of arrears of pension due."

Ibid., lxxx., 82. "Copy of Lord Coningsby's report distinguishing the several qualifications and pretensions of the officers of the French regiments, delivered into the Treasury, June, 1702."

Qu. 2. If any person receive double allowance under several qualificacons as Coll: and Capt, Lewt Coll and Capt, Major and Capt or the like.

Ans. It does not appear by the estab^t that any pencon^r is paid in a double capacity such as Coll and Capt, Lewt Coll and Capt, Maj^r and Capt because each man's allowance is placed by his name in an entire sume without any title given to the person. But I must observe to y^r Excys that I find the allowance of such of the French pencon^s as were either Coll. Liev^t Coll, or Major to be equal to the English halfpay officers of the same rank who are paid in two capacitys. As for instance the Earle of Drogheda is on the estab^t of English halfpay officers thus,—To the Earle of Drogheda as Coll and Capt 8^s per diem, and the Earle of Lifford who was likewise a Col of Foott is on the Civil List of the estab^t thus, Earle of Lifford 9^s per diem and the rest accordingly. So that the allowance is the same tho' not menconed the same way.

Qu. 8. That every pencon^r give under his hand the name and quality he served in, when he entred into service, when disbanded, what substance he or they enjoyed either in money, goods, farmes, stock or trade over and above his pencon: all w^{ch} particulars are to be collected into a Booke, and if after they have made their returne under their hands it shall appear to be untrue, on due proof will be struck out of the list, of which you are to give them notice.

Ans. I find that most of the pencon^{rs} have served by the name they are now on the estab^t, that they have served a great while either in France, Holland, Brandenburgh or England [Ireland] as appears by their several answers on their examinacons and comissions produced to me: all w^{ch} I have certified in the said Booke.

As to w^t relates to their substance either in money, goods, farms, stock or trade I find the greatest part of them have no money, some goods onely for their necessary use, some small farms w^{ch} they rent & little or no trade: but such as have any I have inserted them in the list hereunto anex'd under the proper head. And I have particularly acquainted every one of them that in case any part of what they have given under their hand should be proved to be false they will be struck out of the list.

Qu. 4. You are to give notice to all the pencon^{rs} now residing in this Kingdome to appear before you on a certain day to be prefixt & having taken a view of them to make a list of the names of such of them as are fitt & able to serve in the Army wth the qualificacons they served und^r at disbanning.

Ans. I have review'd all the French pencon^{rs} that live in this kingdom except two or three who being sick have sent their answers signed to me: And I do find almost all of them say they are willing to serve in the army, tho' many of them by reason of age & infirmitys are not capable of it: I have therefore sett down in the s^d list the names of such who are able to serve & also the names of those that are not able to serve, wth the reasons why they are not able.

I have likewise in pursuance to y^r Excys^s order to me dated the first of June given notice to the French agents that they should acquaint the several pencon^{rs} now out of this kingdome that it is y^r Excys^s ord^r that every penconer not having licences shall repair hither wthin six monthes after notice given them by the said agents: and in case he doth not such pencon^r shall have a moyety of his pencon struck off: and if he or

they returne not in twelve monthes after such notice given them then the whole pencon to cease.

All wch is humbly submitted to y^r Excy^s consideracon this 29th of June 1702.

CHA: DERING Aud: Gen^l.

2. THE ABSTRACT.

ABSTRACT OF THE EXAMINATIONS OF THE FRENCH PENSIONERS NOW ON THE CIVIL LIST OF THE ESTABLISHMENT OF IRELAND.

[General résumé. Prefixed.]

The whole number of persons placed on the establishment as appears by the margent of this abstract are	590
Of which number there are in this kingdom, all of whom have been examined	414
Absent out of the kingdom, dead or otherwise provided for, whose names are in the abstract blank [marked *]	176
Persons that have no substance but their pensions	286
Persons that have some substance besides their pensions	178
Those that have serv'd & had Commissions	305
Those that have served as officers without Commissions mention'd, certified in the abstract	39
Those that have serv'd as non commissioned officers & private soldiers	57
Those that have been placed on the establishment by his late Majesty's warrants & have not served, markt in the abstract [thus] †	18
Those that have pensions above their stations markt upon the abstract [thus] ‡	6

GALLOWAY'S REGIMENT.

- | | |
|---|--|
| <p>1. (a) Daubussargues, Col. of Horse, 2 com. of Col.
 (b) 10s. per diem.
 (c) In Bran., in Pt. in Fl. 13 years.
 (d) 500<i>l</i>. ster. in malt tickets.
 (e) His wife.
 (f) Able to serve.
 (g) March the 20th, 1693.</p> <p>2. (a) Mollen.
 (b) 9s. per diem.
 (c) His mother and a neece.
 (f) Able to serve.
 (g) March 23, 1698-9.</p> <p>3. (a) Varangle, Com. of Cap. and of Lt.-Col. of horse.
 (b) 8s. per diem.
 (c) In Holl., and Ire. and Fl. 12 years.
 (e) His mother and a neece.
 (f) Able to serve.
 (g) March 20th, 1698-9.</p> | <p>4. *(a) Mazeret. .
 (b) 7s. per diem.</p> <p>5. (a) Changuion, stand^r Cap. of Horse, Com.
 (b) 5s. per diem.
 (c) In Ire. and Fl. 9 years.
 (d) 2,000<i>l</i>. in talleys.
 (e) His sister.
 (f) Old.
 (g) March 20, 1698-9.</p> <p>6. (a) Bernatre, 2 Com. of Cap., ref. and stand^r.
 (b) 5s. per diem.
 (c) In Holl., Ire. and Fl. 12 years.
 (d) 1,000<i>l</i>. in talleys.
 (e) His wife.
 (f) Leamed [lame].
 (g) March 20, 1698-9.</p> <p>7. *(a) La Fabregue.
 (b) 5s. per diem.</p> |
|---|--|

8. (a) La Milliere, 2 Com. of Cap., ref. and stand^s.
 (b) 5s. per diem.
 (c) In Holl., Ire. and Fl. 11 years.
 (d) 1,100*l.* in talleys.
 (e) His wife and 7 childr.
 (f) Able to serve.
 (g) March 20, 1698-9.
9. (a) La Bouchetiere, 3 Com., Lt., ref. Cap. stand^s.
 (b) 5s. per diem.
 (c) Holl., Ire. and Fl. 13 years.
 (d) 300*l.* in talleys.
 (e) His wife and 4 childr.
 (f) Able to serve.
 (g) 20 March, 1698-9.
10. (a) La Laude, stand^s Lt., 2 Com., Lt. and Cap. Lt.
 (b) 3s. per diem.
 (c) Holl., Ire. and Fl. 11 years.
 (d) 300*l.* in talleys.
 (e) His sister.
 (f) Able to serve.
 (g) March 20, 1698-9.
11. (a) Combecrose, st^s Lt., 2 Com., ref. and stand.
 (b) 3s. per diem.
 (c) Bran., Ire. and Fl. 10 years.
 (d) 800*l.* in malt tickets.
 (e) His wife and child.
 (f) Able to serve.
 (g) March 20, 1698-9.
12. *(a) Pinsun.
 (b) 3s. per diem.
13. (a) Salles, stand^s Lt., Com.
 (b) 3s. per diem.
 (c) Holl., Ire. and Fl. 13 years.
 (d) 800*l.* in talleys.
 (e) 3 cosins.
 (f) Able to serve.
 (g) March 20, 1698-9.
14. (a) Maisonneuve, stand^s Lt., Com.
 (b) 3s. per diem.
 (c) Holl., Ire. and Fl. 10 years.
 (d) 700*l.* at 5 per cent.
 (e) His wife and sister.
 (f) Gouty.
 (g) March 20, 1698-9.
15. (a) Coulombier, stand^s Lt., Com.
 (b) 3s. per diem.
 (c) Holl., Ire. and Fl. 10 years,
 (d) 1,050*l.*
 (e) His wife.
 (f) Able to serve.
 (g) March 20, 1698-9.
16. (a) Boisribau, 2 com., ref. and stand^s Lt.
 (b) 3s. per diem.
 (c) Holl., Ire. and Fl. 11 years.
 (d) 500*l.* in talleys.
 (e) Two neeces, their family and a nephew.
 (f) Able to serve.
 (g) March 20, 1698-9.
17. (a) Du May, 2 Com., Cornet and stand^s Lt.
 (b) 3s. per diem.
 (c) Holl., Ire. and Fl. 11 years.
 (d) 300*l.* in talleys.
 (e) His sister.
 (f) Able to serve.
 (g) March 20, 1698-9.
18. *(a) Lubieres.
 (b) 2s. 6*d.* per diem.
19. *(a) Dollon.
 (b) 2s. 6*d.* per diem.
20. (a) Vendieres, stand^s Corn., Com.
 (b) 2s. 6*d.* per diem.
 (c) Fl. and Ire. 4 years.
 (d) 60*l.* in talleys.
 (e) His wife and daughter.
 (f) Able to serve.
 (g) March 20, 1698-9.
21. (a) Dhours, stand^s Corn., Com.
 (b) 2s. 6*d.* per diem.
 (c) Holl., Ire. and Fl. 11 years.
 (d) 300*l.* in talleys.
 (f) Able to serve.
 (g) March 20, 1698-9.
22. *(a) Anth. La roque.
 (b) 2s. 6*d.* per diem.
23. (a) Plafay, 2 Com., ref. and stand^s Corn.
 (b) 2s. 6*d.* per diem.
 (c) Ire. and Fl. 9 years.
 (e) His wife and 3 childr.
 (f) Able to serve.
 (g) March 20, 1698-9.
24. *(a) La Cailtiere, Junr.
 (b) 2s. 6*d.* per diem.
25. *(a) La Milliere, Jun.
 (b) 2s. 6*d.* per diem.
26. †(a) Anth. Gassaud, Pens. Corn. by warr.
 (b) 2s. 6*d.* per diem.
 (c) Fl. and Ire. volun. 4 years.
 (f) Sikly.
 (g) March 20, 1698-9.
27. *(a) Guiraudet.
 (b) 1s. 6*d.* per diem.

28. **(a)* Mallié. (e) 7 persons.
 (b) 1s. 6d. per diem. (f) Able to serve.
 (g) March, 1698-9.
29. **(a)* Boyer. 38. (a) Liverne, 2 Com., ref. Lt. and
 (b) 1s. 6d. per diem. Capt.
30. (a) Farange, Q. M., Com. (b) 4s. per diem.
 (b) 1s. 6d. per diem. (c) Holl., Ire. and Fl. 13 years.
 (c) Ire. and Fl. 10 years. (d) 650l. in tall. and malt tickets.
 (d) 300l. his and his brother's. (e) His son and daughter.
 (f) Able to serve. (f) Old.
 (g) March 20, 1698-9. (g) March, 1698-9.
31. (a) Amatis, Q. M., certify'd. 39. (a) Des Loires, 3 Com., ref. stands
 (b) 1s. 6d. per diem. and ref. Cap.
 (c) Ire. and Fl. 9 years. (b) 4s. per diem.
 (d) 40l. of his wife. (c) Holl., Ire. and Fl. 13 years.
 (f) Able to serve. (e) His wife.
 (g) March 20, 1698-9. (f) Leamed.
 (g) March, 1698-9.
32. (a) Pineau, Q. M., Com. 40. **(a)* Rouviere.
 (b) 1s. 6d. per diem. (b) 4s. per diem.
 (c) Ire. and Fl. 9 years.
 (d) 250l. that he trades with.
 (e) His brother and 2 sons.
 (f) Able to serve.
 (g) March 20, 1698-9.
33. (a) Chelar, Q. M., Com. 41. (a) Fontane, 2 Com., ref. Lt. and
 (b) 1s. 6d. per diem. Cap.
 (c) Holl., Ire. and Fl. 11 years. (b) 4s. per diem.
 (d) 400l. ster. tall[ies] and interest. (c) Holl., Ire. and Fl. 13 years.
 (e) His wife and child. (d) 200 in talleys.
 (f) Old. (e) His brother and 2 neeces.
 (g) March, 1698-9. (f) Able to serve.
 (g) March, 1698-9.
34. (a) Pelissier, Q. M., certify'd. 42. (a) Cramahe, 2 Com., ref. Cap. of
 (b) 1s. 6d. per diem. foot and horse.
 (c) Ire. and Fl. 10 years. (b) 4s. per diem.
 (e) His wife and child. (c) Holl., Ire. and Fl. 11 years.
 (f) Able to serve. (d) 450l. at 7 per cent.
 (g) March, 1698-9. (e) His wife and 2 childr.
 (f) Sikly.
 (g) March, 1698-9.
35. (a) Saurin, Q. M., certify'd. 43. (a) La Cailtiere, senr, 2 Com., stands
 (b) 1s. 6d. per diem. Lt. and R. Cap.
 (c) Ire. and Fl. 10 years. (b) 4s. per diem.
 (d) 200l. (c) Holl., Ire. and Fl. 13 years.
 (e) His wife and child. (d) 300l. talleys.
 (f) Able to serve. (f) Sikly.
 (g) March, 1698-9. (g) March, 1698-9.
36. (a) Descury, 2 Com., ref. Capt. and 44. **(a)* La Coudriere.
 2d Major. (b) 4s. per diem.
- (b) 5s. per diem.
 (c) Holl., Ire. and Fl. 13 years.
 (d) 600l. in tall.
 (e) 7 childr. and his sister.
 (f) Leamed.
 (g) March, 1698-9.
45. (a) La Malquiere, R. Cap., Com.
 (b) 4s. per diem.
 (c) Holl., Ire. and Fl. 12 years.
 (e) His son.
 (f) Able to serve.
 (g) March, 1698-9.
37. (a) Goulaine, 2 Com., ref. Lt. and 46. **(a)* Chabrieres.
 Capt. (b) 4s. per diem.
- (b) 4s. per diem.
 (c) Ire. and Fl. 10 years.
 (d) 800l. in tall.
47. **(a)* Louvigny.
 (b) 4s. per diem.

48. **(a)* Valsery [dead].
(b) 4s. per diem.
49. *(a)* Clervaux, 2 Com., R. Lt. and Cap.
(b) 4s. per diem.
(c) Holl., Ire. and Fl. 11 years.
(d) 100*l.* in tallays.
(e) His sister.
(f) Sikly.
(g) March, 1698-9.
50. **(a)* Guerin.
(b) 4s. per diem.
51. **(a)* Dallons.
(b) 4s. per diem.
52. *(a)* Arabiu, 2 Com., Corn. and R. Cap.
(b) 4s. per diem.
(c) Ire. and Fl. 10 years.
(d) 500*l.* and his wife's substance.
(e) His wife with child.
(f) Able to serve.
(g) March, 1698-9.
53. *(a)* Rousse, Lt. R., Com.
(b) 2s. 6*d.* per diem.
(c) Ire. and Fl. 10 years.
(d) 100*l.* in money.
(f) Able to serve.
(g) March, 1698-9.
54. **(a)* Maleray.
(b) 2s. 6*d.* per diem.
55. *(a)* Du fay, 2 Com., Corn. and R. Lt.
(b) 2s. 6*d.* per diem.
(c) Ire. and Fl. 10 years.
(d) 150*l.* in money.
(e) His wife and child.
(f) Able to serve.
(g) March, 1698-9.
56. *(a)* Chapel, R. Lt., Com.
(b) 2s. 6*d.* per diem.
(c) Ire. and Fl. 10 years.
(d) 100*l.* in tallays.
(f) Able to serve.
(g) March, 1698-9.
57. **(a)* St. Christol.
(b) 2s. 6*d.* per diem.
58. *(a)* Nicolas, 2 Com., Corn. and R. Lt.
(b) 2s. 6*d.* per diem.
(c) Ire., Pt. and Fl. 8 years.
(e) No family.
(f) Able to servé.
(g) March, 1698-9.
59. *(a)* Comarques, R. Lt., Com.
(b) 2s. 6*d.* per diem.
(c) Ire. and Fl. 6 years.
(d) 160*l.* and a rent of 8*l.* 10s.
(e) His wife and 3 childr.
- (f)* Able to serve.
(g) March, 1698-9.
60. *(a)* Dalez Soustalle, 3 Com., R. Corn., Lt. and Cap.
(b) 2s. 6*d.* per diem.
(c) Ire. and Fl. 7 years.
(d) 400*l.* to the Exch. of Eng.
(e) His wife.
(f) Able to serve.
(g) March, 1698-9.
61. *(a)* Drulhon, 2 Com., R. Corn. and Lt.
(b) 2s. 6*d.* per diem.
(c) Ire. and Fl. 9 years.
(d) 200*l.* in tallays.
(f) Able to serve.
(g) March, 1698-9.
62. *(a)* Theremin, R. Lt., Com.
(b) 2s. 6*d.* per diem.
(c) Ire. and Fl. 10 years.
(d) 100*l.* in tallays.
(e) His wife.
(f) Wounded.
(g) March, 1698-9.
63. *(a)* Desmareste, 2 Com., Corn. and R. Lt.
(b) 2s. 6*d.* per diem.
(c) Ire. and Fl. 10 years.
(d) 150*l.* in tallays.
(f) Able to serve.
(g) March, 1698-9.
64. *(a)* Sijol, R. Lt., Com.
(b) 2s. 6*d.* per diem.
(c) Ire. and Fl. 10 years.
(d) A farm of 16*l.* a year.
(e) 5 kinswomen.
(f) Sikly.
(g) March, 1698-9.
65. *(a)* Duchene, Sen., 2 Com., Corn. and R. Lt.
(b) 2s. 6*d.* per diem.
(c) Holl., Ire. and Fl. 13 years.
(d) 200*l.* in tallays.
(f) Able to serve.
(g) March, 1698-9.
66. *(a)* Gaubert, 2 Com., Corn. and R. Lt.
(b) 2s. 6*d.* per diem.
(c) Holl., Ire. and Fl. 12 years.
(d) 130*l.* in mony.
(f) Able to serve.
(g) March, 1698-9.
67. **(a)* Constantin.
(b) 2s. 6*d.* per diem.
68. *(a)* Therond, 2 Com., Corn. and R. Lt.

- (b) Holl., Ire. and Fl. 12 years.
 (e) His wife and 2 childr.
 (f) Old.
 (g) March, 1698-9.
69. (a) Sigougniere, R. Lt., Com.
 (b) 2s. 6d. per diem.
 (c) Fl. and Ire. 6 years.
 (d) 100l. in talleys.
 (f) Sikly.
 (g) March, 1698-9.
70. (a) Moncornet, R. Lt., Com.
 (b) 2s. 6d. per diem.
 (c) Holl., Ire. and Fl. 13 years.
 (d) 200l. in a farm of 16l. a [year].
 (e) His wife and 4 childr.
 (f) Old.
 (g) March, 1698-9.
71. *(a) Dumarest.
 (b) 2s. 6d. per diem.
72. (a) Du val, 2 Com., Corn. and R. Lt.
 (b) 2s. 6d. per diem.
 (c) Holl., Ire. and Fl. 13 years.
 (d) 125l. ster. in mony.
 (f) Sikly.
 (g) March, 1698-9.
73. *(a) Constantin, junr.
 (b) 2s. 6d. per diem.
74. (a) La rouviere, 2 Com., Corn. and R. Lt.
 (b) 2s. 6d. per diem.
 (c) Holl., Ire. and Fl. 12 years.
 (d) 150l. in mony.
 (f) Wounded.
 (g) March, 1698-9.
75. (a) Feron, 2 Com., Corn. and R. Lt.
 (b) 2s. 6d. per diem.
 (c) Holl., Ire. and Fl. 11 years.
 (d) 200 tall. and mony.
 (f) Able to serve.
 (g) March, 1698-9.
76. *(a) -J. La roque.
 (b) 2s. 6d. per diem.
77. (a) Le Blanc, R. Lt. Com.
 (b) 2s. 6d. per diem.
 (c) Holl., Ire. and Fl. 13 years.
 (d) 100 talleys.
 (f) Able to serve.
 (g) March, 1698-9.
78. (a) Cambes, 2 Com., Corn. and R. Lt.
 (b) 2s. 6d. per diem.
 (c) Ire. and Fl. 10 years.
 (d) 100l. in mony.
 (e) His wife.
 (f) Able to serve.
 (g) March, 1698-9.
79. (a) La Salles, R. Corn., Com.
 (b) 2s. per diem.
 (c) Ire. and Fl. 10 years.
 (e) His wife and child.
 (f) Able to serve.
 (g) March, 1698-9.
80. (a) Rigaudye, R. Corn., Com.
 (b) 2s. per diem.
 (c) Ire. and Fl. 10 years.
 (d) 100l. in mony.
 (f) Able to serve.
 (g) March, 1698-9.
81. (a) Jalaquier, R. Corn., Com.
 (b) 2s. per diem.
 (c) Ire. and Fl. 10 years.
 (d) 250l. in mony.
 (f) Able to serve.
 (g) March, 1698-9.
82. *(a) Des Fournaux.
 (b) 2s. per diem.
83. *(a) Brunel.
 (b) 2s. per diem.
84. (a) Des Isles, R. Corn., Com.
 (b) 2s. per diem.
 (c) Fl. and Ire. 6 years.
 (f) Able to serve.
 (g) March, 1698-9.
85. *(a) Dupuy.
 (b) 2s. per diem.
86. (a) La Chapelle, R. Corn., Com.
 (b) 2s. per diem.
 (c) Ire. and Fl. 10 years.
 (d) 220l. in talleys.
 (e) His wife and child.
 (f) Able to serve.
 (g) March, 1698-9.
87. (a) Darques, R. Corn., Com.
 (b) 2s. per diem.
 (c) Ire. and Fl. 10 years.
 (d) 100l. in mony.
 (f) Able to serve.
 (g) March, 1698-9.
88. (a) Dabbadie, R. Corn., Com.
 (b) 2s. per diem.
 (c) Fl. and Ire. 7 years.
 (f) Able to serve.
 (g) March, 1698-9.
89. *(a) Corbettes.
 (b) 2s. per diem.
90. (a) Duchene, Junr, R. Corn., Com.
 (b) 2s. per diem.
 (c) Ire. and Fl. 9 years.
 (d) 200 in talleys.
 (f) Able to serve.
 (g) March, 1698-9.

91. (a) Savounnet, R. Corn., Com.
 (b) 2s. per diem.
 (c) Ire. and Fl. 11 years.
 (d) 200*l.* at interest.
 (e) His wife and child.
 (f) Able to serve.
 (g) March, 1698-9.
92. (a) Brugnier, R. Corn., Com.
 (b) 2s. per diem.
 (c) Holl., Ire. and Fl. 12 years.
 (e) His wife.
 (f) Able to serve.
 (g) March, 1698-9.
93. (a) Delisle, R. Corn., Com.
 (b) 2s. per diem.
 (c) Ire. and Fl. 10 years.
 (f) Able to serve.
 (g) March, 1698-9.
94. (a) Du Bay, R. Corn., Com.
 (b) 2s. per diem.
 (c) Ire. and Fl. 10 years.
 (d) 40*l.* in talleys.
 (f) Able to serve.
 (g) March, 1698-9.
95. *(a) Coulou.
 (b) 2s. per diem.
96. *(a) Ar. de miremont.
 (b) 10s. per diem.
97. *(a) J. Savary.
 (b) 7s. per diem.
98. *(a) Cha. Coutean,
 (b) 6s. per diem.
99. (a) P. Aurelle, Adj. of Dragoons,
 certify'd
 (b) 2s. per diem.
 (c) In Pt. and Fl. 9 years.
 (f) Able to serve.
 (g) March, 1698-9.
100. *(a) Jaq. Lestanquet.
 (b) 4s. per diem.
101. *(a) Fr. Merival.
 (b) 4s. per diem.
102. *(a) Balandry.
 (b) 4s. per diem.
103. (a) Daul. Adlee, Cap. of Dragoons,
 Com.
 (b) 4s. per diem.
 (c) Fl. and Ire. 7 years.
 (e) His wife.
 (f) Able to serve.
 (g) March, 1698-9.
104. *(a) Monleher.
 (b) 4s. per diem.
105. *(a) Est Guilhon.
 (b) 2s. 6*d.* per diem.
106. (a) P. Chalamel, stand^s Lt., Com.,
 Lt. and Capt.
 (b) 2s. 6*d.* per diem.
 (c) Pt. and Fl. 9 years.
 (f) Able to serve.
 (g) March, 1698-9.
- 106 [sic]. (a) P. Monfort, stand^s Lt., Com.
 (b) 2s. 6*d.* per diem.
 (c) Pt. and Fl. 9 years.
 (f) Able to serve.
 (g) March, 1698-9.
107. *(a) P. Fossat.
 (b) 2s. 6*d.* per diem.
108. (a) Jos. Davessein, 2 Com., Corn. of
 Horse, and Lt. of Drags.
 (b) 2s. 6*d.* per diem.
 (c) Holl., Ire. and Fl. 13 years.
 (e) His family.
 (f) Able to serve.
 (g) March, 1698-9.
109. (a) Saml. Dussoul, stand^s Lt. of
 Drags., Com.
 (b) 2s. 6*d.* per diem.
 (c) Ire. and Fl. 10 years.
 (d) A farm of 7*l.* ster. a year.
 (e) His family.
 (f) Able to serve.
 (g) March, 1698-9.
110. (a) McAnt. meserac, Corn. of Drags.,
 Com.
 (b) 2s. per diem.
 (c) Pt. and Fl. 5 years.
 (d) 100*l.* ster. in mony.
 (e) His family.
 (f) Able to serve.
 (g) March, 1698-9.
111. †(a) Ged. Castelfranc, Pens. Corn. by
 warrant.
 (b) 2s. per diem.
 (c) In Fl. volunteer 3 years.
 (f) Able to serve.
 (g) March, 1698-9.
112. *(a) P. Senegas.
 (b) 2s. per diem.
113. (a) De long pré, Corn. of Drags.,
 Com.
 (b) 2s. per diem.
 (c) Pt. and Fl. 9 years.
 (f) Able to serve.
 (g) March, 1698-9.
114. *(a) A bel Castelfranc.
 (b) 2s. per diem.

115. (a) Jos. Du Fajj dexoudum, Corn., Com.
 (b) 2s. per diem.
 (c) Fl. and Ire. 5 years.
 (f) Able to serve.
 (g) March, 1698-9.
116. (a) Et. Petitot, 2 Com., R. Corn. of horse and Corn. of Draga.
 (b) 2s. per diem.
 (c) Fl. and Ire. 6 years.
 (e) His family.
 (f) Able to serve.
 (g) March, 1698-9.
117. (a) Jaq. Limarest, Corn. of Draga., Com.
 (b) 2s. per diem.
 (c) Fl., Ire. and Pt. 7 years.
 (f) Able to serve.
 (g) March, 1698-9.
118. (a) P. Ribot, Q. M. of Draga., certify'd.
 (b) 1s. 6d. per diem.
 (c) Pt. and Fl. 9 years.
 (d) 50l. in money.
 (f) Able to serve.
 (g) March, 1698-9.
119. (a) Jam. Michel, Q. M. of Draga., certify'd.
 (b) 1s. 6d. per diem.
 (c) Pt. and Fl. 9 years.
 (d) 50l. in mouy.
 (f) Able to serve.
 (g) March, 1698-9.
120. (a) Jam. Poutbisson, Q. M. of Draga., certify'd.
 (b) 1s. 6d. per diem.
 (c) Pt. and Fl. 9 years.
 (f) Able to serve.
 (g) March, 1698-9.
121. *(a) Abm. Bruniquel.
 (b) 1s. 6d. per diem.
122. (a) Oliv. Malherbe, Q. M., certify'd.
 (b) 1s. 6d. per diem.
 (c) Ire., Pt. and Fl. 10 years.
 (f) Able to serve.
 (g) March, 1698-9.
123. (a) J. Boucherie, Q. M., certify'd.
 (b) 1s. 6d. per diem.
 (c) Pt. and Fl. 9 years.
 (f) Able to serve.
 (g) March, 1698-9.
124. (a) J. Cailhot, Q. M., certify'd.
 (b) 1s. 6d. per diem.
 (c) Ire., Pt. and Fl. 10 years.
 (d) A farm of 6l. ster. a year.
 (e) His wife and 3 childr.
- (f) Able to serve.
 (g) March, 1698-9.
125. *(a) Isaac La Melouiniere.
 (b) 8s. per diem.
126. (a) Vimar, 2 Com., Lt. Col., and Col. of foot.
 (b) 6s. per diem.
 (c) [H]Anover, Ire. and Fl. 17 years.
 (f) Able to serve.
 (g) March, 1698-9.
127. (a) La Balme, 2 Com., Cap. and Maj.
 (b) 5s. per diem.
 (c) Holl., Ire. and Fl. 13 years.
 (e) His family.
 (f) Old.
 (g) March, 1698-9.
128. *(a) Papaul.
 (b) 2s. per diem.
129. (a) La Bastide, stand's Cap., Com.
 (b) 3s. per diem.
 (c) Holl., Ire. and Fl. 12 years.
 (d) 100l. in malt tickets.
 (e) His wife.
 (f) Learned.
 (g) March, 1698-9.
130. *(a) Brasselay.
 (b) 3s. per diem.
131. *(a) Vignoles.
 (b) 3s. per diem.
132. *(a) De la Court.
 (b) 3s. per diem.
133. (a) Deperaij, 3 Com., stand's Ensign, Lt. and Cap.
 (b) 3s. per diem.
 (c) Ire. and Fl. 10 years.
 (f) Able to serve.
 (g) March, 1698-9.
134. *(a) Desbrosse.
 (b) 3s. per diem.
135. *(a) Montigny.
 (b) 3s. per diem.
136. *(a) Rousset.
 (b) 3s. per diem.
137. (a) Secqueville, 2 Com., R. and stand's Cap.
 (b) 3s. per diem.
 (c) Holl., Ire. and Fl. 13 years.
 (d) 300l. in mony and goods.
 (f) Able to serve.
 (g) March, 1698-9.

138. (a) Bordenave, 2 Com., stands Lt. and R. Cap.
 (b) 2s. 6d. per diem.
 (c) Holl., Ire. and Fl. 12 years.
 (f) Able to serve.
 (g) March, 1698-9.
139. (a) Fraisinnet.
 (b) 2s. per diem.
140. (a) Massillos, 2 Com., stands Lt. and R. Cap.
 (b) 2s. per diem.
 (c) Holl., Ire. and Fl. 10 years.
 (f) Able to serve.
 (g) March, 1698-9.
141. *(a) Coulon.
 (b) 2s. per diem.
142. (a) Brunville, 2 Com., stands Ensign and Lt.
 (b) 2s. per diem.
 (c) Holl., Ire. and Fl. 17 years.
 (d) 25l. in money.
 (f) Able to serve.
 (g) March, 1698-9.
143. (a) Berault, stands Lt. Com.
 (b) 2s. per diem.
 (c) Holl., Ire. and Fl. 11 years.
 (f) Able to serve.
 (g) March, 1698-9.
144. (a) Bedora, 2 Com., R. and stands Lt.
 (b) 2s. per diem.
 (c) Holl., Ire. and Fl. 11 years.
 (f) Able to serve.
 (g) March, 1698-9.
145. (a) Portal, stands Lt. Com.
 (b) 2s. per diem.
 (c) Holl., Ire. and Fl. 13 years.
 (d) 200l. to the Excheq. of Eng.
 (e) His mother, wife and daughter.
 (f) Sikly.
 (g) March, 1698-9.
146. (a) La Motte grain d'or, 2 Com., stands and R. Lt.
 (b) 2s. per diem.
 (c) Holl., Ire. and Fl. 13 years.
 (d) 60 in money.
 (f) Able to serve.
 (g) March, 1698-9.
147. (a) Bigos, 2 Com., R. and stands Lt.
 (b) 2s. per diem.
 (c) Holl., Ire. and Fl. 13 years.
 (f) Able to serve.
 (g) March, 1698-9.
148. (a) Vignau, 2 Com., stands Ensign and Lt. of foot.
 (b) 2s. per diem.
- (c) Holl., Ire. and Fl. 13 years.
 (d) 95l. ster. in money and goods.
 (f) Able so serve.
 (g) March, 1698-9.
149. *(a) Founronce.
 (b) 2s. per diem.
150. *(a) Longchamp.
 (b) 2s. per diem.
151. (a) Ferraud, R. Cap. Com.
 (b) 2s. per diem.
 (c) Holl., Ire. and Fl. 12 years.
 (e) His family.
 (f) Old.
 (g) March, 1698-9.
152. *(a) Brisac.
 (b) 1s. 6d. per diem.
153. (a) L. de Rochblave, stands ensign Com.
 (b) 1s. 6d. per diem.
 (c) Pt. and Holl. 5 years.
 (f) Able to serve.
 (g) March, 1698-9.
154. (a) Beaucourt, 2 Com., R. and stands Ensign.
 (b) 1s. 6d. per diem.
 (c) Ire. and Fl. 10 years.
 (f) Able to serve.
 (g) March, 1698-9.
155. (a) Dangilboud, stands Ensign Com.
 (b) 1s. 6d. per diem.
 (c) Holl., Ire. and Fl. 13 years.
 (f) Able to serve.
 (g) March, 1698-9.
156. (a) Glatigny, stands Ensign Com.
 (b) 1s. 6d. per diem.
 (c) Holl., Ire. and Fl. 12 years.
 (e) His wife and child.
 (f) Able to serve.
 (g) March, 1698-9.
157. (a) Delpy, 2 Com., R. and stands ensign.
 (b) 1s. 6d. per diem.
 (c) Holl., Ire. and Fl. 12 years.
 (d) 60l. in money.
 (f) Able to serve.
 (g) March, 1698-9.
158. (a) Garipuy, 2 Com., R. and stands ensign, Commissions.
 (b) 1s. 6d. per diem.
 (c) Holl., Ire. and Fl. 11 years.
 (f) Able to serve.
 (g) March, 1698-9.
159. (a) Du faux, serjt, 2 Com., R. and standing Ensign.

- (b) 1s. 6d. per diem.
(c) Bran., Ire. and Fl. 13 years.
(f) Able to serve.
(g) March, 1698-9.
160. (a) Molié, senr, 2 Com., R. and stands ensign.
(b) 1s. 6d. per diem.
(c) Bran., Ire. and Fl. 13 years.
(d) 200l. that he trades with.
(e) His family.
(f) Able to serve.
(g) March, 1698-9.
161. (a) De Loche, 2 Com., C^l and B^r Gen. of foot.
(b) 6s. per diem.
(c) Bran., Pt. and Fl. 13 years.
(d) 1,800l. talleys, house and goods.
(e) His family.
(f) Able to serve.
(g) March, 1698-9.
- 161 [sic]. *(a) Rieutor.
(b) 5s. per diem.
164. (a) Dalbon, 2 Com., stands Cap. and Maj. of foot.
(b) 4s. per diem.
(c) Bran., Pt. and Fl. 13 years.
(d) 200l. in mony.
(e) His sister.
(f) Able to serve.
(g) March, 1698-9.
165. (a) Dauteuil, R. Cap. of foot, Com.
(b) 2s. 6d. per diem.
(c) Holl., Ire. and Fl. 13 years.
(d) 500l. in tall. of his wife.
(e) His family.
(f) Able to serve.
(g) March, 1698-9.
166. *(a) Cresseron.
(b) 2s. 6d. per diem.
167. (a) St. Philbert, R. Capt., Com.
(b) 2s. 6d. per diem.
(c) Holl., Ire. and Fl. 11 years.
(d) 60 guines interest.
(e) His daugh. and neece.
(f) Old.
(g) March, 1698-9.
168. (a) Marechal, R. Cap., Com.
(b) 2s. 6d. per diem.
(c) Holl., Ire. and Fl. 11 years.
(e) His mother and sister.
(f) Able to serve.
(g) March, 1698-9.
169. *(a) D'Hanus.
(b) 2s. 6d. per diem.
170. (a) St. Mesmiu, R. Cap., Com.
- (b) 2s. 6d. per diem.
(c) Holl., Ire. and Fl. 11 years.
(d) 200 in mony.
(e) His family.
(f) Old.
(g) March, 1698-9.
171. (a) La motte Belleau, R. Cap., Com.
(b) 2s. 6d. per diem.
(c) Ire. and Fl. 10 years.
(e) His family.
(f) Grievous sik.
(g) March, 1698-9.
172. *(a) St. hipolite.
(b) 2s. 6d. per diem.
173. (a) La Sauvagie, R. Cap., Com.
(b) 2s. 6d. per diem.
(c) Ire. and Fl. 10 years.
(d) A farm of 16. 13. 0. a year.
(e) His wife.
(f) Able to serve.
(g) March, 1698-9.
174. (a) La vize, R. Cap., Com.
(b) 2s. 6d. per diem.
(c) Ire. and Fl. 10 years.
(f) Able to serve.
(g) March, 1698-9.
175. (a) St. Geme, 2 Com., stands Lt. and R. Cap.
(b) 2s. 6d. per diem.
(c) Ire. and Fl. 10 years.
(d) 250l. in talleys.
(e) His wife.
(f) Sikly.
(g) March, 1698-9.
176. (a) La bat, 2 Com., stands Lt. and R. Capt.
(b) 2s. 6d. per diem.
(c) Holl., Ire. and Fl. 13 years.
(d) 120l. in mony.
(e) His family.
(f) Old and sikly.
(g) March, 1698-9.
177. (a) Bragard, stands Cap. in Pt., Com.
(b) 2s. 6d. per diem.
(c) Bran., Pt. and Fl. 13 years.
(d) 100l. and a farm of 7l. a year.
(f) Able to serve.
(g) March, 1698-9.
178. (a) Ruynat, stands Cap. in Pt., Com.
(b) 2s. 6d. per diem.
(c) Bran., Pt. and Fl. 13 years.
(f) Able to serve.
(g) March, 1698-9.
179. *(a) Dubochet.
(b) 2s. 6d.

180. (a) Alesieu, 2 Com., stands Lt. and Cap. in Pt.
 (b) 2s. 6d. per diem.
 (c) Frize, Pt. and Fl. 13 years.
 (e) His family.
 (f) Able to serve.
 (g) March, 1698-9.
181. (a) Dumeny, 3 com., Lt., Adj. and stands Cap. in Pt.
 (b) 2s. 6d. per diem.
 (c) Bran., Pt. and Fl. 13 years.
 (e) His family.
 (f) Able to serve.
 (g) March, 1698-9.
182. (a) Beaulieu.
 (b) 2s. 6d. per diem.
183. (a) Laussan, 2 Com., R. and stands Cap. in Pt.
 (b) 2s. 6d. per diem.
 (c) Pt. and Fl. 5 years.
 (d) A farm of 9l. ster. a year.
 (e) His family.
 (f) Able to serve.
 (g) March, 1698-9.
184. (a) De Leuze, 2 Com., Lt. and Cap. in Pt.
 (b) 2s. 6d. per diem.
 (c) Pt. and Fl. 9 years.
 (d) 300l. of his wife.
 (e) His family.
 (f) Able to serve.
 (g) March, 1698-9.
185. (a) Conte de la musse, R. Cap.
 (b) 2s. 6d. per diem.
 (c) Ire. and Fl. 10 years.
 (f) Sikly.
 (g) March, 1698-9.
186. (a) La Coste, R. Lt., Com.
 (b) 1s. 6d. per diem.
 (c) Holl., Ire. and Fl. 12 years.
 (d) A farm of 28l. st. a year.
 (e) His family.
 (f) Able to serve.
 (g) March, 1698-9.
187. (a) Du faux, junr, 2 Com., R. Ensign and Lt.
 (b) 1s. 6d. per diem.
 (c) Bran., Ire. and Fl. 13 years.
 (d) 180l. in mony.
 (f) Able to serve.
 (g) March, 1698-9.
188. (a) Puychenin, R. Lt., Com.
 (b) 1s. 6d. per diem.
 (c) Holl., Ire. and Fl. 11 years.
 (d) 200l. at interest.
 (e) His family.
 (f) Gouty.
 (g) March, 1698-9.
189. (a) Castelverdum, R. Lt., Com.
 (b) 1s. 6d. per diem.
 (c) Ire. and Fl. 10 years.
 (f) Able to serve.
 (g) March, 1698-9.
190. (a) Mercier, R. Lt., Com.
 (b) 1s. 6d. per diem.
 (c) Holl., Ire. and Fl. 11 years.
 (f) Able to serve.
 (g) March, 1698-9.
191. (a) Pelat, R. Lt., com.
 (b) 1s. 6d. per diem.
 (c) Holl., Ire. and Fl. 11 years.
 (e) His wife and 4 childr.
 (f) Able to serve.
 (g) March, 1698-9.
192. *(a) La Porte.
 (b) 1s. 6d. per diem.
193. (a) Papin, R. Lt., Com.
 (b) 1s. 6d. per diem.
 (c) Ire. and Fl. 10 years.
 (e) His wife.
 (f) Sikly.
 (g) March, 1698-9.
194. (a) Valada, R. Cap., Com.
 (b) 1s. 6d. per diem.
 (c) Holl., Ire. and Fl. 13 years.
 (d) 100l. in money.
 (e) His family.
 (f) 66 years old.
 (g) March, 1698-9.
195. (a) Dambon, R. Lt., Com.
 (b) 1s. 6d. per diem.
 (c) Bran., Ire. and Fl. 12 years.
 (f) Able to serve.
 (g) March, 1698-9.
196. (a) Dhuglas, 2 Com., Re. Ensign and Lt.
 (b) 1s. 6d. per diem.
 (c) Holl., Ire. and Fl. 13 years.
 (d) 80l. in mony.
 (f) Able to serve.
 (g) March, 1698-9.
197. (a) Villeneuve, R. Lt., Com.
 (b) 1s. 6d. per diem.
 (c) Fl. and Ire. 7 years.
 (f) Able to serve.
 (g) March, 1698-9.
198. (a) La Lauze, R. Lt., Com.
 (b) 1s. 6d. per diem.
 (c) Ire. and Fl. 10 years.
 (d) 80l. in mony.
 (f) Sikly.
 (g) March, 1698-9.
199. *(a) Massé.
 (b) 1s. 6d. per diem.

200. (a) Bonabel, 2 Com., stands Lt. in Pt.
 (b) 1s. 6d. per diem.
 (c) Pt. and Fl. 9 years.
 (f) Able to serve.
 (g) March, 1698-9.
- 200 [sic]. (a) Bafinac, 2 Com., stands ens^u and Lt. in Pt.
 (b) 1s. 6d. per diem.
 (c) Holl., Ire., Pt. and Fl. 11 years.
 (f) Able to serve.
 (g) March, 1698-9.
201. (a) Dupuy, 2 Com., stands ens^u and Lt. in Pt.
 (b) 1s. 6d. per diem.
 (c) Pt. and Fl. 9 years.
 (f) Able to serve.
 (g) March, 1698-9.
202. *(a) Dassas.
 (b) 1s. 6d.
203. (a) La rivaliere, 2d Lt. of the grenadiers in Pt., Com.
 (b) 1s. 6d. per diem.
 (c) Pt. and Fl. 5 years.
 (f) Able to serve.
 (g) March, 1698-9.
204. (a) La fitte, R. ensign, Com.
 (b) 1s. per diem.
 (c) Ire. and Fl. 10 years.
 (f) Able to serve.
 (g) March, 1698-9.
205. (a) La fout, R. Ensign, Com.
 (b) 1s. per diem.
 (c) Ire. and Fl. 10 years.
 (f) Able to serve.
 (g) March, 1698-9.
206. *(a) Brisac.
 (b) 1s. per diem.
207. *(a) La mecourt.
 (b) 1s. per diem.
208. (a) Dalbenque, R. Ensign, Com.
 (b) 1s. per diem.
 (c) Holl., Ire. and Fl. 13 years.
 (f) Able to serve.
 (g) March, 1698-9.
210. (a) Dapilliz, R. Ensign Com.
 (b) 1s. per diem.
 (c) Ire. and Fl. 9 years.
- (f) Able to serve.
 (g) March, 1698-9.
211. (a) Du Serre, stands Ensign in Pt. Com.
 (b) 1s. per diem.
 (c) Bran., Pt. and Fl. 10 years.
 (d) 20l.
 (f) Able to serve.
 (g) March, 1698-9.
212. (a) Desablards, 2d Ensign in Pt. Com.
 (b) 1s. per diem.
 (c) Ire., Pt. and Fl. 10 years.
 (f) Able to serve.
 (g) March, 1698-9.
213. *(a) Earl of Liffort.
 (b) 8s. per diem.
214. (a) Sam. de Boisrond, 3 Com., maj. and Lt. Cl.
 (b) 6s. per diem.
 (c) Bran., Ire. and Fl. 13 years.
 (f) Able to serve.
 (g) March, 1698-9.
215. *(a) Daul. de Virazel.
 (b) 3s. per diem.
216. (a) La cherois, 2 Com., Cap. and Maj.
 (b) 5s. per diem.
 (c) Holl., Ire. and Fl. 12 years.
 (d) 500l. in tall.
 (e) His wife, 3 chil. and 2 sist.
 (f) Able to serve.
 (g) March, 1698-9.
217. (a) Pepin, 3 Com., Lt. Adj. and Capt.
 (b) 2s. per diem.
 (c) Holl., Ire. and Fl. 12 years.
 (d) 567l. in tall. deficient.
 (f) Able to serve.
 (g) March, 1698-9.
218. (a) Bancons, stands Cap., Com.
 (b) 3s. per diem.
 (c) Holl., Ire. and Fl. 11 years.
 (d) 200l. in all his stock.
 (e) His family.
 (f) Able to serve.
 (g) March, 1698-9.
219. *(a) Gally.
 (b) 3s. per diem.
220. *(a) Pelissier.
 (b) 3s. per diem.
221. (a) Rimbliere, 2 Com., R. and stands Cap.

- (b) 3s. per diem.
 (c) Holl., Ire. and Fl. 13 years.
 (d) 400*l.* in tall.
 (f) Able to serve.
 (g) March, 1698-9.
222. *(a) Constn. de Maguy.
 (b) 3s. per diem.
- 222 [*sic*]. (a) Theo. Desbrisay, stands Cap., Com.
 (b) 3s. per diem.
 (c) Bran., Ire. and Fl. 13 years.
 (d) 100*l.* in mony.
 (e) A numerous family.
 (f) Able to serve.
 (g) March, 1698-9.
223. *(a) P. de bruze.
 (b) 3s. per diem.
224. *(a) Jos. St. Leger.
 (b) 3s. per diem.
225. *(a) Du poncet.
 (b) 3s. per diem.
226. (a) Calvairac, 2 Com., stands ens^a and Lt.
 (b) 2s. per diem.
 (c) Holl., Ire. and Fl. 13 years.
 (d) 200*l.* in tall.
 (f) Able to serve.
 (g) March, 1698-9.
227. (a) Lestablere, 2 Com., stands ens^a and Lt.
 (b) 2s. per diem.
 (c) Holl., Ire. and Fl. 13 years.
 (d) 100*l.* in mony.
 (f) Able to serve.
 (g) March, 1698-9.
228. (a) Vestieu, 2 Com., stands Ensign and Lt.
 (b) 2s. per diem.
 (c) Holl., Ire. and Fl. 13 years.
 (f) Able to serve.
 (g) March, 1698-9.
229. *(a) La vivarie.
 (b) 2s. per diem.
230. (a) Bancous, 2 Com., R. and stands Lt.
 (b) 2s. per diem.
 (c) Ire. and Fl. 10 years.
 (d) 40*l.* ster. in mony.
 (f) Able to serve.
 (g) March, 1698-9.
231. (a) La Beissade, stands Lt. Com.
 (b) 2s. per diem.
 (c) Holl., Ire. and Fl. 12 years.
 (d) 80*l.* St. in mony.
- (f) Able to serve.
 (g) March, 1698-9.
232. *(a) Combebrune.
 (b) 2s. per diem.
233. *(a) Falaise.
 (b) 2s. per diem.
234. (a) Mainauduc, 2 Com., R. and stands Lt.
 (b) 2s. per diem.
 (c) Holl., Ire. and Fl. 11 years.
 (d) 800*l.* of his wife in tall.
 (e) His family.
 (f) Able to serve.
 (g) March, 1698-9.
235. *(a) La motte Brocas.
 (b) 2s. per diem.
236. (a) Desclaux, stz Lt. Com.
 (b) 2s. per diem.
 (c) Bran. and Fl. 13 years.
 (d) 150*l.* in mony.
 (e) His sister.
 (f) Able to serve.
 (g) March, 1698-9.
237. (a) Pagez, stz Ensign, Com.
 (b) 1*s.* 6*d.* per diem.
 (c) Holl., Ire. and Fl. 13 years.
 (f) Able to serve.
 (g) March, 1698-9.
238. *(a) Paris.
 (b) 1*s.* 6*d.* per diem.
239. (a) Geneste, stz ensign, Com.
 (b) 1*s.* 6*d.* per diem.
 (c) Holl., Ire. and Fl. 11 years.
 (d) A farm of 22*l.* a year.
 (f) Able to serve.
 (g) March, 1698-9.
240. (a) Langon, stz ensign, Com.
 (b) 1*s.* 6*d.* per diem.
 (c) Holl., Ire. and Fl. 12 years.
 (d) 250*l.* in tall.
 (e) A nephew.
 (f) Able to serve.
 (g) March, 1698-9.
241. (a) Vignuelle, stz ensign, Com.
 (b) 1*s.* 6*d.* per diem.
 (c) Holl., Ire. and Fl. 12 years.
 (d) 100*l.* in mony and a farm of 14*l.* a [year].
 (e) His wife and child.
 (f) Able to serve.
 (g) March, 1698-9.
242. (a) Tauranac 2 Com., R. Lt. and stz ensign.
 (b) 1*s.* 6*d.* per diem.

- (c) Holl., Ire. and Fl. 11 years.
 (d) A farm of 22*l.* a year.
 (e) His wife and children.
 (f) Able to serve.
 (g) March, 1698-9.
243. (a) Chamard, st*s* ensign, Com.
 (b) 1*s.* 6*d.* per diem.
 (c) Holl., Ire. and Fl. 13 years.
 (d) 40*l.* in mony.
 (e) His wife and 2 children.
 (f) Able to serve.
 (g) March, 1698-9.
244. *(a) Ternac.
 (b) 1*s.* 6*d.* per diem.
245. (a) Crosat, 2 Com., R. and st*s* Ensign.
 (b) 1*s.* 6*d.* per diem.
 (c) Ire. and Fl. 10 years.
 (d) 50*l.* in mony.
 (f) Able to serve.
 (g) March, 1698-9.
246. *(a) Sibour.
 (b) 5*s.* per diem.
247. (a) Trapaud, 2 Com., st*s* Cap. and maj. of foot.
 (b) 4*s.* per diem.
 (c) Pt. and Fl. and Ire. 9 years.
 (d) 300*l.* in tall. and 700*l.* his wife.
 (e) His family.
 (f) Able to serve.
 (g) March, 1698-9.
248. *(a) Brugnieres.
 (b) 4*s.* per diem.
249. *(a) Des Landes.
 (b) 2*s.* 6*d.* per diem.
250. (a) Moncal, 2 Com., st*s* Lt. and R. Cap.
 (b) 2*s.* 6*d.* per diem.
 (c) Holl., Ire. and Fl. 13 years.
 (f) Able to serve.
 (g) March, 1698-9.
251. (a) Mimet, R. Cap., Com.
 (b) 2*s.* 6*d.* per diem.
 (c) Holl., Ire. and Fl. 13 years.
 (d) 50*l.*
 (f) Able to serve.
 (g) March, 1698-9.
252. (a) Melyer, 2 Com., Lt. and Cap. R.
 (b) 2*s.* per diem.
 (c) Ire. and Fl. 10 years.
 (d) 50*l.* in mony and hou*s*d goods.
 (e) His family.
 (f) Able to serve.
 (g) March, 1698-9.
253. (a) Du toral, 2 Com., Lt. and Cap. R.
 (b) 2*s.* 6*d.* per diem.
 (c) Holl., Ire. and Fl. 13 years.
 (d) 400*l.* in tall., his and his wife's.
 (e) His family.
 (f) Able to serve.
 (g) March, 1698-9.
254. *(a) Marchay.
 (b) 2*s.* 6*d.* per diem.
255. *(a) Lanerye.
 (b) 2*s.* 6*d.* per diem.
256. (a) St. Puy, 2 Com., st*s* Lt. and ref. Cap.
 (b) 2*s.* 6*d.* per diem.
 (c) Holl., Ire. and Fl. 13 years.
 (d) 350*l.* in tall.
 (e) His sister in law and 4 nephews.
 (f) Able to serve.
 (g) March, 1698-9.
257. (a) Aubin, R. Cap., Com.
 (b) 2*s.* 6*d.* per diem.
 (c) Ire. and Fl. 10 years.
 (d) 350*l.* in tall. mony and hou*s*d goods.
 (e) One of his daughters.
 (f) 63 years old.
 (g) March, 1698-9.
258. (a) Cabrol, R. Cap., Com.
 (b) 2*s.* 6*d.*
 (c) Holl., Ire. and Fl. 13 years.
 (d) 62*l.* in goods and a farm of 22*l.* a [year].
 (f) Old.
 (g) March, 1698-9.
259. *(a) De L'aigle.
 (b) 2*s.* 6*d.* per diem.
260. (a) Laeger [? Laeger], 3 Com., Adj., 2d Cap. and St*s* Cap.
 (b) 2*s.* 6*d.* per diem.
 (c) Bran., Pt. and Fl. 13 years.
 (f) Able to serve.
 (g) March, 1698-9.
261. *(a) Terot.
 (b) 2*s.* 6*d.* per diem.
262. (a) Desmarest, stand*s* Cap. in Pt. Com.
 (b) 2*s.* 6*d.* per diem.
 (c) Bran., Pt. and Fl. 13 years.
 (d) 400 in tall. that his fath. left him.
 (f) Able to serve.
 (g) March, 1698-9.
263. (a) Le Baue, stand*s* Cap. in Pt. Com.
 (b) 2*s.* 6*d.* per diem.
 (c) Bran., Pt. and Fl. 13 years.

- (d) 400*l.* in tall.
(f) Able to serve.
(g) March, 1698-9.
264. *(a) St. Maurice.
(b) 2*s.* 6*d.* per diem.
265. *(a) La coste.
(b) 2*s.* 6*d.* per diem.
266. (a) Farjon, R. Lt., Com.
(b) 1*s.* 6*d.* per diem.
(c) Ire. and Fl. 10 years.
(d) 20*l.* ster. that he trades with.
(e) His wife and child.
(f) Able to serve.
(g) March, 1698-9.
267. (a) Durban, R. Lt. Com.
(b) 1*s.* 6*d.* per diem.
(c) Holl., Ire. and Fl. 11 years.
(d) 80*l.* in money.
(f) Able to serve.
(g) March, 1698-9.
268. (a) Chabert, 2 Com., R. Ens^a and Lt.
(b) 1*s.* 6*d.* per diem.
(c) Holl., Ire. and Fl. 11 years.
(d) 80*l.* in money.
(f) Able to serve.
(g) March, 1698-9.
269. (a) St. Felix, R. Lt., Com.
(b) 1*s.* 6*d.* per diem.
(c) Bran., Ire. and Fl. 13 years.
(d) 20*l.* in money.
(f) Able to serve.
(g) March, 1698-9.
270. (a) Rivals.
(b) 1*s.* 6*d.* per diem.
(c) Holl., Ire. and Fl. 13 years.
(f) Able to serve.
(g) March, 1698-9.
271. (a) St. Pau, R. Lt., Com.
(b) 1*s.* 6*d.* per diem.
(c) Holl., Ire. and Fl. 12 years.
(f) Able to serve, but old.
(g) March, 1698-9.
272. (a) Dumas, 2 Com., R. Ensign and Lt.
(b) 1*s.* 6*d.* per diem.
(c) Ire. and Fl. and Bran. 12 years.
(f) Able to serve.
(g) March, 1698-9.
273. *(a) Foissac.
(b) 1*s.* 6*d.* per diem.
274. (a) La charoys, jun^r, R. Lt., Com.
(b) 1*s.* 6*d.* per diem.
(c) Ire. and Fl. 10 years.
- (d) 1400*l.* his and his wife's in tall[ies].
(e) His wife and child.
(f) Able to serve.
(g) March, 1698-9.
275. (a) Passy, R. Lt., Com.
(b) 1*s.* 6*d.* per diem.
(c) Ire. and Fl. 10 years.
(f) Able to serve.
(g) March, 1698-9.
276. *(a) La Billiere.
(b) 1*s.* 6*d.* per diem.
277. (a) Dalby, 2 Com., R. Lt. of horse and foot.
(b) 1*s.* 6*d.* per diem.
(c) Holl., Ire. 11 years.
(f) Old.
(g) March, 1698-9.
278. (a) St. Martin, sts Lt. in Pt., Com.
(b) 1*s.* 6*d.* per diem.
(c) Pt. and Fl. 7 years.
(f) Able to serve.
(g) March, 1698-9.
279. (a) Martel, 2 Com., sts ensign and Lt.
(b) 1*s.* 6*d.* per diem.
(c) Pt. and Fl. 8 years.
(f) Able to serve.
(g) March, 1698-9.
280. *(a) Lautal.
(b) 1*s.* 6*d.* per diem.
281. (a) La Salle, R. Ensign, Com.
(b) 1*s.* per diem.
(c) Holl., Ire. and Fl. 13 years.
(f) Able to serve.
(g) March, 1698-9.
282. (a) Du prat, R. Ensign, Com.
(b) 1*s.* per diem.
(c) Ire. and Fl. 10 years.
(f) Able to serve.
(g) March, 1698-9.
283. (a) Domergues, R. Ensign, Com.
(b) 1*s.* per diem.
(c) Bran., Ire. and Fl. 12 years.
(f) Able to serve.
(g) March, 1698-9.
284. (a) Dejoye, R. Ensign, Com.
(b) 1*s.* per diem.
(c) Ire. and Fl. 10 years.
(f) Able to serve.
(g) March, 1698-9.
285. *(a) Navez.
(b) 1*s.* per diem.
286. *(a) Du fic.
(b) 1*s.* per diem.

287. *(a) Grancé.
(b) 1s. per diem.
288. (a) Sautel, stands Ensign, Com.
(b) 1s. per diem.
(c) Bran., Pt. and Fl. 7 years.
(f) Able to serve.
(g) March, 1698-9.
289. (a) De Guillhen, 2 Com., R. and stands Ensign.
(b) 1s. per diem.
(c) Ire., Pt. and Fl. 10 years.
(f) Able to serve.
(g) March, 1698-9.
290. *(a) Gatine.
(b) 5s. per diem.
291. (a) G. La maria, 2 Com., R. and stands Cap.
(b) 3s. per diem.
(c) Holl., Ire. and Fl. 13 years.
(d) 500*l.* in talleys.
(e) His family.
(f) Able to serve.
(g) March, 1698-9.
292. (a) Tharot, 2 Com., R. and stand. Cap.
(b) 3s. per diem.
(c) Holl., Ire. and Fl. 13 years.
(d) 400*l.* in talleys.
(e) His family and his mother in law.
(f) Able to serve, but sikly.
(g) March, 1698-9.
293. *(a) Pontereau.
(b) 3s. per diem.
294. (a) Bourdigue, 3 Com., Lt. R. and stands Cap.
(b) 3s. per diem.
(c) Holl., Ire. and Fl. 13 years.
(d) 200*l.*
(e) His wife, 2 child. and his mother.
(f) Able to serve.
(g) March, 1698-9.
295. *(a) La bastide de lon.
(b) 3s. per diem.
296. *(a) P. du puy.
(b) 3s. per diem.
297. (a) Cariés, stands Lt., Com.
(b) 2s. per diem.
(c) Ire. and Fl. 10 years.
(f) Able to serve.
(g) March, 1698-9.
298. (a) Simond, 2 Com., R. and stands Lt.
(b) 2s. per diem.
- (c) Holl., Ire. and Fl. 13 years.
(d) 50*l.*
(e) His family.
(f) Able to serve.
(g) March, 1698-9.
299. (a) Girard, 2 Com., R. and stands Lt.
(b) 2s. per diem.
(c) Zeland, Ire. and Fl. 13 years.
(f) Wounded and 48 years old.
(g) March, 1698-9.
300. *(a) Dalmas.
(b) 2s. per diem.
301. (a) Clavié, stands Lt., Com.
(b) 2s. per diem.
(c) Holl., Ire. and Fl. 13 years.
(d) A farm of 8*l.* st. a year.
(e) His family.
(f) Old.
(g) March, 1698-9.
302. (a) Bernay, 2 Com., R. and stands Lt.
(b) 2s. per diem.
(c) Holl., Ire. and Fl. 13 years.
(f) Gouty.
(g) March, 1698-9.
303. (a) Grandry, 2 Com., R. and stands Ensign.
(b) 1s. 6*d.* per diem.
(c) Ire. and Fl. 10 years.
(f) Able to serve.
(g) March, 1698-9.
304. *(a) Du pré.
(b) 1s. 6*d.* per diem.
305. *(a) La tour.
(b) 1s. 6*d.* per diem.
306. (a) Celericé, jun., 2 Com., R. and stands Ensign.
(b) 1s. 6*d.* per diem.
(c) Ire. and Fl. 10 years.
(f) Able to serve.
(g) March, 1698-9.
307. (a) Pinchinat, Qr M^r, certify'd.
(b) 1s. 6*d.* per diem.
(c) Ire. and Fl. 10 years.
(d) 30*l.* ster.
(f) Able to serve.
(g) March, 1698-9.
308. (a) Blossét, 2 Com., maj. and Lt. C in Pt.
(b) 5s. per diem.
(c) Bran., Pt. Fl. and Ire. 13 years.
(d) 600*l.*
(f) Able to serve.
(g) March, 1698-9.

309. (a) Fonjuliane, 2 Com^a, Cap^a and maj. in Pt.
 (b) 5s. per diem.
 (c) Bran., Pt., Fl. and Ire. 18 years.
 (f) Able to serve.
 (g) March, 1698-9.
310. (a) Fontalba, 2 Com^a, R. Lt. and Cap^a.
 (b) 2s. 6d. per diem.
 (c) Holl., Ire. and Fl. 18 years.
 (d) 300l. in tall. of his wife.
 (e) His wife.
 (f) Able to serve.
 (g) March, 1698-9.
311. (a) La Fortelle, 2 Com^a, R. Lt. and Cap^a.
 (b) 2s. 6d. per diem.
 (c) Holl., Ire. and Fl. 12 years.
 (d) 80l. in mony.
 (f) Sikly.
 (g) March, 1698-9.
312. (a) Vaury, R. Cap^a, Com^a.
 (b) 2s. 6d. per diem.
 (c) Ire. and Fl. 10 years.
 (f) Old.
 (g) March, 1698-9.
313. (a) St. Gabriel, R. Cap^a, Com^a.
 (b) 2s. 6d. per diem.
 (c) Holl., Ire. and Fl. 18 years.
 (e) His wife and child.
 (f) Old.
 (g) March, 1698-9.
314. *(a) Rossieres.
 (b) 2s. 6d. per diem.
315. (a) Machenville, Stz Lt. and R. Cap^a, Com^a.
 (b) 2s. 6d. per diem.
 (c) Holl., Ire. and Fl. 12 years.
 (d) 500l. in tall. and his wife 12l. a y[ear].
 (e) His wife and child.
 (f) Leamed.
 (g) March, 1698-9.
316. (a) La Brissonniere, 2 Com^a, R. Lt. and Cap^a.
 (b) 2s. 6d. per diem.
 (c) Ire. and Fl. 10 years.
 (f) Able to serve.
 (g) March, 1698-9.
317. (a) La Lande, 2 Com^a, stz Lt. and R. Cap^a.
 (b) 2s. 6d. per diem.
 (c) Holl., Ire. and Fl. 18 years.
 (e) His family.
 (f) Able to serve.
 (g) March, 1698-9.
318. (a) Tersson, 2 Com^a, stz Lt. and R. Cap^a.
 (b) 2s. 6d. per diem.
 (c) Holl., Ire. and Fl. 18 years.
 (f) Able to serve.
 (g) March, 1698-9.
319. *(a) Brassard.
 (b) 2s. 6d. per diem.
320. (a) Favierre, 3 Com^a, adjt R. and stz Cap^a in Pt.
 (b) 2s. 6d. per diem.
 (c) Fl., Pt. and Ire. 7 years.
 (e) His family.
 (f) Able to serve.
 (g) March, 1698-9.
321. *(a) Valogne.
 (b) 2s. 6d. per diem.
322. (a) La Battye, stz Cap^a in Pt.
 (b) 2s. 6d. per diem.
 (c) Bran., Pt., Fl. and Ire., 18 years.
 (d) 200l. in talleys.
 (f) Able to serve.
 (g) March, 1698-9.
323. (a) Du Barry, 4 Com^a, Lt. adjt, 2d Cap^a and stz Cap^a.
 (b) 2s. 6d. per diem.
 (c) Bran., Pt., Fl. and Ire. 12 years.
 (f) Able to serve.
 (g) March, 1698-9.
324. (a) La nauze, stz Cap^a in Pt. Com^a.
 (b) 2s. 6d. per diem.
 (c) Pt., Fl. and Ire. 9 years.
 (f) Able to serve.
 (g) March, 1698-9.
325. (a) La Colombine, 3 Com^a, Ensign, Lt. and Cap^a in Pt.
 (b) 2s. 6d. per diem.
 (c) Pt., Fl. and Ire. 9 years.
 (f) Able to serve.
 (g) March, 1698-9.
326. (a) Courselles, 3 Com^a, Ensign, Lt and Cap^a in Pt.
 (b) 2s. 6d. per diem.
 (c) Bran., Fl., Pt. and Ire. 12 years.
 (f) Able to serve.
 (g) March, 1698-9.
327. (a) Foissac, stz Cap^a, Com^a.
 (b) 2s. 6d. per diem.
 (c) Bran., Fl., Pt. and Ire. 12 years.
 (f) Able to serve.
 (g) March, 1698-9.
328. *(a) Bremont.
 (b) 1s. 6d. per diem.
329. *(a) Du homet.
 (b) 1s. 6d. per diem.

330. (a) Estauniér, 2 Com^a, R. Ensign and Lt.
 (b) 1s. 6d. per diem.
 (c) Bran., Pt., Fl. and Ire. 13 years.
 (f) Able to serve.
 (g) March, 1698-9.
331. (a) D'Esperendieu, R. Lt. Com^a.
 (b) 1s. 6d. per diem.
 (c) Ire. and Fl. 10 years.
 (d) 50*l.* in mony.
 (f) Able to serve.
 (g) March, 1698-9.
332. (a) Vernous, R. Lt. Com^a.
 (b) 1s. 6d. per diem.
 (c) Ire. and Fl. 10 years.
 (f) Able to serve.
 (g) March, 1698-9.
333. (a) Rossillon, R. Lt. Com^a.
 (b) 1s. 6d. per diem.
 (c) Ire. and Fl. 10 years.
 (f) Able to serve.
 (g) March, 1698-9.
334. (a) De bette, R. Lt. Com^a.
 (b) 1s. 6d. per diem.
 (c) Ire. and Fl. 10 years.
 (f) Able to serve.
 (g) March, 1698-9.
335. (a) Brian, R. Lt. Com^a.
 (b) 1s. 6d. per diem.
 (c) Ire. and Fl. 10 years.
 (d) 100*l.* of his wife.
 (e) His wife.
 (f) Able to serve.
 (g) March, 1698-9.
336. (a) La touche, R. Lt. Com^a.
 (b) 1s. 6d. per diem.
 (c) Ire. and Fl. 10 years.
 (e) His wife.
 (f) Able to serve.
 (g) March, 1698-9.
337. (a) La Groge, 2 Com^a, R. Ensign and Lt.
 (b) 1s. 6d. per diem.
 (c) Ire. and Fl. 10 years.
 (e) Numerous family.
 (f) Able to serve.
 (g) March, 1698-9.
338. (a) La coste, R. Lt. Com^a.
 (b) 1s. 6d. per diem.
 (c) Ire. and Fl. 10 years.
 (f) Able to serve.
 (g) March, 1698-9.
339. (a) Desodes, 2 Com^a, Ens^a and str Lt. and Pt.
 (b) 1s. 6d. per diem.
 (c) Pt., Fl. and Ire. 7 years.
- (f) Able to serve.
 (g) March, 1698-9.
340. (a) De Lorme, R. Ensign, Com^a.
 (b) 1s. per diem.
 (c) Ire. and Fl. 11 years.
 (f) Able to serve.
 (g) March, 1698-9.
341. (a) La Boissiere, R. Ensign, Com.
 (b) 1s. per diem.
 (c) Fl. and Ire. 5 years.
 (e) His family.
 (f) Able to serve.
 (g) March, 1698-9.
342. (a) Nissole, R. Ensign.
 (b) 1s. per diem.
 (f) Sickly.
 (g) March, 1698-9.
343. (a) Boniface, stand^r Ens^a Com^a.
 (b) 1s. 6d. per diem.
 (c) Holl., Ire. and Fl. 11 years.
 (f) Able to serve.
 (g) March, 1698-9.
344. (a) Compaign, stand^r Ens^a in Pt.
 (b) 1s. per diem.
 (c) Bran., Pt. and Fl. 12 years.
 (f) Able to serve.
 (g) March, 1698-9.
345. * (a) Lugundy.
 (b) 1s. per diem.
346. (a) Fabre, 2 Com^a, R. and S^r Ensign in Pt.
 (b) 1s. per diem.
 (c) Bran., Pt. and Fl. 12 years.
 (f) Able to serve.
 (g) March, 1698-9.
347. (a) Terson, 2 Com^a, R. and S^r Ensign in Pt.
 (b) 1s. per diem.
 (c) Pt., Fl. and Ire. 5 years.
 (f) Able to serve.
 (g) March, 1698-9.
348. (a) Balt Farinel, Corp^l of horse, certifi'd.
 (b) 1s. per diem.
 (c) Ire. and Fl. 10 years.
 (f) Able to serve.
 (g) March, 1698-9.
349. (a) Mark Rigaudye, Corp^l of horse, certifi'd.
 (b) 1s. per diem.
 (c) Ire. and Fl. 10 years.
 (d) His wife has a small shop.
 (e) His wife and child.
 (f) Able to serve.
 (g) March, 1698-9.

350. (a) Gasp. Pajon, trooper, certify'd.
 (b) 1s. per diem.
 (c) Fl. and Ire. 4 years.
 (f) Able to serve.
 (g) March, 1698-9.
351. (a) Louis Pajon, trooper, certify'd.
 (b) 1s. per diem.
 (c) Fl. and Ire. 4 years.
 (f) Able to serve.
 (g) March, 1698-9.
352. (a) Cha. Gallissian, Corp. of horse, certify'd.
 (b) 1s. per diem.
 (c) Ire. and Fl. 10 years.
 (f) Old and sickly.
 (g) March, 1698-9.
353. (a) J. Beauchamp, trooper of horse, certify'd.
 (b) 1s. per diem.
 (c) Ire. and Fl. 8 years.
 (f) Able to serve.
 (g) March, 1698-9.
354. (a) Ja. Labrulleray, trooper of horse, certify'd.
 (b) 1s. per diem.
 (c) Ire. and Fl. 9 years.
 (f) Able to serve.
 (g) March, 1698-9.
355. (a) J. Beissiere, Corp^l of horse, certify'd.
 (b) 1s. per diem.
 (c) Gron^{me} [Groninguen] Ire. and Fl. 13 years.
 (f) Old and sickly.
 (g) March, 1698-9.
356. (a) Peter Denis, Corp^l of horse, certify'd.
 (b) 1s. per diem.
 (c) Ire. and Fl. 10 years.
 (f) Able to serve.
 (g) March, 1698-9.
357. (a) J. Odat, Corp^l of horse, certify'd.
 (b) 1s. per diem.
 (c) Ire. and Fl. 10 years.
 (f) Able to serve.
 (g) March, 1698-9.
358. (a) J. Vialas, Corp^l of horse, certify'd.
 (b) 1s. per diem.
 (c) Ire. and Fl. 10 years.
 (f) Able to serve.
 (g) March, 1698-9.
359. (a) Peter Dumas (?), Corp^l of horse, certify'd.
 (b) 1s. per diem.
 (c) Ire. and Fl. 10 years.
 (f) Able to serve.
 (g) March, 1698-9.
360. (a) J. Clausade, dragoon, certify'd.
 (b) 8d. per diem.
 (c) Pt., Fl. and Ire. 5 years.
 (f) Able to serve.
 (g) March, 1698-9.
361. *(a) J. Lagrave.
 (b) 8d. per diem.
362. (a) Est. Peirin, dragoon, certify'd.
 (b) 8d. per diem.
 (c) Fl. and Ire. 4 years.
 (f) Able to serve.
 (g) March, 1698-9.
363. (a) Da^d Masuel, dragoon, certify'd.
 (b) 8d. per diem.
 (c) Fl. and Ire. 2 years.
 (f) Able to serve.
 (g) March, 1698-9.
364. (a) Ph. Duval, dragoon, certify'd.
 (b) 8d. per diem.
 (c) Fl. and Ire. 9 years.
 (f) Able to serve.
 (g) March, 1698-9.
365. (a) Fred. du mesnil, dragoon, certify'd.
 (b) 8d. per diem.
 (c) Fl. and Ire. 2 years.
 (f) Able to serve.
 (g) March, 1698-9.
366. (a) Louis St. Loup, dragoon, certify'd.
 (b) 8d. per diem.
 (c) Pt., Fl. and Ire., 4 years.
 (f) Able to serve.
 (g) March, 1698-9.
367. (a) Suzar Thomas, dragoon, certify'd.
 (b) 8d. per diem.
 (c) Fl. and Ire. 4 years.
 (f) Able to serve.
 (g) March, 1698-9.
368. *(a) Peter Grindor.
 (b) 6d. per diem.
369. *(a) Ch. Quinsac.
 (b) 6d. per diem.
370. (a) Pet. Barena, Serg^t of foot, certify'd.
 (b) 6d. per diem.
 (c) Ire. and Fl. 10 years.
 (f) Able to serve.
 (g) March, 1698-9.
371. (a) Dav. Bellegarde, Serg^t of foot, certify'd.
 (b) 6d. per diem.
 (c) Ire. and Fl. 10 years.
 (f) Leam'd.
 (g) March, 1698-9.

372. (a) Jaq. Dalteirac, Sergt of foot, certify'd.
 (b) 6*l.* per diem.
 (c) Ire. and Fl. 10 years.
 (f) Able to serve.
 (g) March, 1698-9.
373. (a) Ja. Falquier, Sergt of foot, certify'd.
 (b) 6*l.* per diem.
 (c) Ire. and Fl. 10 years.
 (d) 12*l.* ster. in a smal shop.
 (e) His family.
 (f) Numerous family.
 (g) March, 1698-9.
374. (a) Pet. Maasot, Sergt of foot, certify'd.
 (b) 6*l.* per diem.
 (c) Ire. and Fl. 10 years.
 (f) Able to serve.
 (g) March, 1698-9.
375. (a) Jam. Grenier, cadet, certify'd.
 (b) 6*l.* per diem.
 (c) Fl. and Ire. 7 years.
 (f) Able to serve.
 (g) March, 1698-9.
376. †(a) Pet. Pelat, pension'd by the King's orders.
 (b) 6*l.* per diem.
 (f) To[o] young.
377. (a) Jam. Gulsot, sergt of foot, certify'd.
 (b) 6*l.* per diem.
 (c) Ire. and Fl. 10 years.
 (f) Able to serve.
 (g) March, 1698-9.
- 378-9. *(a) Vissouze.
 (b) 6*l.* per diem.
380. (a) St. Meard, sergt of foot, certify'd.
 (b) 6*l.* per diem.
 (c) Fl. and Ire. 7 years.
 (f) Able to serve.
 (g) March, 1698-9.
381. (a) Forfiguier, sergt of foot, certify'd.
 (b) 6*l.* per diem.
 (c) Fl. and Ire. 10 years.
 (f) Able to serve.
 (g) March, 1698-9.
382. (a) Royal, sergt of foot, certify'd.
 (b) 6*l.* per diem.
 (c) Ire. and Fl. 10 years.
 (f) Able to serve.
 (g) March, 1698-9.
383. *(a) Math. Bonneval.
 (b) 6*l.* per diem.
384. (a) J. Gout, sergt, certify'd.
 (b) 6*l.* per diem.
 (c) Ire. and Fl. 10 years.
 (d) 15*l.* in a litle shop.
 (e) His wife and child.
 (f) Able to serve.
 (g) March, 1698-9.
385. (a) Gaubert, sergt, certify'd.
 (b) Ire. and Fl. 9 years.
 (c) 20*l.* that he trades with.
 (f) Able to serve.
 (g) March, 1698-9.
386. (a) J. Rouviere, sergt, certify'd.
 (b) 6*l.* per diem.
 (c) Ire. and Fl. 10 years.
 (f) Old and sickly.
 (g) March, 1698-9.
387. (a) Dav. Langlade, sergt, certify'd.
 (b) 6*l.* per diem.
 (c) Ire. and Fl. 10 years.
 (f) Able to serve.
 (g) March, 1698-9.
388. (a) Chatine, senr, cadet, certify'd.
 (b) 6*l.* per diem.
 (c) Ire. and Fl. 7 years.
 (f) Able to serve.
 (g) March, 1698-9.
389. *(a) Chatin, junr.
 (b) 6*l.* per diem.
390. †(a) La milliere, senr, pension'd by the King's order.
 (b) 6*l.* per diem.
 (f) To[o] young.
391. †(a) La Milliere, junr, pension'd by the King's order.
 (b) 6*l.* per diem.
 (f) To[o] young.
392. *(a) Peter Clavier.
 (b) 6*l.* per diem.
393. *(a) Pet. verdier.
 (b) 6*l.* per diem.
394. (a) Lagarde, cadet, certify'd.
 (b) 6*l.* per diem.
 (c) Pt. Fl. and Ire. 5 years.
 (f) Able to serve.
 (g) March, 1698-9.
395. (a) La Bastide de Lon, cadet, certify'd.
 (b) 6*l.* per diem.
 (c) Ire. 1 year.
 (f) Able to serve.
 (g) March, 1698-9.
396. *(a) Chanfleury.
 (b) 6*l.* per diem.

397. (a) La motte Cercler, serg^t, certify'd.
 (b) 6*d.* per diem.
 (c) Ire. and Fl. 9 years.
 (f) Able to serve.
 (g) March, 1698-9.

398. (a) Hubert, cadet, certify'd.
 (b) 6*d.* per diem.
 (c) Ire. and Fl. 9 years.
 (f) Able to serve.
 (g) March, 1698-9.

OLD PENSIONERS.

399. *(a) Marquis Darzilliers.
 (b) 6*s.* per diem.

400. (a) Petit Bose, Lt.-Cl., com^a.
 (b) 6*s.* per diem.
 (c) Holl., Ire. 5 years.
 (d) 120*l.* ster. in mony.
 (e) His family.
 (f) 61 years old and sickly.
 (g) 1692.

401. (a) La Faussille, 2 Com^a, C^a and
 depu^d Gov^r of Slegoe.
 (b) 6*s.* per diem.
 (c) Holl., Ire. 12 years.
 (d) 700*l.* and a farm of 15*l.* a year.
 (e) A numerous family.
 (f) Leamd.
 (g) 1699.

402. (a) Bostaquet, R. C^a of horse, Com^a.
 (b) 5*s.* per diem.
 (c) Holl., Ire. 5 years.
 (e) His family.
 (f) Old.
 (g) 1692.

403. (a) Desherbiers, 2 Com^a, R. Ensign
 and Cap^a.
 (b) 5*s.* per diem.
 (c) Ire. and Pt. and on the Rhin. 9
 years.
 (f) Leamd.
 (g) 1698.

404. (a) Dampierre, 2 Com^a, R. and s^r
 Cap^a of foot.
 (b) 5*s.* per diem.
 (c) Holl. and Ire. 5 years.
 (d) 200*l.* to the Excheq^r of Eng^d.
 (e) His family.
 (f) Sickly.
 (g) 1692.

405. *(a) La Coudriere.
 (b) 5*s.* per diem.

406. *(a) Thenie.
 (b) 5*s.* per diem.

407. (a) Monginot, Doc^r, pension'd by
 warrant.

- (b) 5*s.* per diem.
 (c) Engl. and Ire. 2 years.
 (e) His family.
 (f) Old.

408. (a) Deppe, R. Cap^a of horse, Com^a.
 (b) 4*s.* per diem.
 (c) Holl. and Ire. 3 years.
 (e) His wife.
 (f) 72 years old.
 (g) 1691.

409. †(a) Pascal, R. Lt. of horse, pens^d
 Cap^a by warrant.
 (b) 4*s.* per diem.
 (c) Holl. and Ire. 5 years.
 (e) His wife and 3 children.
 (f) His numerous family.
 (g) 1692.

410. (a) De Saily, gen^t pens^d by war-
 rant.
 (b) 4*s.* per diem.
 (e) His numerous family.

411. †(a) Silvie and anne de Montau by
 warrant.
 (b) 4*s.* per diem,

412. *(a) Dalbenas, sen^r.
 (b) 4*s.* per diem.

413. †(a) Heurard, gen^t by warrant.
 (b) 4*s.* per diem.
 (d) 180*l.* in mony.
 (e) His family.

414. (a) Saint Cyr, R. Cap^a of horse, com^a.
 (b) 4*s.* per diem.
 (c) Holl., Ire. and Fl. 10 years.
 (d) A yearly rent of 28*l.*
 (f) Old.
 (g) 1697.

415. (a) Marconay, 3 Com^a, R. and S^r C^a
 and Lt.-Cl.
 (b) 4*s.* per diem.
 (c) Holl., Pt., Ire. and Fl. 9 years.
 (e) His family.
 (f) Sickly.
 (g) 1697.
416. (a) Fonjuliane, maj^t of Dragoons,
 Com^a.
 (b) 4*s.* per diem.
 (c) Bran., Pt. and Fl. 11 years.
 (f) Able to serve.
 (g) 1697.

417. (a) Fontanier, 2 Com^a, R. Lt. and
 Cap^a of horse.
 (b) 3*s.* per diem.
 (c) Holl. and Ire. 6 years.
 (e) His family.
 (f) Leam'd.
 (g) 1692.

418. (a) La Clide, R. Cⁿ, Com^a.
 (b) 3s. per diem.
 (c) Holl. and Ire. 6 years.
 (d) 12l. in money.
 (f) Leam'd.
 (g) 1692.
419. (a) St. Germain, R. Cⁿ, Com^a.
 (b) 3 years.
 (c) Holl. and Ire. 6 years.
 (e) His wife.
 (f) Leam'd.
 (g) 1692.
420. (a) La Brousse, 2 com^a, R. and Ss Cⁿ.
 (b) 3s. per diem.
 (c) Holl. and Ire. 4 years.
 (d) 400l. in talleys of his wife.
 (e) His family.
 (f) Sickly.
 (g) 1692.
421. (a) Gauteron, R. Cⁿ, com^a.
 (b) 3s. per diem.
 (c) Holl. and Ire. 6 years.
 (d) 100l. in talleys.
 (e) His family.
 (f) Old and wounded.
 (g) 1692.
422. (a) Dortons, R. Cⁿ, Com^a.
 (b) 3s. per diem.
 (c) Holl. and Ire. 6 years.
 (d) 500l. ster.
 (e) His family.
 (f) Leam'd.
 (g) 1692.
423. (a) Ste Maison, R. Cⁿ, Com^a.
 (b) 3s. per diem.
 (c) Ire. 3 years.
 (e) His family.
 (f) Wounded.
 (g) 1691.
424. †(a) Bayse, R. Lt. Com^a, pens^d Cⁿ
 by warrant.
 (b) 3s. per diem.
 (c) Holl. and Ire. 4 years.
 (d) A rent of 14l. ster. of his wife.
 (f) Wounded.
 (g) 1692.
425. (a) Bernard, R. Lt. of horse, Com^a.
 (b) 3s. per diem.
 (c) Holl. and Ire. 3 years.
 (e) His wife.
 (f) Sickly.
 (g) 1691.
426. *(a) La primaudaye, gen^t pens^d by
 war^t.
 (b) 3s. per diem.
 (d) 250l. in tall.
 (e) His family.
 (f) Old.
427. (a) Fenouillet, Corn^t of horse to the
 service of Savoye.
 (b) 3s. per diem.
 (c) Pt. 6 years.
 (f) Able to serve.
428. *(a) Jaq. la motte.
 (b) 3s. per diem.
429. (a) St. Maurice, Ss Cⁿ in Pt., Com^a.
 (b) 3s. per diem.
 (c) Pt. and on the Rhin 5 years.
 (f) Leam'd.
 (g) 1697.
430. (a) Guion, 3 Com^a, Ensign and R.
 and Ss Cⁿ in Pt.
 (b) 3s. per diem.
 (c) Pt. and on the Rhin 7 years.
 (f) Leam'd.
 (g) 1697.
431. (a) De pres, 2 Com^a, Lt. and Ss Cⁿ.
 (b) 3s. per diem.
 (c) Pt. and on the Rhine, 7 years.
 (f) Wounded.
 (g) 1697.
432. (a) A La motte, Ss Cⁿ in Pt.
 (b) 3s. per diem.
 (c) Pt. and on the Rhin 7 years.
 (d) 50l.
 (f) Old and wounded.
 (g) 1697.
433. (a) ant. La maria, 2 Com^a, R. and
 Ss Cⁿ.
 (b) 3s. per diem.
 (c) Holl., Ire. and Fl. 12 years.
 (f) Able to serve.
 (g) 1698-9.
434. (a) Dalbenas, jun^r, Corn^t of horse to
 the service of Savoye.
 (b) 3s. per diem.
 (c) Pt. 6 years.
 (d) 180l.
 (f) Able to serve.
435. (a) La Boissonnade, R. Lt. of horse
 Com^a.
 (b) 2s. 6d. per diem.
 (c) Ire. 2 years.
 (d) 100l.
 (e) His wife.
 (f) Sickly.
 (g) 1691.
436. (a) Seve, R. Lt. of horse, certify'd.
 (b) 2s. 6d. per diem.
 (c) Holl. and Ire. 3 years.
 (e) His wife.
 (f) 71 years old.
 (g) 1691-2.
437. (a) Escourre, R. Lt. of horse, Com^a.

- (b) 2s. 6d. per diem.
 (c) Holl. and Ire. 3 years.
 (d) 130l. in mony.
 (e) His wife and a neece.
 (f) Old.
 (g) 1691-2.
438. (a) Villemisson, R. Lt. of horse, Com^a.
 (b) 2s. 6d. per diem.
 (c) Holl. and Ire. 4 years.
 (e) His wife.
 (f) 58 years old.
 (g) 1691-2.
439. (a) La boulay, sen^r, R. Lt. of horse, Com^a.
 (b) 2s. 6d. per diem.
 (c) Holl. and Ire. 5 years.
 (d) 160l. in mony.
 (e) His family.
 (f) 67 years old.
 (g) 1691-2.
440. (a) La boulay, jun^r, R. Lt. of horse, Com^a.
 (b) 2s. 6d. per diem.
 (c) Holl. and Ire. 5 years.
 (f) Old.
 (g) 1691-2.
441. (a) La brosse fortin, R. Lt. of horse, Com^a.
 (b) 2s. 6d. per diem.
 (c) Holl. and Ire. 5 years.
 (d) 60 acres of ground.
 (e) His wife, his mother and 4 chil.
 (f) Numerous family.
 (g) 1693.
442. (a) Ducausse, R. Lt. of horse, Com^a.
 (b) 2s. 6d. per diem.
 (c) Holl. and Ire. 3 years.
 (d) 300l. to the Excheq^r that his br. left him.
 (f) Sickly and old.
 (g) 1691.
443. (a) Lentilhac, R. Lt. of horse, Com^a.
 (b) 2s. 6d. per diem.
 (c) Holl. and Ire. 3 years.
 (f) Sickly and old.
 (g) 1691.
- 444-5. (a) Mercier, R. Lt. of horse, Com^a.
 (b) 2s. 6d. per diem.
 (c) Holl. and Ire. 3 years.
 (d) 300l. and a farm of 10l. a year.
 (e) His family.
 (f) Sickly and old.
 (g) 1691.
446. (a) Barbaut, R. Cap^a, passport of the Duke of Shos.
 (b) 2s. 6d. per diem.
- (c) Holl. and Ire. 4 years.
 (d) 200l. at interest.
 (e) His wife and 6 chil.
 (f) 66 years old.
 (g) 1691.
447. (a) Millery, R. Cap^a, Com^a.
 (b) 2s. 6d. per diem.
 (c) Holl. and Ire. 3 years.
 (f) 60 year old and the gravel.
 (g) 1691-2.
448. (a) Verdelles, R. Cap^a, Com^a.
 (b) 2s. 6d. per diem.
 (c) Holl. and Ire. 3 years.
 (f) 65 years old.
 (g) 1691-2.
449. (a) Bruneval, R. Lt. and Cap^a Lt., Com^a and passport.
 (b) 2s. 6d. per diem.
 (c) Holl. and Ire. 5 years.
 (f) Wounded.
 (g) 1693.
450. (a) Du parc, R. Lt.
 (b) 2s. 6d. per diem.
 (c) Holl. and Ire. 3 years.
 (f) Wounded.
 (g) 1691.
451. (a) Denvoche, R. Cap^a, Com^a.
 (b) 2s. 6d. per diem.
 (c) Holl. and Ire. 5 years.
 (e) Numerous family.
 (f) Wounded and old.
 (g) 1692.
452. (a) Lestrille, R. Cap^a, Com^a.
 (b) 2s. 6d. per diem.
 (c) Holl. and Ire. 4 years.
 (f) Sickly.
 (g) 1692.
453. *(a) Chabrole.
 (b) 2s. 6d. per diem.
454. *(a) Courteille.
 (b) 2s. 6d. per diem.
455. ‡(a) Ponthieu, S^r Lt. and pension'd Cap^a, Com^a.
 (b) 2s. 6d. per diem.
 (c) Holl. and Ire. 5 years.
 (e) Numerous family.
 (f) Able to serve.
 (g) 1691.
456. *(a) Gally le pere.
 (b) 2s. 6d. per diem.
457. (a) De Lorthe, R. Cap^a, Com^a.
 (b) 2s. 6d. per diem.
 (c) Holl. and Ire. 6 years.
 (d) 40l. at interest.

- (f) Able to serve.
(g) 1692.
458. (a) Vignoles, R. Capⁿ, Comⁿ.
(b) 2s. 6d. per diem.
(c) Holl. and Ire. 3 years.
(d) 600*l.* in tall.
(e) His wife and 9 children.
(f) 57 years old.
(g) 1691-2.
459. (a) Dauny, R. Capⁿ, Comⁿ.
(b) 2s. 6d. per diem.
(c) Holl. and Ire. 7 years.
(f) Old.
(g) 1692.
460. (a) Charrier, R. Capⁿ, certify'd.
(b) 2s. 6d. per diem.
(c) Holl. and Ire. 4 years.
(d) 300*l.* that he trades with.
(e) His family.
(f) Sickly and old.
(g) 1691-2.
461. (a) Giberne, R. Captⁿ, certify'd.
(b) 2s. 6d. per diem.
(c) Holl. and Ire. 3 years.
(d) 100*l.* at interest.
(f) Sickly.
(g) 1691.
462. †(a) Montau, R. Capⁿ, Comⁿ.
(b) 2s. 6d. per diem.
(c) Ire. 2 years.
(f) By reason of his deafness.
(g) 1692.
463. (a) Bernardon, S^r Lt. Comⁿ, R. Capⁿ,
certify'd.
(b) 2s. 6d. per diem.
(c) Holl. and Ire. 5 years.
(e) His wife.
(f) Sickly.
(g) 1691.
464. *(a) Pressac.
(b) 2s. 6d. per diem.
465. (a) Monroy, R. Capⁿ, certify'd.
(b) 2s. 6d. per diem.
(c) Holl. and Ire. 3 years.
(f) Old and wounded.
(g) 1691-2.
466. (a) La Garde, R. Capⁿ, certify'd.
(b) 2s. 6d. per diem.
(c) Holl. and Ire. 3 years.
(f) Old and leam'd.
(g) 1691.
467. (a) Isarn, R. and S^r, Lt. and R.
Capⁿ, Comⁿ.
(b) 2s. 6d. per diem.
(c) Holl. and Ire. 3 years.
- (f) Sickly.
(g) 1691-2.
468. †(a) Du Perse, pension'd by warrant.
(b) 2s. 6d. per diem.
(c) His wife and 3 chil.
469. (a) Liger, R. Capⁿ, certify'd.
(b) 2s. 6d. per diem.
(c) Holl. and Ire. 3 years.
(d) 80*l.* ster.
(f) 56 years old.
(g) 1691.
470. (a) Prou, R. Capⁿ, certify'd.
(b) 2s. 6d. per diem.
(c) Ire. and Holl. 3 years.
(f) Sickly.
(g) 1691.
471. (a) Piozet, Life Guard in Scotland,
certify'd.
(b) 2s. 6d. per diem.
(c) Scotland.
(e) His wife and 3 chil.
(f) Able to serve.
(g) 1695-6.
472. (a) Bernard, corn^t of horse to the
service of Savoye.
(b) 2s. 6d. per diem.
(c) Pt. 6 years.
(f) Able to serve.
473. (a) La mouline, 6 Comⁿ, the last
being Capⁿ of guners.
(b) 2s. 6d. per diem.
(c) Holl., Ire. and Pt. 10 years.
(d) 100*l.* ster.
(e) His family.
(f) Able to serve.
(g) 1698.
474. *(a) La coste de St. Jour.
(b) 2s. 6d. per diem.
475. *(a) La bashosche.
(b) 2s. per diem.
476. (a) Baiu (? Bajū), R. Corn^t of horse,
certify'd.
(b) 2s. per diem.
(c) Holl. and Ire. 2 years.
(f) Wounded.
(g) 1692.
477. *(a) Rochemont.
(b) 2s. per diem.
- ditto (a) Rivery, R. Corn^t, Comⁿ.
(b) 2s. per diem.
(c) Holl. and Ire. 3 years.
(d) 80*l.* per diem.
(f) Old.
(g) 1691.

478. (a) La Bastide, barbut, R. Corn^t, Com^a.
 (b) 2s. per diem.
 (c) Holl. and Ire. 3 years.
 (f) Able to serve.
 (g) 1691-2.
479. (a) Goullin, R. Corn^t, Com^a.
 (b) 2s. per diem.
 (c) Bran. and Holl. and Ire. 7 years.
 (f) Sickly.
 (g) 1692.
480. (a) Gaume, R. Corn^t, Com^a.
 (b) 2s. per diem.
 (c) Holl. and Ire. 3 years.
 (d) 45l.
 (f) Wounded.
 (g) 1691.
481. (a) Lasserre, R. Corn^t, Com^a.
 (b) 2s. per diem.
 (c) Holl. and Ire. 3 years.
 (f) Sickly.
 (g) 1691-2.
482. (a) Lamy, R. Corn^t, Com^a.
 (b) 2s. per diem.
 (c) Holl. and Ire. 4 years.
 (d) 100l.
 (e) His family.
 (f) Wounded.
 (g) 1691-2.
483. (a) Saily, R. Lt. of foot, Com^a.
 (b) 2s. per diem.
 (c) Holl. and Ire. 3 years.
 (f) 69 years old.
 (g) 1691.
484. (a) La rousseliere, Lt. of foot, Com^a.
 (b) 2s. per diem.
 (c) Holl. and Ire. 3 years.
 (e) Numerous family.
 (f) Leam'd.
 (g) 1691.
485. (a) Boyer, Lt. of foot, Com^a.
 (b) 2s. per diem.
 (c) Holl. and Ire. 4 years.
 (f) Wounded.
 (g) 1692.
486. (a) Mestre, R. Lt. of foot, Com^a.
 (b) 2s. per diem.
 (c) Holl. and Ire. 6 years.
 (d) 300l. his and his wife's.
 (e) His wife.
 (f) Leam'd.
 (g) 1691.
487. (a) Lile du roy, R. Lt. of foot, certify'd.
 (b) 2s. per diem.
 (c) Holl. and Ire. 4 years.
- (d) 50l.
 (f) Leam'd.
 (g) 1691.
488. (a) St. Sauveur, by the Duke of Shons^t's orders.
 (b) 2s. per diem.
 (c) Holl. and Ire. 3 years.
 (d) 80l. ster.
 (f) Wounded.
 (g) 1691.
489. (a) Du plessy, Corn^t of horse by warr^t.
 (b) 2s. per diem.
 (c) Eng., Ire. and Fl. 13 years.
 (f) Wounded.
 (g) 1691.
490. *(a) Le Cocq.
 (b) 2s. per diem.
491. (a) Dausy, pension'd in the estab^lishmt.
 (b) 2s. per diem.
 (c) Fl. and Ire. 4 years.
 (f) Sickly.
 (g) 1699.
492. (a) Laymeric, R. Corn^t, certify'd.
 (b) 2s. per diem.
 (c) Frize and Ire. 5 years.
 (f) Wounded.
 (g) 1691.
493. (a) Flooyd, doctor of the English army in Pt.
 (b) 2s. per diem.
 (c) Pt. and on the Rhin 7 years.
 (g) 1697.
494. ‡(a) La molliere, volunteer by warrant.
 (b) 2s. per diem.
 (c) Holl. and Ire. 5 years.
 (d) 100l.
 (e) His wife.
 (f) Sickly.
 (g) 1691.
- 495-6. (a) Dela maugere, 2 Com^a, Ensign and R. Lt.
 (b) 1s. 6d. per diem.
 (c) Ire. 3 years.
 (e) His wife.
 (f) Sickly.
 (g) 1692.
497. (a) S. Agnaut, R. Lt., certify'd.
 (b) 1s. 6d. per diem.
 (c) Pt., Ire. 5 years.
 (f) Sickly.
 (g) 1691.
498. (a) Belorient, Life Gard, set on the pension.

- (b) 1s. 6d. per diem.
 (c) England, 2 years.
 (e) His wife.
 (f) Weakness of the sight.
 (g) 1692.
499. (a) Ste. Fauste, R. Lt., Comⁿ.
 (b) 1s. 6d. per diem.
 (c) Holl. and Ire. 3 years.
 (f) Sickly.
 (g) 1691-2.
500. (a) Lange, R. Lt., Comⁿ.
 (b) 1s. 6d. per diem.
 (c) Holl. and Ire. 3 years.
 (d) 300 acres of ground.
 (e) His family.
 (f) Sickly.
 (g) 1691-2.
501. (a) Baignoulx, R. Lt., certifi'd.
 (b) 1s. 6d. per diem.
 (c) Ire. 2 years.
 (d) 40l.
 (f) Sickly.
 (g) 1691-2.
502. *(a) Boishellaud.
503. (a) Fortenier, R. Lt., comⁿ.
 (b) 1s. 6d. per diem.
 (c) Holl. and Ire. 7 years.
 (d) A yearly rent of 25l. a year.
 (f) Sickly.
 (g) 1692.
504. (a) Laisné, R. Lt., certifi'd.
 (b) 1s. 6d. per diem.
 (c) Holl. and Ire. 3 years.
 (f) Old.
 (g) 1691.
505. (a) Faure, R. Lt., certifi'd.
 (b) 1s. 6d. per diem.
 (c) Holl. and Ire. 3 years.
 (d) 50l.
 (f) Sickly.
 (g) 1691-2.
506. (a) Bourdin, R. Lt.
 (b) 1s. 6d.
 (c) Zeland, Holl. and Ire. 5 years.
 (d) A farm of 8l. a year.
 (f) Sickly.
 (g) 1691-2.
507. (a) Le petit, R. Lt.
 (b) 1s. 6d. per diem.
 (c) Holl. and Ire. 5 years.
 (d) 100l. in mony.
 (f) Sickly.
 (g) 1691-2.
508. *(a) La Rissoles falentin.
 (b) 1s. 6d. per diem.
509. (a) Damboix, R. Lt., certifi'd.
 (b) 1s. 6d. per diem.
 (c) Ire. 3 years.
 (e) His wife and 4 children.
 (f) Sickly.
 (g) 1691.
510. (a) Belet, R. Lt.
 (b) 1s. 6d. per diem.
 (c) Ire. and Holl. 5 years.
 (e) His wife.
 (f) Sickly.
 (g) 1691.
511. †(a) Le Brun, pensioned by warrant.
 (b) 1s. 6d. per diem.
 (f) Old.
512. (a) De Loches, R. Ensⁿ, Comⁿ, R. Lt., certifi'd.
 (b) 1s. 6d. per diem.
 (c) Holl. and Ire. 4 years.
 (d) 40l.
 (f) Sickly.
 (g) 1691.
513. (a) Dumas, R. ensⁿ, com., R. Lt., certifi'd.
 (b) 1s. 6d. per diem.
 (c) Holl. and Ire. 3 years.
 (d) 50l. in mony.
 (e) His wife and 5 children.
 (f) Grievous sickness.
 (g) 1691.
514. (a) La motte champy, S^r Lt., Comⁿ.
 (b) 1s. 6d. per diem.
 (c) Holl. and Ire. 6 years.
 (e) 2 children.
 (f) Sickly.
 (g) 1692.
515. (a) Rou, R. Ensⁿ, Comⁿ, R. Lt., certifi'd.
 (b) 1s. 6d. per diem.
 (c) Holl. and Ire. 3 years.
 (f) Sickly.
 (g) 1691.
516. (a) La Chancellerie, R. Lt., Comⁿ.
 (b) 1s. 6d. per diem.
 (c) Holl. and Ire. 5 years.
 (f) Old.
 (g) 1691.
517. (a) Vialas, R. Lt., certifi'd.
 (b) 1s. 6d. per diem.
 (c) Holl. and Ire. 3 years.
 (e) His wife and 4 childr.
 (f) 55 years old.
 (g) 1691-2.
518. (a) Aldebert, R. Lt., certifi'd.
 (b) 1s. 6d. per diem.
 (c) Ire. 2 years.

- (e) His wife.
(f) Sickly.
(g) 169½ [sic].
519. (a) Mercier, R. Lt., certify'd.
(b) 1s. 6d. per diem.
(c) Ire. 3 years.
(d) 150l.
(e) His wife and 2 chil.
(f) 49 years old.
(g) 1691-2.
520. (a) Lenfant, R. Lt., certify'd.
(b) 1s. 6d. per diem.
(c) Ire. 1 year.
(e) His wife.
(f) Wounded.
(g) 1690.
521. (a) La hauteville, R. Ensign, certify'd.
(b) 1s. 6d. per diem.
(c) Holl. and Ire. 3 years.
(e) His wife and 3 chil.
(f) Wounded.
(g) 1691.
522. *(a) La nalve.
(b) 1s. 6d. per diem.
523. *(a) Madlle. Dausseville.
(b) 1s. 6d. per diem.
524. (a) St. Feriol de la touche, Serg^t by war^t.
(b) 1s. 6d. per diem.
(c) Ire. and Fl. 9 years.
(e) His wife.
(f) Lean'd.
(g) 1698.
525. (a) La val, R. Ensign, Com^a.
(b) 1s. per diem.
(c) Holl. and Ire. 4 years.
(e) A child.
(f) Sickly.
(g) 1691.
526. (a) St. Estienne, R. Ensign, certify'd.
(b) 1s. per diem.
(c) Ire. 3 years.
(f) Sickly.
(g) 1691.
527. (a) Guilhermin, R. Ensign, Com^a and R. Lt., certify'd.
(b) 1s. per diem.
(c) Holl. and Ire. 3 years.
(f) Sickly.
(g) 1692.
528. (a) Quinson, R. Ensign, certify'd.
(b) 1s. per diem.
(c) Frize and Ire. 5 years.
(f) Sickly.
(g) 1691-2.
529. (a) Chanlorier, R. Ensign, certify'd.
(b) 1s. per diem.
(c) Ire. 3 years.
(f) Sickly and wounded.
(g) 1691-2.
530. (a) Mongaud, Sr Ens^a.
(b) 1s. per diem.
(c) Holl. and Ire. 6 years.
(f) Able to serve.
(g) 1691-2.
531. *(a) Garisson.
(b) 1s. per diem.
532. (a) Maignen, Corp^r of horse, certify'd.
(b) 1s. per diem.
(c) Ire. 3 years.
(f) 68 years old.
(g) 1692.
533. (a) Briant, trooper of horse, certify'd.
(b) 1s. per diem.
(c) Ire. 3 years.
(f) 58 years old.
(g) 1697.
534. *(a) La Pallisse.
(b) 1s. per diem.
535. (a) Le Conte, 2d Ens^a in Pt., Com^a.
(b) 1s. per diem.
(c) Pt. 4 years.
(f) Wounded.
(g) 1694.
536. †(a) Bureau, pens^d by warrant.
(b) 1s. per diem.
(f) Lean'd.
537. *(a) Guy.
(b) 1s. per diem.
538. (a) Bontous, R. Ens^a, certify'd.
(b) 1s. per diem.
(c) Ire. 3 years.
(d) 40l. in money.
(f) Old.
(g) 1691-2.
539. *(a) Du Vivas.
(b) 1s. per diem.
540. †*(a) Bonheraud, by warrant 200l. ster. a year.
541. †*(a) Anna Albertine de Passy, pensioned by warr^t.
(b) 4s. per diem.
542. (a) Jo La molle, 4 Com^a, the last being Cap^a of guners.
(b) 2s. 6d. per diem.
(c) Pt. and on the Rhin. 8 years.

- (e) His family.
(g) 1697.
543. *(a) Gervaisot.
(b) 1s. 6d. per diem.
544. (a) La Lande, Sd^r Lt., com^d.
(b) 2s. per diem.
(c) Holl., Ire. and Fl. 13 yrs.
(d) 250l. in tall.
(e) 2 annts.
(f) Able to serve.
(g) 1698-9.
545. *(a) Saubergue.
(b) 2s. per diem.
546. (a) Colombier, 2 Com^d, Ensign and S^r Lt.
(b) 2s. per diem.
(c) Ire. and Fl.
(f) Able to serve.
(g) 1698-9.
547. (a) Du buc, 2 Com^d, R. and S^r Lt.
(b) 2s. per diem.
(c) Holl., Ire. and Fl. 13 years.
(d) 50l. in mony.
(f) Able to serve.
(g) 1698-9.
548. (a) La Sautié, R. Capⁿ, certify'd, of foot.
(b) 3s. per diem.
(c) Ire. 2 years.
(e) His family of 5 persons.
(f) Wound'd in the head.
(g) 1692.
549. *(a) Dagoa.
(b) 2s. 6d. per diem.
550. (a) Surville, 2 Com^d, R. and S^r Ensign, C^t.
(b) 1s. 6d. per diem.
(c) Ire. and Fl. 8 years.
(f) Sickly.
(g) 1698-9.
551. (a) Baufort, S^r Ensign, Com^d.
(b) 1s. 6d. per diem.
(c) Ire. and Fl. 10 years.
(d) 20l. in mony.
(f) Able to serve.
(g) 1698-9.
552. (a) Melon, S^r Lt. in Pt., Com^d.
(b) 1s. 6d. per diem.
(c) Pt., Fl. and Ire. 8 years.
(f) Able to serve.
(g) 1698-9.
553. *(a) the Sieur de Montaut.
(b) 5s. per diem.
554. *(a) the marquis de Leucourt.
(b) 5s. per diem.
555. *(a) the Baron Dantraigues.
(b) 5s. per diem.
556. *(a) De neuville.
(b) 5s. per diem.
557. *(a) Dollons.
(b) 5s. per diem.
558. *(a) De travesy.
(b) 3s. per diem.
559. *(a) Villeneuve.
(b) 3s. per diem.
560. *(a) de la gardiolle.
(b) 3s. per diem.
561. *(a) De la porte.
(b) 3s. per diem.
562. *(a) Mery Lambert.
(b) 3s. per diem.
563. *(a) De la baume.
(b) 2s. per diem.
564. *(a) De la val.
(b) 3s. per diem.
565. *(a) De Soligné.
(b) 2s. per diem.
566. *(a) Du Lac.
(b) 2s. per diem.
567. *(a) Clavier.
(b) 2s. per diem.
568. *(a) Begat.
(b) 2s. per diem.
569. *(a) Bancons.
(b) 2s. per diem.
570. (a) De Bolleroy, pensioned by warrant.
(b) 2s. per diem.
(c) Holl., being Lt. 3 years.
(e) Numerous family.
(f) 64 years old.
(g) 1689.
571. *(a) Monpinson.
(b) 1s. 6d. per diem.
572. *(a) Vasselot.
(b) 1s. 6d. per diem.
573. *(a) Pinet.
(b) 1s. 6d. per diem.

574. (a) Vaque, cadet, pensioned by warrant.
 (b) 1s. 6d. per diem.
 (c) Ire. and Fl. 4 years.
 (f) Leam'd.
 (g) 1694.
575. *(a) De la Sorardiere.
 (b) 1s. 6d. per diem.
576. *(a) de membray.
 (b) 2s. per diem.
577. *(a) De la plague.
 (b) 2s. per diem.
578. *(a) Prat L'ainé.
 (b) 1s. 6d. per diem.
579. *(a) Du Puy, pensioned by warrant.
 (b) 1s. 6d. per diem.
580. *(a) Bonneval.
 (b) 2s. per diem.
581. (a) Pineau, R. Lt. of horse.
 (b) 2s. per diem.
 (c) Holl. and Ire. 6 years.
 (e) His family.
- (f) Sickly and old.
 (g) 1694.
582. *(a) Despierrre.
 (b) 1s. 6d. per diem.
583. *(a) De Serrieres.
 (b) 1s. 6d. per diem.
584. *(a) De Laussal.
 (b) 3s. per diem.
585. *(a) De la motte.
 (b) 1s. 6d. per diem.
586. *(a) Darenne.
 (b) 6s. per diem.
587. *(a) Malherbe.
 (b) 1s. 3d. per diem.
588. *(a) La Crouisette.
 (b) 2s. per diem.
589. *(a) Gaillardly.
 (b) 1s. 6d. per diem.
590. *(a) De Lille.
 (b) 3s. 6d. per diem.

Examined by

CHA. DERING, Aud. Genl.

Concerning the name "Huguenot".

BY PASTOR LIC. DR. TOLLIN.

PRESIDENT OF THE DEUTSCHE HUGENOTTEN VEREIN.

Translated from the original German in the Erlangen *Reformirte Kirchen-Zeitung*, December, 1899.

THE persons who were long known in Germany by the opprobrious names of the "Eigenwillischen" (self-willed, *i.e.*, Evangelicals) or the "Luderschen" (profligates, *i.e.*, Lutherans) were called "Lutherans" or "Evangelists" at first in France; and occasionally also "Christaudins," that is to say, "worshippers of Christ," in contradistinction to the worshippers of Mary.

In the time of Louis XIV. they were called "ceux de la religion prétendue réformée," which was shortened into "ceux de la religion," and often represented in writing by the letters: *R. P. R.*

In our own day they are known as "members of the Evangelical Church," or "Protestants," or again as "Calvinists," or "Lutherans". In official documents they are now generally classed together with Jews, Mahometans and atheists, under the designation of "non-Catholics". Papist and Calvinist were the names at all times most commonly used to express the distinction. But during the religious war (1562-89) the French Protestants were popularly known as "Huguenots".

What is the origin of this name, and when did it first come into use?

On this point scholars are not agreed.

It is, however, a fact that this party-name did not come into general use among the people until after the conspiracy of Amboise and its discovery (Feb. 12th, 1560). As is well known, 600 Protestant nobles under the leadership of La Renaudie vowed to capture by force the Dukes of Guise, the heads of the party of the Inquisition, and to deliver them

up to the Court at Blois, where the king, Francis II., was to come into residence on the 10th March. At the same time they were personally to deliver to him a copy of the Evangelical confession of faith by way of vindicating Condé's party.

It was in the partisan assemblies of this date that the battle cries of "Papists" and "Huguenots" first made themselves heard.

However, by an edict issued on April 19th, 1561, the king forbade the use of these names, under pain of severe punishment, as he did not wish to see the first year of his reign marred by any accentuation of the differences between the two, still less by bloodshed among his subjects. The king was then sixteen years old, and had come to the throne on July 10th, 1560. But the Parliament of Paris opposed the king, and refused to register the edict, on the ground that there had been but one religion in France since the time of Clovis, and that this new variety must therefore be plucked up by the roots, and the Papists must not be branded as if they too were merely a party in opposition to the Huguenots, the latter being an expression newly invented by those who had broken away from the true religion.¹

It may be noted that, in the year in which the party-name of Huguenots first came into vogue, it is ascribed by the Parliament of Paris to the invention of the Protestants. Élie Bénoit too, the famous Protestant author of the history of the Edict of Nantes, who had been a preacher since 1664, writes in 1693 that the Reformed originally took pride in the honourable name of "Huguenott". And the Huguenot Pastor, Fétizon, also, in his *Apology for the Reformed*, which appeared at the Hague in 1683, says: "The title of Huguenots was originally a title of honour".²

And the Parliament of Paris is perfectly right in stating that the name "Huguenot" was hardly known in 1560 to the public political life of France. For the prohibitions of the edict of July 8th, 1542, are directed against "the new heresies"; those of October 4th, 1546, against "the heretics and blasphemers of Meaux," and of April 29th, 1551, against the "imitators of the Lutheran sect". The name "Huguenot" does not appear in any royal edict until 1561.

¹ *Hist. Ecclés. des Églises Réformées de France*, Anvers, 1580, i., 459.

² *Bulletin de la Soc. d'Hist. du Protestantisme Français*, 1859, p. 125, cf. p. 249, p. 126.

The author of the *Histoire Ecclésiastique* of 1580, whether Bera, Des Gallars, or whoever else he may have been, expressly declares that the name "Huguenot" was first given to the reformers at the time of the Amboise affair, and had clung to them ever since;¹ and other contemporary writers concur in the same opinion. Régnier de la Planche, in his history of the French State of 1576, asserts that the calling of Lutherans and Evangelicals by the name of "Huguenots" dates from the time of the first armed rising of the Protestants, and its betrayal to the king in Amboise. And he adds that the name, being then in common use by the lower classes, began to be generally the fashion.

Pierre de la Place in his *Commentary on the Position of Religion and the State* writes, as early as 1565, that the name "Huguenauds" (*sic*) came up a few days before the Amboise attempt. The title of a Parisian handbill, dated 4th September, 1562, takes us a little farther back still, and runs as follows: "The wonderful and divine punishments of some wicked, wonder-working Lutherans, now called Huguenots". The verses of Ronsard, the poet and court favourite, belong to the same year:—

Je n'aime point ces noms qui sont finis en "o's,"
Gots, cagots, austrogots, visgots, et huguenots.
Ils me sont odieux comme peste, et je pense
Qu'ils sont prodigieux à l'empire de France.

(I like not names which end in "o's," such as gots, cagots, austrogots, visgots and huguenots. They are as hateful to me as the plague, and I believe that they are of evil augury to the Empire of France.)

In that same year, 1562, the famous Bernard Palissy writes: "au lieu de me remercier, la sottie m'appela Huguenot" (instead of thanking me, the fool of a woman called me "Huguenot"). And there are some letters which go yet farther back. Col. Caylus on 18th November, 1560, and the Comte de Villars on the 11th of the same month, of the same year, both call the Protestants "Huguenaulx"; and a few months earlier, 10th June, the Cardinal of Lorraine speaks of them as "Huguenots"; while immediately after the discovery of the Amboise conspiracy, Étienne Pasquier the Parisian advocate, who died in 1615, reports: "They have begun to give the name and title of 'Huguenaux' (*sic*) to the whole of this new party".² The same Pasquier, in his

¹ *Hist. Ecclés.*, i., p. 269.

² *Bulletin*, Paris, 1859, p. 124, s.r.

Recherches de la France, announces that he had heard of the name "Huguenots" from his friends in Touraine eight or nine years before the conspiracy of Amboise.¹

This would carry the origin back to 1552 or 1551. But of the use of the name at this early date all proof has hitherto been wanting. Now, however, an old deed, of March, 1552, has been made over to the Société du Protestantisme français, and turns out to be an honourable testimonial to one Bertin, Mayor of Périgueux, put forth by the consuls and notabilities of the town "per cause de la brave et généreuse action qu'il fazet contre la vilaine race d'Huguenauds" (*sic*)² (on account of the brave and noble way in which he had acted with regard to the horrid race of "Huguenauds").

The religious pendulum long swung to and fro in Périgueux between Papists and Protestants. At one time the Huguenot leader, the Sieur de Mesmi (du Mesnil), was the man looked up to; at another, Pastor Simon Brossier was put in prison, and the blind Pastor Romigly was taken off to the guard-house, but subsequently rescued and led home by his adherents;³ so that the expression "horrid race of Huguenauds," coming from Papist lips in the spring of 1552, cannot be taken to apply to any but the Protestants. It is easy to see too that it is an expression derived from the people.

It seemed a great matter to have traced the name Huguenot back to March, 1552. But this was not all!

In 1899 a family of the name of Lalance was discovered in the neighbourhood of Mühlhausen, Alsace; and it was found that they had borne the surname of "Huguenot" as early as 1425, being so registered at that date in the red book of the burghers of Mömpelgard. Jehan Huguenot de Cheveney, son of Huguenot Cruevesne de Cheveney, was admitted as a burgher in Mömpelgard in the year 1425. He is followed in 1512 by Petit Jehan Huguenot (a priest of Chèvremont near Belfort), in 1571 by Claude Huguenot, called la Lance, and in 1596 by Charles Huguenot, also called la Lance.⁴ So that there were Huguenots a hundred years before the beginning of the Reformation.

¹ Soldan, *Geschichte des Protestantismus in Frankreich*, i., 618. Cf. *Bulletin*, 1860, p. 18.

² *Bulletin de la Soc. de l'Hist. du Prot. Fr.*, 1891, p. 284.

³ *Hist. Ecclés.*, 1580, i., 253, 395, 798, s.v.; ii., 758.

⁴ *Bulletin du Prot. Franç.* 1899, p. 277.

But more than this. Sir Austen Layard, President of the Huguenot Society of London in 1889 (vol. ii., *Proceedings*, p. 251), has pointed out, through Littré's Dictionary of 1877, that a certain Huguenot Bony was received in the year 1410 as "Huissier de la chambre des comtes de Dijon" (Usher of the Chamber to the Counts of Dijon) after oath taken by him that he could neither read nor write.

Earlier still, 7th October, 1387, appears Pascal Huguenot of St. Junien in Limousin, as "docteur en décret". So it is clear that there were Huguenots in France nearly a couple of hundred years previous to the conspiracy of Amboise. And it is also quite evident that, from 1552, but especially from 1560-61, the name was in use among the people, and applied as a term of reproach to the French Protestants, while before that time it was an honourable appellation, and had moreover been known in France as an ordinary family name since 1387.

But now, what is the meaning of the name Huguenot?

In view of the fact that we find it in France a hundred and thirty years before the beginning of the Reformation, and one hundred and seventy-three years before the conspiracy of Amboise, we shall be prepared to find various ideas and explanations current among the people, and that at an early date. But before all things we shall do well to look with suspicion upon all purely learned explanations of that which is a popular expression.

Many a learned explanation hardly needs refutation at all; first and foremost among these being that which declares that Calvin held nightly intercourse in Geneva with a fiend named "Nox," whom he summoned whenever he wanted her, by the words "Huc Nox"; and that he had by her a son "Hucnox," who was the father of the Huguenots. Calvin, it will be remembered, did not die until 1564, so it is easy to see why it was so late in the day before this explanation came to be hatched in the brain of a learned Jesuit. Another learned and equally senseless derivation is that which traces the name to the "Hucnos," or "Ut nos, serenissime princeps, advenimus," which formed the exordium of some Protestant orator. All are now agreed that the appellation had its origin among the people, not in any court circle.

Yet another learned explanation would derive it from "Hudgenot," or "Hutgesellen," the name of a league at Soest in Westphalia founded for the protection of religion.

But this is both historically and etymologically untenable. The derivation from a Gnostic, Hugo, is also at once demolished by the fact that the Huguenots never favoured Gnosticism, and that the very existence of this particular Gnostic is problematical.

Not much happier, though based upon popular notions, is the idea that the Huguenots owed their name to their *owlish* characteristics, *i.e.*, their nightly "howling" of Psalms. (Frederick the Great, as we know, said that the refugees had fled from France that they might be free to howl their Psalms in public and by day.)

Well, the great owl is certainly called "Dugou," and the little owl, "Duganel,"¹ and in the Langue d'oc the Huguenots are called "Duganau," pronounced "Duganaou". But then the name Huguenot was not used as a nickname first in Langue d'oc, but, as we shall see directly, in Touraine. It is impossible moreover, to say why the Occitanian word "Duganau" should have been transformed by French tongues into "Huguenot"; and such a change would be contrary to all the rules of language. The Catholic Occitanians, on the other hand, might easily have been reminded of their owls when they were arranging the French word "Huguenot" to suit themselves. The Protestants as night butterflies (Papillons, Parpaillots), might well have appeared to them fit objects for derision as "owls" and "howlers". Still another, and also merely learned derivation of the Protestant party-name would trace it to John Huss, burnt as a heretic at Constance. According to this "Huguenots" were "Hussgenossen". But what did the French people of 1560 know of the Bohemian executed in 1415? Huss had no influence whatever in France.

If all these ingenious *ballons d'essai* failed to have the smallest effect in casting discredit upon the Protestants, so far as the French populace were concerned, it was otherwise with a move made by their deadly foes, the Guises. The Guises gave their ecclesiastico-political adversaries the name of "Eidgenossen" (Leaguers), for it was of the utmost importance to them to brand the conspirators of Orleans and Amboise as "rebels". "They were in league with the Swiss Republics," said they, "and could never again be faithful subjects of the King of France without breaking their oath to Geneva."

¹ *Bulletin de la Soc. du Prot. Fr.*, 1898, p. 661.

A broadsheet published by the Guises in the spring of 1562 announces that the French Protestants had determined to organise themselves into Cantons, as the free Swiss had done. It was to this intent, said they, that the "Deformed" Churches had assumed the name of "Aignos"; for the seditionmongers of Amboise were the offspring of the Genevese, and the latter, at the time of their rebellion against the Duke of Savoy, had brought a good number of Aignos from Berne and Freiburg into Geneva, and then, as soon as they felt themselves strong enough, they had first caused those who wished to live as the Eidgenossen did (*qui voudraient vivre en l'Aignossen*) to lift up their hands, and had next proceeded to drive the Faithful out of the town under the nickname of Crawlers or Cringers (*Mamelus*).¹ Hence the origin of the satirical song: "Tes Aignos sont au dessus, tes Mammelus sont rués jus". And so again at the present time the adherents of the Prince of Condé had been fed upon the Genevese spirit of rebellion after the fashion of the Aignossen (*nourris en l'Aignossen de Genève*). And for this reason the conspirators of Orleans had called themselves "Bündler," in Genevese "Aignossen".² Even before 1562 the learned partisan of the Guises asks: "Did the King of Navarre then allow himself to be outwitted, as the Aignos tried to outwit the Prince of Condé? Ah, Master Aignos! from whom are we to expect good counsel if not from him whose counsel hitherto has brought the land into a state of blooming prosperity?"³

This "Réponse des Triumvirs (the Guises) à la Déclaration" is in fact the reply to the "Déclaration faite à Orléans, le 8 Avril, 1562," par M. le prince de Condé, pour montrer les raisons qui l'ont contraint d'entreprendre la défense de l'autorité du Roy, du gouvernement de la Reine, et du repos de ce royaume". Condé had just launched his declaration of war against the Triumvirate—the Duke of Guise, the Cardinal of Lorraine, and his own brother, the King of Navarre, who had lately turned Catholic. There was to be open warfare in the cause of the Gospel and of the King.

The ecclesiastico-political aim of both parties is strikingly plain therefore. Both protest that their only desire is to deliver the king from false counsellors, to be faithful, at-

¹ Mamelukes, the Sultan's bodyguard, originally slaves.

² *Bulletin Français*, 1859, p. 127.

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ *Hist. Ecclés.*, ii., 15.

tentive, kind to the king, and to lay down their arms at once when the king commands them to do so. Each lays all the blame for robbery, murder, bloodshed, harm in general, upon his adversary, and each accuses the other of having been the first to resort to arms.

Such declarations and counter-declarations, says La Noue, are necessary in our age, "for at the present day people are so lazy that they won't do their duty to the State, without being goaded to it". The Guises, who had just arranged a blood-bath for the Protestants at Vassy, were well aware, through their new confederate, King Anthony of Navarre, that his brother the Prince of Condé was negotiating with the German princes. All the more crafty therefore was their insertion of the word "Eidgenossen" in the incendiary broadsheet of the Catholic League, while at the same time they were themselves coquetting with Spain, and were taking both German Landsknechte and troopers, as well as Swiss Catholics, into their service.

It is remarkable that the official counterblast of the Guises does not contain the word "Huguenot," and that it is not so much as hinted that "Aignos" and "Huguenots" are one and the same. There is merely a simple lie, put forth in the interest of the Papal party, to the effect that Condé's followers had called themselves "Bündler," or "Eidgenossen" (Leaguers or Confederates). And the sole proof alleged of this is, that a reformed preacher who had recanted and returned to Rome is said to have admitted to the Duke of Guise that, "after seven years' study, he had been convinced that Calvinism was an incentive to disobedience and to the establishment of such liberty as that which prevailed in the Swiss Cantons". This was all that the French Protestants had done towards adopting the name of "Aignos". A single renegade has been the parent of all the Protestants of France!

That devourer of Protestants, the Marshal of France, Count Gaspard de Tavannes, sings the same song. He writes in his *Memoirs*, 1574, "They themselves assumed the name of 'Eidgenossen'. And as the first pastors who came to France always cherished the wish to establish a democracy there (d'y établir l'état populaire) they made use among the Huguenots of the foreign word 'Eidgenossen' (*sic*) that they might not be understood by the world in general. So that the earliest professors of this religion considered the name an honourable one, though their descendants looked upon it

as a disgrace and reproach."¹ We see that Tavannes does not declare the "Eidgenossen" to be identical with the "Huguenots"; but he too, following the illustrious example set him, suspects them of being "democrats".

And now, as neither the Triumvirate, nor Tavannes, nor any other Frenchman contemporary with the conspirators of Amboise, attempts to explain the word "Huguenot" by "Eidgenossen," we might let the identity question rest, had not an attempt been made to support it by an appeal to old Genevese writers.²

We are discussing a nickname of the French Protestants. Now French Protestants call themselves by the name of Calvin. Calvin lived in Geneva. Calvin left a quantity of letters and many polemical writings behind him. His chief talent indeed was shown in polemics. If then the nickname "Huguenot" had its origin in Geneva, it is to be expected that Calvin would have been foremost in defending "les nôtres," as he calls his adherents, against the aspersion cast upon them by this insulting sobriquet; or, if not that, that he would have given the name an honourable signification.

But as a matter of fact, Calvin never once makes use of the word "Huguenot," or of "Eidgenot," "Eygenot," "Ayguenot," or "Euguenot". This I was positively assured of on October 9th, 1899, by Professor Herminjard, Doctor of Theology, who is without a rival in his acquaintance with, and critical editing of, Calvin's correspondence.

However, in order to establish the identity of "Huguenot" and "Eidgenots," recourse is had to two Genevese contemporaries of Calvin's, the famous chroniclers François Bonivard (died 1570) and Michel Roset (died 1613).

Let us consider these two more closely.

The famous Bonivard, Prior of St. Victor, the prisoner of the Castle of Chillon, the adventurer whose vicissitudes have so often been sung, writes in book iii. of his *Chroniques de Genève*, of the year 1518³: "Allaient crier les enfans: 'Vivent les Eiguenotz,' voulant dire les Eydgenoss, que signifie en Allemand les ligués ou alliés, duquel nom s'appellent les Suisses en général, car Eyd signifie serment, et Genoss participant. Pourquoi ces deux mots joints, assavoir Eydgenoss, signifient les ligués et ensemble assermentés. Ceux

¹ Soldan, *Geschichte des Protestantismus in Frankreich*, i., 624.

² *Ibid.*, i., 608 ff.

³ Ed. G. Revilliod, Genève, t. ii., 1867, p. 131.

qui tenaient le parti des Princes par moquerie les appelaient les Eidguenots, et ceux de la part de la liberté nommaient ceux par opposite les Mammelucs ou Monseigneuristes, pour cequ'ils tenaient le parti des Seigneurs." ("The children went about shouting: 'Vivent les Eiguenotz,' meaning the 'Eydgenoss,' which in German means the Leaguers, or Allies, a name generally adopted by the Swiss, for 'Eyd' means oath, and 'Genoss' associate; and the two words together, namely 'Eydgenoss,' mean those who are leagued and bound together by an oath. Those who were of the party of the princes called them 'Eidguenots' in mockery; and those who belonged to the party of liberty called the opposite party 'Mamelukes,' or 'Monseigneurists,' because they held with the Seigneurs.")

Such is the passage upon which all arguments on the identity of "Huguenot" and "Eiguenot" are founded.

But we must now call attention in the first place to the fact that even here we have no mention of the word "Huguenot". "Eiguenotz" he himself declares to be a corruption of "Eidguenotz" (more properly Eidgenotz or Eydgenossen), originating with the children, whose language was French. And then another point which we must be clear about is that though the children of Geneva shouted "Eiguenotz" in the streets, they certainly did not *spell* the word to anybody. In fact, it might have been written "Eiguenotz," "Eyguenots," "Aiguenots," "Ayguenots," or even "Eidguenots" and "Eydgenots," as Bonivard does write it immediately after. To this we must add that, when the word came into use in Geneva, Bonivard himself never heard it at all. For in 1518 he was away in Rome, Turin, Freiburg, Gex, Grolée, etc., on matters concerning his priory.¹

But it was not till 1548² that he wrote his *Chronicle of Geneva*, which he brought down to the year 1527; and it was not till 1551 that he handed over the complete work to the council.³ Another thing to be noticed is, that it was not written by his own hand, but by his secretary, Ant. Froment; that he merely added corrections and marginal notes, and that the manuscript soon after disappeared. It was not till 30th October, 1724, that it was restored to the Public Library of Geneva, through the instrumentality of MM. Lullin.⁴

Now, at this time of day, who is going to prove that the handwriting is really that of Froment and Bonivard? or,

¹ T. i., p. xiv., s.r.

² T. i., p. lii.

³ T. i., p. lvii.

⁴ T. i., p. lviii.

further still, that Bonivard spelt the word "Eiguenots" to Froment while he was in the act of writing, and exactly as it is printed at the present time? It is all the less possible to do this, because Bonivard's own handwriting is entirely unknown to us now, save by his signatures (see the remarks of Champonnière in the éd. Revilliod, i., pp. 59, 60, 64 of the "Notice").

That Froment, or Bonivard himself, attached no great importance to the form "Eiguenots," the closest approximation to that of "Huguenots," is manifest, for he has no sooner mentioned it than he immediately uses the form "Eidgenoss" three times over; and not only this, but when he reverts to the nickname (livre iv., cap. 4, éd. Revilliod, p. 227) he speaks only of "Eydgnoss" and "Eydgenoss"—and that six times in the year 1525—and (in livre iv., cap. 7) he speaks of the Genevese children as crying, not "Eiguenotz," but "Eydgnot, Eydgnot" (Revilliod, ii., p. 254). Bonivard also uses the nickname "Mammelucz" down to 1530 (éd. Revilliod, ii., 266, 270, 281, 283, 285, 293, 298, 325, 415). But "Eignotz" does not appear again after 1525, and in its place he always uses "combourgeois". In 1530 Bonivard calls the Evangelicals of Geneva "Lutherans," (l. ii., p. 395).

So then, "Evangelicals" and "Eidgenossen" were not precisely synonymous terms even in Geneva. The Evangelicals there are called first Lutherans, and, later on, Calvinists. The "Eiguenos" are a political party in Geneva, the party of independence, the declared enemies of the ducal Mammelucs, or Monseigneuristes. And when Calvin came in 1535, and especially when he was recalled in 1538, they occupied such a hostile position with regard to the Evangelical party on the question of Church discipline, that Calvin opposed them in the sharpest way, calling them "slaves of liberty" (Libertins). If we except Bonivard, who left the camp of the "Eignos" for that of Calvin, we find nearly all the "Eidgenossen" between 1519 and 1530, and, so far as any of them still survived, between 1538 and 1553, in the camp which was at enmity with Calvin. This was perfectly well known at the time and even in 1560 to every French Protestant; so that to call the Calvinists "Eiguenots," "Eidgenossen," and that in Geneva of all places, would have appeared altogether monstrous.

Finding therefore that little was to be gained from Bonivard in proof of the identity of "Huguenot" and "Eiguenots," recourse was next had to the son of the man whom the

“Conseil de Genève” ordered to furnish Bonivard with original documents from the State archives.¹

Michel Roset, who succeeded his father Claude as State Secretary on the latter's death in 1555, is the writer of the *Chroniques de Genève*, which come down to 1603, that is to within ten years of Michel's own death. It is unnecessary to recall the fact that Michel Roset was syndic in Geneva fourteen times, that on twelve occasions he was returned at the head of the list, and that he was entrusted with missions from the Republic to foreign powers no fewer than eighty-four times.² It is enough to know that if Sénebier is right, Roset presented the first part of his *Histoire de Genève* to the council in the year 1562, and that amid the greatest applause of all present. The council gave orders that every one of the members should have a copy prepared for his own use, that he might make himself acquainted with the privileges of the town.

Again in this instance the original document appears to have been lost and never to have been printed. But the Bibliothèque Cantonnale of Lausanne possesses (in Litt. F., Num. 1178 and 1179) two manuscripts of Roset's, according to the statement of D. Bernus; one of which (1179) is said to belong to the end of the sixteenth or beginning of the seventeenth century, with glosses of the same date, while the other, which is without glosses, is of the seventeenth century.

Now Michel Roset was not born till 1533, and in the year 1562—in the very year therefore when the party name of “Huguenot” was making a stir in the world—he writes as follows concerning what went on in the year 1518, fifteen years, that is, before he himself was born (chap. lxxxix.): “En ces troubles ceux qui avaient désir autrefois acquis la Bourgeoisie de Fribourg, en sollicitaient des autres particulièrement, tellement que par banquets et autres assemblées ils s'invitèrent (orig., s'incitèrent) les uns les autres à la demander. L'abbé de Baumont (orig., Bomont) et le Prieur de St. Victor—Bonivard—étaient aussi de leur bande, si furent 60, inxocles (*sic*) qui l'envoyèrent demander à Fribourg [a severely Catholic Canton] l'obtinrent moyennant que le général y-consentit. Et eux à s'assembler de plus fort et à se bander ouvertement, appelant les Durants (orig., Ducals) Mamelus comme renonçant à la liberté et quelquefois

¹ Bonivard, éd. Revilliod, i., p. lii.

² *Bulletin Fr.*, 1860, p. 15.

Monseignimistis (orig., Monseigneuristes) et qu'ils étaient appelés des Mamelus, 'Huguenots' (orig., Euguenos) parce que les Liges s'appelaient 'Eidgnossen,' qu'est à dire participants du serment. Cette division étaient grande et traîner longuement, tant que les Huguenots (orig., Euguenot) se trouvaient plus forts en nombre (orig., de voix). Leur signal était une croix taillée en leurs pourpoints."¹

That this copy does not emanate from "a man of letters, a linguist, and one accustomed to deciphering the old documents in the archives, or from one who had a thorough knowledge of history, either as statesman or *littérateur*," such as Séneber describes Michel Roset to have been, is clear enough from the fact of his calling the "Ducaux" (adherents of the Duke of Savoy) "Durants," and the "Monseigneuristes" (adherents of the Bishop of Geneva) "Monseignimistis". Any one who distorts names in this fashion would not scruple to replace the word "Eiguenots" (which of course was quite forgotten by 1562) by a nickname which had been applied since 1560 to a totally different party. The verdict of Professor Herminjard, Professor and Doctor of Theology in Lausanne, was therefore just what was to be expected. On the 5th October, 1899, he informed me that he was firmly convinced that the manuscript in the Library of his Canton of Lausanne was *not an original*, but a copy merely. And Professor A. Bernus, Doctor of Theology in Lausanne, as also Dr. Linder, preacher of the Reformed German Church in the same place, both concur in his statement. The latter add moreover, that the word "Huguenot," which occurs in the Lausanne MSS. (F., 1179 and 1178), is altogether wanting in the original, that is to say in Roset's Genevese manuscript, where "Euguenos" is the term used in both instances, as any one may see for himself by looking at pages 87 and 107 of the Genevese MS. first published by Fazy in 1894.²

From all which it appears that Michel Roset himself, who died in 1613 and brought his *Histoire de Genève* down to 1602, simply followed the spelling of Froment and Bonivard, and that the corruption of "Euguenos" into "Huguenot" is

¹ For the exact copy of this passage I am indebted to Dr. Linder, Pastor of the Reformed German Church in Lausanne (13th August, 1899).

² *Les chroniques de Genève de Michel Roset*, publiées par Henri Fazy, Directeur des Archives, Genève, George & Co., libraires de l'institut, 1894. Fazy published in 1898 *Portrait de Roset*. The Genevese original by Roset has no marginal notes.

the work of a copyist, who lived some hundred years later. Besides which "Eydnos" has been corrected by another learned hand into "Eydgnoz," and a fourth adds the gloss: "Hence arose the faction of 'Eydgnossen,' which continued several years later in Geneva"; while a fifth scholar remarks: "the word 'Huguenot' was derived from this".

In the second Lausanne copy, on the other hand, the proper form, "Eidgenossen," is given in this passage.

It is a well-known fact that later writers generally have no scruple in calling French Protestants of the earliest times simply "Huguenots" instead of "Lutherans" or "Evangelists". Thus in the *Antiquités de la ville de Meaux*, written in 1721 by Claude Rochard, at page 397, we find under date of October, 1546: "Exécution de l'arrest des quatorze Huguenots, bruslez vifs au grand marché de Meaux". With regard to which Mr. Herbert M. Bower remarked in the *Proceedings of the Huguenot Society of London*, 1898, page 112: "This was probably an anachronism of Rochard's, as writers of this date did not use the word as a name for Lutherans".

To a French ear, "Eidgenots" or "Aydenots" = "Aedgenot," sounds entirely different from "Huguenot," which according to the Academy's dictionary, is always aspirated. "Æ" and "ü" are as dissimilar in sound, as any vowels can be, as much so as "A" and "I". Besides this, the "H" at the beginning of the word is wanting; and the entire disappearance of the "d" would be a very important point, even if it stood alone. "Eid," oath, without the "d" becomes "Ei," egg.

Accordingly, Littré, in his *Dictionnaire de la langue Française*, and the *Bulletin Français* are both emphatic in expressing their dissent from this explanation (1858, p. 302 ff.; 1859, p. 123; 1898, p. 662. "Assurément cette étymologie (du mot allemand 'Eidgenossen') est ce qu'il y a de plus risqué, et elle ne supporte guère l'examen." Sir Henry Austen Layard, too, President of the Huguenot Society of London, declares in the *Proceedings*, 1889, page 251: "There does not seem to be any good reason for deriving the word 'Huguenot' from the German words 'Eid-genoss,' i.e., bound by oath".

But if this derivation is untenable etymologically, it is equally untenable from the historical point of view.

The famous revolution of Geneva, and the alliance of the "Indépendants" with the strictly Catholic Canton of Frei-

burg belonged to a time before there was such a thing as a Calvinist in Geneva. The Genevese themselves were glad to forget that terrible time. For the Freiburgers and Bernese had scarcely sent troops to their assistance against the duke in 1530, than they called upon their new allies to pay down 1,500 reichsthaler, on account, as a reward for their services; while at the same time they declared that the Duke of Savoy was a more ancient ally of theirs than Geneva, and threatened to plunder, burn and destroy the town if it did not at once pay up this first instalment of the price they demanded.¹ And Geneva had no sooner gone over to the pure Gospel than the strictly catholic Canton of Freiburg renounced the alliance. Those however of the "Eidge-nossen" who had taken the lead as champions of liberty were opposed by Calvin throughout his life, and that both in word and deed. He stigmatised them as "Libertines and liberty-drunk," and their names appear in the ranks of those who were Calvin's enemies, as late as 1553. Bonivard was the only one of them who had gone over from the "ancienne" to the "nouvelle police"; and he held, not with the "Eignots," but with the "Huguenots," *i.e.*, the "Calvinists," until his death in 1570.

But if there was nothing in Geneva itself, as early as 1538, to justify the identification of the two deadly hostile parties of "Eiguenots" and "Huguenots," still less was there in France.

The France of 1560-98 had not the slightest interest in the past political struggles of the old Geneva of 1518-30. It is not proved, even as regards the neighbouring town of Lyons, that the merchants of Geneva were called "Aignos" or "Huguenoz" between 1518 and 1526. And if it were, it would not be enough to account for the prevalence of a similar usage in Touraine in 1560.

If we are considering the question with reference to the French populace, then—whether the pre-Calvinistic name of a party in Geneva were invented for, or whether it were transferred to, a Calvinistic ecclesiastico-political party in France (*transplantation en France*, or, as the English say: the passing from the Teutonic into Gallic speech)—very little importance attaches to anything we may find in the writing of a French scholar, such as Jacques Spon, who was born in Lyons, never lived in Geneva, died in Vevay in 1685 im-

¹ Bonivard, *Chroniques de Genève*, éd. Revilliod, Genève, 1867, ii., p. 424, *s.v.*

mediately after his flight from France, and who took a French view of events which had occurred in a foreign land 150 years before he had taken his doctor's degree, and described them for our benefit as they appeared to him in the light, the *French* light, of the end of the seventeenth century.

The first edition of his *Histoire de Genève* came out in 1680. It is a fact absolutely without any scientific value therefore that we find this Spon of Lyons calling the Genevese "Eidgenossen" (Eignots) of 1518 (a word which did not exist in France in 1680) by the name of "Huguenots," by a name, that is to say, which had been current in Lyons since 1561 as the sobriquet of the ecclesiastico-political party of liberty.

Those who defend the derivation of "Huguenot" from "Aignoz," fall back in support of their argument upon two positions, the one historical, the other linguistic. The historical position is this: Besançon Hugues of Geneva is said to have been the leader of the "Eidgenossen,"¹ and the populace immediately dubbed these "Eignots," or "Aignoz," "Huguenots" after him. Unfortunately for this theory, the people called Besançon Hugues simply Besançon; so also did Bonivard, and that invariably. It has moreover been rightly pointed out that the Hugues brothers were by no means leaders of the "Eidgenossen" in Geneva. The leaders were rather Berthelier, Bonivard, Vandeli, Claude Savoie, Porral and Arnied Perrin. Besides this, Besançon Hugues very soon withdrew into the background, where he occupied a position even less conspicuous than that of his brother, Guillaume Hugues, the syndic. Bonivard and Berthelier remained the political souls of the agitation for freedom; and the latter afterwards fought the "Calvinists" in the person of the church-discipline man, John Calvin.

The linguistic position betrays still more confusion. Soldan entrenches himself behind the proposition that popular speech has metamorphosed Emden into Hemdem, Hampton into "Anthonne," Irland into "Hirlande," Joachimsthaler into "Joccondalles" (p. 620, tl. i.), Armagnac into "Arme Gecken" and "Armata gens" (*Bulletin Français*, 1860, p. 20). But these instances are none of them explanations, and all they do is to show possibilities.

And if the question were merely as to corruption, a good

¹Bonivard, *Chroniques de Genève*, t. ii., éd. Revilliod, p. 267, says: "Y-firent asseoir Jehan Philippe audessus de Besançon, comme syndique, 1526".

deal more might be added. There is for instance the following in "la Déploration de la cité de Genève sur le fait des Héreticques, qui l'ont tyranniquement opprimée" by the monk John Gacke or Gacy of Savoy in 1536:—

Arrestez vous par le chemin passans :
 Considérés que je ne suis pas sans
 Extrême dueil et très grieve souffrance,
 Mieux me seroit si je estois soubz France,
 Ou obéisse à mon naturel prince ;
 Je n'eusse point forvoyé ne prins ce
 Chemin oblique, devenant *Anguenotte*,
 De déshonneur perpétuelle note.¹

If "Eidgenossen" could become "Anguenottes" between 1526 and 1536, and "Huguenots" could be turned into "Husgnalei" between 1560 and 1563, it would of course be possible for the "Eidgenos" of 1526 to be corrupted into "Aiguenots" and "Huguenots". We find indeed that the Swiss confederates were transformed from "Eidgenossen" into "Eyguenos" as early as 19th October, 1530, in the French text of the Treaty of St. Julien. Furthermore, Jeanne de Jussie calls the Genevese "Euguenots" instead of "Eidgenossen" or "Eignos," and their league "Alliance eugenotte".

Then, on the other hand, we have Nicolas Durand de Villegagnon, the Brazilian coloniser, writing to Cardinal Granvella of his former friends and fellow-workers (25th May, 1564), and calling them "Aygnos" instead of "Huguenots".²

One sees from this that the Swiss, with their hotch-potch of German, French and Italian, can do what would be impossible to any one with the sensitive ears of the French. In this jargon of theirs everything is turned upside down. "Eidgenoss" is turned into "Eignos," "Eignos" into "Aignos," "Anguenos," "Eyguenos," "Eiguenosz" and "Eugenos," and at last the "Eugenos" become "Huguenots"; and then the "Huguenots" are turned back again into "Aignos". What more can one want?

The various sounds of ä, ang, ö and ü are all made to be of equal value; and one is substituted for the other without the least scruple. What in fact is left to rest upon? and where are we to find any linguistic law? If we are to ac-

¹ Anatole de Montaiglon, *Recueil de Poesies Françaises des xv. et xvi. siècles*, Paris, 1856, t. iv., p. 101.

² *Papiers d'Etat de Granvella*, t. vii., p. 660.

cept this sort of thing we must admit that Albaric was justified in concluding his investigation thus:¹ "Les noms de partis se confondent à leur origine avec des passions populaires dont les ressorts intimes échappent au bout de quelque temps aux regards investigateurs de l'historien".

But this is as much as to say that all the researches of the historian are so much labour lost. For the result would be nothing but scientific bankruptcy.

And then when Soldan makes a final attempt to explain the derivation from "Eidgenossen" by alleging that in some parts of Poitou the reformers were also for a time called "Fribourgs" or "Fribours," in allusion to the league of 1518 between Geneva and the arch-Catholic canton of Freiburg, we can only say that this, in the eyes of arch-Catholics at all events, would be an extremely strange designation for reformers; all the more so when we consider that the league of the Catholic king with the eleven Swiss cantons was signed in this same Freiburg on 7th December, 1564.²

Albaric is of opinion too that in 1560 the common folk of Poitou hardly knew anything of the history or even existence of such a canton as Freiburg. But when he proceeds to assert that this use of the word "Freiburg" must undoubtedly have reference to some local circumstance in Poitou, what is this but to carry the scientific bankruptcy a step farther, unless, that is, he can point to what this "local circumstance" actually was?³

But if the attempt to stigmatise the French Protestants as Swiss "Eidgenossen" made by the Guise party was a product of the study, and due to ecclesiastico-political bias, exactly the same may be said of the Protestant explanation, which would make them into "*adherents of Hugues Capet*".

What did the people know of Hugues Capet in 1560? They may possibly have had their legends of Charlemagne. But that the Carolingians had dethroned the Merovingians and had then been themselves dethroned by the Capétiens, and that the royal family reigning in 1560 was descended from Hugues Capet, were matters not taught in the schools of those days; to say nothing of the fact that schools for the people in the modern sense of the term did not so much as exist. Hugues

¹ *Bulletin Français*, 1858, p. 308 ff.

² *Ibid.*, 1898, p. 594.

³ The existence of a Protestant family named Fribour, at Treschateau near Dijon, and of another of the same name at Caen does not help us in the smallest degree.

Capet was not of course in any way a prophetic comrade-in-the-faith or forerunner of Calvin. If there was no religious meaning in the political league which Geneva, in her thirst for freedom, had made both with Protestant Berne and with ultra-Catholic Freiburg against the Duke of Savoy, there was just as little religious meaning in the tracing of the party-name of "Huguenot" back to the old King Hugues Capet. It was merely another move in the game of chess played by the learned of Condé's party, and was intended as a countermove to the assertion made by the Guises that the Protestants were a republican brotherhood after the pattern of the Swiss cantons. It was desired to gain credence at court for the rumour that the Guises maintained that they had a right to the Crown as being descended from Charlemagne; while Condé and Coligny maintained the rights of the reigning dynasty, the descendants of Hugues Capet. The reigning Catholic king and his faithful nobility are here called "Huguenots," or more correctly "Huguenaux".

In the collection of documents which appeared in Strassburg in 1565, under the title of *Mémoires de Condé*, we find the following reference to the Guises in an "Advertissement au peuple Français": "They (the Guises) long ago invented a 'sobriquet et mot à plaisir,' in derision of those who, as they say, are descended from Hugues Capet. They call them 'Hugenotz,' and they also apply the same name of reproach to all who strive to maintain the prosperity of the kingdom and to preserve the person of the king our sovereign, his royal brothers and all the princes of the blood." And we find the same thing said about the Guises in the *Complainte au peuple français*: "The foreigners" (Guises)—who belonged to Lorraine, which had remained Carlovingian—"the foreigners are preparing to tear our poor children from our arms, and to strive to wrest the Crown from those called 'Huguenots' by the house of Guise (because they are of the race of Hugues Capet) and to transfer and restore it to those who, as they say, have Charlemagne for their ancestor."¹ According to this, the French royal family and their Bourbon train were Huguenots, and on the other hand the Guises were the foreigners and conspirators, banded together against the race of Hugo Capet.

And as early as 1560, in the *Briève exposition des lettres*

¹ Soldan, i., 611 ff.

du Cardinal de Lorraine, it is said: "It is very well known that it is not we Protestants who belong to the party of those who claim descent in the direct line from Charlemagne and who assert that Hue Capet usurped his sceptre, and think that they have a right to seize upon the kingdom". Even at that date therefore the name "Huguenot" was considered by the Protestants to mean the same as "Loyalists". And to this agrees Benott, in his *History of the Edict of Nantes*, when he writes in 1690: "The reformers called themselves after the family whose rights they were defending against the Papists or Guisards, at the time of the Amboise enterprise. So that at first the reformers evidently considered the name of 'Huguenot' something to be proud of."

Yes, and seven years before Benott, Pastor Fétizon, a refugee, declares the title of "Huguenot" to be a "glorious title". This is in his *Apologie pour les Réformés*, published at the Hague in 1683, where he points out that those upon whom it was bestowed were the faithful adherents of the descendants of Hugues Capet. Contemporary reformers also inform us that the Guises derided them as "Huguenots" because they supported the descendants of Hugues Capet.¹

So far then Regnier de la Planche Popelinière and others were right when they drew a distinction between the "Huguenaux" (*sic*) of religion and the political "Huguenaux". And of the latter La Planche says that they were provoked to see foreigners so strangely managing the kingdom while the princes of the blood were shut out.²

But when the Venetian Michiel concludes from all this, in 1575, that "Huguenots was the name given to the Malcontents (*li Malcontenti*) of the Protestant nobility, who were joined by the malcontents of the Catholic nobility," this is a mere distorting of history; and Tavannes makes a good point in reply when he says: "In France there are loyalists, as well among the Catholics as among the Huguenots; and on the other hand, ambitious and rebellious persons are to be found among those professing both religions".

When, on the other hand, the unknown author of the *Réveil-matin des Français* (1573) writes, after the night of St. Bartholomew: "The earlier Lutherans have been called by the ignominious sobriquet of Huguenots ever since the

¹ *Bulletin Français*, 1859, p. 124 ff.

² *Soldan*, i., 609 ff.

Amboise affair"; and again, "The Pope learnt how thoroughly the Cardinal of Lorraine had done his duty in defending the holy Roman Mother-church against those Lutherans who had turned Huguenots," what he (François Hotmann?) means to imply is, that the Lutherans, hitherto forming a purely religious party, had become an ecclesiastico-political party, by taking up arms and joining in the bloody feud of the Capétiens and Carolingians.

One thing, however, is evident from all this: namely, that, as all who mention the word "Huguenot" between 1560 and 1580 claim to have adopted it, not from the learned, nor from the Court, but from the lips of the people, we have no real explanation either in the learned interpretation of the Guises, which makes the Huguenots into Swiss "Eidgenossen" and therefore enemies of royalty, nor in the learned interpretation of the Condé party, which makes them out to be defenders of the line of Hugues Capet, and therefore devoted to the king. These interpretations are, in fact, only the crafty inventions of diplomats, and their object is to ingratiate their own party with the Court, while at the same time casting a slur upon their opponents.

It is quite another matter when we come to the derivation which traces the name to the town of Tours. We must here keep clearly before us the fact that Amboise, where the Guises were to have been arrested by 500 Protestant nobles in 1560, is a town in Touraine, the capital of which is this same Tours. One can readily imagine that, as soon as the Guises had discovered the conspiracy against them, they would be all eyes and ears to find out some popular *bon-mot* current in the neighbourhood, with which they might annihilate the Protestants. For nothing was, or for that matter is, of such lasting influence in France as a smart, national witticism. It is, thanks to his ready wit, that Henri IV. still holds such a warm place in the hearts of the French. He remains the most popular of kings, and that even under the Republic; and with the people he is still "le Grand," more truly so than Louis XIV., more so than even the first Napoleon.

Well, the Guises discovered in Tours a hobgoblin, who howled at night, and cudgelled and threw into the mire folk found in the streets. The people called him "Le roi Huguet"; and the mischief and malpractices in which he indulged in Tours were just those of other hobgoblins elsewhere. His favourite way of entering the town was by the

"porte du roi Huguet". And this chanced to be the very place where the Protestants assembled night after night, to hold the services of psalm-singing, prayer and preaching, which were forbidden them by day. Whether the Protestants invoked the protection of the hobgoblin for their "Geheul," as Frederick II. called it, in order that they might be the less easily discovered, does not appear. Neither has any one succeeded in proving that the ghostly King Hugo who haunted Tours was the same person as the Capet who could find no rest in the grave because he had dethroned the Carolingians.

But the discovery that in Tours itself the popular voice reviled the Lutherans as "Huguenots," or more properly "Huguenaux," must have been a happy find for the Guises.

The famous Parisian writer and printer, Henri Etienne (Henricus II., Stephanus), explains in his *Apologia pro Herodoto*, published at Geneva in 1566, that the word "Huguenot," borrowed from the Tours hobgoblin, Huguon, was first used at Tours by a monk who delivered a sermon there, in which he made it matter of reproach to the Lutherans that they never practised their religion except at night, "and so they must henceforth be called 'Huguenots,' as being akin to King Huguon, who also went about only at night". Etienne adds that it was difficult to get to the bottom of the matter even in his day, though the fact was still fresh in the memory of contemporaries.¹ If we ask ourselves why it was so hard to fix the origin of an invention which was then but six years old, the answer is: "Just because the invention originated among the people".

La Place writes to the same effect as early as 1565; so that at that date the Guises had already met with the newly invented nickname in Touraine. He says: "This designation came into vogue a few days before the conspiracy of Amboise, and that in the town of Tours, one of whose gates is named after 'Roy Huguon'. As the Protestants were in the habit of holding prayer-meetings in their accustomed manner in the vicinity of this gate, the people seized upon the opportunity to call them 'Huguenauds'. And then those who followed the Court appropriated the name without loss of time, and it has been heard everywhere ever since."²

La Planche is of the same mind, for, writing in 1576. he

¹ *Bulletin Français*, 1898, p. 660.

² Soldan, i., 612.

says: "Such a watchful eye was kept upon the Lutherans at that time by day, that they found it necessary to wait for the night for their prayer-meetings, sermons, and the Holy Sacraments. And although they never did any one any harm, the priests mocked them by making them out to be the successors of those ghostly beings which were in the habit of wandering about at night. And as soon as it had become a common practice for the lower classes in Touraine, and especially in Amboise, to call the Evangelicals 'Huguenots,' the nickname began to be generally taken up, and that too just at the time when the first armed rising was discovered in Tours, and when the Count de Sancerre brought the first news of it to Amboise."¹

In the year 1580 we find Beza and Des Gallars giving expression to the same views. In the *Histoire Ecclésiastique*, i., 269, they write: "The name 'Huguenot' was given to the reformers at the time of the conspiracy of Amboise, and has clung to them ever since. It arose in this way. Superstition was so rife in all the good towns of France at that time, that certain accursed spirits went about everywhere at night, seeking their own purification by beating and insulting whomsoever they encountered in the streets. The light of the Gospel has driven them away, and has shown us that they were simply roysterers and ruffians. Thus in Paris there was 'le moine bourré'; in Orleans, 'le mulet Odet'; in Blois, 'le loup-garou'; in Tours, 'le Roy Huguet'; and there were others in other towns. This is how the common folk of Tours and Touraine came to give the now very general name of 'Huguenots' to the Lutherans, as if, because they met by night, they belonged to the train of their King Huguet. And the sobriquet has clung to them because the Amboise conspiracy was first discovered in Tours."

It cannot, however, be too much insisted upon that it was not at all to the interests of the Protestants that they should adopt the name of these ghosts from Purgatory. Quite otherwise, indeed; for the Protestant *Histoire Ecclésiastique* contended against all belief in ghosts as a delusion of the Catholics.

Protestant historians mention the derivation from the spectral King Hugo, not because it is correct, but because they consider it an established fact that the weak-minded

¹ Soldan, i., 618.

Catholic population, with the priests and monks at their head, did actually take the pious night wanderers for ghosts, because of the spectre king, and named them accordingly.

A still more grisly and ghostly distortion of the name of "Huguenot" is that of "Huisgnalei,"¹ which appears in the title of a book by the Sorbonne doctor, Jacobus Faber, which was brought out in Paris in the year 1563—a proof that the form of the nickname was not permanently fixed at that date.

Others who declare themselves for the poor ghost as the source from which the ill name was derived in Tours are: Thuarius, the famous historian; Pierre Cayet (born 1525), in his *Chronologie novénaire*, which appeared in Paris in 1608; and Pasquier, who also mentions the gate; and even these do not exhaust the list. And as Pasquier (born in Paris 1528, and died there 1615) expressly says that the gate took its name from the ghost, it comes to the same thing when La Place, La Popelinière, as well as Davila (in his *Historia della guerra civile de Francia*) and other writers declare themselves for the gate as being the place of the nightly assemblies; while J. le Frère de Laval, in his *Vraie et entière Histoire des troubles* (1573), mentions, among other explanations of the name "Huguenot" then current among the people, the "porte de Tours," where the Calvinists held their assemblies for preaching and prayer. But the greatest weight of all attaches to the opinion of such an established critic as Henri Etienne (Stephanus), who in the preface to his *Apologie d'Hérodote* in 1567 expressly asserts that, of all the explanations proposed, the only correct one is that which traces the name to the ghostly King Hugon in Tours, although this explanation is less generally adopted than any.²

I must not omit to mention that Pope Gregory XIII, who ordered a *Te Deum* to be sung in honour of the "Bloody Wedding" (the Massacre of St. Bartholomew), and had a medal struck to commemorate the "Clades Hugonotorum" (slaughter of the Huguenots), did most certainly not derive the nickname of the "Christusfeinde" from either "Eignoz" or "Huguet," but from King Huguon. And *The Catholic Moderator*, a book which was printed in London in 1623, writing of the year 1559, says that, some time before the death of Calvin, a custom had arisen among

¹ *Bulletin Français*, 1859, p. 126.

² *Proceedings*, London, 1889, p. 250.

the Catholics of calling by the name of "Huguenots" those who till then had been known as "Tourengeaux," and that the designation was derived from the gate, named after the ghostly King Hugo, which was the nightly rendezvous of the praying Protestants, as we learn from the *Recherches* of Monsieur Pasquier.¹

But, certain as it is that the nickname invented for the Calvinists by the Catholics, and used since 1552, but especially since 1560, owes its origin to the ghost-king, it is just as certain that this ghostly name could not be a name of honour in Protestant ears. And yet that "Huguenot" was originally an honourable designation among the Calvinists is certified by Agrippa d'Aubigné, author of the *Histoire Universelle*,² which was completed in 1570 and published in 1618; and also by Benott, author of the *Histoire de l'Edit de Nantes*, which appeared in 1690. Balzac, too (in 1623), in the *Socrate chrétien*, makes a clear distinction between "termes odieux" and the good word "Huguenot," which was on the lips of everybody.³

The question is, then, What was the good meaning to which French Protestants formerly referred with such pride when they used the expression, "à la vieille Huguenote"?

Before we give any answer to this, let us go back to the name "Huguenot" when it was merely a surname, and therefore without party significance, as we find it in Mompelgard and the neighbourhood of Belfort between 1425 and 1596, at Dijon in 1410, and in the Limousin in 1387. Every family name has a meaning of its own. Huguenot, as a family name, cannot possibly be anything else than a diminutive of the Christian name Hugo; "Huguenot," then, is just "little Hugo," as "Guillemot" is "little William"; "Margot," "little Margaret"; "Charlot," "little Charles"; "Jeannot," "little John," and so on. But Castelnau, one of the Amboise conspirators, informs us that when the peasant women saw the scattered bands flying from Amboise they said of them, "they are a very bad sort of jesters, not worth a Huguenot". Castelnau adds that a "'Huguenot' was a coin of smaller value than a 'maille'". According to the Dictionary of the Academy, the "maille" was a

¹ *Proceedings*, London, 1892, p. 420.

² He uses "à la vieille Huguenote" as a term of honour (*Bulletin fr.*, 1862, p. 113).

³ *Ibid.*, p. 329.

small coin of lead and copper, worth less than a "denier," and the denier itself was but the twelfth part of a "sou" of five centimes; worth, therefore, less than half a centime.

Castelnau has not an idea whence this smallest of coins took the name of "Huguenott," so he declares boldly that "it originated in the time of Hugues Capet".¹ Inasmuch as we are still rather in the dark as to the history of the mint in the time of Capet, we will let Castelnau's bold explanation rest. But we are naturally reminded by it of the minters, who were called "Husginoz" and "Husknóz" as early as 1263 at Strassburg, in 1277 at Spire and Vienna, in 1289 at Bale, because, so Grimm's German Dictionary informs us, the Government Mint was originally located in the house of the sovereign himself. "Hausgenossenschaft" was the term applied to the whole body of minters as early as the thirteenth century. Eheberg² also lays stress upon the fact that the right of coining money was at first solely in the hands of the rulers (p. 1, etc.). The Mints were in the imperial palaces. And even when the Emperor bestowed the privilege of coining upon the bishops, by way of ensuring their prayers for himself and his house, he still retained the right to take possession of both mint and custom-house for as long as he held his Court in the place (pp. 13, 30). And even after abbots, princes, and towns had been invested with the privilege of the Mint, the Emperor was still for a long time the sole possessor of the right to coin gold (p. 43). The coiners, who were in the service of the King and Emperor, travelled about the country visiting palaces and courts and seeing to the coinage as the needs of himself and the empire required (p. 99). But as the coiners were the Emperor's "Hausgenossen" (house-mates), so did they also belong to the house and family of each and every Master of the Mint, whoever he might be. It is from this circumstance that Arnold also derives their name (p. 124); and to this may be added "their relation to one another, as 'Genossen' of the same Mint". For originally they had had to deliver all the silver at one house, see to the melting in one house, and transact the business of the exchange in one house. Their lives and labours all centred in the Mint-house, and they were consequently known as the *familiars* of the Master of Mint, the Bishop,

¹ *Bulletin Fr.*, 1858, p. 296.

² *Münzwesen und Hausgenossenschaft*, Leipzig, 1879.

for instance; and not only so, but among themselves also they went by the name of the "Husgenossen of the Mint" (p. 125).

In many towns they rose to patrician rank and held the supreme power. It was they who had the appointing of judges, magistrates and councillors. It was they who made the rights of the merchant and burgher-class to be respected. They were, in fact, of honourable rank.

Later on the Guilds rose against the "Hausgenossen," as, for instance, at Spire, between 1304 and 1327 (p. 168). In the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries the "Hausgenossen" vanish altogether from the scene (p. 170). In Strassburg the last blow was dealt against them about 1437. They are accused of pride, of breaking the laws, and of coining bad money. Even the *ewige pfennig* which they had introduced by way of meeting the frequent depreciation of the coinage, was denounced (p. 173). That which had been the title of honour of a privileged class had now become a name of reproach; no one wanted to hear any more of the "Hausgenossen".

Coins often bore the name of an individual *Hausgenoss*, that is, of the actual coiner, as well as those of the Master of the Mint, and of the place where they were minted. The giving of the coiner's name made him responsible for a third part; and, as long as the *Hausgenoss* was rich and respected, and held a distinguished position, his name enhanced the value of the coin; but he had no sooner incurred the envy, hatred, and contempt of the people than the coins suffered in value and consideration.

Even apart from the fact that the smaller coins—which served to pay the rent to the Bishop, or whoever else the Master of the Mint might be—bore no name but that of the "Hausgenoss," the mere circumstance that the coiners of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries were deposed and driven away by the Guilds would of itself sufficiently explain how the basest coins of Tours came to be called "Hausgenossen" (Husgenots) by the people in 1560, and why the women of the people shouted after the fugitives at Amboise: "These fellows are not worth a Huguenot".

It is at least possible that the name was transferred, in the popular speech, from coins to persons.

And then, if we further consider that objective faith is often compared with a coin bearing the image of God, and that at the time of the Reformation Protestants were every-

where denounced as utterers of counterfeit coin in matters of faith, we may find another connecting link between the craft and the family name on the one hand, and between the craft and the religious and ecclesiastical party-name on the other.

But now, whichever explanation of the nickname "Huguenot" we are inclined to adopt—whether we are more drawn to the Genevese "Eidgenossen," or to King Hugo, or to the spectral Hugo, or to the "Hausgenossen" of the Mint, we shall all readily allow that it is hardly likely that all these names were invented by the Protestants. If we believe, what so many maintain, that the title of "Huguenot" was originally an honourable one, and adopted by the Evangelicals themselves, then the explanation most to the point is the one which I submitted to the judgment of the General Assembly at Maulbronn, on the Huguenots' day, five years ago,¹ which Dr. Enschedé, the deputy of the Walloon Church of Holland, mentioned in his report (*Haarlem Courant*) as being the only correct one, and of which I gave a fuller, more detailed account in my address at the Jubilee in Dornholzhausen.

This explanation is as follows: 700 Waldenses had fled to Geneva since 1535; they were followed, during the reign of Henri II., by 1,400 families; 1,500 French Protestants collected in Strassburg; more and more had been going to England since 1549, and to Frankfort-on-the-Main since 1561, and to the Netherlands since 1562 (see Schickler, *Réfuge*). And so it went on until the Massacre of St. Bartholomew, and until the revocation of the Edict of Nantes. Interlopers such as these, coming from Catholic France, must have been looked upon with suspicion in the neighbouring Protestant lands, where the Inquisition, the Jesuits, and the Dragoons vied with one another in spreading snares. On the other hand, they suffered terribly themselves from spies, traitors, and corrupt guides, as they fled across the frontiers.

To show, therefore, that they were genuine Protestants, and to ensure recognition by their evangelical brethren in the faith, as well when they were on their journeys and attending secret services as on their arrival in foreign lands, they introduced themselves, and were commended by their pastors and presbyteries, both by letter and by word of

¹ Dr. Béringuier's *Die französische Kolonie*, 1895, p. 7.

mouth (though at first secretly), as, "our Hausgenossen," our brethren in the faith, our fellow-sufferers. And this honourable designation gained additional force in the *Réfuge* as soon as the strangers found that, on reaching the land of liberty, they were strangers no longer, but were greeted and welcomed and received as real members of the same family, and that in spite of their French birth and no matter whether the house they entered was Dutch, Swiss, English, or German.¹

But it was the passage in the Epistle to the Ephesians (ii. 19) which gave the greeting its full force on both sides: "But now we are no more strangers and foreigners, but fellow-citizens with the saints and of the household of God" ["Gottes Hausgenossen," in old German "Húsginóz," "Húsknóz," in Dutch "Huisgenoot"], "built upon the foundation of apostles and prophets, Jesus Christ Himself being the chief corner-stone".

Inasmuch as the Evangelicals of France felt themselves to be "God's Hausgenossen," equally with the Evangelicals of foreign lands, they had both found "access by one Spirit to the Father, through Jesus" (Eph. ii. 18). And, therefore, to live "à la vieille Huguenote" was an honour and distinction before God and before man.

¹ Compare *id.*, 1895, p. 7.

A Short Story of Three Brothers.

(THE DU FOUSSAT.)

By IDA H. LAYARD.

(From original letters kindly communicated by Monsieur Henri du Foussat de Bogeron, of Château de Sarpe near St. Emilion, La Gironde.)

OUT of the dead, but ever-living past, reach us, through the medium of some ill-scrawled letters, the voices of three Huguenot brothers, refugees for conscience' sake. As one of them says in a proud appeal to his old father, "on these occasions one can only consult one's own conscience".

Pierre, Jean and Tobie du Foussat came of a family which had inhabited the little village of Ruch for many centuries. According to facts based upon authentic documents they were descended from the Barons du Fossat and de Madaillan, in the province of Agen, and also of Rauzan in the district of "Entre deux Mers" (or, as it might be translated, Mesopotamia). The du Foussat carry their pedigree back to the middle of the sixteenth century by authentic papers. In the seventeenth century those who had remained at Ruch, at the price of abjuration, were censed as noble.¹

Ruch is a little village at a few miles distance from the town of Pujols, in the arrondissement of Libourne, department of La Gironde. It is a well-watered hamlet; the river Bossugan bounds it on the north-west, the Escouach on the east, and the Combut, a tributary of the Gamage, crosses the village from east to west. It lies in a very picturesque valley, surrounded by meadows. A high road runs through it to Castillon; and outside the last house of the parish, on the eastern side of the thoroughfare, lies the Protestant cemetery.

There were many *maisons nobles* in the place, viz.: Vaure, La Haille, Courteillac and Lardier, the two latter being the family seats of the du Foussat. Courteillac was

¹ Pierre Meller, *Anciennes familles de la Gironde*, vol. ii., p. 63.

situated at the western end of the parish, and Lardier at the north. Lardier was the original seat; Courteillac was only built about the year 1717; La Haille belonged to the family of Melet, related by marriage with the du Foussat. Another alliance, that of de Layard, possessed the estate of Lalanne in the same parish, and other property besides.

There is no mention of the period at which the family of du Foussat adopted the tenets brought into Gascony by the devoted labours of Guillaume Farel, Jacques Lefebvre and others.

There are a few facts which show that the du Foussat mixed in the noble society of their quiet little village. To quote one instance—"Contrat de mariage entre noble Thimotheon de Bacalan, écuyer, Sieur de la Barthe, habitant de la paroisse de Blazimont, et demoiselle Louise de Melet, fille de feu noble Pierre de Melet, écuyer, seigneur de Laubesc, et de demoiselle Elizabeth d'Arnoul". Amongst those who witnessed the marriage contract were Pierre du Foussat, écuyer, and Pierre de Layard, écuyer, of Ruch.¹

In the second degree, a marriage takes place between Jeanne de Cornuaud and Pierre du Foussat, which indirectly influenced in a degree the fate of their grandchildren.

This alliance with the family of de Cornuaud proved of advantage to the young fugitives, when Joel de Cornuaud fled to the Elector of Brandenburg.

Louise, sister of this Pierre du Foussat, married Symphorien de Layard, son of the Pierre de Layard whose name figured in the marriage contract of Thimotheon de Bacalan.

At her marriage contract, on the 13th January, 1654, with the Sieur St. Forien de Layard (as the clerk quaintly spells "Symphorien"), Monsieur Jean du Foussat, another of her brothers, gives Louise du Foussat the sum of 1,200 livres as her dower, and as her inheritance from her deceased mother Marie du Tour. Another brother, Daniel, gives her 300 livres.²

From reasons not stated, most of this property appears to have passed into the hands of Daniel du Foussat, her nephew, son of Pierre du Foussat; Raymond de Layard, her son, sold to the same Daniel, his first cousin, some of his paternal heritage on the 11th May, 1684.

¹ Archives de Madame de Bacalan, Fonds Drouyn, vol. xxxi., p. 188. Mairie, Bordeaux.

² Archives B. Dufoussat, Fonds Drouyn, vol. xviii., p. 191.

Does this indicate sale of property on the part of the Layard relations before the memorable year of flight and persecution? It is to be noted that the year previous, on the 12th March, 1683, Daniel du Foussat abjured "between the hands" of the curé de Merignas,¹ in the presence of François Reges, curé of his own town, and of Mathurin Guitard, a master-surgeon.² The dragonnades had begun in the village, "Conversions" were taking place on all sides. The sister of Daniel du Foussat, Marguerite by name, held firm. She had married in 1659 Jean Trapaud, "lieutenant-criminel of the Viscounty of Castillon," but her husband, zealous and pious Protestant as he was in quiet times, abjured. Their son Jean fled to England and eventually married Aymée de Malacarre. Daniel du Foussat's other sister, Suzanne, married to Jacques d'Ailhé, was also bereaved by flight of her son. Scarcely a house which was not divided against itself.

The home of Daniel du Foussat was broken up. Pierre, the eldest son, could only have been about twenty-three years of age, and Jean and Tobie a little younger. Suzanne Brandin, their mother, was already dead, and their father married to Jeanne Bricheau for about five years.

Both Pierre and Jean entered the refugee corps. Jean joined a company of French cadets, raised by the States of Holland, and, after spending seven months at the Hague, economising with great difficulty upon 8 sous a day, he was garrisoned at Utrecht. It is Jean who speaks of the dictates of a man's conscience, and the tone of his letters, three in number (see Letters B, 1, 2, 3), indicates a sense of injury, austerity, and want of that filial affection which, possibly, his father's want of steadfastness had inspired in his stern Huguenot breast. He invariably addresses him as "Monsieur mon père" and scarcely admits an expression of affection into his letters. Only once in the three letters does his heart speak, when he says that he "tries by every means in his power to make himself worthy of his remembrance and love" (Letter 2).

The Benjamin "Toby" is his brother's constant care and anxiety. He watches over the lad with a mother's affection, thinks of his lack of clothes and his necessities, and pleads

¹ Merignas, commune Sauveterre, arrondissement La Réole, département La Gironde.

² *Variétés girondines*, par Leo Drouyn, vol. ii., p. 447.

for him with the father, whom Tobie loves to call his "very dear". That Tobie was his father's pet also, we may surmise, for the first child by his second wife was also named after him.

Tobie was placed with a merchant, Monsieur Merveilhaud, from Middleburg, in Holland, residing in 1686 at Rotterdam. This man, to whose protection the fugitive was confided, treated him roughly and scurvily. He made the lad pay 300 francs for board, and when Tobie (who was directed to draw upon the merchant for his necessary means of existence) ventured to ask for the small sum of one crown, Merveilhaud scornfully twitted him with his poverty, and even threw a doubt on the father making good what the son asked for.

Monsieur Daniel du Foussat, on the contrary, was fairly well known to the merchant through money transactions, as he cashed orders for the refugee sons.

Tobie, who was of a timid and unwarlike disposition, would have managed to keep happy in the Dutch home if he had been treated kindly. To his father he makes no complaints, only he begs to be allowed to choose a career more advantageous than commerce and not so degrading—according to his idea—as trade.

Therefore, he resolves to go to Utrecht, where his brother Jean is still in garrison, and enter the same company of cadets.

M. de Merveilhaud will not permit him to leave until M. du Foussat sends the necessary means for uniform and clothes—the boy's imagination is somewhat fired by the grandeur of these gentlemen in their gay coats.

But when he arrives at Utrecht there is not a place vacant. So poor Tobie is sent on to Brandenburg to his maternal relation, M. Joel de Cornuaud,¹ commanding a battalion in Jaussaud's regiment, garrisoned at Brandenburg, and to which the Elector had attached a regiment of cadets. De Favolles was lieutenant-colonel, and De Beaufort one of the cadets.

"Very little money in his pocket and a long road to travel," says his anxious brother. Only just enough money to carry him to Berlin. The letters of introduction in his pocket might be of great use, but good solid cash would let him "look an honest man in the face".

Thus Tobie travelled out into the unknown. Others must

¹Joel de Cornuaud, born at Pujols in 1637, son of Jean-Jacques de Cornuaud de Fontbourgade Sieur de Soulat, refugee in 1685 with his nephews.

tell us if he succeeded in the battle of life, or if, like his future brother officers, his cousins De Cornuau,¹ the battles of this world ended his gentle and affectionate existence.²

Brigadier Jean du Foussat stayed on at Utrecht, in the orchard-girdled town, with its great forts and ramparts, and its stirring bugle calls.

Burdened by the prohibition of his father, not to write more than once in six months, he only ventures a letter again to him after a few months have elapsed, in order to ask for money to pay the expenses consequent upon a duel in which he took part.

The austere anxious Jean has either a quick temper or sensitive honour somewhere below his Huguenot principles. He takes care however not to mention to his father what is the origin of this *petite affaire d'honneur*, from which we may conclude there was a woman in it, and, like a gentleman, he conceals the fact. The duel took place outside the city gates, and "wounded to death," the brigadier was left with only sufficient strength to drag himself to an old women's hospital hard by. The news soon spread that a brigadier was dying, and his faithful comrades in arms came in the nick of time to carry him off in a wheel chair to Vianen,³ before the Prevost of Utrecht, with two sergeants and a guard of twenty men, arrived to arrest him. Vianen in those days was a "*ville franche*," a free town, and there the brigadier was comparatively safe. His freedom and safety were dearly purchased for him by his trusty companions for 80 livres.

The burgomaster, pitying the young refugee officer, reduced the tax, even then, by nearly half. In this city of refuge Jean du Foussat, hovering between life and death, kept quiet to know the issue of the duel. As no one died, his fears diminished, but not his necessities. M. Maurin, the son of an old friend from Duras,⁴ nobly supplied his

¹ Joseph de Cornuau, lieutenant in his uncle Joel de Cornuau's regiment, killed 1715;

² . . . De Cornuau de Berthelot, killed 1717;

³ Etienne de Cornuau de la Baugerie, aide-de-camp to his uncle. Sons of a younger brother, Jean de Cornuau, and Isabeau de Charles.

⁴ In the "Memoirs of Dumont de Bostaquet" is a list of the names of officers in Schomberg's regiment created in 1689.

In Varenque's company occurs, amongst the lieutenants, the name of "Tobie-Rossat". Can this be a misreading of the editors for Tobie-Foussat?

⁵ Vianen was only included in the Dutch states in 1729. The town is 20 kilometres N.N.E. of Gorkum, on the left bank of the Leck, at the mouth of the Zederik Canal.

⁶ Duras, chef-lieu de canton, arrondissement de Marmande, Département Lot-et-Garonne.

need. In his weak and helpless condition Jean writes to his father for money to pay his surgeon's bill, and to repay the loans received from his brother officers and M. Maurin. We may conclude that the father paid them.

As for Pierre, the eldest son, his career is better known than that of his brothers. According to the testimony of M. le Capitaine Arabin, his wife's brother-in-law, he bore a high character. He was a true Christian, a respectful, obedient, and affectionate son, a tender father, and an honest man, loved and esteemed by all who knew him. He remembered his old family in the land of his exile, and clung to the traditions, as we perceive by his asking for an impression of the family seal in order to have it engraven in England. In 1698 Pierre du Foussat was a lieutenant in the Marquis de Miremont's regiment of Dragoons. His name is spelt "Du Fossat," being the correct spelling of his ancestral name.

On the 6th February, in the year 1705, Pierre du Foussat was naturalised an English subject. He wrote to announce his intention to M. Jean Jacques de Cornuaud de Fontbourgade, Sieur de Soulat, father of the lieutenant-colonel, Joel de Cornuaud, mentioned in his brother's letter; and on the very day of the naturalisation he writes to his father that his long wooing of Mademoiselle de Malacarre ("Emilie") had resulted some time previously in a happy marriage.

Emilie de St. Julien de Malacarre was the youngest child and fifth daughter of Pierre de St. Julien Sieur de Malacarre, and Jeanne le Febvre, inhabitants of Vitré, in Brittany, Department of Ille-et-Vilaine.

She fled to England with her brother Paul, and her sisters Aymée, Marguerite and Caroline; they were all naturalised on the 9th September, 1698 (10 Will. and Mary).

On the 2nd June previous, her sister Aymée became the second wife of the Colonel Jean Trapaud to whom Pierre du Foussat refers in his letter of the 6th February, 1705. Thus the families were doubly connected, for the mother-in-law of Aymée de St. Julien was Marguerite du Foussat, sister to Daniel du Foussat, Pierre's father.

The Marcons were refugees from Castillon and also related to the Trapaud family. In the land of exile, the families of the refugees clung to their kith and kin, to the people of their own "*pays*," as individuals in France still term the inhabitants of their own town or village. "*Il est de mon*

pays," is an expression invariably used by the peasantry to denote a fellow-citizen and not a compatriot.

Pierre de St. Julien, the elder, with his two sons, Pierre and Louis, had already been naturalised five years previously (15th April, 1693).

At the time of his daughter's marriage he was living in London, and was much troubled with gout. With him Pierre du Foussat left his young wife while he hastened over to Ireland to the Duke of Ormond, who had half promised him an appointment. His wife's aunt, Madeleine de St. Julien de Malacarre, had married M. Chamier, which may account for Jean de Foussat being posted to the regiment in which a M. Chamier was brigadier.

Pierre du Foussat's life was a short one. His wife died on the 17th February, 1707 (N.S.), aged about thirty-two, having given birth to a little girl, called Emilie after her mother. Madame du Foussat was buried in the churchyard of St. Mary's, Dublin. Her husband fell ill soon after her death, being attacked with consumption; he lingered three years and died in Dublin on the 5th of June, 1711.

A few days before his death, he informed his brother-in-law, Captain Arabin,¹ of his wish to write to his old father at Lardier in Ruch, to assure him of his filial respect and duty, and to mention his sweet, pretty and vivacious little girl of four and a half, whom the grandfather could not fail to love if he but knew her. But the end of the malady must have hastened rapidly, for the wish was never accomplished. Although he remained conscious up till the last moment, the sad letter had to be written by the captain instead.

In his death he showed the depth of his Christian character.

Captain Arabin and Caroline de Malacarre, his wife, took the little orphan home, the father having bequeathed his treasure to the uncle and aunt until such time as she should be claimed by her grandfather, with the earnest desire that she should be brought up in the fear of God.

But, either the little one unconsciously felt her father's loss, or the seeds of consumption were in her also, for she lived through the summer months and died when the cold set in. She was buried on the 1st December, 1711, at the tender age of all but five years.

¹In the same "Memoirs of Dumont de Bostaquet" occurs the name of *Arabin de Barcelle* as Cornet in Cussy's Company. The death of a Captain Arabin is entered in a Manuscript Obituary Book compiled by Major Charles de Vignoles: "1757. M. le Colonel Jean Arabin, Colonel du 57 Regt. d'Infanterie, mort à Gibraltar, l'année 1757. Vers le 22 Mars."

The grandfather docketts the letters which he received, with the brief record "the little girl died in Ireland".

That the father clung to the memory of the sons of his youth and his first love is evident, for these few letters have survived all others and lie there in the Archives of the Du Foussat family as a testimony from over the water of those who "counted not their lives dear unto themselves" for Christ's sake.

APPENDIX.

(1)

A LONDRES le 6 février 1705

MONSIEUR MON TRÈS HONORÉ PÈRE

Vous avez appris il y a quelque temps (par une lettre que j'écrivis à M^r de Fonbourgade) que je devais venir ici pour me faire naturaliser, ce que j'achèverai j'espère aujourd'hui : vous avez aussi scu il y a déjà du temps par feu M^r Marcon la recherche que je faisais de Mademoiselle de Malacare, belle-sœur de M^r Trapaud et les raisons qui avaient éloigné la chose : mais à mon retour j'ai trouvé les parents disposés à consentir, que je l'époussasse, ce que je n'aurais pourtant pas fait, quoique j'eusse votre consentement, sans vous en écrire si j'avais eu du temps assez pour avoir votre réponse, mais ayant si peu à demeurer ici, j'ai cru que vous ne trouveriez pas mauvais que j'achevasse une chose que j'ai désirée depuis si longtemps : je vous prie, Monsieur mon très honoré père, de me donner votre approbation, je suis assuré que si vous connaissiez la personne vous me l'accorderiez, non seulement de bon cœur, mais que vous en seriez bien aise ; je puis dire avec vérité qu'elle est estimée de tous ceux dont elle est connue, et pour la famille je suis assuré que vous serez content de l'alliance. Quant aux biens, M^r de Malacarre lui a donné six cents livres sterling, ce qui est considérable pour un homme qui n'a rien car on compte n'avoir rien lorsqu'on ne l'a pas hors de France : M^r de Malacarre vous fait bien des compliments et à ma tante ; ma femme vous assure, Monsieur, mon très-honoré père, de ses très-humbles respects et vous prie de lui faire la grace de lui accorder l'honneur de votre amitié et de votre estime, je vous demande la même grâce pour elle et pour moi que j'espère vous voudrez bien nous accorder et y joindre votre bénédiction.

Je partirai incessamment pour m'en retourner en Irlande où ma présence est nécessaire, Mylord duc Dormond qui en est vice Roy m'y faisant espérer de l'emploi ; ma femme restera ici auprès de M^r son père qui est fort incommodé de la goutte.

Je vis hier Mademoiselle Marcon qui se porte bien et qui me chargea de vous assurer et à ma tante de ses respects. M^r son frère se porte bien aussi ; je ne l'ai pas encore vu quoiqu'il m'ait fait l'honneur de me venir voir avec sa sœur, mais il ne m'a pas trouvé chez mon beau-père lorsqu'il y vint ; il ne me reste plus qu'à vous assurer que je suis avec un profond respect

Monsieur mon très-honoré père

votre très-humble et très-obéissant serviteur et fils

DUFOUSSAT

Mon épouse et moi assurons ma tante de nos très humbles respects et embrassons tous nos frères et sœurs ; ma femme se serait donnée l'honneur

de vous écrire mais nous avons craint de faire le paquet trop gros ; je vous prie lorsque vous me ferez l'honneur de m'écrire de m'envoyer une empreinte de votre cachet afin que je la fasse graver.

(2)

Letter from M. le Capitaine Arabin, to M. Daniel Dufoussat, announcing the death of his eldest son, Pierre.

Endorsed by M. du Foussat in very small handwriting.

Lettre de M^r Arabin
beaufrère de mon fils
ayné escrit de Dublin
en Hirlande le 20 juin
1711.

La petite fille est dé-
cédée en Hirlande.

The letter is on a single sheet of paper.

A DUBLIN ce 20^e Juin 1711

M^r DU FOUSSAT

MONSIEUR

Je crois estre obligé de vous apprendre la triste nouvelle de la mort de M^r vostre fils que Dieu a retiré à Luy le 5^me de ce mois après une maladie de trois ans, estant ataqué de la poitrine. Il est mort dans les dispositions d'un véritable crétien c'estant recogneu jusque au dernier soupir. Il m'avoit dit trois ou quatre Jours avant sa mort qu'il vouloit se donner l'h^r [honneur] de vous escrire pour vous aseurer de la continuation de son respect et de son obéissance qu'un enfant doit à son père ; en mesme temps vous apprendre qu'il laisoit une fille de quatre ans et demi et vous prier de vouloir vous souvenir d'elle et de la regarder come vostre propre Enfant. Elle est si jolie et tant d'esprit que si elle auoit le bonheur d'estre cognue de vous, vous ne scauries Luy refuser vostre Estime et vostre amitié et Luy donner de marques de tendresses Esentieles auant que Dieu vous appelle à Luy, feu son père ne vous ayant jamais désobéi, et ayant esté tousjour honest home, Estant aymé et Estimé de tous ceux qui Le cognoissoit, j'espère Monsieur de vostre Integrité et de vostre droiture que vous randres la justice qui est due à ce pauvre horphelin sans père et mère et que vous traualleres specialement à Luy procurer ce que Dieu et la nature auoit donné à feu son père qui a tousjour fait son deuoir à tont esgarda, ce qui me fait prandre la Liberté de vous parler si franchement de ce qu'il m'a fait l'h^r de la laisser à la conduite de ma feme et à la miene pour l'élever à la crainte de Dieu, ma feme estant sœur de la défunte mère.

Je m'estimerois heureux si vous voulies m'employer à vous randre mes petits seruices. Je vous les offre Monsieur de bon cœur, et vous prie d'estre persuadé que je suis véritablement

Vostre très humble et très obéissant Seruiteur

ARABIN

(3)

[Date déchirée.]

MONSIEUR MON PÈRE

Mon frère m'ayant dit que vous lui avez écrit que nous ferons bien de ne vous point écrire souvent, je ne l'ai osé entreprendre jusqu'à présent que j'ai cru qu'après avoir esté six mois sans avoir eu cest honneur

vous me permettrez de vous envoyer celle-ci pour vous assurer de la continuation de mes très-humbles respects et pour vous apprendre la manière que je suis yci dans une des compagnies de cadets français que messieurs les Etats ont eu la bonté de faire, on a 8 sols par jour. . . . Je vous prie très humblement Monsieur mon père d'avoir la bonté de considérer qu'il est impossible que je me tire d'affaire si vous ne me faites la grace de continuer vos bienfaits que je crois que vous ne me discontinerez point quoyque je sois sorti hors du royaume sans vous en avoir demandé conseil.

Vous savez bien que dans ces occasions on n'a personne à consulter que sa propre conscience, dans l'espérance que je suis, monsieur mon père que vous ne m'abandonerez point, non plus que mon frère, je prends la liberté de vous prier d'avoir la bonté d'escrire à Monsieur Merveilliaux qu'il me donne par mois ce que vous jugerez à propos pour m'ayder à subsister avec ma paye. Je ne vous ai point encore dit que j'avais reçu 119 livres de M. Merveilliaux par un ordre que vous avez eu la bonté de lui donner et ne sais point si vous trouverez que j'ai trop pris mais je vous assure qu'il m'a fallu vivre avec beaucoup d'économie pendant 7 mois que j'ai resté à la Haye sur ma bourse où il y fait extrêmement cher de vivre à cause que le prince d'Orange y tient sa cour. Je n'ai meme pas pu

Je vous prie, Monsieur mon père d'avoir la bonté d'assurer ma tante de mes très-humbles respects et de faire mes baise-mains à mes sœurs et à mon frère. Je reçus une lettre de mon cousin du Foussat qui est à Anconem. Je ne sais point ce qu'il fait là (avec) Monsieur de Montaut y sont aussi avec une commission de Messieurs les Etats, les deux fils de M^r Lepe¹ sont dans la première compagnie (avec) le fils de M^r de la Grée, le cadet.

Votre très humble et très obéissant
serviteur et fils

DU FOUSSAT.

(4)

UTREC ce 28 Janvier 1687

MONSIEUR MON PÈRE

Après avoir demeuré six mois sans avoir l'honneur de vous escrire j'espère que vous ne serez point fâché que j'aie aujourd'hui cet avantage, le sujet de la présente est pour vous dire que mon frère est passé en Brandebourg n'ayant point peu entrer dans nos compagnies parcequ'il n'y a point de places vacantes et mesme il y a des gens qui y portent le mousquet à leurs depans à tant qu'ils y puissent entrer, si mon frère m'eut dit son sentiment à la création des compagnies je me sentais assez fort par le moyen de mes amis pour l'y faire entrer. S'il avait peu porter le mousquet à ses dépens notre capitaine avait eu assez de bonté pour moi pour me promettre la première place vacante. Il avait dessein de le mettre dans le regiment des gardes de son Altesse ce que je ne luy ai pas conseillé parceque les Français qui y sont et qui ne font pas belle figure n'y sont pas regardés et il ne pouvait Je ne sais pas, monsieur mon père, si après cela vous trouveriez que j'aie bien fait de l'avoir conseillé d'aler en Brandebourg trouver monsieur Cournaud qui est lieutenant colonel, et le prier de luy permettre de porter le mousquet dans sa compagnie et de le vouloir

¹This name, copied "Lepe" by M. du Foussat who communicates these etters, is most probably "Depe," namely D'Eppe.

Il peut lui rendre de grands services et je ne doute nullement qu'il ne le fasse, si vous voulez bien avoir la bonté de lui écrire en sa faveur.

Il est parti d'icy avec fort peu d'argent et ayant beaucoup de chemin à faire. Je crois que si son argent le conduit jusqu'à Berlin ce sera bien tout. Vous vous plaignez, Monsieur mon père qu'il a fait de la dépense. Il était chez Merveillaud qui en quelque manière devait le protéger, expulsé de la patrie, et d'ailleurs que vous lui aviez prié d'avoir soin de lui, et il était le premier à le sucer ; il lui faisait payer 300 francs de pension, argent d'Hollande, avec cette somme on peut avoir la meilleure pension de Rotterdam, et puis après il fallait des habits, il fallait du linge, mais encore il avait à payer la même somme à un flamand à qui il n'avait rien à dire. Ce flamand ne lui faisait pas plus de service que mon frère faisait (je crois) bien qu'il ne se serait pas ennuyer chez Merveillaud s'il avait été traité un peu plus amplement qu'il ne l'était. Quand il demandait un écu à Merveillaud il lui demandait avec un air de mépris, "qu'il lui rendrait cet argent, qu'à la vérité il avait entendu parler de vous comme d'un fort honnête homme, mais qu'il ne vous connaissait point". Je ne vous dis rien que mon frère n'ai bien dit.

Je crois, monsieur mon père qu'après toutes ces choses, vous ne serez point fâché qu'il soit sorti de chez lui et encore pour embrasser un parti qui lui fera cent fois plus d'honneur que l'autre état. Je crois surtout qu'il réussira surtout dans un pays où on fait des levées.

Si vous voulez avoir la bonté de l'assister, ce que je vous conjure très-humblement de vouloir faire, il est parti d'icy avec de bonnes lettres de recommandation mais vous savez bien, Monsieur mon père, qu'un homme sans argent est un corps sans âme, on n'a nulle hardiesse, on n'ose pas regarder un honnête homme entre les deux yeux, il n'y rien au monde qui ôte tant le cœur à un jeune homme que de se voir en cet état là. Je ne me laisserais pas de vous parler de mon frère tant il m'est sensible de le savoir dans la misère si je n'avais fait dessein d'employer ce petit reste de papier à vous parler un peu de moi. Je commence donc, Monsieur mon père, en vous remerciant de toutes les bontés que vous avez eues pour moi et vous priant très-ardemment de me faire la grâce de me les continuer. Je vous dirai que je suis assez malheureux pour n'avoir plus de paye qu'un cadet, mais nous avons toujours des espérances, nos capitaines n'ont pas plus de paye que les autres capitaines réfugiés, à plus forte raison nous brigadiers n'en pouvons pas plus avoir qu'un cadet, nous n'en pourrions point avoir que nos capitaines n'en aient, et il faut cependant que tous les officiers de notre corps, tant subalternes que autres, fassent la même dépense que si on donnait la haute paye, ce que je ne saurais faire si vous n'avez la bonté, monsieur mon père de me

[The sheet following is lost.]

(5)

A VIANE, ce 19 May
[No year given.]

MONSIEUR MON PÈRE

Depuis la dernière que j'ai eu l'honneur de vous écrire j'ai été assez malheureux pour recevoir un coup d'épée qui a failli à me coûter la vie mais grâce à Dieu je suis presque guéri. Si dans le temps que je suis blessé, j'eusse eu la force à me conduire chez mon hoste, l'affaire n'aurait pas éclaté comme elle a fait.

Je fus contraint de me mettre dans la première maison qui se trouva hors la ville qui est comme une espèce d'hôpital de vieilles femmes. Incontinent le bruit fut répandu par toute la ville qu'il y avait un brigadier des cadets qui était blessé à mort. Lors mes camarades vinrent et me mirent sur une chaise roulante et m'emportèrent à Viane qui est une petite ville franche à 2 lieues d'Utrek ; je ne fus plutôt enlevé, que le prévôt envoya une garde de 20 hommes et 2 sergents, mais Dieu voulut qu'ils y vinssent trop tard. Etant entré à Viane il fallut traiter avec le bourgmestre afin qu'il me prit sous la protection de la ville, et il fut convenu que je lui donnerais 80 livres, de quoi mes camarades lui ont répondu. Il voulait avoir 150 livres comme c'est la coutume, mais à cause que j'étais un réfugié il a pris les choses plus doucement et encore ne m'a-t-il pris en protection que pendant que je serais malade ou bien en cas que je vienne à mourir que mon corps serait enterré dans Viane et quand je ne me porterais bien au cas que je vinsse à être demandé il m'avertirait trois jours avant que de donner permission de me prendre ; mais je ne crois pas que l'on en vienne à ces extrémités. Par les dernières nouvelles que je reçue l'on me fait espérer que je retournerai bientôt à la garnison puisqu'il n'y a personne de mort.

Je vous diray aussi Monsieur mon père que pour la main du chirurgien ou pour le medecin ou pour ma dépense il m'en coute 73 livres que j'ai payées non pas de l'argent que j'avais, mais de l'argent que mes camarades m'ont prêté en partie, le fils de Monsieur Maurin de Duras passant à Utrek apprit mon infortune et fit cognoistre à un de mes meilleurs amis qu'il souhaiterait bien me voir : l'autre lui dit que sa vue ne me ferait pas grand-chose, mais que s'il avait de l'argent à me prêter il me rendrait le plus grand service que l'on put rendre dans une occasion comme celle-ci. Dès que Monsieur Maurin fut arrivé à Viane il m'offrit sa bourse de la manière la plus obligeante du monde mais comme je ne le connaissais pas assez particulièrement je le remerciai fort. Il me dit qu'il savait fort bien que je n'avais pas d'argent et qu'il fallait que j'emprunte si bien que je fus contraint de prendre 90 livres qui m'ont servi à payer mon chirurgien. Vous voyez, Monsieur mon Père que voilà bien de l'argent que je dois et que je ne saurais payer si vous n'avez la bonté de m'en donner le moyen. Je me serais donné l'honneur de vous écrire plus tôt mais je voulais savoir comme toutes choses allaient pour vous le faire savoir. Je crois que cela ne tardera pas longtemps à se terminer. Il me tarde beaucoup que cela se fasse vite car je suis ici depuis le 31 de mars et sans appointements. Ce qui me fait espérer que je retournerai bientôt dans ma place, c'est que les officiers sont tous de notre parti et dès que je serai arrivé il me faudra faire un habit ce que je ne saurais faire si vous ne me faites la grâce de m'envoyer de l'argent ce que je vous prie très-humblement de vouloir faire pour m'acquitter de mes dettes, aussi je crois que vous aurez cette bonté puisque la plus grande partie de l'argent que je vous demande est employée pour une affaire d'honneur. Quand vous me ferez l'honneur de vous écrire, ayez, s'il vous plait, la bonté d'adresser votre lettre au frère de M. Boué, marchand à Amsterdam et ayez, s'il vous plait, la bonté de lui dire que quand il aura reçu la lettre, il l'adresse à M. Chamier, brigadier, pour me la faire venir avec une enveloppe. J'emploie tous mes soins à me rendre digne de l'honneur de votre souvenir et de votre amitié que je vous prie de vouloir continuer et aussi de croire que je suis avec un profond respect, Monsieur mon père

Votre très-humble et très-obéissant serviteur et fils,

DU FOUSSAT.

(6)

ROTTERDAM, 29 novembre 1686

MONSIEUR MON TRÈS CHER PÈRE

Il y a fort longtemps que je ne me suis donné l'honneur de vous écrire. J'ai reçu votre lettre du 22 août sous couvert de M^r Merveilhaud. Je vous remercie très-respectueusement de ce que par une bonté paternelle, il vous plaît me vouloir continuer vos secours. Le sujet de la présente est que puisque par la même vous me mettez en liberté de choisir un parti plus favorable que n'est celui du négoce, je suis résolu de prendre celui des armes. Vous en serez sans doute étonné parceque c'est un parti quasi contraire à mon naturel, mais aussi je n'en trouve point qui me soit plus avantageuse, à moins que de faire quelque métier, ce que vous ne me conseilleriez assurément pas. Je suis donc résolu d'aller à Utrecht et porter le mousquet dans la compagnie des Cadets Reffugiés (*sic*) qui sont au moins aussi bien que ceux qui sont en France. M^r de Merveilhaud ne désapprouve pas ce parti, vu qu'il y a de quoi s'entretenir en partie, mais il ne voudra pas me fournir rien de plus sans votre ordre, aussi je vous supplie, au nom de Dieu! M^r mon très-cher père, si vous approuvez la chose, de vouloir lui ordonner qu'il me fournisse sans difficulté le nécessaire pour cela, car il me faudra habiller à mes dépens et ces messieurs paraissent tous fort bien. Le commencement est le plus nécessaire car j'y trouverai ensuite de quoi m'entretenir.

Il y a quelques temps que je vis M^r Courallet, beau-frère à M^r Merveilhaud¹ de Middelbourg en Irlande qui m'a beaucoup parlé de vous. C'est un très-honnête homme, il vous fait ses baise-mains, vous offrant ses services. Mon cousin du Foussat est placé dans un régiment à Aconem. Il est heureux d'être placé car les places sont fort rares et dès qu'un est vide 100 personnes font à qui l'aura. J'ai une lettre de mon cousin d'Ailhe de Londres qui me mande qu'il n'a pas un sol, et qu'il est presentement chez un mylord qui tient chez lui par charité. L'on parle fort de la guerre. Je salue avec respect mademoiselle ma très chère tante, mes sœurs et frère, principalement à vous, priant Dieu qu'il vous conserve vous fortifiant par son S^t Esprit et suis avec respect, Monsieur mon très cher père

Votre très-humble et obéissant serviteur et fils

DU FOUSSAT

(7)

Armorial.

- | | |
|-------------------|---|
| <i>Dufoussat.</i> | Fascé d'or et de gueules. |
| De Cornnaud. | D'azur à un cor de chasse d'argent, lié d'or, au chef de gueules, chargé de 3 étoiles d'or. |
| De Carles. | 1 et 4, d'azur à l'aigle au vol abaissé d'or, au 2: d'or au lion naissant et mouvant de la pointe, la tête contournée de gueules, au 3, d'argent, à la molette d'épéron de sable. |
| De Bacalan. | d'or à 3 marteaux de gueules et une molette de sable posée en abîme—
alias—
d'azur à la tour d'argent maçonnée de sable. |
| de Melet. | d'azur au cerf d'or. |

¹ The word reads "marig^t," but must stand for "marchant" (marchant).

DU

(16) Loui
le 2 nov
horien d
de F
ard, et

mond d
ab. de

Sie
fév.

DU

(6) Louise =
le 2 nov., 16
horien de La
de Pierre
ard, et de

nond de La
ab. de Ruck

(7)
Sieur de Pe
fév., bapt. 16

Gard
lieu
(3) Marianne,
re du château de la
le que lui légèrent
emoiselles de Melet,
antes.

(4) Magdeleine =
ép. son cousin,
Abraham de Gullhem
de Lataillade.

FIRST ORDINARY MEETING OF THE SESSION,
1900-1901,

HELD AT

THE HOTEL WINDSOR, VICTORIA STREET,
WESTMINSTER.

WEDNESDAY, 14TH NOVEMBER, 1900.

W. J. C. MOENS, Esq., F.S.A., President, in the Chair.

THE Minutes of the Annual Meeting held on 9th May, were read and confirmed.

The following were elected Fellows of the Society:—

- Mrs. Bowden-Smith, Carey's, Brockenhurst.
Robert Guichet Garland, Esq., Gosshill Road, Chislehurst.
Surgeon-General Charles Hervé Giraud, 38 Kensington
Mansions, Trebovir Road, S.W.
Leonard William Henry Lamaison, Esq., Southwold, Kenley,
Surrey.
Alfred Liotard-Vogt, Esq., Bickenhall Mansions, Gloucester
Place, Portman Square, W.
Major Henry Pidcock-Henzell, Pinehurst, Farnborough,
Hants.
Josiah Vavasseur, Esq., C.B., Kilverstone Hall, Thetford.

Mr. Minet read an abstract, in English, of a paper by the Baronne Alexandre de Chambrier entitled "Projet de Colonisation en Irlande par les Réfugiés français, 1692-1693". The Baronne, who was cordially thanked by the President in the name of the Society, afterwards briefly addressed the Meeting in French.

Projet de Colonisation en Irlande, par les Réfugiés français.

1692-1699.

PAR

LA BARONNE ALEXANDRE DE CHAMBRIER.

Bevaix (Neuchâtel), Suisse.

20 Septembre, 1900.

SOURCES CONSULTÉES POUR LE PROJET DE COLONISATION.

1°. MANUSCRITS.

- Archives secrètes de l'Etat de Prusse.—Berlin.
 Archives de la famille de Chambrier.
 Archives des Etats de Hollande.—Copie de documents.
 Archives de l'Etat de Zurich.—Copie de documents et extraits des procès-verbaux des diètes évangéliques de la Suisse.
 Mémoires de Mirmand, écrits pour sa petite-fille, Jeanne Henriette de Cabrol.
 Collection Court, Bibliothèque de Genève.—Environ trois cents pièces de la correspondance de Mirmand, données par Josué de Chambrier, mari de sa dite petite-fille, à Antoine Court, en 1740. Elles ont été retrouvées là, et ont fourni la base essentielle de notre travail.
 Papiers de la famille de Pierre.
 40 Protocoles de la Direction française de Berne, relevés dans les Archives de l'Etat de Berne.
 Record Office de Londres et British Museum.—Plusieurs pièces trouvées par les soins de M. et de M^{lle} Minet.
 F. de Schickler.—Notes manuscrites sur l'Irlande, tirées de documents officiels, ou de publications anglaises.

2°. IMPRIMÉS.

- Bulletin de la Société de l'Histoire du P^r français.—La France protestante.
 Lavis et Rambaud, *Histoire Générale*.—Guizot, *Histoire de France*.
 Camille Rousset: *Histoire de Louvois*.—S. Smiles: *Les Huguenots*, Paris, 1870.
 Rev^d D. C. Agnew, *Protestant Exiles from France*.—Edmond Hugues: *Antoine Court*.
 F. de Schickler: *Essai sur les Eglises du refuge*.—Ch. Weiss: *Histoire des réfugiés*.
Proceedings of the Huguenot Society of London, vol. vi., Nos. 1, 2, 1899.
 C. D. Purdon, M. D., *The Huguenots*, Belfast, 1869.—*Ulster Journal of Archæology*.
 La Pijardière, *Chroniques du Languedoc*, 1887.—Jaques Fontainé: *Mémoires*, 1887.
 D^r Muret, *Geschichte der Französischen Colonie*, Berlin, 1885.

ABREVIATIONS.

A. B.	Archives secrètes de l'Etat, à Berlin.
A. de C.	Archives de la famille de Chambrier.
A. H.	Archives des Etats de Hollande.
A. Z.	Archives de l'Etat de Zurich.
B ^a P. F.	Bulletin de la Société de l'Histoire du Protestantisme français.
C. C.	Collection Court, de la Bibliothèque de Genève.
Ch. C.	Choix de correspondances.
El ^r de Br ^s	Electeur de Brandebourg.
Fr ^{an} Pr ^{ote}	France Protestante.
LL. EE.	Leurs Excellences, les seigneurs de Berne.
LL. HH. PP.	Leurs Hautes Puissances, les Etats-Généraux.
LL. MM. B.	Leurs Majestés britanniques.
M. M.	Mémoires de Mirmand.
P. B.	Protocoles de la Direction française de Berne.
P. de P.	Papiers de la famille de Pierre.
R. O.	Record Office de Londres.
S. A. E.	Son Altesse Electorale.
S. A. S.	Son Altesse sérénissime.
S. M. B.	Sa Majesté britannique.

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CHAPITRE I^{er}.NÉGOCIATIONS POUR L'ÉTABLISSEMENT DES COLONIES
FRANÇAISES EN IRLANDE.

I.—HENRI DE MIRMAND.

Henri de Mirmand, né à Nîmes en 1650, d'une des premières familles protestantes de cette ville, en fut l'un des réfugiés les plus remarquables. Caractère d'une grande noblesse et d'un dévouement à toute épreuve, il y joignait une modestie et un désintéressement qui l'empêchaient de se mettre en avant, et de chercher à se faire une situation personnelle.

Son rôle dans le refuge fut considérable, il fut envisagé dès l'abord comme l'un des chefs et des directeurs des réfugiés. Son intercession, réclamée en toute occasion par ses frères, ne l'était jamais en vain. Pour leur procurer des retraites et des secours, il traita avec les rois, les princes et les magistrats des pays protestants de l'Europe. Considéré comme leur député, il était toujours prêt à aider les exilés de sa bourse, de ses conseils et de son actif concours.

Dès l'automne de 1686, Mirmand avait été nommé par le Grand-Electeur de Brandebourg conseiller de cour et de légation, avec des appointements honorables,¹ auxquels il n'a jamais voulu toucher. Cette situation exceptionnelle donnait à ses requêtes une force particulière. N'ayant rien à demander pour lui, il avait toute liberté de réclamer des faveurs pour les autres, et il les obtenait facilement. M^r d'Audiffret de Nîmes, dont il avait épousé la fille unique, Marthe, morte en 1681, n'avait pas d'autres descendants que les deux filles de Mirmand, encore en bas âge, que celui-ci avait emmenées avec lui à Zurich, en 1686; tant que vécut M^r d'Audiffret, jusqu'en 1694, il envoya l'argent nécessaire à l'entretien de ses petits-enfants; en outre quelques débris que Mirmand parvint à recueillir de sa propre fortune, lui permirent de vivre indépendant.

¹ 700 Reichsthaler, portés plus tard à 900, le Rsth. à f. 3.75.

Il habita Zurich jusqu'en 1691 et y perdit l'une de ses filles, Marthe. Il ne lui restait que *Marguerite*, qui épousa en 1698 *Charles de Cabrol, Seigneur de la Roque de Travaust et de St. Pierre de Trévisy*, réfugié de Castres, et en secondes noces, en 1707, *Frédéric de Bérenger, baron de Beauvain*, ancien procureur d'Orange et réfugié de cette ville. De ces deux unions, Marguerite n'eut qu'une fille, *Jeanne-Henriette de Cabrol*, qui épousa en 1721 *Josué de Chambrier*,¹ conseiller d'Etat, trésorier général et chambellan du roi de Prusse à Neuchâtel. Cette qualité de descendant de l'unique héritière de Mirmand impose à la famille de Chambrier le devoir de recueillir les souvenirs de cet ancêtre, et de les conserver à ses enfants.

En 1688 Mirmand fut choisi par les Directions² françaises de toute la Suisse, pour faire avec Mr. Bernard, autrefois ministre à Manosque en Provence, une députation officielle auprès des pays protestants du nord de l'Europe, afin de procurer des asiles et une aide pécuniaire aux nombreux émigrants qui sortaient constamment de France, et qui inondaient la Suisse. Les députés étaient munis de recommandations et de lettres pressantes des Cantons Suisses et de l'El^r de Br^s, le chef de cette entreprise, pour toutes les cours où ils devaient s'arrêter. A Berlin d'autres députés leur furent adjoints, afin qu'ils pussent se partager les Etats du Nord. Cette députation, dont Mirmand s'occupa avec zèle en 1688 et 1689, n'eut pas tout le succès qu'on en attendait, en raison de la guerre qui sévissait alors.

L'ambition et l'arrogance de Louis XIV étaient arrivées à leur comble, la coalition européenne se forma contre lui, les armées entrèrent en campagne, et la révolution d'Angleterre s'accomplit à la même époque. Mirmand, malade de la fièvre, dut revenir de Hollande à Zurich en 1689, et les collectes furent peu abondantes par suite de ces événements. Cependant les députés avaient ouvert des portes aux émigrés, et frayé la voie que suivirent beaucoup d'entr'eux, pour s'établir en Allemagne, ou en Hollande.

De retour à Zurich, Mirmand organisa, avec son futur gendre Cabrol, le départ de la seconde colonne des Vaudois du Piémont, qui partirent des bords du lac de Genève pour

¹ Ce nom se disait indifféremment Le ou de Chambrier, sa noblesse étant reconnue.

² Direction, Compagnie, ou Consistoire français, trois termes qui signifient la même chose; c'est la réunion des ministres et anciens, choisis parmi les réfugiés notables, qui dirigeaient une colonie française dans les villes du Refuge.

rentrer dans leurs Vallées, en septembre 1689. Cette colonne marchait sous le commandement du capitaine Bourgeois.

En même temps il soutenait une correspondance étendue avec les chefs des réfugiés en Europe, avec les protestants restés en France, et avec les autorités des pays du refuge. Il représentait en Suisse le comité secret qui dirigeait partout les mouvements des protestants français. Mais en 1691, Mirmand quitta ce pays, laissant la direction des réfugiés de la Suisse au marquis d'Arzeliers, résidant à Berne. Il allait rejoindre à Wesel sa sœur et son beau-frère, Louis de Baudan, capitaine au service de l'Electeur de Brandebourg, en garnison dans cette ville. De Wesel, Mirmand entreprit de nombreux voyages en Hollande, en Angleterre, en Allemagne et en Suisse, pour la cause du refuge.

A peine arrivé en Allemagne, Mirmand fut rappelé à Zurich au cœur de l'hiver, par une lettre désespérée du pasteur Reboulet, qui lui exposait la cruelle position des réfugiés de Zurich, dont les magistrats avaient décidé le renvoi pour le printemps suivant. Mirmand revint plaider la cause de ses frères auprès du bourgmestre Escher et des autorités zuriçoises. Il le fit avec une telle éloquence qu'il obtint le retrait de l'ordonnance de renvoi, et qu'il put retourner en Allemagne avec une tranquillité relative.

En effet, cette alerte lui avait fait voir quel danger les réfugiés couraient d'être renvoyés de la Suisse, qui était trop pauvre pour les nourrir, où la disette et les mauvaises récoltes sévirent constamment de 1690 à 1700, et où la difficulté d'obtenir des subsistances de l'étranger s'accroissait par la mauvaise volonté de la France, et par les dévastations qu'amenait la guerre dans les pays voisins.

De ce moment, les vues de Mirmand et des chefs du refuge se portèrent du côté de l'Irlande ; c'est là qu'ils croyaient entrevoir le salut pour leur peuple. Il fallait trouver à celui-ci une nouvelle patrie, en former une nouvelle nation, et cette île lointaine, dont Guillaume III. achevait la conquête, semblait être destinée à ce grand but.

L'Irlande sortait de cette dernière crise dépeuplée et affaiblie, les terres restaient en friche, les bras manquaient pour les cultiver, quantité de villes et de villages avaient été détruits par le feu. Les populations catholiques avaient été refoulées dans la province de Connaught, et les grands feudataires de la couronne, seigneurs protestants, propriétaires de domaines immenses, avaient besoin de colons pour les repeupler et les cultiver.

II.—L'IRLANDE.

Lorsque Guillaume d'Orange et sa femme, la princesse Marie, fille de Jacques II, montaient sur le trône d'Angleterre, où les appelait le parti protestant de la nation, le 13 février 1689, il leur restait à conquérir l'Ecosse et l'Irlande.

L'Ecosse presbytérienne, attachée à la reine Marie, se rallia facilement à la cause orangiste. Il n'en fut pas de même de l'Irlande ; ce pays, dont la population était en grande partie catholique, embrassa la cause du roi détrôné, et fit une longue opposition à la royauté de Guillaume III. Les seigneurs protestants, qui possédaient la plupart des terres du pays, formaient une minorité orangiste. Jacques II s'était réfugié à la cour de Louis XIV, qui lui fournit de l'argent et des troupes pour reprendre possession de son royaume. En même temps Lord Tyrconnel, gouverneur catholique de l'Irlande, levait une armée de cinquante mille Irlandais, en faveur de Jacques II, et l'accueillait à Dublin comme son roi.

Dans ce pressant danger, c'est au vieux maréchal de Schomberg que Guillaume confia la mission d'établir son autorité en Irlande. Les défenseurs du parti protestant, refoulés par l'armée de Jacques, s'étaient retirés à Londonderry, seule ville restée fidèle à Guillaume. Elle fut étroitement bloquée et soutint un siège long et pénible, jusqu'à l'arrivée de Schomberg qui vint la délivrer en 1689, avec sa petite armée, composée en majeure partie de réfugiés.¹ Les deux armées restèrent en présence pendant l'hiver, Schomberg n'avait pas assez de troupes pour livrer bataille aux régiments du roi de France, alors les soldats les plus aguerris de l'Europe. Mais, en 1690, Guillaume III en personne vint combattre en Irlande, amenant des renforts à Schomberg. Le 10 juillet tous deux gagnèrent la bataille importante de la Boyne, qui anéantit les espérances de Jacques II et écrasa son armée. Les vaillants soldats qui luttaient dans les plaines d'Irlande combattaient pour la liberté religieuse ; ils la conquièrent à la pointe de l'épée. Cette victoire ne fut pas remportée sans une perte cruelle. Schom-

¹ Schomberg avait trois régiments d'infanterie et un de cavalerie, composés de réfugiés français, les premiers sous les ordres de Cambon, de la Melonnière et de la Caillemotte-Ruvigny, frère de Galway. La Caillemotte perdit la vie à la bataille de la Boyne, où il avait combattu en héros.

Le baron d'Avejan écrivait à Mirmand le 23 avril 1689, pour le prier de lui enrôler en Suisse des réfugiés pour son régiment (P. C.).—Jacques Fontaine, dans ses *Mémoires*, dit qu'il partait quelquefois de quatre à cinq cents réfugiés, de Genève, en une semaine, pour s'enrôler.

berg y fut tué, ce qui retarda la pacification de l'Irlande ; mais elle établit l'autorité de Guillaume, dont les lieutenants achevèrent la conquête du pays. Parmi eux se distinguait Lord Galway, qui contribua pour une large part à la victoire d'Aghrim, le 22 juillet 1691, où fut tué Saint Rhue, commandant en chef des troupes du roi de France. Enfin, le 13 octobre suivant, Guillaume restait maître de toute l'Irlande, par la reddition de Limerick, dernière place occupée par ses adversaires. Cette capitulation lui assurait une paix définitive. Le duc de Tyrconnel était mort, il ne restait à Jacques II que quatorze à quinze mille Irlandais, sortis de Limerick après la capitulation, pour rejoindre leur Souverain.

Cette conquête de l'Irlande eut un grand retentissement dans toute l'Europe, surtout en Suisse. A peine était-elle connue par l'entremise de M^r Coxe, envoyé d'Angleterre à Berne, que les magistrats¹ et les Directions des colonies françaises² de la Suisse adressèrent leurs félicitations au roi d'Angleterre, au sujet de cette victoire à laquelle tous les réfugiés étaient intéressés.

Guillaume III, lui aussi, avait intérêt à repeupler ce pays conquis. La meilleure occasion de le faire, était d'y établir des colonies de réfugiés français. Il y trouvait son avantage, tout en remplissant un devoir de reconnaissance vis-à-vis des nombreux militaires français qui l'avaient si puissamment secondé dans sa conquête. Aussi, dès la fin de 1692, se mettait-il en rapport avec Galway et Mirmand, pour offrir une retraite en Irlande à leurs co-réligionnaires. Il voulait y appeler non seulement les protestants sortis de France, mais tous ceux qui en voudraient sortir encore, et repeupler cette île par une émigration générale des réfugiés français. Idée féconde, qui aurait été le salut pour les réformés français, et qui aurait pu transformer l'avenir de l'Irlande. Mirmand et Galway en furent les principaux promoteurs.

III.—LORD GALWAY.

L'homme éminent, qui fut avec Mirmand l'organisateur du vaste projet d'Irlande, était *Lord Galway*. *Henri de*

¹ A. Z. Lettre du 21 nov^{bre} 1691. Le bourgmestre et conseil de Zurich à Coxe.

A. Z. Lettre latine du 2 déc^{bre} 1691. Les 7 cantons évangéliques au roi d'Angleterre.

² P. B. Décision de la Direction française de Berne, 2 novembre 1691.

Massuë, marquis de Ruvigny, comte de Galway, né le 9 avril 1648 à Paris, fut général dans l'armée anglaise, conseiller privé en Angleterre, pair d'Irlande et deux fois Lord-Justice de ce pays. Il mourut le 3 septembre 1720 dans sa retraite de Rookley, en Angleterre.

Galway, par sa naissance, son caractère et la brillante carrière qu'il accomplit, fut le plus distingué parmi les réfugiés français en Angleterre, dès la mort du maréchal de Schomberg. Il avait fait ses premières armes en Portugal, l'an 1665, sous les ordres de ce grand capitaine, il fut ensuite aide-de-camp de Turenne, assista à sa mort, et rétablit le bon accord entre ses lieutenants divisés, à la grande satisfaction du roi de France. Lors des négociations pour la paix de Nimègue, Henri de Ruvigny accompagna Barillon en Angleterre, et signa le traité avec lui ; l'année suivante, il quittait l'armée avec le grade de colonel et quatre mille livres de retraite, pour succéder à son père comme député général des Eglises de France, à la cour de Louis XIV, en 1679 ; mais il n'y avait rien à faire contre le courant destructeur de la persécution, et la voix de Ruvigny ne fut pas longtemps écoutée à Versailles. En 1686, il se retira dans une modeste habitation de Greenwich, avec son père, octogénaire, et son seul frère, Pierre La Caillemotte de Ruvigny. Par exception, le roi de France leur avait laissé la jouissance de leurs biens en France, qu'il retira à Galway après la campagne d'Irlande. Celui-ci, entré en qualité de major-général dans l'armée de Guillaume III, fut récompensé de son exploit à la bataille d'Aghrim, par le titre et le fief de Galway.¹ L'année suivante, il devint lieutenant-général des forces d'Irlande, avec résidence officielle au château de Dublin ; mais il était plus souvent à la guerre qu'en son château. Pendant l'hiver de 1692 à 1693 il séjourna à Londres pour préparer, avec le roi et Mirmand, les futures colonies françaises en Irlande.

Le roi le chérissait, il aimait à employer ses capacités variées autant pour la négociation que pour l'action. Galway fit à ses côtés la campagne de Flandres de 1693 ; l'année suivante il prenait à Turin le commandement des troupes alliées, laissé vacant par la mort de Charles de Schomberg, et représentait le roi auprès du duc de Savoie jusqu'à la fin de la guerre, en 1697 (février). A son retour en Angleterre,

¹ Aghrim se trouvait dans le comté de Galway, qui fut donné en fief à Ruvigny, moins la ville de Galway. D'abord vicomte en 1691, il fut nommé comte (earl) de Galway en 1697.

il fut élevé à la pairie d'Irlande et nommé Lord-Juge,¹ une première fois de concert avec Lord Methuen, de 1697 à 1701, une seconde fois avec le duc de Grafton, de 1715 à 1716, sous le règne de Georges I.

Guillaume III lui donna en 1692 la terre de Portarlington, dont il avait dépossédé sir Patrick Grant, très hostile aux protestants, le déclarant rebelle et hors la loi. Ce don fut confirmé en 1696 par lettres patentes, mais le parlement anglais, jaloux de voir un Français atteindre à de si hautes dignités, fit casser cette donation en 1700, en vertu de la loi qui fut appelée "Retour des forfaitures". La colonie française que Lord Galway s'était hâté de fonder à Portarlington courut alors grand risque d'être dissoute. Elle plaida, et put prouver qu'elle possédait deux églises, l'une française, l'autre anglaise, et des écoles dues à la munificence de Ruvigny. On la laissa subsister.

Galway fit, en qualité de général anglais, les campagnes de la succession d'Espagne, de 1704 à 1707 ; il perdit un bras au siège de Badajoz et un œil à la bataille d'Almanza. Lors de la paix d'Utrecht (1712), il remplit une mission diplomatique auprès de l'évêque de Cologne ; rentré dans la vie privée en 1716, il passa ses dernières années dans la retraite, s'occupant avec succès d'obtenir la libération des galériens de France. Il mourut en 1720, à l'âge de 72 ans, sans laisser de postérité, n'ayant jamais été marié. Macaulay dit de lui, qu'il avait donné tout son cœur à son Eglise, à son roi, à ses devoirs publics. Son dévouement pour les réfugiés fut sans borne, il dura autant que sa vie ; sa générosité était bien connue ; il entretenait à Vevey une quarantaine d'exilés français, orphelins pour la plupart. Il fut le premier gouverneur de l'hôpital français de Londres, auquel il légua mille livres sterling.

L'église anglaise de Portarlington contenait une plaque sur laquelle était gravé le nom de son fondateur, Lord Galway, avec ces mots "*La mémoire du juste sera éternelle*".²

¹ *Lord-juge*, en anglais Lord Justice. C'était la plus haute dignité du royaume d'Irlande. Deux Lords-juges étaient en fonction, représentant l'autorité du roi. On faisait chaque dimanche des prières pour eux dans les Eglises, à la suite de celles qui étaient dites pour LL. MM., B.

² Voir sur Galway : Smiles, Agnew, Ch. Weiss, Galtier de la Roque, F. de Schickler, Purdon, Evelyn, Erman et Reclam, *Proceedings of the Huguenot Society of London*, 1898, T. III.

IV.—CITATION DES MÉMOIRES DE MIRMAND.

Voici ce que dit Mirmand au sujet du projet d'Irlande dans les *Mémoires* qu'il écrivit à la fin de sa vie pour sa petite-fille, Henriette de Chambrier ; nous transcrivons le passage textuel :—

“ L'on était alors rempli de l'espérance d'établir en Irlande les réfugiés qui étaient en Suisse et ceux qui viendraient de France. Cette espérance était fondée sur les avantages que le roi d'Angleterre et les seigneurs irlandais accorderaient à ceux qui s'établiraient en ce pays, dont on parlait comme de celui de Canaan. En effet, rien n'aurait mieux convenu aux réfugiés que cette retraite, et n'aurait été plus avantageux en Angleterre que cet établissement, si on eut pu en venir à bout comme on l'avait espéré. Mylord Galway y travaillait à Londres, d'où il me fit savoir par sa lettre du 15 décembre 1691, les dispositions favorables qu'il y trouvait pour le succès de cette entreprise, à laquelle Mylord Sidney fut chargé de travailler de la part du roi. Les choses étaient dans ces termes, lorsque les seigneurs de Zurich révoquèrent leur délibération, mais cette révocation n'empêchait pas que notre peuple ne put être exposé dans la suite au même état où il s'était trouvé.

“ Cela me fit sentir la nécessité de presser l'affaire d'Irlande, ce que je promis de faire autant que cela me serait possible. Je partis donc de Zurich dans le mois de mars 1692, pour aller joindre ma famille à Wesel. . . . Comme j'appris peu de temps après que le roi d'Angleterre était arrivé en Hollande pour entrer en campagne, je l'allai trouver à *Breda*, afin de l'informer de l'état des choses en Suisse à l'égard de nos réfugiés, puisqu'il avait la bonté de penser à les établir en *Irlande*, suivant la lettre de Mylord Galway dont j'ai parlé ci-dessus. Ce prince que je vis dans cette occasion pour la première fois, et que j'eus l'honneur d'entretenir fort longtemps en particulier sur diverses affaires, me témoigna qu'il avait fort à cœur l'établissement d'*Irlande*, et voulut m'obliger de partir incessamment pour Londres, afin d'y travailler. Comme je ne trouvais pas que ce voyage fut nécessaire, je lui fis des représentations qu'il goûta, en sorte que j'évitai cette course ; et ce fut avec d'autant plus de satisfaction que le temps ne me paraissait nullement favorable pour l'établissement d'*Irlande*, puisqu'il ne pouvait pas se faire sans une grande dépense, dans laquelle je craignais que le roi ne put s'engager, pendant qu'il serait obligé de

soutenir celle de la guerre qu'il avait sur les bras. Mais quoique je fusse dans cette pensée, il fallait bien faire quelques démarches qui fissent voir aux Cantons qu'il ne tenait pas à mes soins qu'ils ne fussent déchargés de nos réfugiés. Avant que de me séparer du Roi, il m'indiqua une voie pour lui donner de mes nouvelles quand je le trouverais à propos. . . .

“ Je retournai donc à Wesel, où je fus exposé à diverses sollicitations qui venaient de la Suisse pour m'obliger d'aller à Londres, et travailler à l'établissement d'Irlande ; car quoique je me fusse assez expliqué sur le dessein que j'avais de n'y point aller, on espérait que j'aurais assez de charité pour me rendre à Londres et y employer mes soins pour le bien de nos exilés, d'autant mieux que le Roi m'avait déjà proposé à Bréda de faire ce voyage, et que Mylord Galway demandait qu'on lui envoyât de ce pays quelqu'un pour lui aider à pousser cette affaire. J'avais bien des raisons d'être détourné de ce voyage, et surtout la mauvaise opinion que j'avais du succès, comme je viens de le dire. Il fallut pourtant s'y déterminer, après avoir reçu une lettre de M^r le marquis d'Arzeliers pour lors à Berne, du 15 novembre 1692 ; en voici les articles les plus essentiels :—

“ Tous nos pauvres réfugiés (dit-il en parlant du voyage) vous en prient par ma bouche. En voici la raison convainquante. Il y a environ quatre mois que la chambre des réfugiés voulut savoir quelles démarches nous faisons pour les affaires d'Irlande. Je fus avec M^r Coder (Coudert) Père à la Chambre, où je lus l'entretien que vous aviez eu avec ces Messieurs sur ce sujet, que M^r Tessier m'avait envoyé, ce qui les satisfit, parce que vous êtes connu et estimé très particulièrement en Suisse. Or, si Dieu ne veut pas bénir ce dessein pour le printemps, nous serions entièrement excusés envers les Seigneurs, si vous allez en Angleterre, parce que comme je vous ai dit, ils sont persuadés que vous aurez fait ce que vous aurez pu. Ainsi ils continueront leurs charités, voyant qu'il n'y va pas de notre négligence et que nous faisons ce que nous pouvons pour les décharger ; au lieu, Monsieur, que si vous n'y allez point, après surtout ce que je leur ai lu de votre entretien avec S. M., si vous n'y allez pas, dis-je, ils croiront que c'est un jeu que tout cela, et prendront de fâcheuses résolutions contre nos réfugiés, ce qui me fait prévoir une grande calamité et le retour en France de bien des gens. D'ailleurs, Monsieur, vous serez de grande utilité au sieur de Ruvigny, qui sera peut-être obligé d'aller en Irlande. Je vous conjure donc de vous disposer à

faire ce voyage. Je sais bien qu'il y a quelques dépenses à faire ; mais je suis persuadé que Sa Majesté qui vous a ordonné d'aller à Londres, vous récompensera. En tout cas *Dieu ne manquera pas de le faire*. Partez donc, mon cher Monsieur et cher ami, je vous en conjure, au nom de tant de pauvres que vous aiderez à tirer de la misère et de la tentation où ils sont.'

" Il fallut donc céder à l'ardente prière que me firent nos réfugiés par la bouche de Mr d'Arzeliers. . . . Je partis donc de Wesel et je me rendis à Londres. . . . Après mon arrivée, Milord Galway et moi eûmes une audience particulière du Roi, sur le sujet de mon voyage. Ce prince nous témoigna d'avoir toujours fort à cœur l'établissement des réfugiés en Irlande, et nous donna pour travailler cette affaire quatre commissaires : Milord Rochester, Milord Godolphin, Milord Ranelagh, Milord Coningsby. Ces seigneurs tinrent à cette occasion diverses assemblées où Milord Galway et moi fumes appelés. Comme j'étais toujours dans la prévention que cette affaire échouerait faute d'argent, je témoignai plusieurs fois à cette assemblée quelle était ma crainte ; à quoi j'ajoutai qu'il était de la dernière importance, par plusieurs raisons, de ne commencer point cette affaire, si la conjoncture n'était pas propre pour la conduire à une fin heureuse, et qu'il valait incomparablement mieux n'y toucher point, que de ne la faire qu'à demi. Milord Godolphin qui était grand trésorier m'imposa silence, en m'assurant que l'argent ne manquerait pas ; mais je ne revins pourtant pas de ma crainte.

" Cependant il fallait, conformément aux idées des seigneurs commissaires, dresser des mémoires sur l'établissement dont il s'agissait, et faire tout comme si j'eusse été aussi persuadé d'un heureux succès, que je l'étais du contraire, ainsi que je m'en expliquais à Milord Galway.

" Enfin il fut résolu que ce seigneur irait en Irlande, afin de prendre les mesures nécessaires pour y recevoir les réfugiés ; qu'on établirait à Dublin un comité à qui on remettrait l'argent qui serait employé pour leur établissement, auquel on destina vingt mille pièces (livres sterling) pour le commencement, et que j'irais à la Haye, solliciter LL. HH. PP. d'accorder une somme d'argent pour les frais de leur voyage.

" Je partis donc de Londres, dans le mois de mars 1693, peu de jours après le départ de Milord Galway pour l'Irlande. Je me rendis à la Haye, chargé d'une lettre du Roi pour Messieurs les Etats, et après avoir sollicité cette affaire pendant tout le mois d'avril, ils prirent la résolution dans le mois

de mai¹ de donner quarante mille florins² pour le voyage des réfugiés. Cette charité, quelque grande qu'elle fût, ne me tirait pas d'inquiétude, car je craignais toujours que notre affaire n'échouât, ce qui m'obligeait d'écrire en Suisse que je n'étais nullement d'avis que personne en partît, jusqu'à ce que l'on fut assuré que notre peuple trouvât en Irlande ce qu'il y allait chercher. C'est ce qui paraît par une lettre que Mr d'Arzeliers m'écrivit de Berne le 23 mars 1693, dans laquelle il se plaint, que *j'écrivais en Suisse d'une manière fort propre à décourager notre peuple d'aller en Irlande*. A quoi je répondis que je voulais par là me mettre à couvert de tout espèce de reproches de la part de nos réfugiés, en faisant connaître que je n'approuverais jamais qu'ils quittassent la Suisse, jusqu'à ce que les choses fussent sur un pied à ne craindre point les tristes suites de leur départ de ce pays-là. . . . La suite me fit voir que j'avais eu raison de prendre ces précautions. . . ."

V.—DÉTAILS RÉTROSPECTIFS SUR LES ORIGINES DU PROJET D'IRLANDE.

C'est en décembre 1690, peu après la bataille de la Boyne, que nous trouvons dans une lettre de Lussac³ à Mirmand la première idée d'une colonisation française en Irlande. L'année suivante, après la victoire d'Aghrim, Mirmand, sur le point de quitter Zurich pour aller vivre en Allemagne, expose tout son projet de colonies à Ruvigny ; voici la réponse de ce dernier, du 3 décembre 1691, mentionnée dans les Mémoires :—

“Le roi approuve fort le dessein que nous avons d'y transporter le plus grand nombre de réfugiés que nous pourrions. Les seigneurs irlandais le souhaitent comme le seul moyen de rétablir leur pays dépeuplé depuis longtemps, et beaucoup plus depuis cette dernière guerre. Le pays est encore en quelque désordre, et il n'y faut pas conduire nos pauvres frères avant qu'on y ait réglé les moyens de les entretenir, en attendant qu'ils s'y soient établis. Le pays est excellent, mais il y manque des habitations. Les maisons de la campagne n'y ont jamais été commodes, les Irlandais

¹ Ce fut en juin, d'après les lettres de Mirmand.

² Ce chiffre est relevé dans les lettres de Mirmand ; celui du Mémoire original est trop difficile à lire.

³ C. C. Lettres et autres pièces. N° 15, Lettre 16. Tallemant de Lussac, gentilhomme réfugié à Vevey, était l'oncle de Lord Galway.

logent ordinairement dans des cabanes de gazon qui ont été brûlées la plupart. D'ailleurs c'est un pays très abondant en toutes choses, mais particulièrement en pâturages, de sorte que si on peut donner des bestiaux à ceux qui s'y établiront, ils s'y peuvent enrichir en peu de temps et sans peine.

“ Le roi a ordonné à Milord Sidney d'examiner ce qu'il faudrait faire pour l'établissement de ces colonies. Nous y travaillons actuellement ; dès que nous en aurons formé le projet, et qu'il sera agréé du roi, je vous en enverrai une copie. Au reste, il ne sera pas nécessaire de défricher des terres ; elles sont, hors les marais, toutes labourables ; mais on n'en met que peu à cet usage, et hors le nécessaire pour avoir les grains dont on ne peut se passer, le reste demeure en pâturages. Le roi donnera des terres moyennant un cens ou rente modique ; j'aimerais encore mieux les prendre des particuliers. Je crois que ceux qui pourront s'établir en ce pays-là seront beaucoup plus heureux que ceux qui s'en retourneront en France, s'il était jamais permis d'y aller en bonne conscience. Quoiqu'il arrive je n'estimerai jamais la prudence de ceux qui s'y fieront. Ainsi, Monsieur, je vous exhorte de continuer dans votre dessein, et d'y encourager ceux de nos frères qui sont en état d'entreprendre un si long et si pénible voyage. Ceux qui ont quelque argent y peuvent faire de grandes fortunes en peu de temps, s'ils sont capables de faire valoir les terres qui se vendent présentement au denier vingt-cinq, c'est-à-dire que pour cent écus, on doit avoir vingt écus de rente.

“ Si vous avez en Suisse quelques gens capables de bien ménager une si grande affaire, et qui sachent tout ce qui est nécessaire pour l'établissement d'une colonie, ils me feraient grand plaisir de me venir aider, car nous manquons ici de gens capables d'un tel détail. Avant qu'il soit un mois ou deux, vous aurez de mes nouvelles plus positives.”

Cette lettre, ainsi qu'une autre de Galway à d'Arzeliers, en avril suivant, furent décisives pour les résolutions qu'on prit en Suisse au sujet d'Irlande.

Par une circulaire du 28 février 1692, Mirmand fit connaître la teneur de cette lettre aux Directions françaises de Berne, de Lausanne, de Vevey et de Genève, tout en leur annonçant que les magistrats de Zurich garderaient encore les réfugiés, grâce au roi d'Angleterre et à l'électeur de Brandebourg, dont il avait sollicité l'intervention.

Il resta convenu que Mirmand retiendrait en Suisse les

réfugiés jusqu'à ce que le projet d'Irlande fut mûri. Il demanda à toutes les colonies de la Suisse de lui envoyer le rôle détaillé des Français disposés à partir pour l'Irlande, avec le montant des fonds qu'ils pouvaient avoir en leur possession.

Cependant la circulaire de Mirmand avait mis en émoi les Directions françaises de la Suisse. Celle de Berne, qui était en chef, forma une "*Commission d'Irlande*," composée de la Compagnie, et de six réfugiés de marque: M^{rs} Mourgues, Bouvet, Duchesne, La Brune, Domergues et Almaric.

Cette commission consulta d'abord les chefs de famille français de Berne, puis les réfugiés des autres cantons, afin d'agir d'un même accord, en une circonstance aussi grave. Elle fut chargée de tranquilliser la Chambre des seigneurs, qui s'était émue à son tour en apprenant le projet d'Irlande. Elle l'assura que rien ne se ferait sans l'agrément de LL. EE., qui seraient appelées elles-mêmes, comme de bons pères de famille, à négocier l'établissement des Français en Irlande; que néanmoins les réfugiés croyaient devoir faire leur possible pour la réussite de cette entreprise. Ils s'appuyaient sur une nouvelle lettre de Mirmand à Reboulet de Zurich.

Mirmand nous a dit comment il alla conférer à Bréda sur le projet d'Irlande avec Guillaume III, qui s'y montrait favorable, comprenant quels avantages ce pays retirerait des colonies françaises, et combien il serait à désirer que le nombre des protestants y dépassât celui des catholiques. Sollicité par le roi et par ses amis de Suisse d'aller à Londres, Mirmand s'y refusa d'abord; mais il céda en novembre à la lettre pressante du marquis d'Arzeliers, citée dans ses Mémoires.

Dans une lettre qu'il écrit au marquis de Venours à Berlin, le 8 novembre 1692, nous relevons les passages suivantes sur l'Irlande:—

"Il est vrai, monsieur, qu'il a passé bien des réfugiés en Irlande, mais il n'y en a presque point d'autres que de ceux qui étaient en Angleterre depuis quelque temps, dont les uns ont fait des traités avec des seigneurs particuliers, et les autres y sont allés par ordre du roi, comme les 140 officiers pensionnaires qui s'y sont retirés avec leurs familles, car il n'y a encore aucun fonds établi. A l'égard de ceux à qui l'on a donné le moyen de s'établir, le nombre en est fort petit, M^r de Ruvigny n'ayant eu qu'une fort petite somme à sa disposition pour l'employer à cet usage."

Mirmand lui parle des lettres et des mémoires qu'il a écrits au sujet de la colonisation en Irlande, où il expose ses vues sur ce grand projet, en sorte, dit-il, " que ce n'est pas l'instruction qui manquera dans cette affaire, mais la difficulté sera d'avoir l'argent nécessaire pour profiter de cette instruction. . . . Il n'y a qu'une seule chose à faire, c'est de disposer le parlement à prendre les résolutions nécessaires pour cet établissement, et cela ne peut se faire que par les soins du roi et de M^r de Ruvigny. Nous ne saurions pour cela avoir un solliciteur plus ardent que M^r de Ruvigny."

A la fin du même mois Mirmand partait pour Londres; il y demeura jusqu'au milieu de mars 1693, fort occupé à organiser avec Galway le futur établissement des Français en Irlande. Tous deux furent reçus en audience et fort bien accueillis par le roi, qui souhaitait la réalisation de leur entreprise. A la demande de Mirmand, il nomma quatre commissaires, Lords du conseil royal,¹ pour jeter avec eux les bases de la future colonisation de l'Irlande.

Nous pouvons juger des travaux de cette commission par les mémoires que nous avons sous les yeux. Plusieurs d'entre eux sont l'œuvre de Mirmand, d'autres ont été élaborés en Suisse. Une courte analyse de ces mémoires nous donnera une juste idée du vaste plan qu'ils embrassaient.

VI.—MÉMOIRES POUR L'ÉTABLISSEMENT DES RÉFUGIÉS FRANÇAIS EN IRLANDE.

A.—MESURES PROJETÉES EN ANGLETERRE.

Le premier de ces Mémoires est destiné par Mirmand au roi d'Angleterre. Il lui expose la situation des réfugiés, ce qu'ils attendent de S. M., et il arrive aux conclusions suivantes: 1^o Assigner une avance de fonds qui sera employée dès cette année (1693) à établir les premiers colons, soit vingt-cinq mille livres sterling. 2^o Nommer des commissaires royaux, tant à Londres qu'en Irlande, qui seront chargés de travailler à la fondation des colonies. 3^o Obtenir un état des terres irlandaises que le roi destine aux réfugiés, et le remettre à Lord Galway.

Même si le roi consacrait à la colonisation une somme plus forte qu'il ne l'a promise, par exemple, cent mille livres sterling, cela ne serait pas à comparer aux sacrifices que fit autrefois

¹ *Letter from the Privy Council of Ireland, 5 mars 1693*, du Record Office de Londres. Elle parle du comité des "Lords du Conseil d'Angleterre".

l'électeur de Brandebourg pour les réfugiés, et dont il est bien récupéré maintenant. Si c'était le cas, il ne faudrait pas lâcher la bride aux réfugiés qui partent quelquefois à la légère, et se garder aussi de blesser les princes allemands qui ont accueilli les réfugiés, et ne les verraient peut-être pas partir de bon œil.

Le roi fit bon accueil à ce rapport, preuve en est la nomination des commissaires qui eut lieu tôt après. Le second Mémoire est destiné à ces Lords commissaires. Développant les mêmes idées que le précédent, il laisse entendre qu'un fonds a déjà été promis pour l'Irlande, et propose de faire venir cette année-là 600 familles de réfugiés. Un comité exécutif devra être institué en Irlande, il restera en correspondance avec le comité directeur de Londres. Trois gentils-hommes français devront faire partie du comité de Dublin, et le roi devra assigner cent livres sterling pour leur pension.

Mirmand prévoit qu'il faudra s'occuper tout de suite du voyage de ces premiers réfugiés, qui sont sans ressources, et qui devront traverser les pays de l'Allemagne, ravagés par la guerre. Il faudra prier S. M. d'intercéder auprès des Cantons suisses et des Etats d'Allemagne et de Hollande, pour faire voyager gratuitement les émigrés jusqu'à Rotterdam, d'où le roi les ferait transporter à ses frais en Irlande. Mais on ne peut les faire venir avant que tout ait été disposé pour leur installation, afin de ne pas les exposer à de nouvelles souffrances, lors de leur arrivée dans ce lointain pays.

Un autre écrit, destiné aux commissaires, paraît être le complément de ce second Mémoire ; Mirmand y propose qu'après avoir commencé cette année par une colonie de six cents familles, le roi, si elle réussit, fasse une déclaration publique pour appeler en Irlande un plus grand nombre de réfugiés. Il est à souhaiter, dit-il, que les grandes dépenses que le roi est appelé à faire, lui permettent de destiner *cent mille livres sterling* à l'établissement d'Irlande. Si c'était le cas, on pourrait l'organiser dans de bonnes conditions, il y viendrait des gens qui auraient quelque fortune, et avec l'aide de Dieu, ces nouveaux sujets qui lui seraient dévoués ne tarderaient pas à dédommager le roi de la dépense qu'il aurait faite. C'est ainsi qu'il est advenu en Brandebourg, où le Grand-Electeur a fait une dépense bien plus considérable, dont son fils est maintenant récompensé.

Le temps presse, il faudrait prier Milord lieutenant d'Irlande de donner tous les éclaircissements nécessaires, qui se réduisent à ceci : Peut-on établir des réfugiés en Irlande ?

De quelle manière le transport pourrait-il se faire? A combien se monteraient les frais d'établissement auxquels S. M. pourrait être engagée?¹

Ces différentes propositions furent bien accueillies par les commissaires, qui adressèrent une lettre au roi² pour les lui soumettre, et le prier de les sanctionner, en faisant ressortir combien une telle colonie de protestants serait favorable à la prospérité de l'Irlande. La suite nous montre que Guillaume III accepta ces plans, qui avaient été conçus avec autant de sagesse que de prudence.

B.—MESURES PROJETÉES EN SUISSE ET EN HOLLANDE.

Ici se place un fort beau travail,³ œuvre du marquis d'Arzeliers de Berne, qui l'envoya à Mirmand et à Galway. Il est intitulé: "Projet pour l'établissement des réfugiés en Irlande".

C'est un code complet, admirablement conçu dans son ensemble et dans ses détails. Le législateur prévoit la création d'une ville importante. Il en règle l'organisation et les lois. Rien n'est oublié, tout est prévu pour faire réussir la future colonie irlandaise. Le point faible en est la dépense illimitée dans laquelle J. L. M. M. B. seront entraînées par cette colonie.

Le projet est divisé en cinq chefs principaux, dont chacun est subdivisé en de nombreux articles. Ces cinq chefs sont: 1°. Moyens de faire l'établissement projeté. 2°. De la religion. 3°. De la justice. 4°. De la police. 5°. Manufactures et commerce.

L'exemplaire, qui porte en suscription: "A M^r de Mirmand," est enrichi d'une foule de notes, où l'auteur établit des comparaisons entre les avantages qu'on requiert du roi d'Angleterre, et ceux que l'Electeur de Brandebourg et le margrave de Baireuth avaient accordés aux réfugiés, accueillis dans leurs Etats.

Une note de Mirmand complète ce Projet, ayant pour titre: "Les conditions sous lesquelles les protestants français sont attendus à Dublin".⁴ Sous onze clauses, il y indique d'une part les avantages que les réfugiés sont en droit d'attendre, pour se décider à émigrer en Irlande, d'autre part les devoirs auxquels ils s'engagent.

Un autre papier venant de Suisse, intitulé: "Mémoire

¹ C. C., Rec. et Mém., T. M., N° 17.

² *Idem.*

³ *Idem*, 80 pages de copie pour ce Projet.

⁴ C. C., Rec. et Mém., T. M., N° 17.

pour ceux qui doivent aider au magistrat à fonder un établissement en Irlande, 1693,"¹ a dû être écrit en mars ou avril, dans le temps que Mirmand était à Rotterdam. Il est adressé aux gentilshommes français qui devront faire partie du comité de Dublin. Voici quel en est la teneur : "La Direction française (de Zurich ou celle de Berne) désire avoir un état général des terres que le roi veut distribuer aux réfugiés, aussi bien que de celles que les seigneurs irlandais pourraient leur offrir. Les propositions de ces derniers pourront être jointes à celles du comte de Bellomont. Il faudra envoyer sur les lieux un commissaire, qui jugera du meilleur choix à faire de ces terres, pour y établir des colonies. Ce commissaire enverra des mémoires exacts à M^r de Mirmand, pour toutes les choses qui devront être réglées en Irlande. On en fera aussi rapport à M^r d'Arzeliers à Berne, mais ces rapports devront passer d'abord sous les yeux de M^r de Mirmand qui est allé en Hollande préparer le transport gratuit des émigrants, avec le concours des Etats-Généraux. Aidé de M^r de Limeville, il formera à Rotterdam un comité, qui connaîtra de toutes les dépenses du voyage des réfugiés, et auquel devront être rendus les comptes de l'argent dépensé. Ces Messieurs se chargeront d'embarquer les réfugiés à Rotterdam pour l'Irlande.

"Chaque groupe d'émigrants voyagera sous la direction d'un ecclésiastique, ou d'un laïque, qui aura droit à un établissement en Irlande. Arrivés là, les colons seront conduits sur l'emplacement de leurs futures colonies, où on leur distribuera des bestiaux, des semences, et le grain nécessaire à leur subsistance.

"Les colonies seront établies de proche en proche, chacune d'elles comptera cinquante familles et aura tous les artisans nécessaires à la vie ; elle sera sous l'autorité d'un chef qui servira d'arbitre dans les différends. On aura soin d'organiser des hôpitaux pour les malades, et on espère que LL. MM. auront la charité de faire vivre les familles composées de femmes et d'enfants sans soutien, jusqu'à ce qu'ils puissent gagner leur vie.

"Il faudra demander au parlement dans sa prochaine session la franchise d'impôt pendant 7 ans, pour les émigrés français. Il importe que nos commissaires d'Irlande informent exactement M^r de Mirmand de tout ce qui se passe ; il est à Rotterdam chez M^r Lespiaud, marchand."

¹ A. Z. Copie envoyée par les soins obligeants de M^r le pasteur Jaccard ; d'Arzeliers doit en être l'auteur.

C.—PROPOSITIONS DES SEIGNEURS IRLANDAIS.

L'idée d'établir des colons français en Irlande avait été bien accueillie par les grands propriétaires fonciers, qui la trouvaient avantageuse, tant pour le pays que pour leurs domaines. Plusieurs d'entre eux firent répandre en France des propositions imprimées. Le duc d'Ormond¹ y envoya ses agents, promettant des retraites à tous les réformés qui voudraient s'y retirer, avec des facilités pour les manufactures de laine ou de lin, de bonnes terres de labour et des pâturages pour les agriculteurs, des matériaux de construction pour les habitations, et pour tous les émigrés le libre exercice de leur religion.

Nous avons sous les yeux le texte des propositions que le comte de Bellomont, trésorier de la reine, fit parvenir en Suisse. Il était propriétaire de plusieurs milliers d'arpents de terre, dans le comté de Sligo, province de Connaught, à deux milles de la mer, et à cinq milles de Sligo, port de mer. Son domaine fertile, riche en denrées, surtout en poisson, était bien situé pour le négoce, et traversé par deux rivières poissonneuses. Le comte offrait d'y installer cent familles dans les meilleures conditions. Il leur fournirait dit-il les matériaux de construction nécessaires, leur bâtirait une église, leur donnerait un pasteur, et ne réclamerait qu'un fermage modéré. Comme sécurité, il offrait d'amener d'Angleterre en Irlande, ou d'envoyer à ses frais en ce pays, telle personne au gré des émigrés, qui serait capable de reconnaître l'état des terres, et qui leur en ferait un rapport fidèle.

Lord Galway, avant de se rendre en Irlande, s'y était fait précéder par un des trois gentilshommes désignés pour faire partie du comité de Dublin, et qui étaient : M^r de Virazel, ancien conseiller au parlement de Bordeaux, retiré à Arnheim, homme d'un rare mérite, le chevalier de Cissay et M^r de

¹ Les ducs d'Ormond, une des premières familles de l'Irlande, y furent de zélés protecteurs des réfugiés. Le grand-père, Lord-Lieutenant d'Irlande, fonda en 1666 la première congrégation de réformés à Dublin; il mourut en 1688. Il se trouva être en grande relation avec les pasteurs de Caen et de Paris, en tr'autres avec Drelincourt, et après la Révocation il appela les réfugiés en Irlande. Son petit-fils, Jacques Butler, duc d'Ormond, né en 1665, mort en 1747, avait embrassé le parti de Guillaume III; il prit une part active au renversement de Jacques II. Il fut en grande faveur auprès du roi *Guillaume* et de la reine *Anne*, qui lui succéda; mais redevenu jacobite, il fut disgracié sous Georges I et se retira en France. Rentré en grâce, il devint Lord-Lieutenant d'Irlande et l'était en 1704, tandis que Sir Richard Cox était Lord-juge et Lord-chancelier. (Sources : F. de Schickler, *Les Eglises du Refuge*; *Huguenot Society of London*, 1893, vol. 7; Purdon, *Ireland*; Ch. Weiss, et *Mémoire de J. Fontaine*.)

Sailly¹ des environs de Lyon. Charles de Sailly était chargé d'explorer le pays, de Dublin à Cork, ainsi que la contrée avoisinante, et d'en faire rapport. Du 2 mars au 4 avril 1693, il fit sa tournée et nota jour par jour en détail les endroits où il passait et les propositions qui lui étaient faites par les seigneurs terriens. Son journal, très touffu, était encourageant pour l'émigration ; notons-en les passages les plus intéressants, surtout pour celles des stations qui devinrent des colonies : “ *Kilkenny*, à six lieues de la mer, est situé sur une rivière navigable pour les bateaux de pêche ; on y bâtit beaucoup, on trouve à louer des maisons de 3 ou 4 chambres, avec dépendances, pour 15 ou 16 écus par an. Les vivres ont renchéri depuis la guerre, le pain blanc coûte un sol la livre, le noir un demi-sol, la viande deux sols, le beurre trois sols. A *Waterford*, Mr Walkin offre 1860 acres de terre à louer, avec château et dépendances, 16 maisons et des bois pour la construction. A *Cork*, on pouvait établir des manufactures de soie, de laine, de chapeaux, de toile et de gants. Toute sorte d'ouvriers y trouveraient de l'occupation, et les jeunes filles du service. A *Bandon*, la vie est à bon marché, il y a quantité de terres autour de la ville pour faire des plantations, une grande rivière la traverse, et la marée remonte jusqu'à deux milles de là. *Carlow* est bien situé, il s'y trouve plusieurs bonnes fermes à amodier. Sir Richard Cox fait bâtir, pour recevoir des colonies à Stonnamucl, où il ya plus de douze mille acres de terre. *Wicklow* ; il y a des forges dans ce comté et dans celui de Wexford. A proximité se trouve la baronnie de Moskwick qui a été confisquée à Jacques II par Guillaume III ; elle a vingt lieues de long, sa situation est bonne et agréable, c'est le Montpellier irlandais pour le bon air. C'est là qu'on souhaite d'établir les 600 familles proposées ; on pourrait relever les maisons et le château, fonder des manufactures, et en faire le marché de toute la contrée, qui est bien arrosée par des rivières. Sailly passe la nuit à Macromp, chef-lieu de cette baronnie. Mr Krook de Gragesteen recevrait 50 familles sur ses terres, et Mr Kliffa en recevrait 60. Le père du chevalier Osborne pourrait en prendre cent sur ses domaines, mais ne pourrait pas faire les avances de construction nécessaires. Le comte de Tipperary offre une maison, 20 cabanes et mille acres de terre, pour 20 familles, à Cloyne. Dans la ville archiépiscopale de Cashel (comté de Tipperary), qui est ruinée, il se trouve beaucoup de

¹ Salle, ou Saille.

maisons sans habitants, et des terres avoisinantes pour cent familles. Milord Mazarin pourrait établir cent familles sur ses terres, qui sont les meilleures du pays, et où il n'y a plus ni gens, ni bêtes. M^{rs} Cooke et le major Green font voir à Saily cinq mille acres de terre, situées dans plusieurs seigneuries, avec quelques maisons ; si on le désire, ils y installeraient jusqu'à deux cent familles. La baronnie de Blarnay pourrait nourrir cinquante gentilshommes et leurs paroisses,¹ elle possède une grande étendue de terres, qui vont jusqu'à un mille de Cork, avec des rivières, etc., etc. Il y a une série d'offres trop longues à détailler.

"Partout le pays est représenté comme bon et favorable, soit pour les cultures, soit pour l'élevé des bestiaux, qui peuvent passer l'hiver sur les pâturages. Le bois et l'eau s'y trouvent en abondance ; les rivières sont poissonneuses, leur grand nombre permettrait la création d'industries variées, et faciliterait les transports. Les réfugiés qui possèdent quelques fonds auraient l'avantage de placer leur argent couramment au 20 % d'intérêt, ou bien ils se mettront en possession de bonnes terres qu'on leur engage à des conditions favorables ; ainsi pour mille pièces (£), on cède une terre de cent pièces de revenu. On peut aussi placer son argent en Angleterre à 14 % d'intérêt, ou à fonds perdu, si l'on veut.

"Ceux qui achètent des vaches pour 30 à 40 shillings pièce, peuvent les louer avec bonne caution et sûreté pour 15 ou 20 sh., c'est-à-dire à 50 %. En général, tous les ouvriers connaissant un métier trouveraient à gagner leur vie."

Saily envoya à Mirmand la relation de son voyage,² le 8 avril 1693. De son côté Lord Galway fit venir dans sa terre de Portarlington cent familles de réfugiés, qu'il y établit en 1693. C'était pour la plupart d'anciens militaires de la guerre d'Irlande, avec leurs femmes et leurs enfants.

Une lettre du Conseil d'Etat d'Irlande,³ adressée le 8 avril de la même année à Lord Nottingham, secrétaire d'Etat de

¹ Ceci doit s'entendre des seigneurs qui possédaient en France des villages dont les habitants avaient émigré avec eux. Propriétaires et tenanciers allaient reformer en Irlande les mêmes paroisses qu'en France.

² Elle a paru dans le Bulletin du P. F., T. XVII., 1868, p. 591, sous ce titre : "L'émigration en Irlande, Journal de voyage d'un réfugié français".

³ Council Chamber of Dublin ; lettre en anglais, adressée le 8 avril 1693 à Lord Nottingham, secrétaire d'Etat de LL. MM. B. à Whitehall. Elle est signée par les Lords Sidney, Porter, Galway et Rich. Cox. Cette lettre, ainsi que plusieurs autres pièces que nous mentionnons, ont été découvertes, grâce aux recherches que Monsieur William Minet et Mademoiselle Minet ont eu l'obligeance de faire pour nous, au Record Office et au British Museum, à Londres, ce dont nous leur sommes fort reconnaissants.

S. M. B. à Londres, parle des propositions que les seigneurs irlandais ont déjà faites à ce Conseil, pour recevoir des Français dans leurs domaines, et ajoute : " On en attend bien d'autres encore ". Ces seigneurs, dont les terres avaient été ruinées par la guerre, se montraient fort bien disposés en faveur des réfugiés ; mais ils n'étaient pas en état de fournir les avances de fonds nécessaires à leur installation. Aussi le conseil d'Irlande demande-t-il au roi pour leur aider, une subvention de cent livres sterling pour chaque groupe de 50 familles d'émigrants, soit 1200 £ pour 600 familles. Ce serait à la fois une garantie pour les seigneurs qui leur construisent des maisons, et un secours qui permettrait aux émigrés de vivre jusqu'à la récolte prochaine. Cette somme serait remise à des gens sûrs, pour n'être employée qu'à cette destination. Le conseil fera une enquête sérieuse pour savoir si les endroits et les terres proposées réunissent les conditions nécessaires à la création des futures colonies. Les seigneurs devront tenir leurs maisons prêtes à recevoir les Français pour la fin d'août 1693. (Extrait de la lettre du Conseil d'Irlande.)

VII.—DÉCISIONS PRISES PAR LE COMITÉ DE LONDRES, FÉVRIER-MARS 1693.

Les quatre Lords commissaires, même le trésorier Godolphin, l'homme le plus important du comité directeur, puisqu'il devait y verser les fonds, avaient témoigné de l'intérêt en faveur du projet d'Irlande. Ils avaient adopté les vûes des députés français, et arrêté d'accord avec eux et avec le roi, les points suivants :—

Vingt mille livres sterling seraient employées cette année-là, 1693, à une première installation de 600 familles de réfugiés français en Irlande, ceux-ci seraient choisis surtout en Suisse, et quelques familles en Angleterre.

On évaluait à vingt livres sterling le coût de chaque famille, soit douze mille livres sterling ; le reste serait destiné aux dépenses imprévues.

Aucun appel public ne serait fait par le roi, à l'instar de celui de Potsdam, de 1685, pour appeler les Français en Irlande.

On demanderait au Parlement de ce pays de voter, dans sa prochaine session, les franchises et les immunités d'impôt nécessaires à la fondation des colonies. Ce parlement avait déjà accordé en 1692 le droit de naturalisation, celui d'établissement, et le libre exercice de la religion réformée aux réfugiés, pour sept ans.

Quant au transport des émigrés, il avait été résolu que la Suisse serait priée d'en payer les frais jusqu'à Francfort, les Etats-Généraux et les princes allemands seraient invités à les payer de Francfort à Rotterdam, d'où le roi ferait passer les Français en Irlande, sans frais, sur ses propres vaisseaux.

Un comité exécutif, toujours en rapport avec celui de Londres, serait constitué à Dublin, sous la direction de Lord Sidney, qui représentait l'autorité royale, et de Lord Galway ; il serait composé des seigneurs propriétaires irlandais et des trois gentilshommes français, de Virazel, de Cissay et de Sailly.

Tout étant réglé à la satisfaction générale, on se sépara. Galway partit le 18 février pour Dublin, où l'appelaient ses hautes fonctions militaires ; mais en sa qualité de Lieutenant-général des forces d'Irlande il n'y séjourna pas longtemps. Nous le retrouvons au camp près de Louvain le 15 juin, faisant la campagne avec Guillaume III. Mirmand partit pour la Hollande au milieu de mars, il avait la mission de solliciter les secours des Etats-Généraux pour le voyage des réfugiés, et de préparer leur transport. Il devait former à Rotterdam avec M^r de Limeville un comité chargé de faire les dépenses, et de voir les comptes du voyage des émigrants. Galway trouvait que la tâche de Mirmand était la plus difficile.

En quittant Londres, les deux amis laissèrent aux principaux réfugiés de cette ville le soin de veiller aux affaires d'Irlande, spécialement à M^r de l'Hermitage, qui était en relation avec Lord Nottingham, le magistrat chargé de transmettre les ordres du roi à Lord Sidney, en Irlande. Le représentant officiel des réfugiés en Suisse était toujours le marquis d'Arzeliers à Berne.

VIII.—LETTRES D'IRLANDE. GALWAY À MIRMAND.

Mirmand et Galway s'étaient liés d'une étroite amitié pendant leur séjour à Londres ; elle dura autant que leur vie, nous en trouvons la trace dans leur correspondance. Dès le lendemain de son départ, en route pour l'Irlande, Galway écrit ce qui suit, de Coventry : " Enfin, Monsieur, je suis parti de Londres sans vous avoir embrassé, et sans vos instructions pour notre grande affaire. . . . Je vous dis adieu par cette lettre, et je vous prie de voir, avec M^r de l'Hermitage, les ordres que Milord Nottingham doit envoyer à Milord Sidney de la part du roi, afin de savoir positivement si l'ordre pour les cent pièces (£), qui doivent composer la

pension de M^r de Cissay et celle de M^r de Sailly, y est joint, et le demander en cas qu'il ne le soit pas. Je m'attends à recevoir vos instructions à Chester ; il faut que je les aie avant l'arrivée de M^r de Virazel." Il demande que ce dernier vienne le rejoindre au plus tôt. Arrivé à Dublin, Galway fait part à Mirmand de ses impressions sur l'Irlande, le 11 mars 1692, en ces termes : " Je voudrais qu'il fut possible que vous fussiez ici, premièrement pour avoir le plaisir d'être avec vous, et pour vous faire convenir du mérite de l'Irlande, et de ceux qui l'habitent. Ils ont reçu avec joie les propositions du roi, et veulent faire beaucoup mieux que nous n'avons proposé. Nous avons formé le comité, mais il ne pourra commencer à s'assembler que la semaine prochaine, parce que la plupart de ceux qui le composent sont à la campagne. Assurément, Monsieur, si Dieu bénit notre dessein d'une bonne conduite, nous sommes en état de faire des merveilles ! "

Galway continue à donner à son ami des nouvelles de l'Irlande, " où, dit-il, nos affaires sont bien disposées ". Le 21 mars, il lui parle des difficultés que rencontre le paiement du voyage des réfugiés, de Francfort à Rotterdam, par les Etats-Généraux. Le roi n'a pas voulu recommander aux Hollandais, comme on en était convenu, de payer cette partie du voyage, bien que ce fut mot à mot dans le Mémoire qui a été présenté au roi, et dans celui que Lord Nottingham a envoyé en Irlande. " Nous avons, dit Galway, la copie de ce Mémoire : il y est aussi fait mention des vingt mille £, des mille £ et des cent £ pour la pension ; mais aucun ordre n'a été donné pour effectuer le versement de ces sommes. Puisque vous savez que cela a été signé, prenez la peine, M^r, d'en écrire à nos députés de Londres, je vais leur en écrire aussi." Dès maintenant, on voit se réaliser la crainte de Mirmand, c'est la difficulté d'obtenir des fonds. Le 8 avril, nouvelle lettre de Galway, accompagnant la *Relation de voyage* de Sailly : " J'ai peur, dit-il, que nos gens se fassent une si grande idée d'Irlande, que quoiqu'on fasse pour eux, on ne les puisse contenter. Il faut bien prendre garde de ne point faire espérer des terres ou fonds à qui que ce soit, avant qu'on en ait à leur bailler. Il faut leur faire savoir que ceux qui auront de l'argent pourront le faire profiter et même doubler, comme vous verrez par les *Mémoires que vous envoie M^r de Sailly*, mais il ne faut point encore nous charger de faire venir les gens de condition qui n'ont rien, à moins qu'ils ne soient bien capables de faire valoir des terres. Il ne nous

faut que des gens qui puissent prendre des fermes, des laboureurs, des gens propres à faire valoir les bestiaux, des gens capables d'entreprendre des manufactures, des ouvriers. Pour les ministres, vous savez comment on pourra les placer, en établissant un nombre d'églises, et le roi leur donnera à chacun 50 livres sterling." Galway demande qu'on lui envoie au plus tôt un état de la capacité et du mérite de chacun des chefs de famille de la Suisse qui se disposent à partir pour l'Irlande, afin de pouvoir distribuer les artisans dans les villes, et les autres à la campagne. Les outils et effets qu'ils emporteront n'auront pas de droits d'entrée à payer.

IX.—LA SUISSE VIS-À-VIS DU PROJET D'IRLANDE.

Au commencement de 1693, la Chambre des seigneurs de Berne fit insinuer aux réfugiés qu'ils feraient bien de quitter le pays bernois au printemps, à quoi la direction française répondit, en lui déléguant M^{rs} Bertie et d'Arzeliers, munis de la lettre de Galway, du 30 janvier. Cette lettre contenait la proposition du roi d'Angleterre de recevoir et d'établir cette année-là 600 familles de Français en Irlande. Une lettre semblable avait été adressée par Galway au bourgmestre de Zurich, H. Escher, qui fut chargé d'en donner communication à la diète de Bremgarten du 10-12 mars 1693.¹

La proposition du roi fut considérée comme avantageuse par la diète, vu la position misérable des réfugiés en Suisse. Les députés accordèrent le transport gratuit des émigrés jusqu'à Francfort, et décidèrent de faire faire le rôle de tous les Français réfugiés, avec indication de leurs métiers et ressources, par les autorités des lieux où ils résidaient, afin que l'on pût choisir ceux qui conviendraient pour l'Irlande. Le 20 mars, d'Arzeliers écrit à Reboulet à Zurich, qu'il attend les listes des réfugiés de Genève, Lausanne, Vevey, Morges, Nyon, etc., et qu'il les lui enverra, aussitôt reçus, pour les soumettre au bourgmestre Escher. Il estime à près de trois mille personnes le nombre des gens qui veulent émigrer en Irlande. Dans la seule ville de Genève se trouvent deux-cent-cinquante familles qui veulent partir, et c'est de là qu'il en faut prendre le plus, car ils sont tentés de retourner en

¹ A. Z. Procès-verbal de la diète évangélique de Bremgarten, 10-12 mars 1698.

France, quand leurs ressources sont épuisées, ou bien ils vont tomber sur les bras des seigneurs de Berne, ou de Zurich.

D'Arzeliers a reçu des nouvelles de Mirmand de Londres, datées du 13 mars. Il écrit qu'on peut bientôt espérer avoir toute satisfaction de l'affaire d'Irlande.

Enfin l'envoyé d'Herwart,¹ par sa lettre du 17 mai 1693, présenta officiellement aux Cantons suisses le message dont le roi son maître l'avait chargé, par un commandement exprès de sa part, à savoir, l'offre de donner des retraites cette année-là, en Irlande, à six cents familles de Français réformés.

Le roi et l'Europe protestante, dit-il, témoignent à la Suisse la reconnaissance qu'ils éprouvent pour les services qu'elle a rendus aux pauvres persécutés de France. En offrant à une partie d'entre eux des établissements dans son royaume, le roi désire décharger les Cantons. Ce qu'il fait cette année n'est qu'un commencement de ce qu'il a résolu de faire dans la suite, en faveur de ces pauvres dispersés. Le roi demande aux louables Cantons de favoriser son dessein, en accordant le pécule de voyage aux émigrés qui quitteront le pays, et la subsistance à ceux qui resteront en Suisse.²

Pour répondre à cette communication, Berne désire que les Cantons évangéliques se réunissent incessamment en conférence à Arau. Il y apportera ses conseils et son appui, et contribuera de tout son pouvoir au transport des réfugiés en Irlande. Une motion est déposée au mois d'août suivant à la diète de Baden sous ce titre : "Projet pour faire voyager de la manière la plus convenable les réfugiés qui doivent quitter l'Etat de Berne et la ville de Genève".

En voici les dispositions essentielles : Berne s'engagera à conduire les réfugiés jusqu'à Brugg, et leur fera remettre là 4 livres de pain par personne. De Brugg les cantons évangéliques les amèneront par terre à Schaffhouse, et leur remettront un honnête pécule³ pour aller plus loin. Les frais de route seront supportés par les sept cantons évangéliques, qui constitueront à cet effet un fonds de trois mille

¹ Philibert d'Herwart, baron d'Huningue, remplaça Coxe à Berne, en 1692, en qualité d'envoyé extraordinaire de Guillaume III, auprès des Cantons suisses.

² A. Z. *Message royal aux Cantons sv.*, adressé le 17 mai 1693, par d'Herwart aux "Magnifiques Seigneurs de Zurich". Copie due aux soins dévoués de M^r Labhart, archiviste de l'Etat de Zurich, ainsi que les nombreuses pièces que nous avons reçues des archives de cette ville.

³ A raison de 3 Reichsthaler par adulte et de un et demi par enfant.

Reichsthaler (environ 11,000 francs), proportionnellement à leurs ressources. Et pour assurer l'heureux succès du voyage des réfugiés hors de la Suisse, Zurich et Berne demandent aux Envoyés ici présents, M^{rs} Valkenier et d'Herwart, des passeports et de fortes recommandations pour les princes, dont ces pauvres gens traverseront les états, afin qu'ils trouvent aide et secours le long de la route.¹

La diète d'Arau, du 25 septembre suivant, confirma les propositions de celle de Baden, et M^r d'Herwart fut invité à y assister, afin, dit le protocole, "d'aviser à venir en aide chrétiennement à ceux des réfugiés qui vont quitter la Suisse pour s'établir ailleurs".²

X.—MIRMAND EN HOLLANDE, MARS-JUIN 1693.

Mirmand avait heureusement débarqué en Hollande vers le milieu de mars 1693, il avait supporté seul tous ses frais de voyage, et retrouvait ici des amis : à la Haye M^r Guiraud, ancien conseiller au parlement d'Orange, à Rotterdam M^{rs} de Limeville, de l'Estang et Lespiaud marchand, chez lequel il logeait. Deux mois se passèrent en démarches infructueuses, dans les diverses villes de la Hollande. C'est en vain qu'il sollicitait le Grand Pensionnaire, les autorités, les députés au Conseil des Etats, s'efforçant de les intéresser à sa cause et à celle des réfugiés. Partout il essayait longueurs et difficultés, sans aboutir à rien. Il souffrait d'un retard qui prolongeait l'attente pénible de ses frères en Suisse, et les empêchait de se mettre en route. Enfin il apprend l'arrivée du roi sur le continent, et va le trouver à Loo, pour lui représenter la pressante nécessité qu'il y a "à faire sortir *au plus tôt* 'notre peuple' de la Suisse". Le roi l'écoute avec bienveillance, il entre dans ses vues, et lui remet une lettre pour le Grand-Pensionnaire, par laquelle il charge ce premier magistrat de demander aux Etats-Généraux leur secours pour le transport des réfugiés en Irlande, de sa part, à lui, *le Roi*. Appuyée de si haut, la requête de Mirmand,³ qui était faite dans les termes les plus nobles et les plus élevés, fut bien accueillie. Le roi en parla encore au G^d Pensionnaire, à son retour de Loo, ce qui acheva de mettre l'affaire en bonne voie ; cependant elle dut suivre la filière ordinaire :

¹ A. Z., B. viii., 153, p. 315. Procès-verbaux.

² *Ibid.*, p. 359.

³ C. C. Rec. et Mém., T. S., N^o 17, p. 275.

un commissaire fut nommé dans chaque province pour examiner la demande des réfugiés, mais l'on ne put obtenir aucune réponse jusqu'à ce que les Etats fussent assemblés, et qu'ils en eussent pris connaissance. Mirmand eut enfin le bonheur de voir ses efforts couronnés de succès, car les Etats-Généraux votèrent en faveur du voyage des réfugiés en Irlande un subside de quarante mille florins,¹ vers le milieu de juin. Pendant cette longue attente, Mirmand, apprenant l'arrivée de Galway à Bréda, se hâta d'aller le trouver, pour se concerter avec lui sur les difficultés de leur commune entreprise. Galway l'appuyait de son pouvoir et de son crédit.

XI.—EXTRAITS DE CORRESPONDANCES, AVRIL-JUIN 1693.

Nous avons quelques passages à relever sur les affaires d'Irlande, dans les correspondances de Mirmand pendant son séjour en Hollande ; les voici :—

Bruguiier, qui était banquier et fabricant de taffetas à Zurich, où il soignait avec dévouement les intérêts pécuniaires des réfugiés, et ceux de Mirmand, lui écrivait le 26 avril : “ L'on attend avec impatience vos ordres pour faire partir nos peuples pour l'Irlande, ” et plus loin : “ M^r le secrétaire Bodmer, qui s'occupe des réfugiés, sort d'ici, il vous salue et s'offre à vous amener nos réfugiés, si c'est nécessaire ”.

D'Arzeliers de Berne traite au long le projet de la colonisation en Irlande, le 22 mai : des difficultés s'élèvent du côté du roi, qui ne serait plus d'avis de donner dans une seule et même contrée aux réfugiés les terres confisquées en Irlande. Il disséminerait les colons sur une vaste étendue de pays, ce qui les empêcherait de se grouper et de se soutenir mutuellement. Ce serait fâcheux pour eux et pour le pays ; un établissement général serait essentiel pour réaliser nos projets, et pour arriver à notre but principal, *qui est de faire sortir nos gens de France*. “ Qu'importe, ajoute-t-il, que les réfugiés s'établissent dans quelque comté du duc d'Ormond, de Burlington, ou de quelqu'autre seigneur, pourvu qu'ils soient près les uns des autres. Cela serait même plus sûr que sur des terres confisquées par le roi. ” *D'Arzeliers* a reçu les listes des émigrants disposés à partir pour l'Irlande, elles lui plaisent ; ce sont des laboureurs et ouvriers de toute profession, âgés de 30 à 50 ans, quantité de servantes et fileuses, de 20 à 30 ans, propres à peupler l'Irlande. Il se trouvera bien à Lausanne,

¹ C. C. Rec. et Mém., T. M., N° 17.

Morges et Nyon, cent familles de laboureurs prêtes à partir : assurément nos laboureurs rendront l'année prochaine le blé qui leur aura été prêté cette année, s'ils arrivent à temps pour semer. Sur environ quatre mille personnes qui iraient en Irlande, il y en aura bien deux mille qui n'auront besoin que du pécule de voyage, et qui auraient encore quelques pistoles à leur arrivée ; ce sont des gens qui n'ont jamais été à la charité de personne. M^r Modenx, pasteur, est à la tête d'une troupe de près de douze cents personnes, prêtes à partir de Berne et qui sont dans ce cas ; ils ont huit à dix mille livres entre tous. Sur 647 personnes de Lausanne qui veulent émigrer, il n'y en a que deux cents qui sont assistées. et sur près de 500 de Morges et de Nyon, il en est de même. Il y aura vingt ministres qui partiront, dont dix reçoivent de grosses pensions de la Suisse, et dont cet Etat est bien aise d'être déchargé, il cite : M^{rs} Modenx, Viala, Causide, Blanc de Schaffhouse, Terrasson, Maxuel, La Roche, Reinbeard, Perreauts et Uchard.

Par contre, il se trouve à Berne et à Zurich des personnes embarrassantes, ce sont des veuves ou filles, demi-demoiselles, accoutumées à recevoir le pain de LL. EE., ce qui les a rendues fainéantes. Plusieurs réfugiés sont devenus quémandeurs et fainéants en mangeant le pain de LL. EE. : cependant il n'en meurt point à l'hôpital, sur lesquels on ne trouve quelques pistoles cousues dans les habits.

Les seigneurs suisses sont équitables ; ils veulent garder les infirmes, les malades et les opprimés. Les Cantons évangéliques témoignent une grande charité ; ils veulent encore faire voyager les familles émigrantes jusqu'à Francfort ; il est vrai qu'il est de leur intérêt d'en être déchargés.

D'Arzeliers raconte à Mirmand les tentations auxquelles sont exposés les réfugiés de Genève, par le fait de demi-chrétiens qui vont de cette ville en France, et qui prétendent que les protestants peuvent vivre librement en ce royaume, pourvu qu'ils n'y fassent pas d'assemblées. Le résident français de Genève fait tout pour les engager à retourner en France ; plusieurs succombent à la tentation. Que sera-ce, si le projet d'Irlande échoue !

Il s'occupe du mode de transport à adopter pour les quelques milliers d'émigrants qui vont quitter la Suisse ; il opine à les faire voyager par eau depuis Heilbronn, et termine en disant que lui-même ne partira avec sa troupe que sur l'ordre formel de Galway.¹

¹ C. C. Rec. et Mém., T. O., N^o 17. Arzeliers, de Berne, à Mirmand, 22 mai 1693.

Peu après avoir quitté Galway à Bréda, Mirmand lui écrivait ce qui suit : “ Je suis continuellement harcelé de divers endroits de la Suisse, pour donner à notre peuple la liberté de se mettre en chemin ”. Il espère que son ami recevra une réponse de Lord Godolphin, de Londres, “ mais vous verrez, lui dit-il, qu’il ne vous dira ni oui, ni non. Il nous donnera l’espérance d’envoyer l’argent que nous avons demandé, et cela nous laissera dans un état extrêmement pénible. Si Lord Godolphin y allait de droit pied, la chose serait bientôt réglée.” Mirmand voit avec chagrin, par les lettres de l’Hermitage, de quelle façon les commissaires en usent pour les colonies d’Irlande ; il se produit des lenteurs, des irrésolutions et de la mauvaise volonté. Le transport des réfugiés par des vaisseaux anglais n’est rien moins qu’assuré. Il faudra peut-être prendre des vaisseaux en Hollande. Mirmand se demande si l’on est encore à temps pour faire partir les réfugiés cette année ; on est en juin, et rien n’est prêt. Faudra-t-il renvoyer leur départ à l’année prochaine ? “ Mais souvenez-vous bien, Milord, dit-il, que dans ce cas, il serait d’une absolue nécessité d’envoyer en Suisse 2000 livres sterling pour y faire vivre nos réfugiés cet hiver,” et il ajoute . . . “ Le parti que je prends est de faire ce à quoi la charité et la prudence nous engagent, et de regarder les difficultés qui se trouvent dans les affaires, comme des effets de la Providence, à laquelle nous devons acquiescer sans murmure ”.¹

Le 11 juin, avant la réponse des Etats-Généraux, Mirmand écrit à Reboulet, à Zurich : “ Vous jugez bien qu’il y aurait imprudence de faire partir notre peuple, sans être assuré d’avoir de quelqu’endroit ce qui est nécessaire pour les frais de leur voyage. Vous ne devez pas croire qu’on ait rien négligé pour cela, ni être surpris non plus des lenteurs qu’on voit dans les affaires, car nous devons y être accoutumés, quelque peine que cela nous fasse. Peut-être cette lenteur sera-t-elle heureuse dans cette occasion, car elle pourra donner le temps au prince de Baden de repousser les Français, et d’ôter par ce moyen les difficultés qui se trouvent sur la route des réfugiés, au lieu que, s’ils se fussent mis en chemin au commencement de mai, ils se seraient trouvés dans un étrange embarras, et peut-être seraient-ils restés aux mains des Français.”²

¹ C. C. Rec. et Mém., T. O., N° 17. Mirmand, de Rotterdam, à Galway, 23 mai 1698.

² A. Z. Lettre de Mirmand à Reboulet, 11 juin 1698.

Le 6 juin, il écrit à Galway : "La prise de Heidelberg apporte un grand changement dans les mesures que nous avons prises pour la route de notre peuple. Si ces difficultés continuent, je ne vois pas comment on pourrait faire venir nos réfugiés par Nuremberg, par Cassel, en un mot par terre jusqu'en Hollande, et surtout par ce chemin détourné."¹

Le 9 juin, Galway lui répond du camp près de Louvain. Il laisse voir qu'il est fort difficile de parler au roi d'autres affaires que de celles de la guerre, lorsqu'on est au camp, "et dans un temps où les mouvements de l'ennemi donnent tant d'inquiétude".

"Je vous ai déjà mandé, dit-il, que j'ai proposé au roi de donner les deux mille pièces (£) et de les faire venir incessamment, soit pour faire venir nos familles, ou pour les consoler en Suisse. Il a approuvé cette pensée, et m'a fait l'honneur de me promettre d'en donner les ordres ; c'était dans le moment qu'il allait écrire, mais comme S. M. a plus d'une affaire à penser, je n'ose vous répondre qu'il l'ait fait. J'ai cette affaire sur le cœur, elle ne va point du tout comme je souhaiterais, ni comme j'espérais.

"Je compte que nous aurons six cents familles qui n'auront rien que ce que le roi leur donnera," ceci en réponse à ce qu'on avait cru à tort qu'on ne voudrait point en Irlande de gens qui n'eussent rien : "mais à l'égard de ceux qui ont trente ou quarante pièces (£), je les crois puissamment riches. . . . Je verrai demain M^r Blathwayt (secrétaire d'Etat), pour le prier d'écrire comme vous le souhaitez à M^r d'Herwart, afin d'agir envers le magistrat de Genève, comme envers les seigneurs suisses. . . . Si nous pouvons exécuter notre projet dans son étendue, il n'y a pas à balancer, il faudra prendre les vaisseaux en Irlande."²

Mirmand demandait à d'Herwart, que les éloges qu'il discernait aux magistrats de Berne et de Zurich, dans son Message officiel du 17 mai, fussent aussi adressés aux magistrats de Genève, qui les méritaient mieux encore, par le grand dévouement dont ils avaient fait preuve, dans des circonstances plus difficiles que celles des Cantons suisses.

¹ C. C. Rec. et Mém., T. O., N° 17. Mirmand, de la Haye, à Galway, Lieutenant-Général des armées du Roi, à l'armée, au quartier du roi. Juin 1698.

² C. C. Rec. et Mém., T. A. A., N° 18, p. 31. Lord Galway à M^r de Mirmand, 9 juin 1698.

XII.—LA CAMPAGNE DE 1693.

La guerre avait repris de plus belle en 1693 ; pendant l'hiver précédent, Louis XIV avait fait un effort suprême pour préparer cette campagne, qu'il espérait terminer par un coup d'éclat, en renversant la coalition. Il avait fait des levées de troupes extraordinaires, et créé sept maréchaux ; en portant un grand coup à l'Allemagne, il projetait de forcer les princes et l'empereur à faire la paix. Au printemps ses armées envahirent le territoire ennemi, le maréchal de Lorges occupait le cours du Rhin et les contrées avoisinantes. Il avait contre lui le prince de Baden, généralissime des forces de l'empereur. Le roi le pressait d'agir, et, voyant qu'il demeurait inactif, il lui envoya le dauphin, son fils, avec une grande armée de renfort ; mais ni de Lorges, ni Monseigneur ne firent rien, et la campagne d'Allemagne fut outrageusement nulle cette année-là. C'est à l'invasion de cette partie de l'Allemagne par l'armée française que Mirmand fait allusion dans sa lettre à Galway, en disant avec raison, que la route du Rhin n'était plus sûre pour le voyage des réfugiés.

Durant cette même campagne, Louis XIV tenta de s'emparer de Liège ; il en fut empêché par Guillaume III, qui jeta quinze mille hommes dans la place ; mais le 28 juillet, eut lieu dans les Pays-Bas la grande bataille de Neerwinden, chaudement disputée entre le maréchal de Luxembourg et le roi d'Angleterre. Luxembourg finit par l'emporter, mais sa victoire lui coûta cher, et le vaincu, toujours de sangfroid, se retira sans désordre.

Ici se place le curieux épisode qu'on rapporte sur Galway : il combattait aux côtés de Guillaume, à la tête de son régiment de Galway, composé de réfugiés ; soudain le roi se voit menacé d'être enveloppé par l'ennemi, sa vie est en danger. Galway s'élance à son secours, il le dégage et assure sa retraite avec une indomptable bravoure. Mais lui-même est fait prisonnier par les Français ; ceux-ci, dans leur admiration pour le brillant fait d'armes dont ils ont été les témoins, le relâchent aussitôt, et le laissent rejoindre ses compagnons d'armes.

CHAPITRE II^d, 1693-1698.

LE PROJET DE COLONISATION ÉCHOUE.

I.—CITATION DES MÉMOIRES DE MIRMAND.

“ Milord Galway m'écrivit à la Haye qu'il ne fallait plus compter sur l'argent que Lord Godolphin avait promis de remettre au comité de *Dublin*, de sorte que je vis notre affaire dans l'état que j'avais appréhendé. Le déplaisir que j'en reçus fut d'autant plus grand que je savais qu'il y avait déjà des gens, qui, malgré toutes mes précautions, s'étaient mis en chemin pour se rendre en Irlande, et qui m'allaient tomber sur les bras en *Hollande*, où j'étais pour lors.

“ Dans ce contre-temps, le roi eut la bonté d'écrire en Suisse, pour y faire rester les réfugiés qui n'en étaient pas encore partis, et il leur envoya de l'argent pour leur aider à subsister.¹ De mon côté, je me trouvai, par l'arrivée en Hollande de ceux qui étaient partis de Suisse, dans un des plus grands embarras où j'aie été de ma vie; j'en plaçai de côté et d'autre autant qu'il me fut possible, après quoi je me retirai à *Wesel*.

“ Il passa en *Angleterre* un bon nombre d'entre eux, après avoir été retenus plusieurs mois par les vents contraires en Hollande, où ils furent entretenus de l'argent que LL. HH.

¹ Lettre d'*Herwart*, de Berne, au Chevalier *Tranchard* à Londres ²⁰/₃₀ janvier 1694. A propos des 2000 Livres sterling que d'*Herwart* avait promises de la part du roi, et dont les Cantons réclament l'envoi toujours retardé, il dit: “ La trésorerie a donné la moitié de ces deux mille pièces; cinq cents sont demeurées à Londres (à ce que j'ai appris), ce n'était pas leur destination. Les autres cinq cents, ou peu s'en faut, ont été distribués en Allemagne, où plusieurs de ces pauvres gens, partis d'icy, se sont arrêtés. Il y a encore mille pièces à recevoir, je vous supplie très humblement, Monsieur, d'avoir la bonté d'en vouloir dire un mot au Roy, afin qu'elles me soient envoyées le plus tôt possible; je tâcherai avec cette moitié de contenter ces Messieurs.”

Lettre d'*Herwart*, de Berne, au chevalier *Tranchard* à Londres ⁵/₁₅ décembre 1694. “ Milord Galway, au dernier voyage qu'il a fait icy, M^r, a trouvé comme moy, qu'on ne devait pas se presser de remettre les dernières mille pièces que Leurs Majestés avaient eu la bonté d'accorder pour aider à la subsistance de ces pauvres malheureux, surtout puisque le roy trouvait à propos que je ne quittasse pas encore sitôt ces lieux, et que d'ailleurs, sans ce secours, on ne laissait pas d'assister ces pauvres gens. Je les garde donc, Monsieur, pour quelque occasion pressante qui pourrait arriver” (Record Office de Londres, *State Papers*, Foreign series. Switzerland, No. 9, No. 3, Copié en novembre 1900).

D'après les recherches exactes faites par M^r J. H. Labhart, archiviste de l'Etat de Zurich, dans les comptes des réfugiés de la fin du 17^e siècle, et celles de M^r Turler, archiviste de l'Etat de Berne, l'argent du roi n'est jamais parvenu en Suisse. Lettre de M^r Labhart, D^m 1899. Lettre de M^r Turler, janvier 1901.

PP. avaient destiné pour leur voyage. Dans la suite, le Roi agit auprès des Cantons, pour les obliger de garder encore les réfugiés. Lord Galway s'employa fortement à cela, au commencement de l'année 1694, lorsqu'il passa en *Suisse*, en allant au Piémont commander les troupes de S. M."

II.—LES CHEFS DU REFUGE AUX PRISES AVEC LES DIFFICULTÉS.

Après avoir tant travaillé pour l'Irlande, et conçu l'espoir fondé d'y établir des colonies, les chefs du refuge voient leurs projets anéantis, leurs espérances renversées. Les craintes de Mirmand se justifient, la guerre absorbe tous les fonds, et les voilà en face d'une situation sans issue. Des caractères moins fortement trempés que les leurs se seraient découragés ; mais eux, pleins de foi et de soumission à la volonté de leur Père céleste, cherchent à réparer de leur mieux le malheur de leurs frères. Mirmand, qui avait jugé dès l'abord la position du Roi, n'avait jamais ajouté une foi implicite à ses promesses, non qu'elles ne fussent sincères, mais la guerre formidable qu'il soutenait contre le roi de France absorbait toutes les ressources de l'Angleterre. Le parlement, jaloux de ses prérogatives, et peu sympathique à un roi d'origine étrangère, ne lui accordait qu'à regret les fonds nécessaires à son armée. Lorsque Guillaume III se mettait en campagne au printemps, il laissait à la reine Marie les rênes du gouvernement ; elle était en son absence *régente de l'Angleterre*. Influencée par les pairs anglais, elle ne se croyait pas tenue de remplir les promesses faites par son royal époux. De là vient que Lord Godolphin et Thomas Southwell, chargés de distribuer aux colons d'Irlande le don royal, réussirent à lui faire modifier les dispositions que le roi avait prises pour la colonisation de l'Irlande.

Voici ce que Mirmand écrit de la Haye, le 12 juin 1693, à Galway : "J'ai reçu une lettre de M^r de l'Hermitage du 5 de juin, qui me mande que Lord Godolphin lui avait dit que tout était changé à l'égard du projet des colonies, que la reine avait pris d'autres mesures. M^r de l'Hermitage ajoute à cela que l'argent que vous demandez n'était pas prêt, et que le chevalier Southwell ayant offert d'avoir des réfugiés pour placer en Irlande, avec moins de dépense que ceux qu'on devait faire venir de Suisse, la reine avait goûté ces raisons et approuvé ce nouveau projet. Je m'imagine, Milord, que vous êtes informé de tout cela aussi bien que moi, et que si

vous ne m'en avez pas parlé dans votre dernière lettre, c'est pour ne me donner pas ce déplaisir, jusqu'à ce que vous ayez perdu l'espérance de redresser cette affaire, à quoi je juge que vous avez travaillé par la lettre que vous avez écrite à Lord Godolphin. Je vous assure que cette nouvelle a été pour moi un coup de foudre, quoique je fusse assez dans un esprit de méfiance ; mais comme nous devons adorer la providence de Dieu, dont les voies nous sont cachées, il ne faut pas aussi douter qu'elle ne dirige toute chose pour le bien de ses enfants. qui ne doivent rien souhaiter fortement dans le monde que leur salut. . . . Ce qui nous reste à faire dans cette occasion, s'il n'y a point de remède, c'est de cacher le motif de cette nouveauté, en donnant le meilleur tour qu'il se pourra à cette affaire, de procurer à nos frères de Suisse le secours dont nous avons parlé, et enfin *de ménager l'honneur du roi qui est fort compromis dans cette occasion*. Je continue d'agir ici comme s'il n'y avait aucun changement, et je sommerai M^r le Pensionnaire de sa parole, dès que les Etats de Hollande seront assemblés, ce qui arrivera mardi prochain. . . . Je n'ai garde d'avoir rien écrit en Suisse des nouvelles d'Angleterre, j'en fais un fort grand secret, et j'en userai ainsi jusqu'à ce que nous ayons convenu de la manière dont il faudra les débiter."¹

Dans cette même lettre, Mirmand raconte à son ami les ennuis qu'il a eus, par les émigrés venus d'Allemagne qui lui sont tombés sur les bras, quoiqu'il eut écrit en ce pays pour les retenir. Comment faire face à tout, dit-il ; il n'y a point de fonds disponibles, et les paquebots ont reçu depuis huit jours ordre de l'Angleterre de n'embarquer personne à moins d'une pièce (£), au lieu d'un écu qu'ils demandaient autrefois. et souvent même on n'exigeait rien des pauvres gens.

La réponse de Galway est datée du camp près de Louvain le 15 juin. Obligé de monter à cheval, il charge son secrétaire Du Fay, de lui envoyer la lettre de Godolphin et les propositions de Southwell. Rien à attendre du côté de Godolphin. Il faudra se décider à annoncer les mauvaises nouvelles en Suisse, où les émigrants n'attendent que le signal du départ, mais Mirmand et Galway ne voudraient le faire qu'en envoyant les £2000 de la part du roi, afin d'atténuer la fâcheuse impression que causera ce retard, de prévenir le désespoir des réfugiés, et d'encourager les magistrats des Cantons à les garder chez² eux.

¹ C. C. Rec. et Mém., T. O., N° 17. Mirmand à Galway, lettre.

² *Ibid.* Galway à Mirmand.

Le roi écrivit à Londres pour faire remettre ces deux mille livres en Suisse, mais ce fut toujours en vain.

En juillet, les deux amis se rencontrent au camp, pour convenir de la version à donner au public. Mirmand écrit des lettres au bourgmestre Escher de Zurich, et au marquis d'Arzeliers de Berne, Galway ajoute à cette dernière une apostille qui nous a été conservée : Il redoute une résolution fâcheuse, dit-il, soit de la part des Cantons, soit de la part des réfugiés, lorsqu'ils verront le peu de solidité des promesses du roi et des seigneurs. Il indique les causes de l'échec d'Irlande, de la manière suivante : Le roi était parti en guerre avant d'avoir réglé les vingt mille livres assignées aux colonies, par conséquent les seigneurs irlandais ne recevant pas l'indemnité promise, n'avaient pas pu bâtir des maisons. De son côté, Galway, ayant dû quitter l'Irlande avant que les colonies fussent organisées, et n'ayant passé que quatre jours à Londres, n'avait pu redresser tous les contre-temps de cette affaire. Les subsides de la Hollande, enfin obtenus par Mirmand, étaient arrivés trop tard ; maintenant la saison était trop avancée, et la sécheresse faisait prévoir une disette en Irlande. Le départ serait donc remis au printemps.¹

Du Fay fut envoyé à Londres auprès de Godolphin, muni d'un vigoureux Mémoire de Mirmand, qui lui représentait la terrible position des six cents familles, prêtes à partir de la Suisse, auxquelles les magistrats pourraient bien refuser la subsistance, si, d'ici à quinze jours, la somme qui leur avait été promise, n'était pas expédiée.²

III.—EN SUISSE. CONSÉQUENCES DE L'ÉCHEC D'IRLANDE.

La mauvaise nouvelle annoncée par les lettres de Mirmand parvient à Berne et à Zurich. La Direction française de Berne, réunie le 8 août, s'adresse à la Chambre des Seigneurs, pour la supplier de garder encore les réfugiés : celle-ci répond qu'elle désire les voir quitter son territoire au printemps suivant ; mais elle les engage à déléguer deux des leurs aux autres Cantons réformés, pour les prier de consentir à une répartition personnelle des réfugiés pauvres du Canton de Berne. Les Cantons de Bâle, Zurich et Schaffhouse promettent leur concours ; ils se chargeront avec St Gall de

¹ P. de P. Galway à d'Arzeliers, 6 juillet 1693. Copie apostillée par Mirmand.

² C. C. Rec. et Mém., T. M., N° 17. Mémoire pour M^r Du Fay, 16 juillet 1693. Écrit par Mirmand.

2560 exilés, proportionnellement à leurs ressources, tandis que Berne en gardera 2000. Mais à l'idée de quitter leurs frères, pour s'établir dans une autre partie de la Suisse, la douleur des réfugiés éclate, et de ce fait la proposition échoua à la diète d'Arau, du 25 septembre 1693. Cependant, combinée avec le projet de créer un fonds d'assistance commun, pour faire vivre les Français pauvres du Canton de Berne, elle prépara un arrangement équitable, qui fut conclu l'année suivante entre les cantons, et qui dura de 1694 à 1699.

C'est à la même diète d'Arau qu'Herwart annonça officiellement aux Cantons, par un nouveau message de S. M. B., le regret qu'éprouvait le roi de devoir renvoyer à des temps meilleurs l'émigration des réfugiés français en Irlande. Il pria les Cantons de les garder chez eux, promettant d'envoyer pour leur subsistance deux mille livres sterling.¹

A peine les difficultés étaient-elles aplanies du côté de Berne, qu'il en surgissait de nouvelles à Genève. La ville se voyait menacée de disette par le manque de blé en Bresse et en Franche-Comté; les magistrats, inquiets, donnèrent l'ordre aux réfugiés de quitter Genève à la fin de l'été 1693. Cette fois, il fallut bien se résoudre à partir; plusieurs se mirent en route avec une pièce de 30s. (sous) pour tout bien. Mirmand, navré, annonce de Wesel cette nouvelle à Galway, le 21 août, en lui soumettant son plan. Il faut aider ces pauvres gens dans leur voyage, dit-il, en retenir à Erlangen et à Schwabach autant qu'on pourra, pour y passer l'hiver. On tâchera de faire arriver les autres jusqu'en Hollande, et même en Angleterre. Dans ces deux pays, il faudra retenir tous ceux qui pourront y gagner leur vie, et enfin les derniers tomberont entre les mains de Southwell: ce sera le pire sort pour eux. . . . Il faudra demander aux Etats de Hollande un à compte sur le subside qu'ils avaient voté, et compter quatre écus par personne, bien que ce ne soit pas encore l'exode du peuple des réfugiés.²

Mirmand intercède auprès de Lord Dowley, pour qu'il agisse vis-à-vis de Smettau, envoyé de l'Elr de Br^s à Londres, afin que des barques soient préparées sur le Rhin, pour faire traverser à ces troupes la régence de Clèves, apanage de l'Elr de Br^s.

A la fin de nov^{bre}, la situation se complique encore à Berne :

¹ A. Z. Lettre officielle d'Herwart aux Cantons évangéliques 12/23 sept^{bre} 1693.

² P. de P. Mirmand à Galway, 21 août 1693. D'après les papiers de Mirmand, 250 personnes avaient déjà passé en Hollande, 60 arrivaient. Il y eut une troupe de 93 personnes du Prajelas qui passèrent de Hollande en Angleterre, sans compter les réfugiés de Genève et de Suisse dont il parle, et qui y vinrent à la fin de 1693 et au printemps de 1694.

ordre est donné à la Direction française de disposer les réfugiés à partir en avril 1694 ; les baillis du pays de Vaud transmettent ce message à leurs subordonnés. Que faire, et où aller ?

L'Irlande est fermée, la Hollande, le Brandebourg, l'Allemagne sont remplis par les premiers occupants. Les lettres et protocoles conservés dans les archives de Berne et de Zurich laissent entrevoir dans leur laconisme l'anxiété des exilés. Ils n'en cessent pas moins, ce qui vaut la peine d'être relevé, de vivre en bons rapports avec les magistrats de la Suisse. Il suffit pour s'en convaincre, de parcourir les lettres superbes, adressées par les Directions françaises aux diètes évangéliques. Il s'en dégage un sentiment vrai de gratitude et de confiance, qu'on ne peut méconnaître. Aussi les décisions des magistrats, bien que motivées par des raisons péremptoires, cèdent-elles souvent à leurs sollicitations respectueuses.

Les Directions de Berne et de Lausanne présentèrent à la diète de Zurich, réunie le 4 janvier 1694, une requête, tendant à faire révoquer l'ordre du départ ; mais cet ordre fut maintenu, et les chefs du refuge furent avisés qu'ils eussent à procurer des retraites à leurs frères pour le printemps. Sur ces entrefaites, on apprend l'arrivée de Lord Galway à Berne. Quel événement ! l'ami et représentant de S. M. B. va intercéder pour les exilés, et les aider à sortir de peine ; aussi, à peine descendu chez l'envoyé d'Herwart, le 13 février, fut-il harangué par le ministre Besombes, à la tête d'une députation française. Lord Galway prit en main la cause de ses frères, il la plaida avec zèle auprès des seigneurs de Berne et de Zurich, il fit appel à la charité des autres cantons réformés, et eut enfin la joie de voir aboutir, au mois de mai suivant, l'arrangement dont nous avons parlé, par lequel ces cantons prenaient à leur charge la moitié des dépenses pour l'entretien des Français établis dans les Terres bernoises, indépendamment de ceux qu'ils avaient accueillis eux-mêmes sur leur territoire. Grâce à cette subvention, Berne se décida à garder les réfugiés, les autres cantons en firent autant ; c'était la délivrance pour les pauvres exilés.¹

¹ Si Berne, le canton le plus grand et le plus puissant de la Suisse, avec ses pays sujets de Vaud et l'Erguel (Jura bernois), demandait le secours de ses confédérés pour entretenir les réfugiés, c'est qu'il en avait la plus forte proportion ; le nombre en était de six à sept mille en 1694, et de 6600 en 1699. D'après les comptes, présentés aux diètes évangéliques, le chiffre des Français assistés dans les Etats de Berne fut, en 1694, 1900 assistés ; en 1695, 1352 assistés ; en 1696, 2000 assistés ; en 1698, 2162 assistés ; en 1699, 1800 assistés. Les autres cantons réunis comptaient environ la moitié du nombre des réfugiés de Berne.

Tandis que Galway, en route pour Turin, s'était arrêté en Suisse en février, il engagea Mirmand à aller encore trouver le roi en Angleterre, pour lui représenter vivement la position des réfugiés en Suisse et solliciter des retraites en Irlande. Mirmand sacrifierait tout, jusqu'à sa vie, pour tirer son peuple de l'extrémité où il va se trouver, répond-il à d'Arzeliers, s'il n'était persuadé que ce voyage est inutile, et qu'il n'aura pas plus de succès auprès du roi, par des discours, qu'il n'en aurait en lui écrivant, puisque les mêmes causes de guerre produisent la même pénurie d'argent. Il adresse à Guillaume III, le 26 févr^r 1694, une fort belle lettre,¹ où il rappelle au monarque la promesse qu'il a faite de recevoir les réfugiés en Irlande, et le met en demeure d'accomplir cette promesse. A sa lettre est jointe une missive de Galway,² qui insiste sur le même point, et lui annonce que les Cantons ont voté un subside de vingt-cinq mille francs, monnaie de France, pour les réfugiés de Berne. Mais les lettres des deux amis demeurèrent sans effet et le roi ne changea rien à sa politique.

IV.—LES ÉMIGRÉS DE GENEVE ET DE LA SUISSE, À SCHWABACH ET ERLANGEN, 1693-1694.

Les réfugiés qui avaient quitté Genève s'étaient acheminés vers le nord, en suivant l'itinéraire de Mirmand, par la route de Nuremberg. Leur première station était les colonies de Schwabach et d'Erlangen,³ dans les Etats d'Anspach et de Baireuth. Plusieurs des émigrés de Genève avaient échoué à Berne, où ils vinrent grossir la troupe de Modenx, que nous avons vue prête à partir dès le printemps, au nombre de douze cents personnes. Ce convoi quitta aussi Berne à l'entrée de l'hiver; il eut beaucoup à souffrir en voyage. La troupe de Modenx, écrit d'Arzeliers, était dans un état pitoyable, quand elle passa à Schwabach et Erlangen, où elle laissa ses malades. Ces colonies étaient pauvres, elles n'avaient pas pris l'essor que leur donna plus tard une industrie florissante. D'Arzeliers les avait prévenues de l'arrivée

¹ Rec. et Mém., T. O., No. 17, C. C.

² Idem.

³ *Christian Erlangen*, colonie fondée après la Révocation, par le margrave de Baireuth, où s'établirent des protestants du Vivarais, du Languedoc et du Dauphiné. En 1687, elle s'augmenta d'un millier de nouveaux venus, il en vint beaucoup du Prajelas, ainsi qu'une partie de ceux qui étaient chassés du Palatinat, en 1689.

Schwabach.—Le margrave de Brandebourg-Anspach y fonda, en 1686, une colonie industrielle pourvue de deux pasteurs, Ribotier et Martel.

des émigrés, leur promettant des subsides, si elles consentaient à hiverner les faibles et les malades. Pendant l'hiver de 1693 à 1694, Mirmand s'efforça de faire face aux besoins urgents que créait cette station. Il n'y avait guère d'autres ressources que l'argent envoyé de Genève par M^r Bibault, pour faire vivre les Français sortis de cette ville, et la somme de 241 livres sterling que Mirmand avait reçue de Londres, pour les réfugiés qui s'arrêteraient dans les deux colonies.

Les lettres que Martel, ministre à Schwabach, et le consistoire d'Erlangen adressent à Mirmand pendant cet hiver présentent un tableau saisissant de la misère de ces caravanes. Martel lui écrit le 17 décembre 1693 : " Pour ce qui regarde l'état de nos pauvres réfugiés de Genève et de Suisse, je parle des nouveaux, il est fort déplorable. . . . L'Eglise d'Erlangen y a mis son petit fonds. Si la saison eut permis la continuation du passage, nous ne pouvions plus subsister. Dans le grand nombre de ceux qui passent, plusieurs, fatigués et harassés, tombent malades à Schwabach, qui est leur première station."

Martel lui envoie le rôle des 85 personnes venues de Genève et de Suisse, qui y passèrent l'hiver, avec l'indication de leurs noms, positions et métiers. Un certain nombre de ces familles et des principales se disposent à partir en février pour l'Irlande, ainsi : M^{rs} de Moissel, de la Roche, ministre, et sa famille, Hurand et sa famille, et quantité d'autres.

Le consistoire d'Erlangen écrit à la date du 4 janvier 1694 : " Figurez-vous un grand nombre de misérables accablés de pauvreté, de misère, de maladie, de froid et de nudité, et vous ferez un véritable portrait des tristes objets qui sont tous les jours exposés à nos yeux". Le consistoire est en déficit ; quoiqu'il ait déjà reçu à cette date près de 1600 livres, il demande des fonds. Le 18 février, malgré l'envoi de 200 écus fait par Mirmand, la situation est la même : " Envoyez-nous de l'argent au plus vite, et plus qu'avant, parcequ'il nous faut acheminer ces émigrés au mois de mars, et leur donner de l'argent pour aller en Hollande". Le 3 mai, après le départ des valides, il est resté à Erlangen les vieillards, les malades et les orphelins. Il faut donner chaque jour du bouillon à 20 ou 25 malades disséminés partout. D'autres pourraient partir qui ne veulent pas s'y résoudre ; il a fallu diminuer leur ordinaire pour les y obliger. Les Français venus de Suisse ne comprennent pas qu'il leur faut aller plus loin, et qu'Erlangen ne peut pas les nourrir. Ils sont impatients, ils croient que le roi d'Angleterre a

envoyé beaucoup d'argent pour les faire vivre, et ils veulent en avoir leur part. Les manufactures vont mal. "L'avenir nous étonne!"—et comme refrain: "Envoyez-nous de l'argent!" Le 29 mai, même situation: "il arrive chaque jour de nouveaux venus auxquels tout manque, et il faut tout leur donner". Ceux qui ont des petits enfants ne veulent pas aller plus loin; "ils disent qu'ils aiment mieux mourir ici qu'ailleurs. Dieu veuille avoir pitié de nous et de nos frères souffrants!" . . . Et les ressources dont disposait Mirmand étaient presque épuisées. Il avait envoyé pendant ce terrible hiver environ quatre mille livres à Erlangen, trop au gré d'Arzeliers, auquel il répond: "Que faire quand un consistoire s'adresse à moi toujours en corps, il faut bien le croire et l'assister". Il compte apporter en Suisse les quittances de cette argent, et les remettre à l'envoyé d'Angleterre, pour sa décharge.¹

Le nombre total des réfugiés qui quittèrent Genève et la Suisse en 1693-94 n'est pas connu. D'après les documents que nous avons entre les mains, il est permis de l'estimer à deux ou trois mille personnes.²

V.—DERNIERS RENSEIGNEMENTS SUR LE PROJET D'IRLANDE. ET SUR L'ÉTAT DES RÉFUGIÉS ARRIVÉS EN ANGLETERRE.

Mirmand nous a laissé un exposé du projet d'Irlande, dans une lettre à M^r du Collet, mars 1694.³ Il raconte son origine. la suite des négociations, les causes de son échec; nous y relèverons ceci: c'est la pénurie où se trouvait le comité de Dublin, établi pour les colonies. Il se plaignait qu'on ne lui avait rien envoyé des vingt mille livres sterling attribuées aux colons français en Irlande, fait confirmé par le protocole du conseil privé d'Irlande du 5 mars 1693-94. Le conseil est impuissant à agir sans argent, dit le protocole; plusieurs centaines de personnes sont arrivées, il en viendra encore d'autres. Ces gens seraient morts de faim si le gouvernement d'Irlande ne les avait assistés, mais sa pénurie est telle qu'il ne peut suffire à une semblable dépense, encore moins s'y engager pour

¹ C. C. Rec. et Mém., T. S., No. 17, pp. 171, 175. Comptes de Mirmand et reçus du Consistoire d'Erlangen.

Ibid., p. 139. Lettre de Martel, apostillée par Mirmand.

Ibid., pp. 147, 151, 159, 163. Consistoire d'Erlangen à Mirmand.

² F. de Schickler, "Essai sur les Eglises du refuge". Il parle d'un premier départ général qui eut lieu en 1694.

³ C. C. Rec. et Mém., T. O., No. 17. Mirmand à du Collet, probablement un pasteur établi dans le nord de l'Allemagne, avec sa colonie.

l'avenir.¹ Si le roi voulait trouver de l'argent pour établir les réfugiés en Irlande, dit encore Mirmand, à du Collet, il ne pourrait le faire, en quelque sorte, qu'en vendant ses bijoux.

Charles de Sailly écrit de Londres à Mirmand, à la date du 15 avril 1695 : "L'état des réfugiés (venus de Suisse) est fort triste ; ils se sont vus, pour ainsi dire, abandonnés, et ils ont adressé un manifeste pressant au parlement anglais, après avoir échoué à la cour". Ce manifeste ayant été présenté par un rapporteur habile qui a su faire valoir leurs besoins et toutes leurs raisons, on convint qu'il était juste de faire quelque chose pour eux, et d'en prendre soin, sur quoi les réfugiés firent une adresse au roi. La cour et le parlement paraissent leur être favorables, on espère obtenir des secours pour les faire subsister. Le roi a ordonné à la trésorerie de chercher un fonds pour les réfugiés, mais si la chose n'est pas expédiée avant son départ, tout pourrait encore être perdu et abandonné.

Quant à l'ancien projet d'Irlande, on ignorait à Londres s'il pourrait encore s'exécuter ; voici ce qu'en pense Sailly : "Pour l'Irlande, on nous flatte aussi de quelque bon dessein, mais je ne vois pas quand il pourra s'exécuter, ni comment. Le roi m'a fait dire par Lord Godolphin qu'il veut que j'y retourne, mais cela ne suffit pas ; je ne puis pas aller sans ma famille, et je ne serai pas si imprudent que de l'y mener, sans savoir qu'y faire, comme l'y entretenir, et quelle réponse porter au Lord-Justice et à nos gens ; ce que j'ai dit et donné par écrit au roi, qui lui a été lu dans son conseil, avec quelques expédients et moyens pour avancer le vieux projet, le faciliter et exécuter ; mais tout cela est resté à la Trésorerie, et je n'ai encore pu savoir les résolutions du roi."

Lord Godolphin se borna à donner à Sailly quelque argent dont il se servait pour continuer ses sollicitations à Londres, et pour retourner en Hollande, si elles ne devaient pas aboutir.

VI.—REPRISE DU PROJET D'IRLANDE, 1698.

La paix de Ryswick avait été signée en septembre et octobre 1697, les puissances étaient lasses de la guerre, les peuples étaient épuisés. Louis XIV, malgré son désir de replacer Jacques II sur le trône d'Angleterre, fut obligé de reconnaître la royauté de Guillaume III, et d'abandonner toutes ses conquêtes. En revanche, il fut inexorable à l'endroit des réfugiés, qui lui adressèrent vainement des supplica-

¹ Record Office de Londres. From the Privy Council of Ireland.

tions,¹ pour pouvoir rentrer dans leur patrie, avec le droit d'exercer leur religion, en toute soumission vis-à-vis de leur souverain. L'espoir qu'ils avait conservé jusqu'alors leur fut enlevé, il fallut reprendre le bâton de l'exil.

Bien plus, par le traité malheureux que Louis XIV conclut avec le duc de Savoie, 2833 Piémontais, passés sous la domination du roi de France, furent expulsés de leurs Vallées, ayant sept ministres à leur tête, et comme chef, leur pasteur et colonel Arnaud, le héros de la *Glorieuse Rentrée des Vaudois* en 1689. Dans l'été de 1698, cette troupe fut accueillie charitablement par la Suisse, qui se chargea de son entretien durant l'hiver suivant, malgré les nombreux réfugiés qu'elle avait sur le bras; car les vides qu'avait laissés le départ de 1694, se comblaient par les fugitifs qui ne cessaient de sortir de France. La situation empirait chaque jour, grâce à l'épuisement des ressources que les premiers arrivants avaient emportées avec eux, et qui les avaient fait vivre jusqu'alors, de telle sorte qu'une nouvelle émigration s'imposait.

Mirmand n'avait point renoncé au projet d'Irlande de 1693; il espérait le reprendre avec succès, une fois la paix signée. Déjà en février 1697, lorsque Galway, ramenant ses troupes du Piémont aux Pays-Bas, vint le visiter à Wesel, ils durent en reparler; preuve en est la lettre que Galway, à peine installé à Dublin, adressa le 9-19 mars à Valkenier, à Zurich: "Je ne doute pas, lui dit-il, d'être de quelque utilité en Irlande à nos pauvres réfugiés; mais il ne faut pas envoyer de nouveaux hôtes que nous ne soyons en état de les recevoir, de peur qu'ils ne doivent s'en retourner, comme il arriva, il y a trois ans, à ceux qui se hâtèrent trop".² Mais, pendant l'année qu'il passa en Irlande, de 1697 à 1698, Galway avait vu de près l'état des choses, et mieux apprécié les conditions d'établissement en ce pays. Il changea d'avis sur le projet de colonisation en Irlande, et chercha à en dissuader Mirmand, en lui faisant voir les difficultés qui s'y opposaient, dans la correspondance qu'ils eurent à ce sujet, de janvier à décembre 1698. Dès le 25 janvier, en réponse à ses questions, Galway adresse à son ami un rapport important, intitulé: "Mémoire sur les avantages qu'on peut trouver en Irlande". Il reconnaît que le pays est mal peuplé, et que la

¹ A. Z., B. VIII., 156, p. 276, 23 septembre 1697. Intercession officielle des sept cantons évangéliques, à la paix de Ryswick, en faveur des réfugiés, demandant à Louis XIV qu'ils puissent rentrer en France, et servir Dieu selon leur conscience, en toute soumission vis-à-vis de leur souverain.

² A. Z. Lettre de Galway à Valkenier, envoyé des Etats-Généraux à Zurich, du 9/19 mars 1697.

venue de colons français y serait fort à désirer ; mais, dit-il, ce n'est ni un pays de conquête, ni un pays nouvellement découvert, où se rencontrent des terres qui n'appartiennent à personne. Chaque pouce de terre a son propriétaire : les grands seigneurs terriens divisent leurs domaines en portions qu'ils afferment contre une certaine redevance, moyennant des baux appelés "*Lease*". Ces contrats sont faits soit pour quelques années, soit pour une vie, soit pour trois vies. Il n'est ni juste, ni possible de déposséder les tenanciers, pendant la durée de leur bail ; cela ne se peut faire que lorsqu'il est expiré. Ceux à qui le roi a donné des terres confisquées ne peuvent qu'entrer dans les droits des anciens seigneurs. C'est ce qui est arrivé à Lord Galway pour sa terre de Portarlington, où il n'a pu établir jusqu'ici qu'un petit nombre de Français, en qualité de fermiers ; mais comme plusieurs *Leases* expireront sur son domaine, d'ici à un an et quelques mois, il sera libre d'y établir des colons réformés.

Mais si quelques réfugiés ont des fonds à placer, ils ne pourraient le faire mieux et plus avantageusement qu'en achetant des terres en Irlande ; le duc d'Ormond va vendre plusieurs bonnes terres, à bas prix, qui seront un placement sûr. Cette vente se fera selon les lois du pays, par des *Leases*, ou baux durables pour trois vies ; quand il y en a une éteinte, l'acquéreur en substitue une autre à son choix, ce qui en rend la possession perpétuelle et très sûre, car elle est sous l'autorité du parlement. A chaque mutation, on paie au seigneur une petite redevance dont on est convenu. C'est à peu près ce qui se fait en France. A l'égard des gens de métier ils peuvent faire leurs affaires en Irlande, avec un petit fonds ; les bons ouvriers y sont rares. On espère que le parlement votera, dans sa prochaine session, un acte qui est tout préparé, pour naturaliser les étrangers, en prêtant un simple serment. Ils n'auraient à payer ni droits d'entrée pour leurs effets, ni taxes pendant plusieurs années, et seraient reçus gratuitement dans toutes les corporations.

Les émigrés qui n'ont ni fonds ni métier ne peuvent pas réussir dans ce pays, pauvre et épuisé, et qui, malgré cela, donne annuellement huit mille livres sterling pour des pensions aux réfugiés.

C'est beaucoup au regard de l'Angleterre qui en donne quinze mille, aussi ne peut-on songer à faire augmenter cette somme par le parlement. Si quelqu'un voulait entreprendre, à ses propres risques, d'établir en Irlande un certain nombre de familles, en prenant assez bien ses mesures pour réussir

sûrement, peut-être trouverait-on les fonds nécessaires auprès du public ; mais il faudrait être bien hardi pour tenter une pareille entreprise après l'expérience du passé. Tant qu'on s'en tiendra à des termes vagues : établir des réfugiés en Irlande, et destiner de l'argent pour cela, on ne réussira pas, et même les sommes qu'on pourrait avoir seraient dissipées sans utilité pour eux.¹

Le 11 février, avant la réception de ce Mémoire, Mirmand tentait une démarche auprès de Lord Rochester, l'un des anciens commissaires royaux pour l'Irlande. Il lui rappelle les conférences qui eurent lieu cinq ans auparavant, dans son hôtel, avec Lord Galway, Lord Godolphin et les autres commissaires, pour fonder des colonies en Irlande. Le retard apporté à ce projet, dit-il, a été très préjudiciable aux réfugiés, qui sont restés à Genève et en Suisse, épuisant leurs petites ressources, en attendant la paix. Il le serait bien davantage, s'il fallait y renoncer tout-à-fait, car on est fort en peine de leur trouver une autre retraite, de même qu'à ceux qui doivent encore sortir de France.

Mirmand prie instamment Lord Rochester de lui faire savoir si le projet d'Irlande pourrait avoir quelque suite, dans ce temps où la paix en faciliterait l'exécution. Il lui demande de bien vouloir y employer tous ses soins.²

Nous n'avons trouvé aucune réponse à cette ouverture. Une autre tentative que fit Mirmand du côté de Lord Albemarle, pour l'intéresser au sort des réfugiés, n'eut pas plus de succès.³

De septembre à décembre de la même année, Mirmand est en Suisse ; il ne trouve pas à Berne d'Herwart, qui était parti pour la Hollande, afin d'intercéder pour les réfugiés, et lui écrit en septembre une lettre, où il conserve encore de l'espoir pour l'Irlande. Passant en revue les pays qui pourraient encore recevoir des réfugiés, il ne trouve que Hesse Darmstadt et l'Irlande. Le landgrave de Hesse, dit-il, offre encore des terres à défricher ; mais outre les inconvénients d'être trop près de la France et sous un prince luthérien, nos frères établis là souffrent un si grand dommage des *bêtes fauves*, qu'ils n'y peuvent remédier. Le Brandebourg est trop misérable.

¹ C. C. Rec. et Mém., Tome M, No. 17. Mémoire de Galway sur l'Irlande, pour M^r de Mirmand, 25 janvier 1698. Rec. et Mém., T. A. A., No. 18. Lettre d'envoi.

² *Ibid.*, T. A. A., No. 18, p. 109. Mirmand à Lord Rochester, 11 février 1698.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 118. Mirmand à Lord Albemarle, 6 mai 1698.

L'Irlande est le seul pays où l'on pourrait établir les réfugiés en corps de nation, et serrés les uns près des autres. Nos frères de France demandent du secours pour sortir du royaume. Comment leur aider s'il n'y a point de retraite? Rochgude écrit que les Anglais sont opposés aux colonies d'Irlande. Est-ce par crainte de la concurrence que pourrait leur faire l'industrie des Français? Mais leur parlement saura toujours défendre leur propre industrie et faire la loi à l'Irlande. La difficulté, pense-t-il, gît toujours dans le manque de fonds. Si nous pouvions y établir un nombre modique de réfugiés, principalement des laboureurs, l'Angleterre n'en souffrirait aucun préjudice, et cela rentrerait dans les vues du roi, qui avait si fort à cœur son établissement. Vous avez su quels ont été les motifs du retard de ce projet; je ne saurais croire que le roi y ait renoncé, tant que vous ne l'aurez pas appris de sa propre bouche. Si cette ouverture nous manque, Dieu veuille nous en trouver une autre, fût-ce au Cap de Bonne Espérance.¹

Du côté de Galway, il n'y a pas grand espoir : par sa lettre du 14-24 mai, il s'en réfère au Mémoire cité plus haut. Il admire l'activité du zèle de Mirmand, il le prie de venir lui-même en Irlande, pour s'assurer de l'état des choses, ce qui lui donnera le plaisir de le recevoir au château de Dublin.² Enfin tout espoir s'évanouit pour l'Irlande, par la dernière lettre de Galway du 5-15 décembre 1698. Voici ce qu'il dit à Mirmand :—

“ Je continue à me réjouir, Monsieur, de la consolation et du secours que vos soins procurent, ou préparent à nos pauvres réfugiés de France et de Piémont. . . . Le chagrin que j'ai, c'est de ne pouvoir vous seconder. Je fais bien ce que je puis de ce côté-ci; mais je ne vois aucune disposition à trouver dans ce pays une retraite pour une troupe si nombreuse.” Il rappelle le Mémoire de janvier et dit que la grande difficulté n'est pas tant celle de l'argent qu'il faudrait pour un établissement considérable; mais l'obstacle *essentiel, insurmontable*, c'est qu'il n'y a pas un pouce de terre en Irlande qui n'appartienne à quelqu'un, comme seigneur, ou comme tenant. . . . On pourrait trouver à placer ici ou là quelques valets ou quelques laboureurs; mais pour ce qu'on peut appeler des colonies, les choses ne sont pas sur un pied à en établir dans cette île. “ Je ne saurais conseiller non plus à vos jeunes gentilshommes de penser à venir prendre le mousquet dans

¹ C. C. T. A. A., No. 18, p. 121. Mirmand à d'Herwart, septembre 1698.

² *Ibid.*, p. 125. Galway, du château de Dublin, à Mirmand, 14-24 mai 1698.

nos régiments français ; les choses me paraissent trop incertaines pour cela."¹ Après cette communication, il ne restait rien à faire ; la porte de l'Irlande était fermée aux réfugiés.

Quoique Mirmand espérât toujours jusqu'alors voir l'Irlande s'ouvrir à ses frères, il avait usé de son influence à Berlin, pour leur préparer des asiles en Brandebourg, comme nous le voyons par sa lettre du 1 novembre au comte de Dohua, ministre d'Etat, chargé de la surintendance des réfugiés en ce pays. Il lui parle de la Hesse, et ajoute : " Ne vaudrait-il pas mieux les établir en Brandebourg, où l'on connaît la charité de l'Electeur ? Cherchez bien s'il n'y aurait pas quelque retraite en ce pays. . . . Quelle est la valeur de la déclaration du 22 août dernier, faite par S. A. E., où elle offre de recevoir des réformés et des luthériens dans ses états ?² Leur accorderait-elle les mêmes avantages que le Grand Electeur avait accordés aux premiers émigrés ? On dit que le Brandebourg est déjà rempli de ces derniers, est-ce le cas ? Nos députés en Hollande croient qu'on peut compter sur un subside en argent des Etats protestants pour établir ces gens. Ainsi l'Electeur n'aurait pas d'autre avance à faire pour eux que les terres et matériaux de construction." Il ajoute : "*L'ordre que je reçus à Berlin de S. A. E. de vous informer de ce qui se passait en Suisse au sujet des réfugiés, joint à l'attachement que j'ai pour son service, et au désir de m'acquitter de mon devoir envers mes frères, m'engage à proposer à votre Excellence ce que je viens de lui dire, etc.*"

La réponse du comte de Dohua, adressée à Mirmand à Genève, est du 17 décembre 1698. Le comte a travaillé diligemment à la proposition de ce dernier, de chercher à placer des réfugiés en Brandebourg. On lui en avait aussi écrit de Berne. Il a reçu les réponses de la Nouvelle Marche, et il attend l'avis des commissaires employés ci-devant à pareille chose ; "après quoi, dit-il, nous pourrions mander quelque chose de positif et de bon, comme je l'espère". Il ajoute que les députés de Roehgude et de la Grivelière sont

¹ C. C. Bec. et Mém., T. A. A., No. 18. Mirmand, de Genève, au Comte de Dohua, Berlin, 1 novembre 1698.

² La déclaration dont parle Mirmand, et qu'avait publiée l'Electeur de Brandebourg, le 22 août 1698, pour engager réformés et luthériens à venir dans ses Etats, était sérieuse. Elle donna lieu à l'Edit du 18 mars 1699, par lequel ce prince promettait aux réfugiés qui viendraient en Brandebourg, les mêmes privilèges qui avaient été accordés à leurs devanciers ; mais trop pauvre pour les établir, il demanda aux rois de Suède et Danemark, aux villes de Brême, Lubeck, Hambourg et Ulm, des subsides, et fit faire des collectes dans tous ses Etats. Les sommes réunies jusqu'en 1701 s'élevèrent à 75,981 Thaler, d'après les comptes de l'Hôtel du Refuge, Berlin.

arrivés à Berlin, ils apportent des lettres de Hollande et du roi d'Angleterre, qui promettent des collectes. Il doit les voir le soir même : tout cela vient fort à propos.¹

En effet la Hesse et le Brandebourg s'ouvrirent aux exilés ; pendant l'été de 1699, 4414 d'entre eux quittèrent la Suisse, dont plus de mille furent reçus en Hesse, et trois mille dans le Brandebourg. Les subsides recueillis dans les Etats Protestants servirent à fonder de nouvelles colonies dans ces pays. La Suisse contribua pour une large part aux frais de voyage et d'établissement des réfugiés qui passèrent en Allemagne en 1699.

CHAPITRE III^e.

LES COLONIES FONDÉES EN IRLANDE.

I.—ORIGINE DES COLONIES.

Si la conception grandiose de repeupler l'Irlande par le moyen des réfugiés français avait échoué dans son ensemble, il se produisit néanmoins en ce pays une émigration partielle de réformés. Les efforts de Mirmand et de Galway ne furent pas perdus, car plusieurs auteurs énumèrent quinze colonies qui existaient en Irlande, à la fin du 17^e siècle ;² elles datent pour la plupart de 1693-1694. Peut-être y en a-t-il eu d'autres dont toute trace a disparu. Disons quelques mots de celles que nous connaissons.

Bien avant la Révocation, les rois d'Angleterre avaient favorisé l'établissement des réformés français et wallons en Irlande, et l'introduction de leurs industries. Le gouvernement espérait stimuler au travail par leur exemple, la population irlandaise inculte et inactive, et lui infuser un élément de force et de prospérité. Strafford l'avait tenté dans le nord de l'île, avec la fabrication de la toile ; mais peu après sa mort, survenue en 1641, le pays fut désolé par la guerre civile. Charles II suivit la même politique de 1660 à 1685 ; secondé par le duc d'Ormond, alors vice-roi du pays, il établit des réfugiés en Irlande, aux frais de l'Etat. Le duc leur offrait des terres, des maisons, ou matériaux de construction, des avances de fonds, des baux modérés et à long terme. Il leur proposa même de faire valoir leurs capitaux au 10 %.

¹ C. C. Rec. et Mém., T. A. A., No. 18, p. 137. Comte de Dohua à Mirmand.

² Sans compter celles de Dundalk et de Innishannon qui furent fondées en 1737 et 1760.

d'intérêt, jusqu'à concurrence de cinquante mille écus. Sur-tout il leur garantissait le libre exercice de leur culte, à charge par eux d'entretenir leurs pasteurs, tant qu'ils conserveraient le rite calviniste, mais promettant de les payer, dès qu'ils se rallieraient à l'Eglise anglicane. On appelait cela "*se conformer*"; les colonies qui adoptaient les rites de l'Eglise anglicane et sa liturgie, traduite en français, étaient appelées "*conformistes*," tandis que celles qui restaient strictement calvinistes, et qui gardaient la liturgie et la discipline des Eglises de France, s'appelaient "*non-conformistes*".

Dès 1662, le parlement irlandais promulgua une loi, confirmée dix ans plus tard, en 1672, pour encourager l'émigration protestante dans ce pays. En 1674, le vote du parlement accordait aux Français réformés le droit de naturalisation et l'entrée gratuite dans les corporations, pendant sept ans, moyennant un serment dit de "Suprématie". Après l'accession au trône de Guillaume III, le premier parlement irlandais qui siégea fut celui de 1692; il était composé de zélés orangistes. Son premier acte fut de reconnaître la légitimité des souverains, et par son second acte, il renouvelait le bill de 1674, dont l'expérience avait démontré l'efficacité, et accordait aux colons français, pour sept nouvelles années, la naturalisation, avec le libre exercice de leur religion selon leur rite particulier. Il abrogeait même le serment de Suprématie. Ces conditions, beaucoup plus libérales que celles que l'Angleterre offrait aux réfugiés, attirèrent des milliers de huguenots en Irlande; et même bon nombre de leurs familles, déjà fixées en Angleterre, quittèrent ce pays pour l'Irlande. En 1697, le parlement proposa de prolonger pour une période de dix ans l'acte de naturalisation de 1692, en faveur des protestants étrangers, en y ajoutant des privilèges additionnels pour les Eglises non-conformistes: ainsi la Chambre des Communes irlandaise, dans son adresse à la Couronne, du 14 octobre 1697, lui proposait de défrayer un ecclésiastique étranger, partout où les protestants dépasseraient le chiffre de 50 familles. Dès 1674, en suite du vote favorable de la nation, les réformés fondèrent les colonies de Dublin, Cork, Waterford, Lisburn et Kilkenny. Ils y établirent des manufactures de toile, de soieries, de dentelles, de drap et de gants. Ces industries étaient en pleine activité, lorsqu'éclata la révolution de 1688, qui mit Guillaume III sur le trône d'Angleterre.

Encore une fois l'Irlande fut déchirée par la guerre civile, plusieurs colonies furent ruinées; le pays ne jouit de quelque repos qu'après la paix de Limerick, en 1691.

C'est à l'époque du bill important de 1692, que Mirmand et Galway élaboraient leur projet de colonisation en Irlande avec les commissaires du roi, et tandis que celui-ci appelait les réfugiés de Suisse, par son envoyé d'Herwart, les seigneurs irlandais leur faisaient des propositions particulières. Ces causes déterminèrent la masse des réfugiés de Suisse à partir pour l'Irlande; et lorsque, en septembre 1693, le roi retira son invitation, et abandonna son projet, nombre d'entre eux persistèrent dans leur résolution et se mirent en route, malgré tous les obstacles. Ce n'était pas l'exode général qu'on avait rêvé; mais l'émigration par groupes isolés, qui, avec l'aide de Mirmand et des Etats-Généraux, parvinrent à gagner l'Irlande, et y fondèrent les colonies dont nous allons parler.

Purdon¹ distingue deux catégories parmi celles-ci : celles qui avaient une Eglise constituée, avec pasteur et chapelle, et celles qui n'en avaient pas, parce qu'elles ne comptaient pas cinquante familles.²

Les premières étaient les suivantes :—

Dublin, qui eut jusqu'à quatre Eglises françaises simultanément.

Cork, qui en eut deux; *Portarlington*, *Waterford*, *Lisburn*, *Kilkenny*, *Carlow*,³ *Innishannon* et *Dundalk*, qui en eurent chacune une.

Les colonies sans église ni pasteur furent : *Belfast*, *Lambeg*, *Wicklow*, *Youghal*, *Bandon*, *Tallow*, *Killeshandra*, et *Castleblaney*.⁴

II.—DÉTAILS SUR LES COLONIES.—DUBLIN.

Colonie du duc d'Ormond, qui établit à Chapelizod quelques ouvriers en toile, en 1666. Trop pauvre pour entretenir son culte, la congrégation devient conformiste; elle obtient avec le traitement de son pasteur la chapelle de St. Patrick, sous le toit de la cathédrale de ce nom, où le

¹ C. D. Purdon a écrit sur les réformés français en Irlande une brochure et divers articles, publiés dans le *Journal d'archéologie de l'Ulster*, auxquels nous nous référons souvent.

² *Ulster Journal of Archaeology*, ii., 1854. Il y eut des congrégations non-conformistes à Dublin, Cork, Carlow, Waterford, Portarlington, Lisburn.

³ Purdon met Carlow au nombre des colonies sans pasteur, mais M. F. de Schickler la cite comme en possédant un. (Notes MSS.)

⁴ Castleblaney, omis par Purdon, est indiqué par M^r de Schickler comme une colonie à laquelle un pasteur avait été promis.

culte fut célébré en français, de 1666 à 1816. Dès le 7 octobre 1694, l'Eglise se reconstitua selon les règles des anciennes Eglises de France, et fut gouvernée par leur discipline. A la Révocation, la colonie prit une grande extension par l'arrivée des nouveaux émigrés ; en 1692, elle s'augmenta des militaires retraités de l'armée de Schomberg, et en 1693-94, par l'émigration de Suisse. Trois nouvelles congrégations se fondèrent : l'une, non-conformiste, dans l'Eglise des jésuites expulsés, s'appelait : " Eglise française de St. Brigide, ou de St. Pierre " ; la seconde, non-conformiste, s'appelait : " Eglise française by the Inns, ou de Golblac " ; elles étaient situées dans Lucas Street et Peter Street ; la troisième Eglise, conformiste, celle de St. Mary, fut créée en 1701 par Galway ; en 1716 elle adopta les règles de l'Eglise de St. Patrick, avec laquelle elle se fonda en 1740. Les Eglises de St. Patrick et St. Mary eurent ensemble 5 pasteurs, 3 pour la première, 2 pour la seconde. Il y eut donc à Dublin quatre Eglises françaises, jusqu'en 1740.

La colonie était composée de nobles, de militaires, de marchands et d'artisans. Pour les loger, il fallut construire les rues de Pimlico, de La Combe, et de Spitalfields, noms des rues de Londres que les ouvriers avaient quittées pour s'installer à Dublin. Ils fabriquaient des soieries, des velours et des toiles, qui parvinrent à un tel degré de perfection, que leurs produits sont encore renommés. La " Popeline d'Irlande " occupa de nombreux artisans au 18^e siècle, mais les grèves firent dépérir cette industrie au 19^e siècle, et le quartier français de Dublin qui était le plus riche, en devint le plus pauvre. Les réfugiés aimaient l'horticulture ; ils ne négligeaient pas la littérature, et le révérend *Le Droz* fonda en 1744 le premier journal littéraire du pays. Deux cimetières étaient à leur usage, dans l'un d'eux fut enseveli *Jean Cavalier*.¹

En politique, la colonie de Dublin fut l'un des boulevards du parti protestant en Irlande, contre les entreprises de la faction jacobite. Elle était soutenue par les colonies voisines de Waterford, Lisburn et Portarlington, où s'étaient retirés de nombreux militaires mis à la demi-solde. L'influence salutaire qu'exercèrent les réfugiés se fit sentir à Dublin dans chaque progrès religieux ou social. La colonie subsista jusqu'au commencement du dix-neuvième siècle ; peu à peu elle

¹ Jean Cavalier, le chef Camisard, fit les campagnes d'Espagne en qualité de colonel anglais, fut gouverneur de Jersey, et vint finir ses jours en Irlande.

se fonda dans la population irlandaise, et de sa condition florissante d'autrefois il ne reste que le souvenir, consacré par les monuments funéraires élevés à plusieurs Français distingués. Citons les *Layard, Lapière, Bosnard, Perrier, Perrol, Lafarelle, Bron, Hautenville, d'Alzac, vicomte de Gêrac—France*, et ceux de quatre pasteurs inscrits dans les registres mortuaires de St. Patrick : *Jean Séverin* 1704, *Henri de Rocheblave* 1709, *Gabriel Barbier* février 1709-10,¹ dix-huit ans ministre de St. Patrick, *Louis Quartier* 1715.

Dans les registres des baptêmes de Dublin, nous relevons les noms de : *Comtesse* en 1668, 1680 et 1682, *Morel* en 1683, *Perrot* en 1683, *Robert* en 1682 et 1686, *Roy* en 1709.

III.—CORK.²

Cette colonie du duc d'Ormond ne prit de l'essor qu'après 1694. Son premier pasteur, Jacques Fontaine (1694-98), offrit de la desservir gratuitement, vu sa pauvreté. L'Eglise, réunie d'abord dans Christ Church, puis dans la cour du Comté et dans la maison de Fontaine, put enfin construire un temple pour son usage dans "French Church Street," le quartier français, qui en a conservé le nom, et forme actuellement la paroisse de St. Paul. La colonie, commerçante et industrielle, avait des distillateurs, raffineurs, fabricants de drap, et de ce fin tissu rayé, si apprécié autrefois, qu'on appelait *guingand*. Elle comptait aussi des gentilshommes et des officiers ; elle fut très importante, et son influence fut considérable sur la population irlandaise, avec laquelle elle évita longtemps de se mêler. Le 12 juillet 1699, le conseil de ville accordait l'entrée gratuite dans la communauté aux nommés : *Ant. Dufond, J. de la Croix, M. Ardouin, jun., Peter Guillot, Peter Guillot, jun.*, considérant qu'ils avaient quitté leur patrie pour le fait de la religion.³ En 1745, il y eut une nouvelle arrivée de réfugiés, industriels, qui fondèrent une seconde Eglise française à Cork. L'ancienne et la nouvelle se conformèrent, et demandèrent au gouvernement un salaire de £50 par an pour chacun de leur pasteurs. Ordre fut donné par *Lettres royales* du 25 novembre 1745,⁴ de leur pro-

¹ En Angleterre, l'année officielle finissait le 24 mars. De là la manière de désigner une année 1709-10. Du 1 janvier au 24 mars, on était dans l'année 1710.

² Cork, situé au fond d'une baie, au sud de l'Irlande, ville de cent mille âmes.

³ *Council Book of the Corporation of Cork*, published by M. Caulfields, 1876.

⁴ *Letters royal*, 25th November, 1745. *Irish Book*, ix., 468.

curer cette somme sur quelqu'établissement civil. *Jean Pic*, appelé de Genève en 1732, et *Jean Madras*, venu d'Amsterdam en 1735 furent tous deux pasteurs à Cork pendant près de quarante ans. A la mort de Madras, en 1774, Pic fit les fonctions des deux pasteurs, la colonie étant fort diminuée. Le révérend *Goedrel*, un Suisse, fut le dernier pasteur jusqu'en 1813; il ne restait alors que deux membres du troupeau. La florissante colonie se fondit peu à peu, il n'en reste que quelques descendants, et les noms des premiers colons, dont : *Mellière, Mazière, Jappé, de la Hayes, Perrier, Pelion, Hardi, Bernard, Bussy, Malet, Robinet, Cazalette, Lavitte, Ardouin, Bonneval*, etc.

IV.—PORTARLINGTON.

Cette colonie, la plus intéressante de celles d'Irlande, fut créée en 1693 par Lord Galway sur son domaine, province de Leinster, au nord de Kilkenny, sur le Barrow. Galway y appela 130 familles distinguées (celle de Bostaquet) parmi les anciens militaires de l'armée de Guillaume. Tandis qu'il leur bâtissait 100 maisons, sur le modèle de celles de France, avec église et école, les colons habitaient les villages voisins de Doolough, Monasterevan, Cloneydown et Lea. Portarlington n'était encore qu'une réunion de huttes appelée Cootleodra. Dès le 3 juin 1694, le culte fut célébré en français à Portarlington; il le fut jusqu'en 1817. L'Eglise se constitua officiellement en 1696, l'Etat payait £50 pour le pasteur; d'abord strictement calviniste, elle se conforma en 1702. En 1700, la colonie comptait 150 familles, et 130 maisons, deux églises et plusieurs écoles; elle eut une série de pasteurs distingués: *Gillet* en 1694, *Bellaquier, Darassus, Descasse, Daillon, Ligonier de Bonneval, Desvoires, Cailliard, Antoine Vuichon des Vœux, Jean des Vignoles* de 1793 à 1817, *Charles des Vignoles*, fils, en 1817, qui fut plus tard doyen d'Ossory. Le culte se fit en anglais, à partir de 1817. La paroisse subsiste encore, et le registre français, commencé en 1694, des baptêmes, mariages et enterrements y est conservé. Portarlington fut célèbre par sa société d'élite: c'étaient des gentilshommes et de grandes dames, d'une haute culture intellectuelle, de mœurs pures, d'une piété éprouvée. Après avoir beaucoup souffert et s'être vus dépossédés de leurs grands domaines de France, on les voyait gais, calmes et heureux, se contentant de la demi-solde du roi d'Angleterre. Leurs habitudes contrastaient avec les

mœurs rudes des seigneurs irlandais. Revêtus de leurs manteaux écarlates, les premiers colons se réunissaient sous les chênes, et buvaient du thé dans de petites tasses de porcelaine, en devisant des choses du passé. Ils étaient passionnés de leurs jeux nationaux et donnaient entre eux des bals et des concerts. Le meilleur ton régnait dans cette société, qui parlait un français très pur. Il s'est conservé au travers du dix-huitième siècle. Les colons plantèrent beaucoup d'arbres fruitiers ; le châtaignier, le noyer noir d'Italie, le poirier jargonelle y prospéraient. Les espaliers, savamment cultivés, donnaient des produits magnifiques, ainsi que les fleurs et les légumes, dans ce lieu privilégié qui rappelait la France, et qui était renommé par sa propreté et par le bien-être de ses habitants.

L'école des réfugiés jouit longtemps d'une réputation méritée ; beaucoup de jeunes Anglais et des fils des grandes familles irlandaises vinrent y faire leur éducation. Galway, bien que dépossédé dès 1700, par le parlement, de sa terre de Portarlington, ne cessa de prendre un vif intérêt à la colonie, et de la favoriser de toute façon. Elle comptait des artisans de tous les métiers : tisserands, bouchers, boulangers, charpentiers, maçons, tailleurs et cordonniers. Les *Blanc* furent bouchers de père en fils, pendant cent cinquante ans, ils existent encore sous le nom de *Blongy*. Les *Michaud*, fermiers des *Robillard* en Champagne, le furent encore dans la colonie. Le maçon *Laborde*, le forgeron *Capel*, le charpentier *Gautier* des environs de Bordeaux ont laissé des échantillons de leur travail, qui révèlent leur origine. Voici les noms des principaux habitants : *Fleury*, *Champagney*, de *Villier*, des *Vignoles*, *Lefèvre*,¹ vicomte de *Laval*, *Guion*, du *Petit-bose*, *Claverie*, *Labrosse*, de *Boyer*, de *Beauchant*, de *Mechinet*, *Franquefort*, de *Vidayel*, *Jean Nicolas*, lieutenant de cavalerie, etc.

En 1793, les émigrés de la Révolution rejoignirent à Portarlington ceux de la Révocation.

V.—WATERFORD.

Dès 1662, cet endroit fut désigné par le parlement pour y établir une colonie française, elle fut l'une de celles du duc d'Ormond ; sous Charles II. la municipalité était déjà protestante. Waterford était admirablement situé pour le

¹ Lefèvre fut choisi par Sterne, pour servir de héros à l'un des épisodes les plus dramatiques de son *Tristram Shandy*.

commerce, à l'embouchure de la Suir, au centre d'un riche pays agricole, dans le sud de l'île. La colonie se composait en 1693 de militaires en retraite de marchands, de fabricants et ouvriers en toile. Le maire Lloyd, le recorder Christian, l'évêque Foy favorisèrent les réfugiés; ce dernier leur procura pour leur culte la chapelle de St. Olave, dans l'ancienne abbaye des Franciscains, où le service français fut célébré de 1693 à 1819. Par égard pour l'évêque, la colonie devint conformiste. Son premier pasteur, *David Gervais*, recevait de la corporation de Waterford £40; il mourut en 1716. Son successeur, *Jacques Denis*, ne recevait plus que £5, mais il avait une prébende. La municipalité offrit en 1693 de payer 50 logements, et d'accorder le droit de communauté gratuite aux artisans en toile qui viendraient y introduire leur industrie, pourvu qu'ils pussent vivre jusqu'à la prochaine récolte du chanvre et du lin. *Latrobe*, l'associé de *Crommelin*, encouragé par le parlement irlandais, y fonda une manufacture de toile qui devint une source de richesse pour le pays. La ville fut bientôt en progrès sous tous les rapports, par le développement de la population, du commerce, des sciences et des arts. Les réformés possédaient de grands capitaux en espèces françaises, librement employées dans les affaires; une ordonnance de la couronne en ayant déterminé le cours. Le commerce des vins français, entr'autres ceux de Bordeaux, si recherchés des réfugiés, était en majeure partie entre les mains des colons de Waterford. Plusieurs d'entre eux s'élevèrent à un rang éminent dans la municipalité, et acquirent fortune et honneurs. Ainsi *Jean Espaignet* en fut sheriff en 1707, *Gayot* en 1709, *Vachon* en 1735, *Reynolds* en 1755. Il y avait deux médecins français, *de Rante* et *J. Reynette*. La succession des pasteurs de la colonie fut la suivante: *David Gervais*, *Jacques Denis*, *Guidon Richion*, *Georges Daubier*, *Daniel Sandoz*, *Josué Franquefort*, *Aujuste Devorie* de 1761 à 1762, enfin *Pierre-Auguste Franquefort* de 1762 à 1819. Les descendants des réfugiés parlèrent le français à Waterford, jusqu'à la fin du 18^e siècle. Il s'y trouve encore des *Labarte* et des *Fleury*, ceux-ci descendent d'un *Philippe-A. Fleury* qui fut consacré à Leyde en 1697, et fut envoyé en Irlande. Bien que la colonie ait cessé d'exister dès longtemps, son influence se fait encore sentir.

VI.—LISBURN, AUTREFOIS LISNAGARVEY.

Ce fut surtout dans la province septentrionale de l'Ulster, dans les comtés de Down et d'Antrim, que les huguenots cherchèrent un refuge ; ils y ont laissé une empreinte durable. Ils y retrouvaient avec sympathie des calvinistes écossais, chassés de leur patrie pour leurs convictions religieuses. Leur influence se manifeste encore par l'industrie prospère de Belfast et de la contrée environnante, tandis que les colonies du sud ont dépéri peu à peu. Lisburn, à dix milles au sud-ouest de Belfast, fut un de leurs séjours de prédilection. La ville, incendiée en 1641, avait été une des colonies du duc d'Ormond ; Crommelin choisit cet emplacement dévasté, pour y établir sa manufacture, qui tint le premier rang pour les toiles de l'Ulster. Il rebâtit cette ville, destinée à devenir l'une des plus riches colonies des réfugiés en Irlande. En 1697, le parlement irlandais, désireux d'importer l'industrie des toiles, et de faire concurrence à celles de Caen, rendit un bill pour favoriser cette fabrication. Guillaume III invita la même année *Samuel-Louis Crommelin* à venir en Irlande en prendre la direction. Celui-ci arriva de Hollande, en 1698, avec mille métiers et toute une colonie de tisserands. Depuis quatre cents ans, la famille Crommelin s'adonnait à l'industrie de la toile à Armandcourt, près de St. Quentin. Louis y avait travaillé trente ans ; mais à l'approche de la Révocation il réalisa sa fortune et se retira en Hollande. Nommé inspecteur de la manufacture royale des toiles d'Irlande, avec trois aides qui recevaient chacun £120, et une subvention de £5 par métier en activité, jusqu'à la mort de Guillaume III, Crommelin changea bientôt la physionomie du pays par sa capacité hors ligne ; il y apporta le travail et la richesse. Depuis les semailles du lin jusqu'aux dernières opérations de la blanchisserie, il s'occupait de tous les détails de la fabrication, et en fut le véritable fondateur. Ses toiles furent bientôt supérieures à tout ce que la Grande Bretagne avait jamais produit ; il y avait mis dix mille £ de sa fortune. En 1699 le roi lui accorda par lettres patentes divers avantages, et en 1707 le parlement irlandais lui décernait, ainsi qu'à 29 familles de tisserands, des remerciements solennels. Crommelin avait deux frères et une sœur, *M^{me} de la Cheroys* ; il ne laissa pas de fils ; son frère Guillaume dirigeait à Kilkenny la manufacture de toile, fondée par le marquis d'Ormond, comme son associé Latrobe la succursale de Waterford. Louis Crommelin fut enseveli en 1727 dans le cimetière de Lisburn.

Les familles *Du Bourdieu* et *Goyer* illustrèrent aussi la colonie, ce dernier en se remettant à fabriquer des soieries et de la batiste, comme il le faisait en France. Il y eut parmi les colons, les *Lavalede*, *Roche*, *Geneste*, de *Blaquières*, *Ferrin*, *Guillot*, *Saurin* et *Calvisson*.

La congrégation de Lisburn fut non-conformiste, elle eut son Eglise française jusqu'en 1798, et comme pasteurs : *Charles de la Valade*, pendant quarante ans, un second *de la Valade*, pendant deux ans et demi, puis *Saumarez Du Bourdieu* pendant quarante-cinq ans. Il y était encore en 1798, et fut seul épargné par l'insurrection. Le temple fut alors fermé, et *Saumarez* devint pasteur de *Lambeg*. La colonie se fonda dans la population.

VII.—KILKENNY.

Chef-lieu du comté du même nom, dans Leinster, au sud de l'Irlande, et bâti sur la *Norra*. C'était une colonie du duc d'Ormond. Elle ne prit de l'essor que lorsque le frère de *Crommelin* y dirigea énergiquement la fabrique de toile, à la fin du dix-septième siècle. La colonie, conformiste, se composait de nobles, de marchands et d'artisans ; elle eut comme pasteurs M^{rs} *David* et *Renoult*. Florissante à ses débuts, sa prospérité ne dura pas ; il n'en reste que le souvenir et une blanchisserie qu'on y peut voir encore. Les noms français de *Gillot* (1694) et *Balaquier* (1698) sont cités par *Purdon* dans sa notice sur *Kilkenny*.

VIII.—CARLOW.

Chef-lieu du comté du même nom, au centre de la province de Leinster. Cette colonie eut un pasteur français depuis 1693 environ ; elle était non-conformiste. Les émigrés qui la composaient n'ont laissé aucune tradition, si ce n'est le nom de la veuve du pasteur, à laquelle une pension fut accordée.

IX.—BELFAST.

Au fond de la baie du même nom, dans le comté de *Down*, province d'*Ulster*. La colonie française était composée des plus humbles soldats de l'armée de *Schomberg*, attirés par la renommée des familles huguenotes qui s'y étaient fixées avant la Révocation, entr'autres les *Le Burt*,¹ de *l'Holme*,

¹ *Le Burt*, d'où descend le Docteur *Byrt*.

Blaquières, Gillau, Goyer, Forcade et Gaussen. Elle ne paraît pas avoir eu d'Eglise constituée, mais le révérend *Jaques Saurin* avait été nommé vicaire, dans l'Eglise paroissiale de Belfast. Il ne reste rien de cette colonie, qui comptait une famille du nom de *Chartres*, venant de Bandon, et se disant descendre des Bourbons. Un membre de cette famille, appelé *Charters*, habite encore Belfast. Quelques colons émigrèrent à Lisburn, qui était dans le voisinage.

X.—BANDON.

Ville sur la rivière Bandon, non loin des côtes sud de l'Irlande, dans la province de Munster. Cette colonie, fondée vers 1693, n'eut pas d'Eglise française établie, elle fut bientôt absorbée par la colonie voisine de Cork, plus importante. Le lieutenant-colonel de Chartres, qui émigra plus tard à Belfast, était l'homme le plus considérable de la colonie de Bandon.

XI.—LAMBEG.

Cette colonie date de la même époque que Bandon, bientôt elle se fondit dans celle de Lisburn. Elle se composait de quelques ouvriers qui y avaient apporté leur industrie; un des colons portait le nom de *René Bulmer*.

XII.—WICKLOW.

Sur la baie du même nom, au sud de Dublin, province de Leinster. Elle reçut plusieurs familles huguenotes vers le temps du projet d'Irlande, dont l'une du nom de *Lefebure*. Cette ville était recommandée par Sailly, pour y établir des réfugiés, à cause de la proximité de la baronnie de Moskwicks, où il aurait voulu caser les six cents premières familles.

XIII.—YOUGHAL.

Cette colonie, essentiellement militaire, dans le genre de Portarlington, était bâtie sur la baie de Youghal, à l'est de Cork, province de Munster, dans l'Irlande méridionale. Une cinquantaine d'officiers, mis à la retraite après la paix de Ryswick (1697), vinrent s'y fixer, en suite de l'appel de la corporation, qui avait décrété qu'elle recevrait les étrangers en franchise, moyennant six pence par personne. Seulement le droit de vote ne devrait leur être accordé qu'au bout de

sept ans de séjour.¹ Cette colonie n'avait pas d'Eglise reconnue, mais M^r Arthur d'Anvers, ministre, qui en faisait partie y a probablement officié jusqu'en 1754, l'année de sa mort. Elle ne tarda pas à se confondre avec la population irlandaise ; cependant, lors de la nouvelle émigration de 1753, la corporation, désirant attirer les réfugiés français, décida qu'elle paierait £20 par an, pendant trois ans, pour chaque famille qui s'y établirait. Cette somme devait être prélevée sur les revenus de la commune.² Voici les noms de quelques familles françaises de Youghal qui sont aujourd'hui éteintes : *Boisroncl, Chaigneau, Colnon d'Anvers, Dehays, Delaffre, Dezières, Duclos, Falquières, Genu, Labatte, Legardin, Mazières, Perdu, Ricard, Rivière,*¹ etc. Il ne reste de la colonie que ses registres de paroisse et quelques tombes.

XIV.—TALLOW.

Dans le comté de Cork, province de Munster, au sud de l'Irlande et au nord de Youghal. Cette colonie fut fondée à la suite du projet de colonisation. Elle reçut quelques réfugiés ; il n'y reste qu'une famille du nom d'*Arnauld*. Tallow n'avait pas de lieu de culte.

XV.—KILLESHANDRA.

Colonie fondée dans les mêmes conditions que la précédente, sans pasteur. Parmi les quelques émigrés qui la composaient, on cite le médecin "*Lanauze*," surnommé "le bon médecin," à cause de son caractère essentiellement chrétien.

XVI.—CASTLEBLANEY.

Dans le comté de Monaghan, province d'Ulster. Il y avait une colonie française, établie à Castleblaney, depuis 1694 à 1695, sur promesse d'un ministre.³

¹ Révérend Samuel Hayman, *Ulster Journal of Archaeology*, ii., 1854.

² Council Book of the Corporation of Youghal.

³ C. C., Vol. 17, M. No. lxxviii. *Mémoire pour le Comité d'Irlande écrit de Dublin le 5 septembre 1698*, et suivi d'une lettre dont l'auteur est inconnu. Nous en extrayons ce qui suit :—

M^r *Labat* qui est commissaire à *Castleblaney* devra fournir du blé aux gens qui sont dans cette colonie, à raison de un baril par mois pour cinq personnes, et ce pendant un an, sans qu'ils en rendent rien. C'est le don du roi. Au printemps on leur avancera du blé pour semence qu'ils rendront en leur temps. M^r *Labat* priera Mr. *Blaney* (Seigneur du village) de faire faire de bonnes maisons, et de réparer les cheminées qui fument, etc., etc. . . . Il est ordonné aux réfugiés de vivre paisiblement et religieusement, d'être dociles et confiants envers leurs commissaires, de faire valoir les terres qu'ils recevront, avec défense de vendre ou tuer les chevaux ou bestiaux qu'on leur

XVII.—DUNDALK.

Dans le comté de Louth, en Leinster, au nord de Dublin, au fond du golfe de Dundalk. Elle reçut en 1737 une colonie d'ouvriers, tisserands en batiste, avec un pasteur, qui vinrent de France sous la direction de M^r de Joncourt.¹ Ils étaient appelés par la chambre de commerce (Board of Trade). Au bout de quarante ans cette colonie s'éteignit.²

XVIII.—INNISHANNON.

Au fond de la baie de Kinsale, dans le Munster, au sud de l'Irlande. Vers l'an 1760, une trentaine de familles d'ouvriers, habiles tisseurs de soie, arrivèrent de France, ayant à leur tête leur pasteur *Corteiz*.³ Le gouvernement favorisait l'élève des vers à soie et l'industrie des soieries. On planta des mûriers et l'on se mit au travail; mais après vingt ans d'essais malheureux, il fallut reconnaître que le pays n'était pas propice à cette culture. La colonie se dispersa, les ouvriers retournèrent à Spitalfields en Angleterre. Une seule des maisons de la colonie est restée debout; dans une paroisse voisine se trouve un champ surnommé: "le champ des mûriers". On conserve un livre de sermons et la montre du pasteur, qui porte les heures en relief, de telle sorte que la nuit, pendant les prêches du désert, le ministre savait, au simple toucher, quelle heure il était.

XIX.—CONCLUSION.

Les réfugiés ont joué en Irlande un rôle prépondérant, comme l'attestent les écrivains de ce pays. Plusieurs d'entre

remet. Mais s'ils se conduisent mal et qu'ils soient en scandale et non en édification aux naturels du pays, M^r Blanay sera prié de faire mettre en prison les blasphémateurs, déserteurs, ou dissipateurs des biens du roi, ou de les faire travailler dans des carrières, jusqu'à ce qu'ils aient rendu les avances qu'ils auront reçues. (Cette ordonnance avait été motivée par la mauvaise conduite de quelques réfugiés.)

History of the Presbyterian Church in Ireland, by James Seaton-Reid, London, 1853.

¹ Cette colonie est citée par M^r de la *Cheroys-Purdon*.

² *Actes wallons*, 1738: H. D^a Petitpierre quitte Tournay pour Dundalk. La famille Duval, réfugiée à Couvet (Canton de Neuchâtel), conserve un cahier de souvenirs, où se trouve mentionné en 1775 un parent, désigné "M^r Petitpierre d'Irlande".

³ Ce Pierre Corteiz est le neveu de Corteiz, le compagnon d'Antoine Court. Il étudia à Lausanne, fut consacré en 1744 par un synode provincial des Hautes-Cévennes. Il exerça son ministère dans ce pays et dans le comté de Foix, avec zèle et courage, jusqu'en 1752, malgré le danger de mort, et se retira avec une fort belle attestation de son dévouement. En 1755 il se retrouve à Zurich; c'est évidemment le même qui reçut l'ordination de l'évêque de Cork en 1760, et finit ses jours à Innishannon (*France protestante*).

eux arrivèrent à la pairie, ou siégèrent au parlement irlandais, un descendant de Saurin fut procureur général, d'autres parvinrent à des positions éminentes dans l'Eglise anglicane, dans le barreau, dans l'industrie ou dans le commerce. En 1751, il y avait dans l'île, parmi eux : deux généraux, six colonels, cinq majors, vingt-quatre capitaines. Dans l'Eglise nationale se trouvaient : un évêque, trois doyens, trente-trois ministres, et dix-neuf pasteurs d'Eglises françaises. A Dublin, on comptait 1763 personnes exerçant diverses professions.¹

En 1867, l'archevêque de Dublin réunissait *en sa personne, avec distinction*, deux noms français ; ceux de *Trench* (de la Tranche) et de *Chenevix*.² Mais peu à peu les descendants des "doux et utiles étrangers" se confondirent avec la population irlandaise, et firent partie de la nation.

Lorsque la liberté des cultes fut proclamée en France par la Révolution, il était trop tard pour les descendants des huguenots de retourner dans leur patrie.

Lady Morgan, dans ses *Mémoires*, dit, en parlant de Portarlington : "La dispersion des huguenots français et leur établissement en Irlande est un des plus grands avantages que notre pays ait retiré des fautes commises par les gouvernements étrangers. De grands prédicateurs, de savants légistes, hommes d'état éminents ont occupé de hautes positions à Dublin. Je peux parler d'après une connaissance personnelle des *Lefanu*, des *Espinasse*, des *Favre*, des *Corneille*, des *Le Bas* et de plusieurs autres, dont les familles habitent encore la capitale de l'Irlande."³

Nous constatons avec regret, en terminant cette étude, que l'émigration française en Irlande n'a pas été assez considérable pour transformer ce pays, pour en faire disparaître la paresse et l'abrutissement, en lui infusant un sang jeune, avec une religion nouvelle. Peu à peu les colonies, si florissantes à leur début, disparurent après une existence de plus d'un siècle. Si elles eussent été plus nombreuses, dit *Smiles*, il est probable qu'elles auraient exercé une influence salutaire sur les conditions de ce malheureux pays. Les populations irlandaises n'ont pas consenti à recevoir les enseignements des réfugiés, et à suivre les exemples d'application, d'honneur et de contentement qu'ils n'ont jamais cessé de donner, dans tous les pays où ils ont cherché un asile.

¹ F. de Schickler, *Essai sur les Eglises du refuge*.

² Son nom était Richard Chenevix Trench.

³ *Lady Morgan, Mémoires*, T. I., p. 106. Passage cité par *S. Smiles* dans son ouvrage : "*Les Huguenots*," p. 293. Traduction française.

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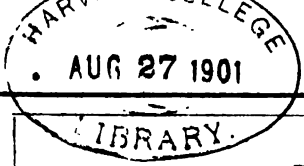
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