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THE LIVES OF MIDDLETON
—
A. C. BISCOE







1076

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THE EARLS OF MIDDLETON.

*THE EARLS OF MIDDLETON,
LORDS OF CLERMONT
AND OF FETTERCAIRN,*

AND THE

MIDDLETON FAMILY.

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CONTENTS.



	PAGE
EARLY HISTORY OF THE MIDDLETON FAMILY	I

JOHN MIDDLETON, FIRST EARL OF MIDDLETON.

CHAPTER I.

Character—Enters the army—Commands the horse at the bridge of Dee—Marries—Enters the service of the Parliament of England—Lieutenant-general under Sir William Waller—Resigns his commission in consequence of the Self-denying Ordinance—Robert Middleton murdered by Montrose's soldiers—John Middleton appointed second in command against Montrose—He and Leslie defeat Montrose at Philiphaugh—The Estates vote Middleton twenty-five thousand marks for his services—Commands the troops left in Scotland—His proceedings against Montrose—The latter ordered by the king to disband his forces ; hesitates, but finally holds a conference with Middleton, and agrees to quit the country—Middleton witness at his nephew's baptism—Appointed Commissioner of Estates belonging to Cavaliers—Proceedings against Huntly, who is at length captured by a division of his troops II

CHAPTER II.

PAGE

The Scotch disapprove of the conduct of the English Parliament towards the king—Division into three parties—The Duke of Hamilton raises forces for the defence of the king—Middleton appointed his lieutenant-general—Defeats some insurgents—Accompanies Hamilton to England—Made prisoner after the battle of Preston—Obtains permission to go to Berwick to see his wife—Sent for to London, but escapes on the way, and returns to Scotland—Makes insurrection in favour of the young king—Defeated by Leslie—The Covenanters resolve to acknowledge Charles II. as their king—His arrival in Scotland and their mortifying conduct towards him—Charles attempts to escape, and Middleton and others prepare to rise—The Royalists enter into a mutual agreement to defend the king, religion, and their country—Charles persuaded to command them to lay down their arms—Middleton appointed major-general of horse—Makes the principal defence at the battle of Worcester, but is made prisoner, and sent to the Tower—Cromwell wishes to get him tried for his life; but he contrives to escape, and joins Charles II. in Paris 38
--	-----------

CHAPTER III.

The Royalists in Scotland entreat the king to send Middleton with a force to their aid in the Highlands—Middleton endeavours to raise troops in Holland, and has good hopes of succeeding, should the proposed peace with England come to nothing—Peace is, however, proclaimed, and he raises but a small force—Lands in Scotland—Quarrels amongst the Royalists—Goes over a second time to Holland—Has some small successes—General Monk sets out for Scotland, and Middleton's troops grow discontented—Sore pressed by Monk—Attacked unexpectedly at Loughghary, and his army routed—Has some hopes of recommencing the campaign afresh, but is obliged to relinquish them and return to France—His letter from Dantzic—The king confers on him the title of earl, which with the title of Lord of Clermont and of Fettercairn are confirmed to him after the Restoration by letters patent—Copy of the patent, with translation 57
--	-----------

CHAPTER IV.

	PAGE
Middleton appointed High Commissioner to the Scotch Parliament—His state entry into the kingdom and regal reception—Opens Parliament—His abuse of power and intemperate habits—Annuls all Acts of Parliament passed since 1633—Proceedings against, and execution of, Argyle and others—Establishes Episcopacy in Scotland—The Act of Fines—Marriages of his daughters—Act of Balloting—Lorne impeached for leasing making—Lauderdale obtains his pardon from the king, and draws up an accusation against Middleton—The Scotch people displeased by Middleton's violent conduct towards the Presbyterians—Summoned to London to defend himself—Powerful friends intercede for him—Completes his own ruin by an act of rash folly—The king deprives him of all his offices—Returns to England, and receives a command at Rochester—Deaths of his elder daughter and wife—Appointed Governor of Tangiers—Marries a second time—Tries to obtain £1500 in advance of his pay—Goes to Tangiers, and dies there in 1673, from the effects of a fall down a staircase—Lady Middleton's epitaph—Monument erected by the Earl of Middleton still standing at Fettercairn—Description of it by Queen Victoria 106

CHARLES MIDDLETON, SECOND EARL OF
MIDDLETON. HIS LIFE AND LETTERS.

CHAPTER I.

His character—Early life—Appointed Envoy Extraordinary at the Court of Vienna—Shipwrecked with the Duke of York—Made Secretary of State for Scotland, afterwards for England—James II. entrusts to him the management of the House of Commons—Disapproves of James's system of government, but supports the Court party—Expostulates with the king—Resists all James's attempts to convert him to Popery—Directed by the king to disclaim any secret alliance with Louis XIV.—Proves

	PAGE
faithful to his sovereign in adversity—Present at Council—James's first attempt at flight—Middleton refuses to obey the summons of the peers—The king detained at Feversham—Middleton and others hasten to him, and entreat him to return to London—Middleton present at his last act of government—James compelled to go to Rochester—Determines on flight—Writes down his reasons for withdrawing, and directs Middleton to get them printed—Queen's ladies obtain permission to join her—Middleton remains in England—Warrant issued by Queen Mary for his apprehension—Escapes to France, but returns to England—Induces James to issue a more conciliatory declaration after the battle of La Hogue—Middleton heads the Compounders—Calumnies of his enemies—Succeeds Lord Melfort at St. Germain's 137

CHAPTER II.

Description of the Chateau of St. Germain's—James has some confidence in Middleton—Proceedings against the latter in Scotland for high treason—His letters from June 15th, 1693, until May 1st, 1696, chiefly concerning Queen Mary's death, and a proposed invasion of England, which proves a failure 168
---	------------

CHAPTER III.

Letters from June 20th, 1696, until December 8th, 1700, concerning some proposals to assassinate William III.—To correspondents in England—The escape of one Birkenhead—The queen's dowry—Some traitors—The King of Spain's will—A letter of the Earl of Melfort intercepted by William, containing some aspersions upon Middleton's character 224
--	------------

CHAPTER IV.

Illness and death of James II.—Middleton one of the Council appointed in his will to aid the queen—Letters concerning the queen's manifesto to the English—The Scotch wish the young	
--	--

	PAGE
king to go to Scotland—Middleton persuades the queen to refuse her consent—Falls under her Majesty's displeasure—Turns Roman Catholic, and retires into a convent for a year—Returns hastily to Court on learning of the promise extracted by Lovat from the queen—Persuades her to appoint a trustworthy person to watch Lovat—Lovat's return to France, and false account of his proceedings—Queen receives him favourably, and distrusts Middleton—Hurt feelings of the latter—Lovat's treachery discovered, and his imprisonment—Young king attains his majority—Middleton praises his industry—Life at St. Germain's—Princess Louisa and her ladies— <i>La belle</i> Middleton—Hamilton's songs upon her	255

CHAPTER V.

Letters concerning Colonel Hooke's visit to Scotland—The attempted invasion of 1708—The <i>Salisbury</i> captured by Sir George Byng, and Middleton's two sons made prisoners—Queen tries ineffectually to obtain their release—Renewed propositions for peace—Chevalier offers to leave France—War continued ...	295
---	-----

CHAPTER VI.

Another attempt to procure the liberation of the Middletons—Released on bail June, 1711—Queen, princess, and Lady Middleton visit the king's remains—Marlborough's intrigues—Death of the Princess Louisa—Her brocaded petticoat—Harley gives hopes that the Protestant succession may be changed—Chevalier leaves France—Middleton accompanies him as his principal adviser—Peace of Utrecht—Louis XIV. agrees to acknowledge Anne as Queen of Great Britain—Lady Middleton disapproves of the queen's residence at Chaillot—Chevalier listens to the insinuations of Middleton's enemies—He offers to resign his post—Queen entreats him to remain with her son—Letters to English correspondents	332
--	-----

CHAPTER VII.

PAGE

Peace of Utrecht signed—Rejoicings at Chaillot—Lady Middleton's fears that the queen's prayers will injure her health—Endeavours of her Majesty to amuse her ladies—Middleton resigns his office, December 14th, 1713—Reports in consequence that the Chevalier is about to change his religion—Denies the truth of these in a letter to his mother—Anne's reason for not appointing her brother her successor—Middleton returns to St. Germain, and is appointed to the office of Great Chamberlain—Harley and Marlborough make public proof of their perfidy towards the exiled family—Lord Clermont made prisoner a second time during the rebellion of 1715—Released probably in 1717—Queen Mary Beatrice dies, 1718—Middleton's death in the following year—His sons die without issue some time after—Lady Middleton survives until 1745—The dates of her daughters' deaths	360
--	-----

THE DESCENDANTS OF ALEXANDER MIDDLETON, D.D., PRINCIPAL OF KING'S COLLEGE, ABERDEEN, AND BROTHER OF JOHN, FIRST EARL OF MIDDLETON	379
--	-----

EARLY HISTORY
OF THE MIDDLETON FAMILY.

THE EARLS OF MIDDLETON.

EARLY HISTORY OF THE MIDDLETON FAMILY.

THE surname of Middleton is derived from the lands of Middleton, or Middletown, in the county of Kincardine.

Sir George Mackenzie,¹ a contemporary of both the earls, says :—"Middleton beareth parti per fess, Or and Gules, a Lion Rampant, countercharged of the one and the other. . . . The Chief of the name is the Earl of Middleton, who beareth the foresaid Coat, with the addition of one Royal tressure, also counter-

¹ Sir George Mackenzie, Lord Advocate of Scotland, a learned man, well versed in the Scotch laws. He received a commission from Charles II. in 1654 to raise forces for General Middleton's campaign in the Highlands. He was created by James II. Viscount Tarbat, Lord MacLeod, and Lord Castlehaven, and by Queen Anne Earl of Cromartie. Died in 1714, aged 84.

charged ; and above a Coronet, helmet, and Mantling suitable to his dignity ; next upon which on a wreath, is placed for his Crest a Tower Sable, with a Lion Saliant, gules, upon the top thereof, supported by two Eagles Sable, armed and crowned, or, with these words, '*Fortis in Arduis.*'"

He goes on to quote the words of a charter, as if he had seen it, granted by King Duncan to one Kenneth, of the lands of Middleton. It is thought, however, probable that David, not Duncan, was the monarch intended, since Malcolm, called the son of Kenneth, obtained a confirmation of the charter from William the Lyon, grandson to King David. In ancient charters the initial letter of the king's name is often given only, which may have caused the mistake. This Malcolm assumed the name of his property, and called himself Malcolm de Middleton.

Umfridus, or Humphrey de Middleton, witnessed a charter to Walter de Lundin, in the reign of Alexander II

Umfridus de Middleton was witness to a grant of Robert de Cunningham and Richenda Barclay, his wife, of their whole property in the parish of Fordun to the church of St. Thomas the Martyr, of Aberbrothwick, in the twenty-fourth year of Alexander III., that is 1272-3.

The name of another Umfridus de Middleton is

found in the list of those barons who, in 1296, submitted to Edward I. From Rhymer's "Fœdera" (vol. ii. p. 1015), we learn that he did homage for his lands in the county of Kincardine, March 15th, 1306.¹

In the year 1317, one Gilbert Middleton, who began life as a soldier, became a robber knight, and was elected chief of a band of outlaws. Whether he belonged to the same stock cannot be said for certain, but as Gilbert was a family name (see afterwards), it is not improbable. Middleton, with his companion Selby, attacked in the above year, near Durham, the bishop-elect of that diocese (who was on his way to receive consecration) and two of the Pope's nuncios, who were travelling in his train, bearing with them letters from his Holiness to the King of Scots, commanding a cessation of hostilities for two years, between England and Scotland. Undeterred by their sacred character, Middleton and Selby robbed these reverend persons of every farthing, after which they allowed the nuncios to continue their journey, but detained the bishop until the ransom they demanded was paid, which was so exorbitant that the plate and jewels of the cathedral had to be sold to defray it.²

In Macfarlane's and Haddington's collections in

¹ Search in the Records.

² Sir Walter Scott's *History of Scotland*; Froissart's *Chronicles*.

the Advocate's library, the next four Middletons are mentioned.

Wilhelmus de Middleton, *Dominus de eodem*, had a charter from King James I. of the land of Innerkany, 1430.

Gilbertus de Middleton was one of the inquest, in 1466, concerning some lands belonging to the Abbey of Aberbrothwick.

Laurentius de Middleton, designated *Dominus de eodem*, is mentioned in an instrument of seisin to Andrew Lord Gray, 1481.

Gilbertus de Middleton was one of the inquest on the service of Patrick, fourth Lord Gray, 1515, and executed the office of sheriff of the county of Forfar in 1516.

John Middleton of Middleton, the first of that Christian name, probably son or grandson of Gilbert, the sheriff of Forfar, exchanged, in 1539, his old property of Middleton and Drumquharbir for the lands of Nethersailt of Halkerton, elsewhere called Kilhill, and other lands in the same county, belonging to David Falconer of Halkerton, which exchange was confirmed by two charters under the Great Seal. After this he was styled Middleton of Kilhill, instead of Middleton. He married, firstly, Isobel Falconer.

In 1552, John Middleton likewise obtained a charter of the lands of New Fibber and Davidstoun,

in the county of Forfar, from John Scrymgeour of Dudhope, Constable of Dundee. In 1557, a second wife of his is mentioned—Catharine Strathachin, or Strachan. He had two sons, John and Alexander.

To his elder son, John Middleton resigned in 1564 the lands of Nethersailt and two-thirds of the lands of Bent, reserving, however, the life-rent and freehold of the same lands during his own lifetime, and the lifetime of his spouse, Catharine Strachan.

Mention is made of "Alexander, the second son of John Middleton of Kilhill," in a royal charter granted in favour of George Middleton, burgess of Aberdeen.

John Middleton of Kilhill, the elder son, had three sons, John, Robert, and Francis.

John, the eldest, following the example set by his grandfather, the first John Middleton, resigned in 1606 his lands of Kilhill, etc., to John Levingston of Donypace; James Levingston of Caldhome, his brother; and David St. Clair, fiar of Matharis. In consequence of his thus resigning them, without consent of the king, his superior, the lands were forfeited to the Crown; but a royal charter bestowing them upon James, lawful son of John Levingston of Donypace,¹ was granted in 1607.

¹ Probably John Levingston of Donypace had died since 1606.

John Middleton, in the stead of Kilhill, obtained the lands of Caldham, or Caddam, from Alexander Strachan of Thornton, and was thenceforward called Middleton of Caldham, or Caddam. Having seemingly no issue, he conveyed his estates to his second brother, Robert, in 1612.

Robert married Catherine Strachan (sometimes called Helen¹), daughter to Alexander Strachan of Thornton, from whom his brother had acquired the estate of Caldham. The time when he succeeded his brother is uncertain. His wife is first mentioned December 18th, 1618, on which day he "infeoffed her in life-rent in thirty-four acres of outfield land, of the lands of Caldham."

The name of the youngest brother, Francis, appears as witness to many of Robert's deeds.

Robert Middleton of Caldham, or Caddam, and Catherine Strachan, his wife, had four sons:—

1. John, afterwards Earl of Middleton.
2. Alexander, Principal of King's College, Aberdeen.
3. Francis, documented by a seisin of 25th April, 1640, wherein he is described as brother-germain of John Middleton, eldest lawful son of Robert Middleton of Cadham.

4. Andrew Middleton of Pitgarvie, who in 1690

¹ Middleton Pedigree Papers.

purchased the lands of Balbegno, in the county of Kincardine.

“The cadets of the family,” says Sir George Mackenzie, “are Middleton of Kilhill, Middleton of Grierstoun, and Middleton of Borland,” etc.¹

¹ “State of the result of the Searches made in the Records concerning the family of Middleton,” undertaken by order of Lord Barham, about the year 1815.

JOHN MIDDLETON,
FIRST EARL OF MIDDLETON.

CHAPTER I.

Character—Enters the army—Commands the horse at the bridge of Dee—Marries—Enters the service of the Parliament of England—Lieutenant-general under Sir William Walter—Resigns his commission in consequence of the Self-denying Ordinance—Robert Middleton murdered by Montrose's soldiers—John Middleton appointed second in command against Montrose—He and Leshe defeat Montrose at Philiphaugh—The Estates vote Middleton five thousand marks for his services—Commands the troops left in Scotland—His proceedings against Montrose—The latter ordered by the king to disband his forces; hesitates, but finally holds a conference with Middleton, and agrees to quit the country—Middleton witness at his nephew's baptism—Appointed Commissioner of Estates belonging to Cavaliers—Proceedings against Huntley, who is at length captured by a division of his troops.

CLARENDON¹ has given General John Middleton a place amongst what have been called his "inimitable portraits."² He describes him as an excellent officer who kept up the spirits of his comrades, and was much beloved by them. "Many of the Parliament," he says, "had a greater regard for Middleton than for any other of his country, knowing him to be a

¹ Edward Hyde, Earl of Clarendon, Lord High Chancellor of England, born 1608, died 1674.

² Memoirs of Prince Rupert, by Eliot Warburton.

man of great honour and courage, and much the best officer the Scots had." Their hatred towards him was proportionate, when he joined the Royalist party.¹

In a letter to Sir Edward Nicholas,² Secretary of State, during the campaign in Scotland in 1653, Clarendon speaks of the general as "a very gallant person, of good understanding and great truth, and one from whom he never heard the least brag; but says he would prefer to hear of their business from Nicholas, rather than from Middleton himself, as the latter is too short in his relations."

The king (Charles II.), in speaking of Middleton to Clarendon, said "that he had the least in him of any infirmities incidental to his party, that he (Charles) knew; and that he was a man of great honour and ingenuity, with whom Clarendon would be well pleased." On another occasion he praises his discretion and temper.³

Samuel Pepys, who knew him during the latter years of his life, describes him as a great soldier, fine and stout: one who had done the king good service; a man of moderate understanding, who had seen much of the world; usually "of but few words,"

¹ History of the Rebellion.

² Sir Edward Nicholas, for many years principal Secretary of State to Charles I. and Charles II., dismissed from his office through the intrigues of Lady Castlemaine. Died 1669, aged 77.

³ Letter from the king to Middleton in Clarendon Papers.

like most of the other Scotch gentry he had met with ; but able to converse when he chose well and sensibly, so that it was a pleasure to listen to him.

He remarks also that Middleton was said "not to be covetous," which good reputation he probably acquired in 1648, when he was appointed by the Scotch Parliament commissioner concerning the estates belonging to Cavaliers. He made peace then with the Earl of Seaforth, and took nothing from him ;¹ but unfortunately his conduct at the time of his administration in Scotland tells a different tale, the obnoxious Act of Fines passed by him having for its chief object the enrichment of himself and friends. Pepys himself discovered afterwards, in his dealings with him as treasurer for Tangiers, that Lord Middleton was possessed of much shrewdness, and was a thorough Scot. He grumbled about his profits and perquisites as governor being diminished, and said that the garrison must be increased. Such conduct was, however, excusable, as he was a "soldier of fortune" and "a needy lord," and his son-in-law, Lord Morton, was at the time in distressed circumstances."²

Unfortunately his career is, on the whole, a most

¹ Gordon.

² Compiled from the different notices of Lord Middleton in Pepys' Diary.

disappointing one, the distinguished acts of his youth and middle age being overshadowed by the habit of intemperance into which he fell in his later years. To the pernicious practice of daily drinking to excess, in which he indulged to such an extent as to be almost irresponsible for his actions, he owed a premature death; and to the same cause may also in a great measure be attributed that exercise of unjust and arbitrary authority, for which he is so much censured by Wright and other historians.

The first mention of Catherine Strachan, the wife of Robert Middleton, is on December 18th, 1618, on which day her husband infeoffed her in the life-rent of certain parts of the lands of Caldham. It is probable, therefore, that John, their eldest son, was born about the year 1619. Alexander, the second son, is mentioned first in the records, being witness with Robert Middleton, his father, on June 29th, 1635, to a translation of David Ramsay of Balmain, of the lands of Craignistoun, in favour of James Strattoun of Fettercairn. John, called eldest lawful son of Robert Middleton, of Caddam, is first mentioned as witness to a seisin in favour of James Straquhane of Fettercairn, May 11th, 1637.¹

John Middleton entered the army as a pikeman²

¹ Search in the Records.

² Douglas's Peerage of Scotland. Wright also says that he rose from the ranks.

in Hepburn's regiment, which was sent to France, but was probably soon raised from the ranks. In the end of 1638, the supreme council of the Covenanters¹ at Edinburgh, resolving on resistance to Charles I.'s authority, recalled all Scotch officers engaged in foreign service ; and on June 19th, 1639, we find mention of Middleton's name as a captain in Montrose's army.²

"He was but eighteen³ years of age," says Clarendon, "when he was first led into rebellion, and he lived to wipe out the ill footsteps of his youth."

Spalding describes thus quaintly the well-appointed state of Montrose's troops, on their entrance into Aberdeen, March 30th, 1639 :—

"Upon the morne, being Saturday, they came in order of battell, weil armed, both on horse and foot, ilk horseman having five shot at the least, with ane carabine in his hand, two pistols by his sydes, and other two at his saddell toir ; the pikemen in their ranks, with pike and sword ; the musketiers in their

¹ The famous Covenant contained a form of renunciation of Popery, which had been formerly signed by James I. in his youth, to which was added a bond of union, by which the subscribers obliged themselves to resist religious innovations, and to defend each other against all opposition whatsoever. It was signed by persons of both sexes, and of all ages, ranks, and conditions.

² James Graham, the celebrated Marquis of Montrose, born 1612, executed 1650.

³ If born in 1619, he would be about nineteen in the end of 1638.

ranks, with musket, musket staffe, bandelier, sword, powder, ball, and match ; ilk company, both on horse and foot, had their captains, lieutenants, ensignes, serjeants, and other officers and commanders, all for the most part in buff coats, and in goodly order. They had five colours or ensignes : whereof the earl of Montrose had one, haveing this motto, '*For Religion, The Covenant, and The Countrie;*' the earle of Marischall¹ had one, the earle of Kinghorne² had one, and the town of Dundee had two. They had trumpeters to ilk company of horsemen, and drummers to ilk company of footmen ; they had their meat, drink, and other provision, bag and baggage, carryed with them, all done be advyse of his excellence Felt Marschall Leslie,³ whose councill Generall Montrose followed in this business. Now, in seemly order, and good array, this army came forward, and entered the burgh of Aberdeen, about ten hours in the morning, at the Over Kirkgate Port, syne came down throw the Broadgate, throw the Castlegate, out at the Justice Port to the Queen's Links directly. Here it

¹ The ancestor of this nobleman, Sir William Keith, Knt., was created Earl Marischall by James II. of Scotland, in 1458.

² John, second Earl of Kinghorne, succeeded to the title 1615, died 1647. His son married Middleton's daughter Helen.

³ Sir Alexander Leslie, created in 1641 Lord Balgony and Leven by Charles I. He supported the Parliament, but became loyal after the murder of the king. Died in 1662 at an advanced age.

is to be notted, that few or none of this haill army wanted ane blew ribbin hung about his craig, down under his left arme, which they called the *Covenanters' Ribbin*. But the Lord Gordon,¹ and some other of the marquess' bairnes and familie, had ane ribbin, when he was dwelling in the town, of ane reid flesh cullor, which they wore in their hatts and called it *The Royall Ribbin*, as a signe of their love and loyalltie to the king. In despyte and derision thereof, this blew ribbin was worne, and called *The Covenanters' Ribbin*, be the haill souldiers of the army, and would not hear of the royall ribbin; such was their pryde and malice."²

We need not describe all the proceedings of Montrose's army, but pass on to the following June, when Middleton's name is honourably mentioned. The Viscount of Aboyne,³ son of the Marquis of Huntly, resolving to hinder Montrose from crossing the Dee, blocked up the southern entrance of the bridge with a wall of turf, near which, upon the bridge, he placed a hundred musketeers, under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel Johnstone, with in-

¹ George Lord Gordon, eldest son of the Marquis of Huntly, fell at the battle of Alford, July 2nd, 1645.

² Spalding.

³ James, Viscount of Aboyne, second son of the Marquis of Huntly, died of grief in France in 1649, on hearing of the execution of Charles I.

structions to annoy the assailants from the small turrets on its side. In the work of blocking up the entrance he received much effectual assistance from the citizens of Aberdeen.

Montrose, on arriving at the bridge (June 18), commenced a furious cannonade upon the works, which, although kept up the whole day, produced but little effect. Johnstone and his musketeers defended the bridge bravely, and directed a hot fire upon their assailants. On the following morning Montrose renewed the attack, but still unsuccessfully. Despairing of taking the bridge by force, he had recourse at length to the stratagem of sending a party of horsemen to some distance up the river, who were to make as though about to cross it. Aboyne, deceived by this manœuvre, despatched the whole of his horse to dispute their passage, leaving only Johnstone and his musketeers on the bridge. Montrose immediately sent back the greater part of his horse, under the command of Captain Middleton, with instructions to renew the attack with redoubled energy. This officer lost no time in obeying orders. Lieutenant-Colonel Johnstone, being wounded at the outset by a stone, was forced to abandon the defence, and retire with his party to Aberdeen. When Aboyne saw the colours of the Covenanters flying on the bridge of Dee, he fled in haste to Strathbogie.

Montrose, after crossing the river, proceeded immediately to Aberdeen. His followers were so much exasperated at the repeated proofs of loyalty given by the inhabitants, that they wished to raze the town to the ground. Their general, however, opposed their design with great firmness, and they were forced to content themselves with treating the citizens harshly, and imprisoning any whom they suspected of assisting in the works on the bridge.

Fortunately for the people, tidings were brought on the following day of the treaty of pacification entered into between the king and his subjects, one condition of which was that the Scotch forces should be disbanded within eight and forty hours. This order Montrose immediately prepared to obey.

The king, before removing his army from Berwick, required the heads of the Covenanters to visit him. Only five commoners and three lords, however (Montrose, Loudon, and Lothian¹), obeyed the summons. At this interview Charles contrived to make a complete convert of Montrose, who thenceforward became one of the most fervent supporters of the royal cause.²

¹ Sir William Kerr, Knt., married Anne, Countess of Lothian, elder daughter of Robert, second Earl, and was raised to the peerage June 24th, 1631, by the title of Earl of Lothian.

² Spalding.

John Middleton's military services being no longer required, he employed himself in getting married in the month following. His wife was Grizel, daughter of James Durham, of Pitkerrow, and sister of Sir Alexander Durham. This lady, whose Christian name should be pronounced with the accent on the second syllable, was probably much older than her husband, since she had been twice married before; firstly to Sir Alexander Fotheringham, or Fotheringham of Ballindrone, and in 1630 to Sir Gilbert Ramsay, of Balmain. Before his marriage his father infeoffed him in the lands of Caldhome.¹

In 1642 John Middleton entered into the service of the Parliament of England.² In July, 1643, he having then attained the rank of colonel, and commanding a force of five hundred horse and dragoons, had a "handsome, smart conflict" near Keinton, or Edgehill, in Warwickshire (already celebrated for the first battle of the war), with a regiment of the king's horse, commanded by Sir Charles Lucas.³ After a very soldierly contest, and when more blood had been drawn than was usual upon such actions, the Royalists were a second time victorious in this place, succeeding, after some loss on their own side, in

¹ Search in the Records.

² Douglas's Peerage of Scotland.

³ A distinguished Cavalier, executed in cold blood by Lord Fairfax at Colchester in 1648.

slaying one hundred of their enemies, and in capturing some prisoners of name.¹

In this same year Middleton, Sir James Ramsay, and James Hepburn were made major-generals.²

Although Sir William Waller's³ army had been completely routed in the battle of Roundway Down, fought July 13th, the Parliament voted that a second force should be levied under him, and Middleton was appointed his lieutenant-general. Again, however (June 29th, 1644), Waller was defeated at Cropredy Bridge, and his troops being much stunned and disheartened, the king thought that he might safely leave him and march westward against Essex.⁴ Waller himself then went to London, but sent Middleton, with a body of 3000 horse and dragoons, to follow the king, and wait upon his rear, with orders to reduce on the way, Donnington Castle, near Newbury, the house of a private gentleman in which were a company or two of the king's foot. This place was thought to be of such little strength that it would be delivered up probably as soon as demanded, but Middleton found it instead so well defended by

¹ Clarendon.

² Guthrie's Memoirs.

³ Sir William Waller, a Parliamentary general, born 1597, died 1668.

⁴ Robert Devereux, Earl of Essex, Commander-in-chief of the Parliamentary army, born 1592, died 1646.

the governor, Colonel Bois, that after losing 300 of his officers and men in attempting to take it, he was compelled to apply to the Governor of Abingdon to send an officer and some troops to "block it up from infesting that great road into the West," while he himself continued his march to follow the king.

On reaching Somersetshire, he learned that magazines of all provisions, for the supply of the royal troops, were sent daily by strong convoys to Exeter, there to await further orders. To surprise these he sent Major Carr, with 500 horse, who fell upon the village where the convoy was, and would probably have obtained possession of it, had not Sir Francis Doddington come to the relief of the Royalists with a troop of horse and some foot from Bridgewater.

After a sharp conflict, Carr's party was totally routed; he himself and many other officers taken prisoners, about thirty or forty men killed, and others desperately wounded. "This sharp encounter," says Clarendon (in which kind of affair, he tells us, always many more men are lost than are killed or taken prisoners), "so put a stop to Middleton's march that he was glad to retire back to Sherborne, that he might refresh the weariness and recover the spirits of his men."

The king had in the mean time been following

Essex, and having received reinforcements from all quarters, now appeared in the field with an army greater than the enemy's. Essex retreated to Cornwall, and in consequence of Middleton's non-appearance, his troops were cooped up in a narrow corner at Lestithiel, and deprived of all forage and provisions. Finding himself pressed on all sides, and learning that the forces intended for his relief had met with an unexpected defeat or obstruction, he despaired of all succour, and escaped with some of his principal officers in a boat to Plymouth. The foot, under Skippon,¹ surrendered, and being deprived by the king's orders of their arms, artillery, baggage, and ammunition, were conducted to the Parliamentary quarters and dismissed. Some of the Royalists complained that too easy quarters were granted to these vanquished troops; but the king's army was not so strong as it was reported to be; besides which, he was alarmed at hearing that Middleton was now at Tiverton.

The Parliament, instead of reproaching Essex for his misfortune, voted him thanks for his fidelity, courage, and conduct, and rearmed his troops. These they now ordered to unite with the forces of Manchester, Cromwell, Waller, and Middleton, and together to offer battle to the king at Newbury. In

¹ A blunt and brave Parliamentary general.

this, the second battle of that name, Charles was defeated, and forced to retreat to Oxford, leaving his baggage and ammunition at Donnington Castle. Thither the Parliamentary armies now repaired ; but the king, having obtained reinforcements from Prince Rupert, advanced upon them. Manchester, although his forces were much superior, declined an engagement against Cromwell's advice ; and on November 9th the royal army succeeded in bringing off their cannon in the face of the enemy. After this, both armies went into winter quarters.¹

The disputes amongst the generals and the two parties into which the Parliament was divided, the Independents and Presbyterians, now increased. The Independents, thinking that the present commanders were more desirous to protract than to finish the war, wished to dismiss them, and remodel the army entirely ; but as the popularity of Essex and the other generals was great, they resolved to obtain their object in an indirect manner. Voting that a solemn fast should be held for the purpose of invoking God's assistance to extricate them from their perplexities, their preachers contrived to attribute all their divisions to the selfishness of the members of Parliament, who, they said, monopolized all the lucrative offices in the Government. On the

¹ Clarendon ; Rushworth.

following day, Sir Henry Vane,¹ a leader of the Independents, referring to these accusations, proposed that each member should relinquish any office attended by profit and advantage, and set the example himself by resigning the treasurership of the navy. Cromwell joined with him, suggesting the remodelling of the army, as the only means of repressing the vice and disorder so prevalent amongst the soldiers.

In spite of the counter-arguments of the Presbyterians, a committee was chosen for the purpose of framing what was called "the Self-denying Ordinance," which excluded the members of both Houses from all civil and military employments, with the exception of a few offices. After some opposition, the ordinance passed both Houses; and in consequence, Essex, Manchester,² Waller, and Denbigh³ resigned their commissions, as did also Middleton, on account of the complete remodelling of the army.

Being thus dismissed from the English service, "he was at liberty," says Clarendon, "to do what he

¹ Sir Henry Vane, eldest son of Sir Henry Vane, Secretary of State to Charles I., born about 1612; beheaded on Tower Hill for high treason, 1662.

² Edward, second Earl of Manchester, a Parliamentary general especially distinguished for his victory of Marston Moor. He refused to sanction the murder of the king, and in 1660 voted for the Restoration of Charles II. Died March 14th, 1682.

³ Basil, second Earl of Denbigh. He and his father took opposite sides during the Civil War. Died November 28th, 1675.

thought best for himself." Cromwell and the other members had indeed no right to proceed against him as they afterwards did, as though he had revolted from them whilst in their employ, Cromwell contrived himself to retain his own office by a political subtlety.¹

John Middleton's second brother, Alexander, had in the mean time embraced the peaceful life of a minister, first at Rayne, then at Old Aberdeen. After this he became Professor of Philosophy in King's College in that city, and was constituted Sub-Principal of the same in 1642. On November 9th of that year, the register of Machar, or Old Aberdeen, shows that Mr. Alexander Middleton, Sub-Principal of King's College, and Margaret Gordon, daughter of Mr. Thomas Gordon, of Kethok's Mill, gave up their banns of marriage, and were married on the 17th of January, 1643. Their eldest son George was baptized February 25th, 1645.²

The royal cause now (1645) rapidly declined in England; but the loss of the battle of Naseby and the surrender of Bristol were somewhat counter-balanced by the brilliant successes of Montrose in Scotland.¹ His victories were much sullied by robbery and bloodshed. While overrunning Kincardineshire, a party of his brutal soldiery entered the dwelling

¹ Clarendon; Rushworth.

² Search in the Records.

of Robert Middleton at Caldhome, and overjoyed, doubtless, at having in their power the father of one of the opposing generals, killed him sitting in his chair.¹

After quitting the service of the English Parliament, Middleton joined the army of his countrymen in England. In the following August he was appointed second in command (David Leslie² being first) of the forces sent against Montrose, who in the battle of Kilsyth, fought on the 15th of the month, had completely routed the army of the Covenanters.

The first intention of General Leslie was to march towards Stirling, in order to cut off Montrose's retreat to the Highlands; but on being informed by some traitor that the forces of the latter were at this time greatly diminished by the desertion of the Highlanders, who had in a body demanded permission to return home, to make winter provision for their families, he resolved instead to follow and surprise him, whenever a suitable opportunity offered. Such an one was not long in presenting itself. On September 12th, Montrose arrived at Selkirk, and encamped for the night near a long level piece of ground, named Philiphaugh. Having important letters

¹ Search in the Records.

² A distinguished general related to Lord Leven.

to write to the king, he did not this evening take his usual precautions of superintending the night-watch and giving instructions to the sentinels himself, but intrusted the duty to officers in whom he believed he could confide. These assured him that all was safe ; but at that very moment Leslie's forces lay encamped within a distance of six miles.

Concealed by the thickness of the fog, Leslie and Middleton arrived, unobserved, within half a mile of Montrose's quarters. So soon as the latter perceived them, he resolved, although possessing a far inferior force, to attack them. A sharp conflict ensued. Montrose and his party fought with great valour, but they were overpowered, and completely routed. After some persuasion, Montrose allowed himself to be convinced that it was his duty to escape, and not to throw away a life so useful to the king.¹

After the battle of Philiphaugh, Middleton went for a time to Aberdeen, where he commanded a force of 800 foot and 600 horse.²

At a Convention of the Estates held at Glasgow soon after the battle, it was resolved to bestow presents upon the two generals for their services ; to Leslie were given fifty thousand marks and a gold chain, and twenty-five thousand marks to Middleton.³

Montrose, after his defeat at Philiphaugh, escaped

¹ Guthrie ; Wishart ; Gordon.

² Gordon.

³ Guthrie.

into Athol, where he hoped soon to muster sufficient forces to enter upon a new campaign. He met, however, with unexpected opposition from the mean jealousy of the Marquis of Huntly,¹ who, envious of the superior fame and glory acquired by Montrose, did not scruple to endanger the safety of the crown and kingdom, to gratify his own spleen and mortified vanity. Many friends of Huntly's, however, announced their intention of following Montrose, as the king's lieutenant, regardless of consequences, and he at length obtained a force of about 300 horse and 1200 foot.

Before long, complaints were made to the Committee of Estates, by the Scotch people, of the great burden of supporting so large a body of men as Leslie's army, who had acquired extravagant habits during their residence in England. It was resolved, therefore, that only a small brigade should remain under Middleton's command, and the rest return to England with Leslie. Some of the prisoners taken at Philiphaugh were executed without trial; others were condemned to death by the Parliament in the January following. One, named Adjutant Stuart, contrived to escape while in Middleton's charge.²

¹ George Gordon, second Marquis of Huntly, a staunch adherent of Charles I., beheaded March 30th, 1649.

² Wishart; Balfour.

About this time, "Middleton attacked Montrose's house, and took it on surrender. Many were shot, the castle burnt, and all the arms and ammunition taken."¹ On March 16th, 1646, he burnt the castle of Kincardine. In April he besieged and took Tilligabilly from the Laird of Drum, to whom it belonged at that time ; after which he took the castle of Fyvie, on which occasion he spared the lives of all the garrison who were not Irish,² or runaways ; and then attempted to beat up Gordon's quarters in Mar, but was repulsed by Aboyne.³

Huntly, still bent on rivalling Montrose, neglected to afford him the aid he had promised in the siege of Inverness, in which undertaking Montrose was now engaged ; but conceived instead the project of taking Aberdeen, which he hoped might render him more his equal. He accordingly began his march thither, but was met on the way by Lindsay, Earl of Crawford,⁴ who informed him that Middleton was approaching Aberdeen with a considerable force, which intelligence caused him to abandon the idea for the present. Again Montrose sent to entreat Huntly to join him,

¹ Whitelocke's Memorials of English Affairs.

² The Scotch Covenanters regarded the Irish with much aversion, and never gave them any quarter.

³ Gordon's Continuation.

⁴ John Lindsay, fifteenth Earl of Crawford, afterwards High Treasurer of Scotland.

that they might both either reduce Inverness, or march together upon Middleton at Aberdeen; but he still neglected to comply. Montrose had just resolved to compel his obedience, being now in a position to do so by the late accession to his side of the Earl of Seaforth, when the advance of Middleton prevented him.

In the beginning of May; General Middleton left Aberdeen at the head of his army, with the intention of attacking Montrose at Inverness, leaving behind him, for the defence of the town, a regiment of horse and another of foot, under the command of Lieut-Colonel Montgomery. He made a rapid march, and arrived in the neighbourhood of Inverness, May 9th, driving before him a few troops of horse, which Montrose had stationed on the Spey to watch his movements. Wishart gives a different account, saying that Lord Lewis Gordon¹ (who then kept the Castle of Rothes) prevented these troops from offering any obstruction to the advancing army by an act of treachery. After observing them for some time, he sent out messengers to assure them that the enemy was far distant (although he was well informed to the contrary), and to invite them into the castle, where he kept them well plied with wine and spirits, until "Lord Middleton" had crossed the Spey with a

¹ Lord Lewis Gordon, third son of the Marquis of Huntly, succeeded to his father's title.

large army, when he bade them farewell, saying, "Go, return to your general, Montrose, who will now have better work than he had at Selkirk." This story is thought by the author of the "History of the Highlands" to bear its own condemnation upon the face of it, since it is improbable that Montrose's officers would have permitted their men to leave their posts, even if they had accepted Lord Lewis's invitation for themselves. The fact of calling Middleton "Lord Middleton" at this time seems a further argument against its truth.

Montrose drew up his troops together when he heard of Middleton's approach; but on learning that his cavalry was strong, he crossed the river Ness hastily. Middleton sent two regiments after him, who killed many men, seized the baggage, took two pieces of cannon, which the queen had sent to him by Captain Darcy, and finally compelled Seaforth and himself to fly to the mountains. Thus the siege of Inverness was raised.

Middleton continued to pursue Montrose by Beaulieu into Ross-shire, but suffered some loss in the pursuit. It was not the policy of the latter to come to an engagement, on account of the inferiority of his forces; he turned therefore to the right, and, passing by Loch Ness, marched through Strathglas and Stratherrick to the banks of the Spey.

Middleton, instead of following him, attacked the castle of the Earl of Seaforth, in the canonry of Ross, and took it after a siege of four days. To the Countess of Seaforth, who was within the castle, he behaved with much politeness and consideration, restoring it to her uninjured, after removing the ammunition, as his duty and prudence required of him.

In the mean time, Huntly, taking advantage of Middleton's absence from Aberdeen, had at length accomplished his design of seizing that town. Being abandoned, however, by many of the Highlanders, he thought it as well to retire before Middleton's return. The latter, indeed, retraced his steps as soon as he learned what had happened, and followed Huntly into Mar, where he cut off some of his men. He soon discontinued the pursuit, because he had no foot, and Huntly was better versed in the passages of that country than he was, and returned to Aberdeen, which he found to have suffered much from Huntly's visit.¹

After this, Montrose again in vain solicited an interview with Huntly. He had then just determined on going for a tour through the Highlands, to raise, if possible, further forces, when a most unwelcome messenger arrived from the king, commanding him to disband his army immediately, and retire into France,

¹ Gordon's Continuation.

where he would receive further directions. This order filled Montrose with the greatest consternation and dismay. It had been, he did not doubt, extorted from the king. Did he obey it, the royal cause would be entirely abandoned in Scotland, for which, if persisted in, he had still great hopes ; besides which, all those friends who had afforded him aid would be left entirely to the mercy of their enemies. On the other hand, to refuse might endanger the king's safety, as he might be supposed to be acting under secret instructions. After consulting with the other Royalists, he determined to keep his army together, until he could send a private messenger to Charles, and receive his answer.

The king, however, in reply, could but repeat the same command. In a private letter received July 16th, 1646, he assured Montrose that, should he refuse to comply, he would be placed in a sad position, which he would rather leave to him to imagine than seek himself to describe.

Montrose had therefore nothing for it but to submit, and consent to negotiate with Middleton, who had received ample powers from the Committee of Estates for so doing. The two held a conference on July 22nd, in a meadow near the river Isla, in Angus. "None was near them," says Guthrie, "but one man for each of them, to hold his horse." The

following conditions were resolved upon during the two hours they conversed together:—That Montrose, Crawford, Hurry,¹ and Graham of Gorthy should transport themselves beyond seas, in a ship to be provided by the Estates; and that the remainder, with the exception of Sir Alexander Macdonald, should be pardoned on making their submission. Montrose quitted Scotland on the third day of September following. This capitulation was ratified by the Estates.²

A little more than a fortnight after this interview with the illustrious Montrose, August 9th, 1646, we find General Middleton assisting at a very different scene. He acted as witness or godfather at the baptism of the second son of his brother Alexander, which fact is recorded in the register of Old Aberdeen, where he is styled General-Major Middleton. The child received his illustrious uncle's name of John, lived to grow up, and became a clergyman in the county of Essex.³

After peace was concluded, Middleton was appointed Commissioner concerning estates belonging to Cavaliers. He made peace with Seaforth, and took nothing from him; but Huntly refused to acknowledge him, and remained in arms.⁴ When the Estates

¹ Sir John Hurry, or Urry, a traitor to both parties, who was constantly changing sides.

² Wishart.

³ Search in the Records.

⁴ Gordon.

assembled, November 1st, Middleton applied by letter for more forces to suppress the Gordons, and it was resolved to send Henry Barclay's regiment and another to his aid. Early in 1647 David Leslie was likewise sent to him.¹

After the delivery of the king to the English Parliament the Scotch army returned home. It was now remodelled, reduced to a force of 6000 foot and 1200 horse, and placed under the command of Lord Leven, Lieutenant-General David Leslie, General-Major Middleton, and General-Major Holburne. Middleton was likewise made Governor of the Boig, and under him Lieutenant-Colonel John Toms.

In April Leslie was sent southwards with part of the forces, and the rest remained with Middleton. Huntly was still in arms in the mountains.

Middleton pursued Huntly through Glen Moriston, Badenoch, and other places. He soon afterwards captured three of Huntly's chief friends, Gordon of Innermarkie, Gordon the younger of Newton Gordon, and the Laird of Harthill, and sent them to Edinburgh, where the two latter were executed in the following October. Huntly himself was captured about November, 1647, by Lieutenant-Colonel Menzies, in Strathdon, just as he was retiring to rest. Ten gentlemen who were with him made a gallant

¹ Guthrie.

resistance, but they were all either killed or mortally wounded.¹ Some Irish servants of his, who were quartered near, were taken prisoners by Menzies, and carried to Middleton at Strathbogie, who sternly gave orders that they should be shot on the spot—an act of shocking, and it seems very unnecessary, severity.²

The first thing to be considered by the Committee of Estates, when they met on December 2nd, was Middleton's communication that the Marquis of Huntly was his prisoner. They despatched orders to send him to Edinburgh without delay.³

¹ Gordon.

² Spalding.

³ Guthrie.

CHAPTER II.

The Scotch disapprove of the conduct of the English Parliament towards the king—Division into three parties—The Duke of Hamilton raises forces for the defence of the king—Middleton appointed his lieutenant-general—Defeats some insurgents—Accompanies Hamilton to England—Made prisoner after the battle of Preston—Obtains permission to go to Berwick to see his wife—Sent for to London, but escapes on the way, and returns to Scotland—Makes insurrection in favour of the young king—Defeated by Leslie—The Covenanters resolve to acknowledge Charles II. as their king—His arrival in Scotland and their mortifying conduct towards him—Charles attempts to escape, and Middleton and others prepare to rise—The Royalists enter into a mutual agreement to defend the king, religion, and their country—Charles persuaded to command them to lay down their arms—Middleton appointed major-general of horse—Makes the principal defence at the battle of Worcester, but is made prisoner, and sent to the Tower—Cromwell wishes to get him tried for his life; but he contrives to escape, and joins Charles II. in Paris.

MUCH discontent against England had arisen in the Scotch army during the latter part of their stay in that country. They could not help perceiving that when their assistance became less required, they were valued less; besides which, the rise of the Independent party in the English Parliament gave them

great concern. This party, not satisfied merely with rejecting Episcopacy, protested against all ecclesiastical government whatsoever, to which length the Scotch Presbyterians were not prepared to go; and deeply mortified them by speaking slightly of the Covenant, which they did not hesitate to term openly in Parliament, "An almanac out of date."

The after imprisonment and the indignities offered to the king the people of Scotland considered likewise subversive of the Covenant, which they believed required them to protect his person, although it might in some instances compel them to curtail his authority. At this time three parties prevailed in the country—first, the Royalist party, which wished for the restoration of the king's authority without any restriction whatsoever, at the head of which was Montrose; secondly, the rigid Presbyterian, which rejected the king unless he agreed to sign the Covenant, headed by Argyle;¹ and a third moderate party, to which Middleton belonged, which hoped to reconcile the interests of the king with those of the Covenant.² The Duke of Hamilton,³ chief of the last mentioned, now took advantage of the general feeling of the country to obtain permission from the Committee of

¹ Archibald Campbell, Marquis of Argyle, born 1598, beheaded for high treason 1661.

² Hume.

³ James, first Duke of Hamilton, born 1606, beheaded in 1649.

Estates to raise a body of men (not to exceed forty thousand) for the defence of the king. He openly professed a great zeal for the Covenant, and a determination to unite with the English Presbyterians, but entered also into secret communication with some Royalists of that country. Argyle and his party distrusted from the first this "engagement" of Hamilton's, as it was called, which they feared would end in the restoration of monarchy without the establishment of the Presbyterian religion,¹ and did their utmost to stir up the people to oppose the levying of troops.

In June, 1648, the Earl of Callender and Middleton were sent to the west with a force of 10,000 foot, and 1600 horse, to the aid of Colonel Urry and Colonel Turner. On the tenth day of that month the Clydesdale men rose. Middleton, who led the advanced guard, charged them heavily, but only forty men were slain. The remainder of Callender's force, however, coming up soon afterwards, obliged the Clydesdale men to retire.

Middleton after this was appointed lieutenant-general of horse in Hamilton's army.

The most formidable rising occurred at Mauchline in Ayrshire, in which place a considerable body of insurgents assembled, headed by several ministers; but these were defeated and dispersed by Middleton

¹ Hume.

Hamilton raised his forces but slowly, and instead of the levy of 40,000 men, succeeded in collecting only 15,000. The English Royalists began to murmur at the delay, and compelled him to march sooner than he should have done with prudence. On July 8th he entered England by the western border, and was met by Sir Marmaduke Langdale,¹ with 4000 Cavaliers. By these English Royalists he was persuaded against his better judgment to attack General Lambert² at Carlisle. That general, having received orders from Cromwell not to engage with the Scots until he joined him, immediately retired, and the town was delivered up to the Royalists.

Hamilton was unable to derive the full benefit he might have done from the aid of the English Royalists, because, on account of their not having signed the Covenant, he was compelled to keep the two armies separate. By reason of the same religious differences, also, he was forced to neglect their advice of marching through Yorkshire, where the people were well disposed towards the king, and to go instead through Lancashire,

¹ Sir Marmaduke Langdale, a gallant English gentleman. He raised a troop in the king's service, and gained some advantages over the army of the Parliament. Created by Charles II. Lord Langdale. Died 1661.

² John Lambert, a Parliamentary general. He assisted Cromwell in obtaining the Protectorate, but opposed his taking the title of king. Was tried and condemned after the Restoration, but received a pardon, and was banished to Guernsey. Born about 1620, died 1692.

because the inhabitants of that county favoured Presbyterianism. Although Lambert refused to engage with the Scots, he contrived to retard their movements by continual skirmishing. At the expiration, therefore, of forty days, they had only moved onward eighty miles.¹

Amongst the records there is a royal charter of Charles I., bearing date this very time (July 29th, 1648), granting to John Middleton *supremi ducis exercitus locum tenens generalis* (lieutenant-general) and Grissel Durham, his wife, and the longest liver of them, in conjunct fee, and the heirs legitimately procreated or to be procreated between them, of the barony of Fettercairn, in the county of Kincardine, formerly belonging to James Strachne.²

The slowness of the duke's movements gave Cromwell time to reduce Pembroke, and to effect a junction with Lambert, before the Scotch army could reach Preston. Cromwell marched upon Clitheroe, where Sir Marmaduke Langdale was stationed, obliging that officer to fall back upon the Scotch army near Preston. He immediately sent notice to Hamilton that Cromwell would, in all probability, attack him on the following day, August 17th, and begged that he would hold himself in readiness to assist him. Unfortunately these

¹ Gordon ; Guthrie ; Hume.

² Search in the Records.

tidings were disregarded. Cromwell attacked Langdale, as the latter had foreseen; but when, after a resistance of some hours, he was forced to retire into Preston, the Scotch army, with the exception of the Duke of Hamilton, had abandoned the town, leaving the enemy in possession of the bridge. Langdale immediately disbanded his infantry, and, with his cavalry and Hamilton, swam across the Ribble.

The Scotch army continued to retreat during the night and the day following, when the duke rejoined them. The foot, under Baillie, was overtaken at Warrington, and forced to surrender. Hamilton, finding himself compelled to leave it to its fate, fled with all the cavalry, but his rear was soon attacked by the Parliamentary army.

Middleton behaved with great gallantry, and made the best¹ defence; but his horse being shot from under him,² he was made prisoner, and sent to Newcastle. The duke escaped, but surrendered afterwards at Uttoxeter.³

After a while Middleton obtained permission to go to Berwick to see his wife. Perhaps he had at the same time a glimpse of his children. He had one son, Charles, now about eight years old, and two little girls, Grizel and Helen.

Whitelocke, in his "Memorials of English Affairs,"

¹ Guthrie.

² Douglas's Peerage.

³ Gordon.

brings at this time a disgraceful accusation against Middleton, but Gordon's version seems to clear him from dishonourable conduct.

"Major-General Middleton," says the former, "who was on his parole at Berwick, brake his word and went to Scotland."

This is Gordon's account: "Middleton was detained prisoner at Berwick, having obtained licence to come thither to see his ladie; but they sent ane troop of hors to bring him to London, to bear his general (Hamilton), who was prisoner, company. By good fortune he escaped from them by the way, and returned to Scotland, where he raised new troubles afterwards."

The description "detained prisoner at Berwick" sounds almost as if his parole had ceased even before he was sent for to London. He would therefore be at liberty to escape.

Middleton's exact reasons for turning Royalist do not seem to be explained. Even the rigid Presbyterians amongst his countrymen, however, wished to preserve the royal authority, and were shocked at the murder of the king, which took place either during Middleton's imprisonment or soon after his escape. How much more then must it have affected the engagers or officers of Hamilton's army, who had already fought and suffered in their sovereign's defence!

The supreme power in Scotland was now in the hands of Argyle and the rigid Covenanters, who exercised the severest vengeance upon all who had borne part in Hamilton's engagement, compelling them to do public penance for taking arms in their sovereign's cause (which they had done by authority of the Committee of Estates), before admitting them into any trust or office. Middleton and many others preferred to retire to the Highlands, and to remain there in concealment, until an opportunity offered of serving the young king.¹

On February 22nd, 1649, Thomas Mackenzie of Pluscardin, brother of the Earl of Seaforth, and others, made an insurrection which was probably connected with Montrose's projected descent. Middleton marched against them, and induced the insurgents, after razing the fortifications of the town of Inverness, to fly for shelter to the mountains of Ross.

This seems strange conduct on his part; but perhaps he thought it advisable not to display his royalty too soon. He soon, however, seems to have thrown off the mask, and in concert with Lord Ogilvie² and others, organized another insurrection in Athole, in favour of Charles II. This rising Leslie

¹ Clarendon's History of the Rebellion; Hume.

² James Lord Ogilvie, son of John, first Earl of Airlie, was taken prisoner at Philiphaugh, but contrived to escape in his sister's clothes. Died at the close of the seventeenth century.

soon suppressed ; after which Middleton and Ogilvie united with Pluscardin, and marched into Badenoch, where they were joined by the new Marquis of Huntly (the Lord Lewis Gordon before mentioned). They then attacked and took the Castle of Ruthven.¹

The Committee of Estates, on learning this, published a declaration against Middleton, Ogilvie, and Huntly,² and sent David Leslie against them.

Leslie divided his force into three divisions : one, under the command of the Earl of Sutherland,³ he sent forward to collect troops ; to the second he gave orders to hinder the Royalists from taking shelter in the mountains of Ross ; and with the third he himself entered Badenoch, and marched southwards towards Glenesk—by which movement he compelled them to leave Badenoch, and to march down Spey-side towards Balveny. On reaching the latter place, the Royalists determined to negotiate with Leslie ; for which purpose Middleton and Pluscardin set out with a troop of horse to meet him, leaving Huntly, Reay,⁴ and Ogilvie in charge of the forces. During their absence, however, the detachment under Sutherland unexpectedly attacked this party (May 9th), killed about eighty men, and took Lord Reay and about

¹ Gordon.

² Whitelocke.

³ John, thirteenth Earl of Sutherland, died 1663.

⁴ John Mackay, second Lord Reay.

400 men prisoners. Huntly and Ogilvie, who were quartered at about a mile's distance, escaped.

These two, with Middleton and Pluscardin, found themselves now obliged to make such terms as they could with Leslie ; but he merely exacted from them security to keep the peace, and suffered them to go free.

The failure of this insurrection was considered by Montrose as a great but not irreparable misfortune ; had it but been deferred until his invasion, the result to both might have been more fortunate.¹

At the General Assembly, held at Edinburgh in the July following, Middleton would have been excommunicated, had he not appeared and spoken boldly for himself. With some difficulty he was allowed four months to make up his mind whether he would subscribe the declaration emitted by the Assembly against the engagers, or not. He was, however, afterwards excommunicated.²

After Montrose's landing, Middleton was sent for by the Estates. "He was," says Whitelocke, April 23rd, 1650, "likewise an officer in the service and pay of the Parliament ; he revolted from the Parliament, and was now in service in his own country, and backward. He was yet to engage in this business (under Montrose), not liking it, and pretending to be ill."³

¹ Gordon.

² Balfour.

³ Whitelocke's Memorials of English Affairs.

The first part of this statement, that "he was at this time an officer in the service and pay of the Parliament, and that he revolted from it," we have already seen to be untrue. Although backward to serve the Committee of Estates, he probably, as a member of the moderate party, which hoped both to reconcile the interests of the king and the Covenant, hesitated before committing himself to the ultra-Royalist faction.

His pretended illness, perhaps, did him some service, as he does not seem to have taken a marked part after Montrose's landing.

This attempted invasion was, as is well known, a failure, and Montrose himself was executed May 21st.

The dislike in which Argyle and his party held the Independents rendered them averse to a republic, and in favour of a limited monarchy. Immediately after the execution of the king, they proclaimed his son Charles II., under stipulations, however, which considerably weakened his authority. Middleton and the other officers in the Highlands thought it advisable, on hearing this, to put themselves in a posture to serve him upon his arrival, and accordingly assembled some of the troops which had formerly served under them.¹

About this time they entered into and signed an

¹ Hume ; Clarendon.

agreement "to join firmly and faithfully together, and neither for fear, threatening, allurements, nor advantage, to relinquish the cause of religion, of the king, and of the kingdom; nor to lay down their arms without a general consent: and as the best undertakings did not often escape censure and malice, they promised and swore, for the satisfaction of all reasonable persons, that they would maintain the true religion, as then established in Scotland; the national covenant, and the solemn league and covenant; and defend the person of the king, his prerogative, greatness, and authority; and the privileges of Parliament, and the liberty of the subject."¹

The king, being persuaded to submit to the conditions required of him, arrived in Scotland June 23rd, 1650. Before landing he was required to sign the Covenant; all his faithful friends, who had been engagers, were separated from him; the heads of the Covenanters seldom left him, and constantly addressed to him long discourses, reminding him of the sins of his father and grandfather, and the idolatry of his mother.

The English Commonwealth, fearing lest an union between the Presbyterians of both countries might lead to the establishment of monarchy, determined to invade Scotland. Fairfax² and Cromwell were ap-

¹ Balfour.

² Thomas Lord Fairfax, General-in-chief of the Parliamentary army in place of the Earl of Essex; born 1611, died 1671.

pointed commanders, but the former refusing to act, the chief power devolved upon the latter. Leslie was appointed general of the Scotch army.

So great were the mortifications to which the Covenanters continued to subject the king, that he regarded their defeat in the battle of Dunbar more with satisfaction than otherwise. Through the medium of his physician, Dr. Fraser,¹ he contrived to enter into a correspondence with the Royalists in the Highlands ; but the Parliament discovering this, passed an Act to dismiss the few Cavaliers who yet remained about him, on the plea that their bad counsels had led him to this step.²

This was more than Charles could endure patiently. On pretence of hawking, he made an attempt to recover his liberty. Although pursued and brought back, this "start" of his, as it was called, had the effect of rendering the Covenanters more regardful of his feelings for the future, lest he might contrive to unite with Middleton, whose force was reported to be 8000 strong.

To conciliate him they even suspended the Act dismissing his friends ; and, in return, the king agreed to writè letters, enjoining the Royalists to lay down their arms.

These letters led to a protracted negotiation. Middleton returned the following answer :—

¹ Afterwards Sir Alexander Fraser.

² Clarendon.

“MOST SACRED SOVERAINE

“Your Majestie’s loyal and faithfull subjects nowe in armes had no End of ther raising, but that which was just and honourable; and since your Majestie’s honour, and preservation was maynlie aym’d at, by all of us; wee shall never act anie thing that may tend to your Majestie’s prejudice; or ruyne (ruin) of this kingdome. I was redye in obedience to your Majestie’s commands to have com’d to Perth; but in regard the Noblemen and Gentlemen, nowe in armes, have put their commands upon me, they have thought fitt, to send my Lord Ogilvie, and Generall Major Van Drosk, fullie instructed: but because your Majestie’s condition is not knowen to us, it is desired that the Earl of Dumfermling be sent pledge for ther saife returne. It is the humble desire of all heire, that your Majestie wold look upon us, as persones that have nothing before us, but your Majestie’s interest, and in particular, that I am redye to perish, rather than disobey your Majestie’s commands; as most Sacred Sovereaine your Majestie’s most loyall, most faithful and obedient subject and servant,

“JO. MIDDLETONE.

“Glams October 22 1650.

“For the King.”¹

¹ Extract from Correspondence of Sir Robert Kerr, first Earl of Ancram, and his son William, third Earl of Lothian, from 1649 until 1667. Published at Edinburgh, 1875. .

To enforce the king's orders, the Committee of Estates sent General Leslie northwards with a force of horse and foot.

Middleton, who was then in Forfar, sent, on hearing of his approach, a copy of the declaration which he had signed, stating at the same time that the only aim of himself and his friends was to unite Scotchmen in the defence of their common rights. This, he believed, was the same wish professed by Leslie himself. Such being the case, he (Middleton) proposed to join Leslie and put himself under his command, only expressing a hope that Leslie would not, if possible, shed the blood of his countrymen, or force them to shed the blood of their brethren in self-defence. A negotiation was finally concluded between Leslie and Middleton at Strathbogie. The latter laid down his arms on condition that the king should be forthwith crowned, and the Estates and Kirk ordered him to take his command again.¹

The king was crowned, by order of the Parliament, January 1st, 1651.

On January 12th, Middleton was released from his excommunication, and did his penance in sackcloth in Dundee Church. On the same day Colonel Archibald Strachan (who had gone over to Cromwell's army) was excommunicated, and "delivered to the

¹ Balfour ; Whitlocke.

devil," in the church of Perth, by Mr. Alexander Rollocke.¹

The king was now appointed captain-general of the Scotch army; the Duke of Hamilton,² lieutenant-general; David Leslie, major-general; Middleton, major-general of the horse; and Massy,³ major-general of the English.⁴

Clarendon says that "David Leslie was lieutenant-general before Worcester."

Unfortunately "there was no good understanding between the officers of the army. Leslie appeared dispirited and confounded; gave and revoked his orders. He did not love Middleton, and was very jealous that all the officers loved him so well; who was indeed an excellent officer, and kept up the spirits of the rest, who had no esteem of Leslie."⁵

Whitelocke says, soon afterwards, that "it was reported that Middleton was coming up to Stirling with 8000 men; and on May 23rd, that letters said that the Scots drew up together eight regiments of foot at Stirling—their horse were in other places—and Middleton and his party stood still at a distance; that they brought straw thirty miles for their use."⁶

¹ Sir James Balfour. From an original MS. in the Library of Advocates (1651).

² William, second Duke of Hamilton.

³ Edward Massy, also a former Parliamentary general, who defended Gloucester successfully against the Royalists.

⁴ Whitelocke.

⁵ History of the Rebellion.

⁶ Memorials of English Affairs.

Taking advantage of Cromwell's march northwards, after a victory obtained over the Scotch, July 20th, Charles proposed to the generals to invade England, in which country he hoped to be joined by many Royalists whom he believed would declare themselves, as soon as they perceived him at the head of an army. The Scotch accordingly made a rapid march, and arrived in the neighbourhood of Warrington, August 6th.

The king's arrival had, however, been so sudden and unexpected that the English Royalists were quite unprepared to meet him; and many of those who joined him as soon as possible, were prevented from uniting their forces with his, because they had not signed the Covenant. From these causes Charles found, on arriving at Worcester, that his army had diminished instead of increased. Cromwell, on the other hand, directly he discovered the king's intention, sent word to his friends in England that he would follow as soon as possible. The Commonwealth immediately raised the militia of the counties, and enabled their general to attack Charles's force of twelve thousand men with an army of thirty thousand.¹

On the anniversary of the battle of Dunbar

¹ Whitelocke; Clarendon; Leicester's Journal; Lingard; Ludlow; Parliamentary History.

(September 3rd), Cromwell attacked Worcester on all sides. Only from Middleton and Hamilton did he meet with any resistance. These charged the enemy so vigorously that they beat them back ; but they were soon overpowered. Many men were killed ; Middleton and Massy wounded and taken prisoners, Hamilton's leg broken with a shot,¹ and the remainder forced to retire and shift for themselves. The king then was compelled to fly, and, after many well-known hairbreadth escapes, succeeded in getting over to France.

As soon as Middleton had sufficiently recovered from his wounds to be in a condition to be moved, he was sent to the Tower, where General Massy and many distinguished Scotchmen were likewise detained prisoners. As Cromwell and the other members of Parliament had formerly held Middleton in higher esteem than any other of his countrymen, they were now as inveterate against him ; and determined, if possible, to free themselves from any further apprehension and fear of him, by trying him for his life. For his and Massy's blood Cromwell is said, indeed, to have "thirsted."

Middleton having formerly served under them, afforded, they believed, a sufficient pretext for proceeding against him as though he had revolted from

¹ He died soon afterwards.

them, notwithstanding they themselves had compelled him to leave by insisting on remodelling the army. For the purpose of trying him, Massy, and other troublesome persons, they at this time erected a new high court.

The Presbyterians, however, now interfered in favour of these luckless persons, whose fate was already decided upon. As the time approached when they were sure that Middleton was to be tried, "that is," says Clarendon, "to be executed," they gave him reliable information, through some secret member or members of their party. He lost no time in taking leave of his companions in the Tower, and making his escape. Having friends in London, he concealed himself amongst them for a fortnight or three weeks, until the diligence of the first inquiry and examination was over; after which he was transported safely to France, and waited upon Charles II., March 23rd, 1652.

Massy escaped a few days after Middleton, to the "grief and vexation of the very soul of Cromwell."¹

¹ Clarendon's History of the Rebellion ; Whitelocke.

CHAPTER III.

The Royalists in Scotland entreat the king to send Middleton with a force to their aid in the Highlands—Middleton endeavours to raise troops in Holland, and has good hopes of succeeding, should the proposed peace with England come to nothing—Peace is, however, proclaimed, and he raises but a small force—Lands in Scotland—Quarrels amongst the Royalists—Goes over a second time to Holland—Has some small successes—General Monk sets out for Scotland, and Middleton's troops grow discontented—Sore pressed by Monk—Attacked unexpectedly at Loughghary, and his army routed—Has some hopes of recommencing the campaign afresh, but is obliged to relinquish them and return to France—His letter from Dantzic—The king confers on him the title of earl, which, with the title of Lord of Clermont and of Fettercairn, are confirmed to him after the Restoration by letters patent—Copy of the patent, with translation.

THE exiled royal family passed most of their time in Paris, subsisting on a moderate pension assigned to Queen Henrietta, as the daughter of Henry IV. of France, and on some assistance afforded by friends in England. As the pension was often in arrears, they were frequently in great straits; but Charles, notwithstanding, retained about him the officers of his household, and kept up some appearance of a court.¹

¹ Clarendon; Thurloe.

Middleton's wife and family probably soon joined him in France, as his son is said to have been bred up in the Court of Charles II.¹

"A little Scottish vicar," one Mr. Knox, who was known to the king, accompanied Middleton to Paris. He brought with him letters of credit to his Majesty, some propositions from his friends in Scotland, and despatches from the lords in the Tower. The severe proceedings of General Monk,² who had been commissioned by Cromwell to subdue Scotland, had, he said, struck terror into the very heart of the nation. Many complaints were also made of the Marquis of Argyle, who persecuted the king's friends with the utmost malice.

The most considerable Royalists, who had retired into the Highlands, sent assurances by him to his Majesty, "that they would never swerve from their duty, and that they would be able during the winter to infest the enemy by incursions into their quarters; and that, if Middleton might be sent to them with some supply of arms, they would have an army ready against the spring strong enough to meet with Monk."

The lords in the Tower, who did not know of

¹ A contemporary of the second Earl of Middleton.

² George Monk, afterwards Duke of Albemarle, born 1608, died 1670.

Middleton's safe arrival in France when Knox conferred with them, directed him, if neither he nor Lord Newburgh¹ were at Court, to seek the Marquis of Ormond,² and ask him to present him to his Majesty; but this he had not thought necessary to do, as both Middleton and Newburgh were there.

A humble request, or rather condition, was attached to these offers of service, which if not granted, neither those in Scotland, nor the lords in the Tower, hesitated to declare that they would no more think of serving his Majesty—which was, that everything relating to these affairs should be kept from the queen, the Duke of Buckingham,³ the Lord Jermyn,⁴ and the Lord Wilmot.⁵ They professed all duty to the queen, but knew that she had so good an opinion of Argyle, that he would in that case be certainly made acquainted with all that took place.

The king did not expect that much would be achieved by his friends in Scotland; but he did not

¹ Sir James Levingston, first Viscount Newburgh, a staunch Cavalier, and one of the gentlemen of the bedchamber to Charles II. Died December 26th, 1670.

² James Butler, afterwards Duke of Ormond, born 1610, died 1688.

³ George Villiers, Duke of Buckingham, the favourite of Charles II., born 1627, died 1688.

⁴ Henry Jermyn, created Lord Jermyn in 1643, advanced to the earldom of St. Albans in 1660. He was thought to be married to the Queen Henrietta.

⁵ Afterwards first Earl of Rochester.

think fit to undervalue their professions. Nor had Middleton either much hope of success ; they having both seen a Scotch army, well provided with necessaries, unable to do anything when they fought on more advantageous terms. It was not therefore likely that those who were drawn together by chance, half armed and undisciplined, would be able to contend with victorious troops. Middleton, however, having promised to go to the Highlands, was willing to venture his life in the undertaking if a sufficient force could go over with him.

The next day another interview was held on the subject, on which occasion Lord Newburgh introduced Middleton to Hyde, they having never met before. The chancellor was at first very unwilling to be employed in the affair, lest he might lose the queen's favour, and also because some noble persons in Scotland had formerly been prejudiced against him ; but the king reassured him as to the latter objection, saying that the nation was much altered since he had to do with them, and that no men were better loved by them now than they who had from the beginning been faithful to his father and himself. To which he added " that Middleton had the least in him of any infirmities incident to his party, that he knew, and that Hyde would find him a man of great honour and ingenuity, with whom he would be well pleased."

Hyde writes from St. Germain's, 27th September, 1652: "The king greatly desires that the regiment vacant by the 'precious' Earl of Roxburgh's¹ going into England, may be given to Middleton."

Many other expresses were sent afterwards to the king, particularly after the declaration of war between England and Holland, when General Monk left Scotland to take the command of the English fleet, from the prisoners in the Tower and the lords in Scotland, desiring that Middleton might be sent into the Highlands with his Majesty's commission. In the mean time the Earl of Glencairn,² a gallant nobleman, offered, if he were authorized by the king, to draw a body of horse and foot together, and infest the enemy, promising at the same time to resign his command to Middleton as soon as he arrived. The king, as requested, sent a commission to Glencairn, who in August, 1653, collected some men, gained a slight advantage over Colonel Kidd, the Governor of Stirling Castle, and, although attacked by Morgan, the English commander in place of Monk, succeeded in making good his retreat. Some disturbances breaking out among the fiery Scotch chieftains he commanded, who were always ready to quarrel on the

¹ William Drummond, second Earl of Roxburgh, succeeded to the title 1650, died 1675.

² William Cunningham, ninth Earl of Glencairn, afterwards Lord Chancellor of Scotland.

slightest provocation, he sent another despatch to the king, earnestly begging that Middleton might be sent over as soon as possible to compose their animosities.

About this time Glencairn was joined by an enterprising young officer named Colonel Wogan, who landed at Dover, raised a body of volunteers, traversed England under the banner of the Commonwealth, and, arriving in Scotland, joined the Royalists in arms, with whom he soon rendered himself much beloved.

Middleton exerted himself with great industry and activity to obtain a sufficient force for the expedition. Whitelocke says that he landed himself in the Highlands in August, 1653, with arms and ammunition, but as he was then occupied in collecting forces in Holland, this may have been a false report; and that letters on October 7th spoke of some commotions of the Highlanders, and of their killing two English soldiers and taking three prisoners. This probably happened while Glencairn had the command.

The following abstracts of letters preserved among the Clarendon Papers refer to Middleton's endeavours to obtain forces :—

Paris, 10th July, 1653.—“The king, under his sign manual to Colonel Scott at Riga, thanking him

for the offers of service in his letter of the 6th May, and directing him to act under Middleton in relation to the transportation of men to Scotland."

25th July, 1653. Hyde to Middleton (Paris).—
"Glad that Middleton proposes to go to Denmark, as Wentworth has met with a good reception there, so that he is not likely to fail in getting both arms and men."

Paris, 19th September, 1653. Hyde to Nicholas.—
"Would rather have accounts of Middleton's business from Nicholas than from Middleton himself; the latter is a very gallant person, of good understanding and great truth, and one from whom he never heard the least brag, but he is too short in his relations."

Whitelocke says, October 20th, that Middleton was labouring to get the assistance of the States for the King of Scots; that he had great favour there, and was in hopes of obtaining some effectual aid from them should the proposed peace with England not succeed. On December 8th he heard that there were preparations for 120 ships to go from Holland in the spring; that the lords there were close and silent; that it was said that Middleton was transporting great store of arms and ammunition to the Highlands. The Dutch were anxious that he should attack some of the northern harbours.¹

¹ History of the Rebellion; Clarendon Papers; Whitelocke.

The king to Lieutenant-General Middleton.

“ Paris, 16th November, 1653.

“ Received on the 6th Middleton’s letter of November 24.¹ Is much troubled that he does not hear of the express from Scotland, and very sorry for Middleton’s sickness. When the latter comes to the Hague he will find that some care has been taken for his supply, but he will not think it the king’s fault that he has not been relieved, when he knows that scarce two hundred pistoles have been received since he left. Nicholas will tell him much that is fit for him to know. Presumes he will quickly send relief to their friends. ‘ For God’s sake think of what is more to be done, for my harte is more sett upon that worke than you imagine.’

“ The despatches he desires shall be speedily sent. Fears some of them will produce little effect; perhaps therefore he will forbear making use of them. Lord Newburgh will inform him what the king has written to Scotland. Longs to be gone from hence, and expects every day a good occasion to move.”

Charles was at this time anxious for an excuse to leave France, in order to avoid the ignominy of being asked to withdraw. The French ministers now

¹ Old Style, which was still used in Great Britain, while the New Style was adopted in France.

treated him with great coldness, on account of the resentment displayed by the English Parliament for the countenance they afforded him.

Paris, 2nd January, 1654. Hyde to Nicholas.—“The king has written to his sister” (Mary Princess Dowager of Orange, and Princess Royal of England) “to be security for 20,000 rix dollars. He will pay it out of the money to be received from Germany. Ask Middleton if he will have two or three Irish priests sent with him to carry on correspondence with Ireland.”

Hyde to Middleton, same date.—“The letter from the king to the Marquis of Huntly is enclosed; the king has also written to his sister about the arms, as Middleton desired. Anxious to hear of Will Drummond’s safe arrival in Scotland. Nicholas is to say to Mr. Julius what Middleton wished. The king specially recommends Captain Mews¹ to him, who has a great desire to go with him into Scotland.”

23rd January, 1654. Hyde to Nicholas.—“Disappointment at the princess’s refusal to become security for the arms for Middleton.”

6th February, 1654. General instructions for Middleton.—“The reasons of the delay in his departure are to be communicated to the Royalists in

¹ Perhaps Dr. Peter Mews, afterwards Bishop of Winchester, who bore arms in his youth for the royal cause. (Lord Macaulay.)

Scotland ; differences to be composed ; contributions and levies to be raised with caution and impartiality ; moderation to be observed towards rebels ; ministers of the kirk not to disoblige any by unnecessary rigour and severity ; all men to be warned against Colonel Joseph Bampfylde ;¹ a declaration to be issued with a due consideration of getting as many friends, and making as few enemies, as the lowness of the king's and Middleton's condition requires."

6th February, 1654. Hyde to Middleton.—“ Has sent such instructions as seem proper, but if he thinks otherwise, he can suppress them. Has sent also a form of prayer used at Paris, by the king's command, signed by himself ; but, as it may be thought in Scotland that the king directing forms of prayer is not agreeable to the liberty of the kingdom of Jesus Christ, Middleton may use it as he thinks fit. A cypher to be settled between him and Nicholas. When he sends over to the king, his messenger must

¹ Joseph Bampfylde, Bamfield, or as Clarendon calls him, Bamford, was a native of Ireland, who, on the breaking out of the Civil War, joined the king. He stole away the Duke of York, and conveyed him to Holland, and endeavoured to induce the fleet to declare against the Government of Cromwell. He had an appointment in the Duke of York's household, but fell into disgrace with the royal family, after which he returned to England to push his fortune under the new Government. Being unsuccessful, he went to Holland, where, at an advanced age, he published his apology.

be a person of quality as well as discretion. Colonel Wogan had writ a very cheerful letter, dated within twenty days, 'from a place I thinke they call Dunkell,' wherein he says that if Middleton were here, all were well; they are above 1500 horse, and 8000 foot,¹ and if they had arms and ammunition they would not want men."

Peace between Holland and England was however resolved on, which, as Middleton himself expresses it, "struck all dead."² He succeeded only in collecting two thousand men, and but a poor supply of arms and ammunition (some said in all about five thousand arms and two great guns),³ upon the credit and contribution of some Scotch merchants and officers of Holland, who wished to redeem their country from the slavery it was in. Although thus slenderly provided, he did not waver in his determination to venture his life with his countrymen, who seemed so anxious for his coming.⁴

Charles Middleton went with his father. He could not, at this time, have been more than fourteen years old; but if a letter preserved amongst the Clarendon Papers was written by him, the title of captain must already have been conferred upon him.

¹ These numbers were probably "prophetically, not actually, true."
(Captain M.'s letter.)

² His letter to Hyde.

³ Whitelocke.

⁴ Clarendon.

The letter is endorsed merely as from "Captain M.," but the style bears a close resemblance to the acknowledged letters of the second earl. A brother of Middleton's is also mentioned—probably Francis or Andrew.¹ The second landing of Middleton, according to Whitelocke, took place in the beginning of March, 1654, at Tarbet Ness, near Firryham. He left Holland with but two small men-of-war.

Seaforth had got together six hundred of his men to meet him. Middleton commanded the Sheriff of Sutherland to act no more in the name of the Lord Protector, but said that he would give him a commission to act as sheriff under the king.

On their first landing, the Earl of Sutherland left his house and retreated to the Parliamentarians. The Royalists marched immediately to the fastest and most inaccessible places, meeting with no opposition but such as arose from the roughness of the ways they had to travel, and the rivers which barred their progress, through which they were obliged to wade. When, on emerging wet and dripping, they needed something to warm them, they had only water to drink. Middleton did his utmost to keep up their spirits. "All were warmed," writes Captain M., "by the example of the general." Skelbow, belonging

¹ Whitelocke.

to Lord Duffus,¹ was garrisoned, to secure the stores and a neighbouring pass.²

One of Middleton's first acts after landing was to send letters to Glencairn, announcing his arrival with the king's commission appointing him generalissimo over all the forces, ordering him, at the same time, to march immediately northwards to meet him.

This intelligence was not received with the satisfaction that might have been expected, after the many pressing invitations which Middleton had received. When it came to the point, Glencairn seems to have been reluctant to resign the command to another of troops which had been wholly raised by himself; nor were the other lords better pleased. Although they had so often pressed the king to send Middleton with reinforcements, it does not seem that they had imagined that Charles would dream of giving an untitled person, whatever his talents, supreme command over so many feudal sovereigns. Still, reflection told them that to resist the royal command at this conjuncture would be utter madness; therefore, most reluctantly, Glencairn prepared to obey.³

Lord Reay having raised his men, Middleton marched into Caithness, near Wick, where the Parlia-

¹ Sir Alexander Sutherland, first Baron Duffus, elevated to the peerage December 8th, 1650, died 1674.

² Captain M.'s letter.

³ Graham.

ment had a garrison of 100 men. They could not be attacked, however, for want of guns, nor blockaded for want of ships to command the sea ; but a regiment of 600 men was raised.

Middleton next marched into Sutherland to meet Glencairn. Between two and three thousand appeared at the first rendezvous, with whom were Glencairn, Athole, Kenmure, Major-General Drummond, Glengarry, and Sir Arthur Forbes.

Middleton made a short harangue, passionately lamenting Colonel Wogan, whose death had unfortunately occurred soon after his joining Glencairn.

Now a new cause of discontent arose. Glencairn had thought that at least he would be second in command ; but the post of lieutenant-general, it seemed, had been conferred upon Sir George Monro,¹ who was very unpopular with the army.²

A grand muster of the troops took place shortly afterwards at Dornoch ; on which occasion Glencairn publicly resigned his command to Middleton. Riding along the ranks, he informed them that he was no longer their general, and expressed a hope that they would be happy under their new commander. Both officers and men shed tears, and vowed that they

¹ Sir George Monro of Culrain, second son of Colonel John Monro of Obsdale, and brother of Sir Robert Monro, twenty-second Baron of Foulis. Upon the Restoration he was made Commander-in-Chief in Scotland. Died 1686-7.

² Captain M.'s letter.

would willingly have served under their old general in any corner of the world. Their grief was occasioned, however, by the loss of Glencairn, not by any dislike to Middleton. On the whole, they received him cheerfully;¹ but the tidings of the appointment of Monro to the post of lieutenant-general, was greeted with much discontent.

After the review, Glencairn gave a grand entertainment to Middleton, at which an occurrence took place which still more tried the tempers of the officers, and led to further divisions.

John Graham of Deuchrie, who was present, says that after the cloth was removed, Glencairn proposed the health of the commander-in-chief, and thus addressed him :—

“My lord general, you see what a gallant army these worthy gentlemen here present and I have gathered together, at a time when it could hardly be expected that any number durst meet together. These men have come out to serve his Majesty at the hazard of their lives, and of all that is dear to them ; I hope, therefore, you will give them all the encouragement to do their duty that lies in your power.”

This eulogium upon what, to the eyes of experienced soldiers, was far from a gallant army, but a

¹ Captain M.'s letter.

set of "thin, undisciplined"¹ troops, worse even than they had expected to find, proved too much for the fiery spirit of Sir George Monro, who was doubtless already much irritated by the unflattering reception accorded him. Starting up, he exclaimed to Lord Glencairn, "My lord, the men you speak of are nothing but a number of thieves and robbers. Ere long I will bring another sort of men to the field."

Glengarry rose indignantly to contradict this aspersion; but, before he could speak, Glencairn exclaimed, "I am more concerned in this affront, Glengarry, than you are.—You, sir," he said, turning to Monro, "are a base liar, for they are neither thieves nor robbers, but gallant gentlemen and good soldiers."

Middleton interfered in the endeavour to restore order. "My lord," he said, "and you, Sir George, this is not the way to do the king service; you must not fall out among yourselves, therefore I will have you both to be friends." Calling for a glass of wine, he added, "My Lord Glencairn, I think you did the greatest wrong in giving Sir George the lie; you shall drink to him, and he will pledge you."

Glencairn, who had by this time somewhat cooled down, and perhaps felt conscious what injury he should do the king's cause by persisting, took the

¹ Clarendon.

glass without demur, in obedience to Middleton's orders ; but Sir George muttered something in a surly tone, and refused to pledge the earl.

Middleton then broke up the party, and gave orders to sound to horse. Lord Glencairn went out, intending to accompany him to head-quarters, but the general would not allow him to go more than a mile of the way.

Glencairn then went back to his lodgings at the Laird of Kettle's house. Before sitting down to supper he was told that Sir George's brother, Alexander Monro, wished to speak with him. He went out and brought Monro in, and they all passed a merry evening together, none of the laird's family being aware that a duel was arranged for the following morning. The earl, however, got up early, and went out before any one was awake, accompanied by his servant, named John White, as his second. Glencairn had the advantage, wounded Monro in the face and hand, and would have run him through the body, had not White prevented him. He then returned to his lodgings ; and Monro, who was badly wounded, was brought back to head-quarters by his brother.

Middleton, directly he heard of this meeting, sent Captain Ochtrie Campbell, with a guard, to commit Glencairn to arrest in his chambers, with

orders moreover to take his sword from him ; while nothing seems to have been said to Monro.

This unfortunate affair was yet far from being ended. Captain Livingston, a friend of Monro's, and another gentleman, named Lindsay, had an argument on the subject. Livingston asserted that Monro had acted perfectly right, which Lindsay denied. Another duel was the consequence, and Lindsay killed Livingston. Lord Glencairn interceded very earnestly with Middleton for Lindsay's pardon, and persuaded several other officers to do the same ; but the general was inflexibly determined to have him tried by a council of war. Lindsay was found guilty, and sentenced to be shot at the cross of Dornoch, which was put into execution before four o'clock that afternoon.¹

On another occasion Lord Kenmure, while drinking strong waters, spoke some offensive words of Middleton, who on that account took his troop from him, and made them swear fidelity ; but upon a letter from Kenmure, his troop was restored, and he and Middleton apparently made friends. But Kenmure did not afford as much assistance as he might have done, during the troubles which followed.²

The disagreement between the Royalists continued for some time longer. The Scotch troops could not be brought into any discipline, and came and went

¹ Graham of Deuchrie's Narrative.

² Clarendon Papers.

at their pleasure. If eight hundred assembled one day, some offence would arise, in all probability, before the next dawned, and the greater number would have dispersed. One chief cause of discontent was the conduct of the experienced soldiers, who jeered at the lords, and called them foolish officers. The English troop was much more popular than the Scotch, on account of their civil deportment. After a while, however, Middleton brought the army into some good order, which was before "a rude chaos." "He has a hard task, at a great disadvantage," writes Captain M., "but has hitherto managed so well that there is no doubt of success."

It was hoped that the ministers might be brought over to the royal side, and induced to inculcate obedience to the king from their pulpits.

Exaggerated reports of the number of men in arms in Scotland having been carried to Holland, Middleton found it necessary to send over Major Drummond to undeceive them, and to go over himself as soon as he had brought the army into a little order.

Major-General Dalzell had some time a skirmish with the garrison at Wick. Two English soldiers were wounded, and three prisoners taken. The Royalists lost on their side Lieutenant-Colonel Innes, an able officer.¹

¹ Clarendon Papers.

The Court of Charles II. had news from Middleburg (March 14th, 1654), "from a ship come from Dundee, of a defeat sustained by the garrison of that town at the beginning of the month. It was reported that Monk was going to Scotland, as soon as peace was concluded, with a resolution to slay and burn man, woman, and child."

March 20th, 1654. The king to Middleton.— "Congratulating him upon his safe arrival in Scotland. The bearer, Quarter-master-General William Hurry, who makes hard shift to get to Middleton, need not be recommended to one who knows him so well."

April 13th. Hyde to Middleton.— "Desires to receive intelligence. Kindness to the gallant young men who accompanied Wogan will be the means of drawing more of their comrades out of England, which is the purpose of many very worthy persons. He particularly recommends to Middleton Mr. Dungan, who is related to the Lord-Lieutenant, and Mr. Morley, nephew of the honest doctor.¹ Colonel Rogers, with one eye, will shortly come to him—as

¹ George Morley, a munificent English prelate, who bequeathed large sums to several institutions, and published some religious treatises. He was appointed by Charles I. Canon of Christchurch, and was one of the divines who assisted at the Treaty of Newport. After the Restoration he was made successively Dean of Christchurch, Bishop of Worcester, and Bishop of Winchester.

gallant a person, and as good an officer of horse, as any of the three nations, and one who, as commissary-general, had a noble part in the war."

Whitelocke says that, in April, "a captain of Middleton's and six soldiers were taken."

April 22nd, 1654. Lord Reay to the king.—"Upon the lieutenant-general's (Middleton) landing in Scotland, he immediately raised such a force in arms as was not only sufficient for a guard, but also served to promote the king's service. It will ever be his chiefest zeal, without private ends, to advance the king's interest. Nothing under heaven is so much coveted by him as the king's presence. He has not yet received the king's former commands sent with Norman Macleod." ¹

About this time Glencairn, feeling that he and Middleton could not get on well together, determined to withdraw from the army. He and about one hundred horse accordingly left secretly. Middleton sent a party in pursuit, but they did not come up with Glencairn until he had reached Kintail, where he was well received by the Earl of Seaforth's people. ²

May 6th, Whitelocke writes "that Middleton's numbers did decrease and sometimes increase." On the 20th he heard "that General Monk was marching

¹ Clarendon Papers.

² Graham of Deuchrie.

northward, and that Middleton and his party were raising new forces. That Middleton's brother was taken (either Francis or Andrew), and five or six officers more."

The following Scottish news reached the Court, June 3rd to 8th:—"Middleton is still in Sutherland, busy about his levies. The passengers in a ship just come in from Sandwich report that the English are defeated. Some say that Middleton has shot Sir Robert Murray, having intercepted several letters written by him to the enemy. Letters dated Enster, May $\frac{10}{20}$, say that the Scots have been victorious in a great fight about Montrose."

June 7th. "The passenger ship newly arrived from Scotland reports that Monk is beaten back to Stirling, and that sixty Scots, who were prisoners at one place, killed their keepers and escaped."

Several Royalists joining Glencairn, his force at length amounted to about four hundred. Fearing that he had hardly acted rightly towards the king in withdrawing from the army, he determined to send this body of men to Middleton, while he himself endeavoured to raise more forces in the Lowlands.

The lords in the Tower, and those in Scotland, on hearing that Middleton had obtained some advantages over the Parliamentary troops, sent to entreat the king to go over in person.

Captain M.'s¹ letter is dated Thurso, 4th June, 1654.—“Account of the proceedings of Middleton's forces from the time of his landing: Upon their first landing, the Earl of Sutherland left his house and retreated to the rebels. They marched, therefore, at once to the fastest and most inaccessible places, and met with no opposition, although encountering many difficulties, such as ways more tiring to describe than to travel, and the drinking water, and wading rivers, when warmer accommodation was required—but all were thoroughly warmed by the example of the general. The other ship arrived safely, with the main stock of arms and ammunition, and sixty gentlemen. Skelbow, belonging to Dovehouse” (Duffus), “was garrisoned to secure the stores and a neighbouring pass. Lord Reay having raised his men, Middleton then marched into Caithness, near Wick, where the rebels had a garrison of one hundred men, who could not be attacked for want of guns, nor blockaded for want of ships to command the sea—but a regiment of six hundred men was raised. The general next marched into Sutherland to meet Lord Glencairn. Between two and three thousand appeared at the first rendezvous, with whom were Glencairn, Athole, Kenmure, Major-General

¹ This letter is given entire, although some of the facts stated have been already related, because it was probably written by Charles Middleton.

Drummond, Glengarry, and Sir Arthur Forbes. Middleton made a short harangue, passionately lamenting Colonel Wogan, whose memory all men here reverence, and who perished either by the ignorance or villainy of his chirurgion.

“The English troop is generally beloved for their civil deportment, in which they much exceed the Scots. A skirmish, under Major-General Dalzell, with the garrison at Wick, in which Lieutenant-Colonel Innes, an able soldier, was killed.

“Exaggerated reports had been sent to Holland of the number of men in arms ; they were only prophetically, not actually, true ; and if Middleton had not hastened over, and previously sent Major-General Drummond, things had not lived long. Provisions are more plentiful than some imagine, but bread and salt are scarce. Middleton has brought the army to some good order, which was before a rude chaos.

“It is hoped to induce the ministers to preach against the rebels, and undeceive the people, whose affections have been strangely won by their smoothness ; but, nevertheless, Mr. Presbyter will never be allowed again to sit at the helm, as he formerly did, although, as things now are, too much severity and open disowning that way would be very destructive. Middleton opened his commission at Dornoch, where he was cheerfully received ; but Sir George Monro

was not well entertained, as he is not well beloved by most, and Glencairn expected that command. After a few days a quarrel between them led to a duel, in which Monro was hurt on the face and in the hand; the other, not at all. Middleton has a hard task, at a great disadvantage, but has hitherto managed it so well that there is no doubt of success. The business, although its growth is not hasty, is in constitution healthy and strong; nor is its stature so contemptible as to expose it to scorn. Glencairn went south with a party about a month since, and Drummond not many days after, who only by the accidental dislodgment of a party of rebels escaped the being surprised in a pass. This would have been an extraordinary loss, as he is not only a good soldier, but a sober, rational man. The nobility and gentry who have joined are persons of very great hopes, descended of no bastard aery, but true sons of the eagle; without foreign education, through the disorders of the times, but saved thereby from the softness and effeminateness in which some bury their honours.

“The ship that brings this letter was originally a Dutch vessel captured by the rebels; she was surprised by Lord Reay’s father-in-law,¹ in a port near

¹ Lord Reay was twice married—first to Isabella, daughter of George Earl of Caithness; secondly, to Barbara, daughter of Hugh Mackay, of Scaury. (Burke.) As the dates of his marriages are not given, it is difficult to say which father-in-law is meant.

his house ; the crew are shipwrecked Dutchmen, for whose sake it is hoped that the Dutch will, notwithstanding the peace, be civil. One Dutch ship, coming lately into Holburne Head, opposite the general's quarters, showed her malice by firing, but was driven out of the road.

“ Drummond has written to say that he is ready to advance with Glencairn, with 2500 well-armed foot and 400 horse : this will make up a body of 6000 men. But the king's presence is very necessary ; it would prevent many, both in Scotland and England, from regarding the undertaking as a merely Scottish one, and induce thousands to show their loyalty. Some votaries of ease would prefer to see his honour cankered with softness, rather than they should change their present effeminate condition : these, it is hoped, he will leave behind him when he quits Paris ; and it were better for him to fall gloriously attempting his own right in his own person, than to live with the opprobry the world will cast on him, if he appear not in his own, or to be at the devotion of others for bread.

“ The gentleman who is the bearer of this letter is a very knowing person, and of approved fidelity ; he will give an account of Lord Balcarras,¹ and the

¹ Alexander Lindsay, second baron, advanced to the Earldom of Balcarras, January 9th, 1651, on account of his loyalty and eminent services.

friend who was supposed to write the letter, a business which the writer does not understand.

“Lord Lorn,¹ in a letter to the lieutenant-general about six weeks since, expressed abundance of zeal to the king’s service; he has a considerable force with him, and therefore it will be no policy absolutely to refuse him. If there be just grounds to fear him, the only way to be secure will be to labour to get him into their power.

“Middleton always mentions ‘Nicholas’ with the honour he merits; he cannot have a more passionate friend. And Sir E. Hyde is raised to no small esteem by the character given of him, and the undeceiving of the world, which, more through ignorance than malice, was strangely possessed against him; the writer also has done what he could to vindicate the innocent, as justice and conscience obliged him. Sends his compliments to Sir R. Page, who, he hopes, will accompany the king to Scotland. Some Dutch ships have already begun trading in Orkney. The present design is to cut off Morgan’s retreat, who has gone towards the hills. Encloses a copy of Declaration, hastily drawn up by Middleton; he showed it yesterday to some of the young Presbyters, who had a meeting at Thurso, who, after perusal and two or three deep ‘gryes,’!! said there was

¹ Archibald Lord Lorne, afterwards ninth Earl of Argyle.

not enough concerning religion. Middleton replied that was only occasional, and not intended for a set Declaration, which leaves them in hopes of great performances that way; but other friends advise him to be very tender therein, to use only general words, and not to make it his practice to communicate such things.”¹

Postscript. Thurso Point, June 5th.—“ Letters from the south tell that Monk has endeavoured to fall on Drummond, but with no success; for he fought him at a pass, and checked him. Next day Captain Erwin visited some of their horse as they were at grass, cut off their guards, and took thirty, and retreated untouched.”

On close inspection, there is an air of priggishness about this letter, which seems to bear testimony to the extreme youth of the writer.

June 17th, 1654. The king to Middleton.—“ Nothing has been heard of the affairs in Scotland, except by the London prints, since Strachan returned with the vessel that carried Middleton over. Will take care to send arms and ammunition, of which he hopes a reasonable portion has already been received by the care of Lord Rochester. Advises him to be

¹ Perhaps such conduct as this of the young Presbyters occasioned that indifference to religion of which the second earl is accused in after life.

very wary how he engages with the rebels, if he can handsomely avoid it, as their condition will impair in the winter and Middleton's will improve. His purposes are the same as before Middleton's departure, and he will make no alterations, knowing that whatsoever, upon conference with wise and honest men, Middleton judges necessary, he will send him." ¹

It was indeed Middleton's intention to remain as long as possible in the Highlands, until he had collected all the forces he could, when he meant to make occasional descents upon the Lowlands, and distract the enemy by marches and countermarches. The advance of General Monk, however, frustrated this plan. He arrived with a powerful reinforcement of troops, which he divided into separate parts, but which were kept sufficiently near each other to afford assistance when required. He offered a reward of £200 to whosoever should kill Middleton. The division under Colonel Morgan about this time gave Middleton a hot alarm in the Highlands, but could not engage him. At first he gained some advantages over the English troops. ²

19th June, 1654. "Intelligence from various places."
Camphire, June 19th.—"It is certain that the

¹ Clarendon Papers.

² Graham of Deuchrie ; Clarendon ; Whitelocke.

Marquis of Montrose,¹ and Viscount Dudop (Dudhope) charged and routed Monk, who retired from Stirling to Dalkeith, where he still is, curing his wounds. Eighty-three wounded officers are in Heriot's² hospital. Montrose lost his left thumb. The Earls of Athol and Kinnoul³ fell on a reinforcement that was marching from St. Johnstone to assist Monk, killed 500, and dispersed the rest. At about the same time Middleton routed all the English forces which were by the head of the river Spey, and killed and took three troops of Lambert's regiment, called 'The Brazen Wall.' The fugitives sheltered themselves under Dunnottar Castle, not daring to trust to the foolish fortifications they had begun about Aberdeen. Middleton is going south. Men see that he is in earnest, having imprisoned Sir George Monro, for raising a mutiny and drawing his sword on the Earl of Glencairn. It is thought he will have above 16,000⁴ horse and foot at a general rendezvous between

¹ James, second Marquis of Montrose, called "the Good," made a privy councillor after the Restoration.

² George Heriot, goldsmith to James I., followed the king to London, and died very wealthy in 1624. Having no children, he left the greater part of his fortune for the foundation of a hospital in Edinburgh.

³ William, third Earl of Kinnoul. He was taken prisoner by the Parliamentarians, but contrived to escape, May 28th, 1654, by joining sheets and blankets together. Joining Middleton in the north, he was made prisoner again in the braes of Angus, November of the same year.

⁴ It is probable that this number is greatly exaggerated; but Middleton's forces varied so continually, on account of the practice of the

St. Johnstone and Stirling on the 20th of this month, besides those in the west and south with (Lord) Kenmure and Sir Arthur Forbes. There is not an Englishman between the Forth and the Tay, except 125 in Burntisland Castle, who dare not look out. The Scots make inroads into England as far as Newcastle, and receive kind entertainment from the country people.”¹

Middleton, however, soon found himself sore pressed by his powerful enemy. Several of his men became discontented, and began to desert. “Divers running away from him,” says Whitelocke, “and some of them being brought back again, were put to throw dice, and the tenth man of them was hanged or shot.”

It was necessary, no doubt, to make examples, yet the lives of all who deserted could not be spared.

In July his forces about Dunkeld were much discontented, complaining of the king, and that amongst them four horseshoes were sold for fifteenpence. He at length determined to dismount most of his horse, and make use of his light-footed Highlanders, to provoke the English to follow him in the bogs, and to prolong the war. His men still, however, continued to desert, and one day the English vanguard Scotch levies of coming and going at their pleasure, that it is impossible to tell with any certainty.

¹ Clarendon Papers.

fell upon his rear, and prevented further progress.

After this Middleton Monk pursued him upon Colonel Morhood the Scotch was Middleton appointed Loughghary, the expectedly, and after rout. Three hundred one hundred were taken prisoners. Middleton from under him, wounded himself, and who seems to have says "that he was of valour, however, is and surely, knowing depended upon his escaping if possible useless, and the result would render capture

Middleton's sun his commissions and all the baggage, for some "portmantles papers from the kin

Two hundred of the prisoners were soon afterwards shipped for Barbadoes.

The following letters from Middleton's successful adversaries contain no imputation upon his bravery :—

Letter from General Monk to the Lord Protector, of the particulars of the routing of Middleton's army.

“ The enemy having marched off in a very scattered posture, upon our pursuit of them in Argyle, and they bending northwards, I held it much necessary, in regard that both horse and foot with me were much beaten out with continued marches, to attend their motion slowly, having sent to Colonel Morgan with his fresh party to pursue them as he had intelligence; who marching out of Badenoch to Loughghary, where he intended to quarter that night, he fell upon Middleton's body of horse, who had also appointed that same place for their quarters. After a little resistance the enemy ran, and, the pass being narrow and boggy, quitted their horses and dispersed themselves. What execution was done I have not yet notice, but by divers prisoners, who endeavoured to escape this way, I am assured that their whole body of horse is routed totally, so that they will not be able to get any considerable number together. Among those prisoners taken, there was brought in by Cornet Baker, Lieutenant-Colonel Hay, who

lately escaped out of Edinburgh Castle, and Capt. Graham, etc., etc.

“ I remain your Highness’s most humble servant,

“ GEORGE MONK.

“ Camp near Weems Castle, July 21st, 1654.”

Passages in a letter from Colonel Morgan.

“ We killed and took many of the rogues, and near three hundred horses taken.

“ Middleton was dismounted and very much wounded, as some of the prisoners affirm. His charging horse was taken by one of my servants, with gallant furniture, and a rich case of pistols. One of Captain Babington’s troop took his sumpter, wherein was rich apparel, his commissions and instructions, with divers other letters to him.

“ One of Colonel Rich’s troop took Kenmure’s charging horse. Middleton and Kenmure, with divers others, were fain to make use of their heels over the bogs; and if the night and the bogs had not prevented us, I believe we had left very few of them undisturbed.

“ I am, etc.,

“ THOMAS MORGAN.

“ From the Camp near Badenoch, 22nd July, 1654.”¹

Middleton lost no time in collecting together as

¹ From Whitelocke’s Memorials of English Affairs.

many as he could of his scattered forces ; but his brigade, he soon discovered, was lessened from 1400 to only 100. On the approach of Monk, he and Glencairn fled further into the hills. On August 25th, Whitelocke heard it reported that divers others were taken prisoners, and that Middleton and several other persons of note had shipped themselves to go beyond the sea. This was, however, a false assertion, as Middleton had great hopes of recommencing the campaign successfully, as will be seen from the following letters :—

August 30th. Lord Glencairn to the Earl of Athol.—“Hears that Middleton is put to begin the play again, and that he says he hopes to see it shortly in a better condition than ever it was since he came to Scotland, encouraging himself with what he hopes to find in the south ; but that is none of the writer’s belief. Would not change his resolution to depart forth of the kingdom even if Middleton were prosperous, for whom he encloses the following letter. Now that poor Sir *Author* Forbes is beat, it makes business hopeless, nay, scarce so much of hope as that Colonel David Barclay will obtain a capitulation from the general. Is so weak from languishing sickness that he has some hope to end his unfortunate days before he goes from amongst these hills. Desires that Middleton may quickly be informed of the true

condition of business here, lest he be abused by fancying forces where there are none."

The letter enclosed, of the same date, from Glencairn to Middleton:—"Has this day received his letter from Island Donan of August 19th. A bad account of business here on all hands; every one having been left to himself, has disposed of himself. All the inferior officers of M'Naghton's party, of his own, and of several others, have abandoned them; and this, with the wasting and possessing of most of the southern parts by the enemy, has caused all, save a small party, with Sir *Author* Forbes and M'Naghten, to desert, and he hears that Sir A. Forbes has lately had a blow. And therefore the constant report of Middleton's going over seas, and his own great sickness, have made him deal for a pass for himself, which yet the enemy has refused, so that he is forced to shelter his poor miserable life in a quiet corner, that he may not fall into the enemy's hands. Whatever comes of him, he wishes that God may yet make Middleton the instrument of Scotland's delivery."¹

24th September, 1654. The king to General Middleton.—"Has not heard from him since Straughan arrived, but has nevertheless heard the reports of his

¹ Glencairn soon afterwards made peace with Monk. (Graham; Clarendon.)

misfortunes, which he does not truly believe. But these do not make any impression in comparison of the trouble caused by the jealousies between Middleton and Glencairn, whose firm and entire conjunction he looked upon as his greatest security. Does not conclude Middleton to be in fault, because he knows his discretion and temper, and his great value of Glencairn ; on the other hand, he knows Glencairn's esteem for Middleton, and that he is contented to take the command only to prepare for the latter's coming ; therefore there must be some third unhappy cause which has produced the distemper, which he trusts to Middleton to discover and cure. Sends a copy of what he wrote to Glencairn, and is using all possible means to send arms and ammunition. He himself has not changed his purpose of coming, whatever the victories of the rebels may be."

October 4th, 1654, Middleton to Hyde explains the causes of his failure :—

" Has heard little from him, people not daring to receive or deliver letters, so that he conceives most have miscarried.

" People having engaged in the service with great expectations from the war between Holland and the rebels, the peace struck all dead ; though, had men done their duties, they were in a fair way to have done great services. The bearer has been an eye-

witness of all that has passed since the landing of Middleton, and can therefore give an account of all, as well as of Middleton's future resolutions. He has been most faithful to his master, and kind to Middleton himself."

On October 7th, Whitelocke heard that Middleton was ranging up and down in Argyle's country, with about forty horse and some foot, but few came in to him to add to his number.

From the king to Middleton, sent by Mr. Blague, gentleman of the king's bedchamber, 29th October, 1654 :—"The reports of the condition of affairs, and of the disputes between particular persons, are so many and so different, that he has thought it necessary to send such a person as may learn the true state of things, and may also say anything in the king's name which may compose differences and misunderstandings.

"The bearer, Blague, is so well known that nothing need be said to give him credit; and that sending one so near his own person will be some argument to his friends that he intends to be with them himself, except the conjuncture appear too unseasonable."

The king at length obtained some reliable information from the two sons of Dr. Whittaker, who had gone over with Middleton, and served in his English

troop. After the affair with Morgan, they had escaped to the hills, and from thence to England.

The campaign, they said, was over for the summer, and Middleton had retired to the hills; but it was thought that the foot would be active in the winter, as they would be compelled to do something for themselves, their corn and grass being destroyed, and all their houses burned. The Scotch levies could not be brought under discipline, for the reasons already given. Had Glencairn been a sufficient soldier, he was the best beloved man amongst them, and the fittest to command. Wogan's death and Montgomery's capture (who was reported to be dead), were great losses. Middleton had narrowly escaped after the engagement with Morgan, but his white charger, gold, papers, and all the baggage were taken.

On 17th November, Whitelocke heard that "some few of Middleton's party roaming up and down were routed by the Parliamentary forces." On the 24th, however, he was informed "that five hundred Irish were landed in some isle in Scotland, to join with him and Seaforth. One hundred and sixty horse more were to join with them, and to force the clans to rise."¹

Perhaps this was an exaggerated report. At all events, Middleton seems to have found it impossible

¹ Clarendon Papers.

to commence the campaign afresh. After remaining a few more months in the country, he went over to the Continent, and joined Charles II. at Cologne. His name occurs amongst the exceptions from Cromwell's Act of Peace and Indemnity, passed in 1654.¹

It was probably during the period of inaction that followed, that Middleton, to drown the memory of his late failure, acquired those habits of excessive drinking of which we have as yet heard no complaints.

This campaign in the Highlands is said to have been foretold some time before it occurred, by a Scotch peasant, who possessed the gift of second sight. The following is the story, and those may believe it who wish to do so. Lord Tarbat says, in a letter to Mr. Boyle,² preserved amongst the Pepysian correspondence:—"In the year 1653 (May 4th), Alexander Monro, afterwards lieutenant-colonel to the Earl of Dumbarton's regiment,³ and I were walking in a place called [a blank in the manuscript] in Loch Broom, in a plain at the foot of a rugged hill: there was a servant working with a spade in the walk before us, his back to us, and his face to the hill. He took no notice

¹ Douglas's Peerage.

² Robert Boyle, a learned writer and philosopher, seventh son of Richard Earl of Cork, born 1626, died 1691.

³ Now the first of the line.

of us, though we passed by near to him, which made me look at him; and perceiving that he stared, I conjectured he was a seer; wherefore I called to him, at which he started and smiled. 'What are you doing?' said I. He answered, 'I have seen a very strange thing—an army of Englishmen leading of horses, coming down that hill; and a number of them are coming down to the plain, and eating the barley which is growing in the field near to the hill.' This was on the fourth of May, for I noted the day, and it was four or five days before the barley was sown in the field he spoke of. Alexander Monro asked him how he knew they were Englishmen. He answered because they were leading horses, and had on hats and boots, which he knew no Scotchmen would have on there. We took little notice of the whole story as other than a foolish vision, but wished that an English party were there, we being then at war with them, and the place almost inaccessible for horsemen. But the beginning of August thereafter, the Earl of Middleton¹ then lieutenant for the king in the Highlands, having occasion to march a party of his towards the south islands, sent his foot through a place called Inverlacwell, and the fore part, which was the first down the hill, did fall to eating the barley which was on the little plain under it; and

¹ Or the Earl of Glencairn.

Monro, calling to mind what the seer told us in May preceding, wrote of it, and sent an express to me to Lochslime, in Ross, where I then was, with it."¹

Alexander Middleton and his family had probably their sufferings, likewise, for the royal cause. In the entry of the baptism of his seventh child, Catherine, August 18th, 1654, Vice-Principal Middleton is designated as residing in Gordon's Mill. This being during Cromwell's usurpation, it is likely that he was deprived of his post, and became indebted to his wife's father for a home. There is an interval of eight years between this entry and that of the next child, Jean; as there were only two years at most between the baptisms of the elder children, and the same distance of time between the two younger who follow Jean, there may have been other children baptised elsewhere, on account of the family being forced to quit Aberdeen until the Restoration.

In September, 1656, Charles, in gratitude for Middleton's services, bestowed upon him the title of earl.²

A rupture taking place between England and Spain, the king endeavoured to take advantage of it to further his restoration, by promising to invade England, should a sufficient force be granted him. Soon after, Colonel Sexby, a mortal enemy of Crom-

¹ Pepysian Correspondence.

² Search in the Records.

well's, offered to excite the Levellers in England against the usurper; but the Spanish Government postponed the expedition on divers pretexts until the death of Cromwell.¹

Middleton seems to have had some hopes of making another attempt upon Scotland at the same time. From the following letter, he would seem to have gone to Dantzic to endeavour to raise men and money for the purpose from his countrymen in that town:—

[An original.]

Lieutenant-General Middleton to Sir E. Hyde.

“RIGHT HONBLE. SIR,

“Yesterday by post I received yours, wherein you did very fully resume the whole business, with the reasons inducing my coming to this place, to which I shall say little; only, if I had not certainly believed the king's business to have been in that ripeness that some attempt would have been made this past spring, and that in order thereto money would have been sent me for the business of Scotland, I had not been so forward, for I was not twelve hours in this place when I knew that nothing could be done with my countrymen; and the truth, most of them, nay, I may say all of them (one excepted), are ruined by the war, so that I did not present any of them with his

¹ Clarendon; Thurloe; Cartes' Letters.

Majesty's letters. As you are very just to me in not imputing the misfortune I have met with to me, so I should be irrational and brutish to think it were in his Majesty's power to time his own business or do things impossible. It was never in my thoughts to blame any of his Majesty's ministers, for I am not ignorant of the difficulties you have all met with, and he that is not armed against these rencounters will be every day at a stand. This I will pronounce against myself if ever I disserve the king, yea, if I serve him not in all things where there is a possibility, I shall be the most ingrate, unworthy person alive; for yourself and others, if I should but entertain the least thought of jealousy of you, your former favours have been ill bestowed, and I the most worthless of men. To fall away from my most gracious sovereign, and mistrust his most faithful ministers because they cannot work miracles and perform impossibilities, would be such an action as the worst of characters cannot express. I confess my trouble has been very great, that the king should suffer in my person, and that in a place, I may say, truly affectionate to him, but unable to serve him because of their own great burthens; yet my greatest trouble came from an advice I received to take employment with these men I have levied, without being discharged of my trust, which did occasion my writing of that letter to the good

secretary, to desire a dismissal. I will not justify myself in that particular, but humbly submit to his Majesty's good pleasure in that and everything else, for I desire to live no longer than I have it in my power to serve him. I shall by the next post fully acquaint you of the advantages and disadvantages that my being in this place may bring to his Majesty's service. By the last post I did send the King of Poland's letter to the king within a cover of my own to the secretary. I did there fully speak of my own condition, and of the best *remedies* I could think of; it is no pleasant subject, so that I shall repeat nothing, knowing it will come to your hands. I am now all alone with a boy; Colonel Derham and Colonel Turner are both in this town, but we should no longer stay together if two ducats could do my business; it is not to be had from my countrymen. I have made proof of their kindness to the full, but to no purpose, and am now keeping Lent in the strictest way. To that you write of Colonel Turner I cannot say much, having never seen his letters that he did write—only this, that his letters and his discourses of you agree not; that is to say, no man shall be my friend that is unjust to you, for I am without possibility of change.

“Right Honourable Sir, yours, etc.,

“J. MIDDLETON.

“Dantzick, June 27th, 1657.”¹

¹ From Clarendon Papers.

After the Restoration, October 1st, 1660, the title of earl was confirmed to Middleton by letters patent, and at the same time the further titles of Lord of Clermont and Lord of Fettercairn were bestowed upon him.

The following is a copy of the patent, with an English translation :—

“ Sciatis,” etc.

“ Cumque nos non lateant multa proelara officia, quibus legatus noster generalis strenuus ac nobis sincerè fidelis, dilectus Johannes Midleton charissimum nostrum patrem felicitis memoriæ sibi obstrinxit ; et quam propenso studio aggressus sit ac indomitâ fortitudine et prudentiâ honoratissimos conatus pro regali nostrâ potestate vindicandâ regnique nostri gubernatione instaurandâ—optime et susceptus prosecutus sit et quam libenter vitam suam et fortunam ad eosdem promovendos multoties ingresserit. Ac etiam cum multis magnisque testimoniis compertum habeamus dictum legatum nostram generalem Joannem Midleton omnem fidem nobis semper addixisse nostroque commodo utique velificasse, cumque maximi momenti munera sibi à nobis demandata fideliter et strenuè subiisse, quinetiam memoratum legatum nostrum generalem, ejusque familiam, difficillima pericula et damna gravissima adjunctâ etiam

persecutione per omnes retro tumultus, partim nobis præsentibus partim absentibus subiisse pertulisse quæ quidem omnia meritò eum à nobis summo honore afficiendum ac omni fide cumulandum reddant ; ita etiam ob res tempore calamitoso ab eo præclare gestas utpote A.D. 1656 titulum et dignitatem comitis in eum conferre nobis benigne visum fuit—cumque nunc solitis Divini numinis auspiciis legitimum jus gubernandi nobis restitutam sit, igitur nos non solum ratificavimus et opprobavimus antedictum titulum honoris, verum etiam ex potestate nostrâ regiâ et prærogativâ regali fecimus, constituimus, et creavimus, et tenore præsentium facimus constituimus et creamus dictum legatum nostrum generalem Joannem Middleton ejusque heredes cognomen et arma de Middleton gerentes omni tempore futuro Comitem de Middleton Dominum de Claermont et Fettercairn: Ac dedimus et concessimus tenoreque præsentium damus et concedimus eis titulum honorem et dignitatem Comiti debitam cum suffragio in Parlamento omnibusque aliis privilegiis, prærogativis, et immunitatibus ad Comitem et Dominum Parliamenti spectantibus quæ per quemcunque alium ejusdem gradus et qualitatis possidentur cum præcedentiâ in omnibus Parliamentis secundum datum et à primo tempore dicti tituli honoris in eam collati mense Septembris A.D. 1656.”¹

¹ Search in the Records.

Translation of the above.

“ Know all ye, etc.

“ Whereas we are not unaware of the many signal services by which our strenuous and sincerely faithful lieutenant-general, our beloved John Middleton, has bound unto himself our dearest father of happy memory ; and with what devoted zeal and indomitable fortitude and prudence he has set on foot the most honourable attempts for the avenging of our royal power and the restoration of the Government of our kingdom, and has followed out his undertakings in the best possible way ; and how willingly, many times over, he has hazarded his own life and fortune for the promotion of the same. And whereas we have ascertained by many and strong proofs that our said lieutenant-general, John Middleton, has always shown all faithfulness towards us,¹ and has spread his sails, as it were, for our advantage. And whereas he has strenuously and faithfully discharged duties of the greatest importance entrusted to him by us. Moreover, it is recorded that our lieutenant-general and his family have undergone the most difficult perils and the heaviest losses, with persecutions withal, during the whole of the late disturbances, partly in our presence, partly in our absence—all which things render him deserving of

¹ Charles II.

being raised to the highest honour, and of being rewarded with all fidelity ; so, also, on account of his noble exploits in that calamitous time, it seemed good to us to confer on him the title and dignity of Earl, A.D. 1656. And whereas now, by the customary protection of the Divine Deity, our lawful right of governing is restored to us. We therefore not only have ratified and approved the aforesaid title of honour, but further, out of our royal power and kingly prerogative, we have made, constituted, and created, and by the tenor of these presents we do make, constitute, and create, our said lieutenant-general, John Middleton, and his heirs bearing the surname and arms of Middleton, in all future time, Earl of Middleton, Lord of Clairmont and Fettercairn. And we have given and granted, and by the tenor of these presents we do give and grant, to them the title, honour, and dignity due to an Earl, together with a vote in Parliament, and all the other privileges, prerogatives, and immunities belonging to an Earl and Lord of Parliament, which are possessed by any other person of the same degree and quality, with precedence in all Parliaments, according to the date and from the first time of the said title of honour being conferred upon him, in the month of September, A.D. 1656."

CHAPTER IV.

Middleton appointed High Commissioner to the Scotch Parliament—

His state entry into the kingdom, and regal reception—Opens Parliament—His abuse of power and intemperate habits—Annuls all Acts of Parliament passed since 1633—Proceedings against, and execution of, Argyle and others—Establishes Episcopacy in Scotland—The Act of Fines—Marriages of his daughters—Act of Balloting—Lorne impeached for leasing making—Lauderdale obtains his pardon from the king, and draws up an accusation against Middleton—The Scotch people displeased by Middleton's violent conduct towards the Presbyterians—Summoned to London to defend himself—Powerful friends intercede for him—Completes his own ruin by an act of rash folly—King deprives him of all his offices—Returns to England, and receives a command at Rochester—Deaths of his elder daughter and wife—Appointed Governor of Tangiers—Marries a second time—Tries to obtain £1500 in advance of his pay—Goes to Tangiers, and dies there, in 1673, from the effects of a fall down a staircase—Lady Middleton's epitaph—Monument erected by the Earl of Middleton, still standing at Fettercairn—Description of it by Queen Victoria.

THE king soon afterwards appointed Middleton to the distinguished post of High Commissioner to the Parliament of Scotland, or Viceroy of that kingdom, the holder of which office was in those times treated with the same pomp and reverence due to the king himself. At the same time, he was made Com-

mander-in-Chief of the Scotch forces, and Governor of Edinburgh Castle.

For this high advancement he was chiefly indebted to Hyde, Earl of Clarendon.¹

The Earl of Glencairn was made Chancellor to the Parliament; the Earl of Lauderdale,² Secretary of State; the Earl of Rothes,³ President of the Council; and the Earl of Crawford, Lord Treasurer.⁴

In the end of December, 1660, Middleton made his entry into Scotland with great state. At Musselburgh he was met by 1000 horse, who received and conducted him to Edinburgh (December 31st), where the Scotch nobility bowed to him with almost the same humility as they would have shown to their sovereign in person. He proceeded to Holyrood Palace, where he and his family took up their abode during the meeting of the Estates.

On the following day, January 1st, 1661, Middleton opened Parliament "with a splendour to which the nation had long been unaccustomed." The regalia, which had been concealed⁵ in the North

¹ Wright.

² John, second Earl of Lauderdale, created duke by Charles II. His initial forms the last letter of the famous Cabal Ministry. Died 1682.

³ John, sixth Earl of Rothes.

⁴ Kirkton.

⁵ Sir John Keith had the regalia conveyed from Dunnottar Castle, and deposited underground in the church of Kinneff. As he sailed

during the Commonwealth, were now displayed ; the crown being carried before him by the Earl of Crawford, the sceptre by the Earl of Sutherland, and the sword by the Earl of Mar.¹ A sermon was preached by Mr. Robert Douglas, after which Middleton produced his commission, which was read aloud. The Earl of Cassillis² then rose to move that, according to old custom, they should now proceed to elect a president ; but in answer to this, an Act, already prepared by the Court, was brought forward, depriving the Parliament of the privilege of electing their own president, and bestowing the same upon the Lord Chancellor, in virtue of his office.³

A few days afterwards, probably by order of the Parliament, the doors of Holyrood Palace were opened to admit the remains of Middleton's sometime rival, the great Marquis of Montrose. His head was removed from the Tolbooth, his limbs from the towns to which they had been sent, and his body from Boroughmuir. The whole were placed in a sumptuous coffin, and lay in state at Holyrood, soon afterwards for France, it was supposed that he had taken them with him, and no search was made for them.

¹ John, ninth Earl of Mar. He fought under Montrose, at Philiphaugh, on which account his estates were confiscated. After this he became blind, and lived with his family in a small cottage at the gates of Alloa House till the Restoration, when his estates were restored to him.

² John, sixth Earl of Cassillis.

³ Wright.

preparatory to a splendid funeral at St. Giles's Church.¹

Charles II., from an aversion to business, relinquished the entire management of Scottish affairs into the hands of the Parliament, whose members soon showed themselves ill calculated for the exercise of such unlimited power. For Middleton's conduct, indeed, little excuse but the plea of intoxication can be offered. In adversity we have seen him ever true to his motto, *Fortis in Arduis*; but during the administration of supreme power, his character deteriorated—he became revengeful, mercenary, and tyrannical.² A general during the greater portion of his life, it is not unnatural that he should have brought his notions of military discipline to his present post. He seems to have set to work to govern a kingdom as though it had been an army, expecting its people to obey his laws unquestioningly, without presuming to inquire into their justice and

¹ Nicoll's Diary. Montrose wrote the following lines on a window the night before his execution :—

“ Let them bestow on every airth a limb ;
Then open all my veins, that I may swim
To Thee, my Maker, in that crimson lake ;
Then place my parboiled head upon a stake ;
Scatter my ashes, strow them in the air.
Lord, since Thou knowest where all these atoms are,
I'm hopeful Thou'lt recover once my dust,
And confident Thou'lt raise me with the just.”

² Wright ; Kirkton ; Hume.

equity. Such a system would have been liable to abuse, even in wise and prudent hands; but as Middleton was throughout the greater part of his time intoxicated, it is no marvel that many of his acts were arbitrary, and often outrageously absurd. The other ministers likewise indulged in great riot and disorder.

The Scotch people now manifested an unusually submissive spirit. Weary and utterly tired of the disturbances which had so long reigned, they were disposed to endure a great deal from an authorized settled Government.

Some branches of the Prerogative were immediately restored,¹ and the Lords of the Articles established. These latter formed a committee, possessing the sole exclusive right and liberty of bringing in motions, making overtures for redressing grievances, and proposing means and expedients for the safety, and benefit of the subjects." The Court was assembled thus:—The king empowered the Commissioner to choose eight bishops, whom he authorized to nominate eight noblemen. These together chose eight barons and eight burgesses, and the whole number, with some supernumerary officers, were styled the Lords of the Articles. This committee found itself called upon to rescind so many Acts of

¹ Hume.

past Parliaments, that its members soon began to murmur at the amount of work expected from them. The subject being mentioned by the ministers in the height of a drinking party, one of the company suggested that it would be much the shortest way to pass an Act annulling all others passed since 1633, on the plea that they had been extorted from the king and his father by violence. The idea was immediately seized upon, and a draught of a bill to that effect drawn up on the spot, and sent to the Lords of the Articles, who passed it without question as coming from the Court, and transmitted it the following day to the Parliament, to be made law. On recovering his sober senses, Middleton felt the the dity of such an Act, and immediately sent off Ma: nger to lay his fears concerning it before the tolo in the mean time, however, it had been received p great favour by Clarendon, who saw in it the best possible introduction for the establishment of Episcopacy. He sent back the messenger post haste to express his astonishment that Middleton should hesitate an instant in carrying out a measure so conducive to the king's interests. It was therefore allowed to stand.

Lauderdale soon showed great anxiety to obtain an Act of Oblivion for Past Offences ; but Middleton contended that the great matter concerning the

settlement of the Church should be first completed.¹ It was thought prudent likewise to let the fear of punishment for a while hang over men's heads, until they had shown sufficient compliance with the new Government.²

On April 23rd, Middleton celebrated the king's coronation by giving a grand banquet at Holyrood Palace.³

It was thought necessary, in order to strike terror into rebellious subjects and ensure future order, that some examples should be made of the most flagrant offenders. Argyle was one of the victims fixed on. Kirkton says that the chief inducement Middleton and the other ministers had in seeking his ruin was the hope of sharing his vast possessions. When brought before Parliament, he pleaded the amnesty which the king had granted at Stirling; but it being proved that many of the charges against him were of earlier date than 1651, the proceedings were continued. These charges were—that he had aided the English in destroying the liberties of Scotland; that he had accepted a grant from Cromwell; that he had repeated traitorous language against the royal family, and had sat in Richard Cromwell's Parliament.

To these charges, Argyle replied as follows:—He denied having ever aided the English to invade Scot-

¹ Wright.

² Hume.

³ Nicoll's Diary.

land, or of having used traitorous language against the king. The grant from Cromwell had, he said, been given only as a compensation for losses incurred by him. He had accepted a seat in Richard Cromwell's Parliament, but with the purpose only of serving his country, and voting for the king's restoration when an opportunity offered.

This defence rather staggered his accusers. Glencairn and Rothes hastened to London to urge the necessity of his condemnation on the king. Some proofs of traitorous language being found in some letters of his to Monk and other English officers, Argyle was again brought before Parliament, and the letters read before him. Being unable to explain them satisfactorily, he was condemned to death, May 25th, 1661; and in order to allow him no time to implore mercy from the king, the sentence was put into execution within forty-eight hours.¹

It is believed that Charles would assuredly have pardoned Argyle had time but been granted. To show his disapproval of the summary manner in which the sentence had been carried out, he received his son, Lord Lorne, with favour, and allowed him to attend the Court.

The other prisoners tried at the same time as Argyle, were one Guthrie, a seditious preacher, who

¹ State Trials; Kirkton.

had personally affronted the king, Captain Govan, and two others named Swinton and Whishy, whose release Middleton interfered to procure. Sir Archibald Johnstone, of Warriston, was attainted, but fled. Two years afterwards he was seized in France, brought over to Scotland, and executed.

Guthrie and Govan were both condemned to be hanged, and underwent their sentence with the greatest fortitude. The latter, while the rope was being fastened round his neck, spoke as follows:—
“Middleton and I went out to the field together upon the same errand. Now I am promoted to a cord, and he to be Lord High Commissioner. Yet I would not change situations with him for a thousand worlds.”

The time had now arrived when it was hoped that Episcopacy might be safely established in Scotland. The indignities which the king had endured from the Presbyterians had inspired him with a lasting enmity towards them. “In his opinion,” he said, “their religion was not fitted for a gentleman,” and he could not consent to its continuance in his kingdom. Middleton was summoned to London to be consulted on the subject. At a meeting of the Privy Council, he gave the king an account of his government in Scotland, and expressed a decided opinion that the nation, with the recovery of royalty, would accept Episcopacy as its natural accompaniment.

In spite of Lauderdale's opposition, therefore, who endeavoured to persuade Charles that, were the Scotch gratified in the point of ecclesiastical government, they would be compliant in all others, the Act was passed.¹

On Wednesday, May 7th, 1662, seven bishops were consecrated by the Archbishops of St. Andrews and Glasgow, and the Bishop of Galloway, in the presence of a great number of the nobility and gentry, the Lord Provost, the magistrates, and town council.

On the following day the second opening of Parliament took place, Middleton being again High Commissioner.² Now that the affairs of the Church were settled, Lauderdale once more endeavoured to obtain the Act of Indemnity. Middleton saw that it was useless to oppose it further; but maintained that the injustice seemed great, that, while many of the king's faithful subjects had been ruined in the defence of the crown, those who had complied with the government of the usurpation had preserved their estates entire. It was but fair, he urged, that these should be fined, and the money so obtained devoted to the relief of the others. Lauderdale opposed this measure, as placing an unjust limitation on the Act of Oblivion; but it was carried, with the alteration of

¹ Wright.

² Nicoll's Diary.

limiting the fines to one year's rent, which should be imposed only on those who had offended since the previous Act of Oblivion.

This measure had some show of plausibility on the face of it, but in its carrying out it degenerated into a mere pretext for enriching Middleton's friends and himself. A secret committee for levying fines was appointed, which was not called on to give account of its proceedings. Lists of offenders, framed more in respect to their means of paying than to their culpability, were drawn up, and fines affixed to their names. When these were made public, it was found out that many of those mentioned had been mere infants at the time of the late disturbances; others had been living abroad, and had taken no part in them whatever; but, to all remonstrances, it was answered that at the proper time each man should be heard in his own defence. If any objected to pay the fine he might do so, but on penalty of forfeiting the benefit of the Act, which none were found hardy enough to venture.¹

On 12th June, 1662, Middleton's elder daughter, Lady Grizel, was married to William,² tenth Earl of

¹ Wright; Hume.

² William Douglas, tenth Earl of Morton. The grandfather of this nobleman, William, eighth earl, was, before the breaking out of the Civil War, one of the richest and greatest subjects in the kingdom. Espousing the royal cause zealously, he advanced considerable sums for

Morton.¹ On the 15th of July he was appointed one of the Extraordinary Lords of Session.² On the 23rd of August, Lady Helen Middleton was married to Patrick Lyon,³ first Earl of Strathmore.¹ These two weddings, both of which took place at Holyrood Palace,² were probably performed with as much pomp and ceremony as those of princesses. Lady Strathmore had issue, and is the ancestress of the present peer.

Middleton, indignant at Lauderdale's continued opposition, and desirous of retaining the supreme power himself, obtained the Act of Balloting, by which twelve persons were declared by secret votes to be incapacitated from all trusts and offices. Lauderdale, Crawford, and Murray were numbered among these; but the king, disapproving of the measure, refused his consent.⁴

its support, on which account the islands of Orkney and Zetland, with the whole jurisdiction and royalties appertaining therein, were granted to him, June 15th, 1643, by royal charter. William, his grandson (the husband of Lady Grizel), procured a new grant of these islands; but that and the original grant were contested by the king's advocate, and December 27th, 1669, the islands were annexed to the Crown. Lord Morton died without surviving issue in 1681, and his honours reverted to his uncle.

¹ Search in the Records.

² Douglas's Peerage.

³ Patrick Lyon, first Earl of Strathmore, third of Kinghorne, and eleventh Baron of Glamis. He was a Privy Councillor and Extraordinary Lord of Session; died in 1695.

⁴ Wright; Burnet.

Another violent and tyrannical Act was carried against persons who should endeavour to persuade the king to restore the children of those who had been attainted by Parliament.¹ It seems like a judgment upon Middleton, who passed this Act without instructions for the purpose, that his own titles, lately conferred upon him, were forfeited by his son in 1695 (his direct male line ended in the persons of his grandsons, who died without issue; and the Earldom of Middleton and Lordships of Clermont and Fettercairn, although expressly granted to his heirs bearing the surname and arms of Middleton, have not yet been restored to the representative of his brother, Alexander.

Middleton and the other ministers, fearing from the favour shown by the king to Lord Lorne, that they would be disappointed of their hope of sharing the Argyle possessions, determined to impair them. Argyle having formerly obtained a grant of the Marquis of Huntly's (his brother-in-law) estates, on the ground of his being a considerable creditor, conditionally on his paying 400,000 marks owing to other persons, the Parliament now restored the estate, free from incumbrance, to Huntly, leaving his debts chargeable upon the Argyle possessions.

This treatment Lord Lorne naturally resented

¹ Burnet.

highly, and expressed his indignation in unguarded terms in a letter to his brother-in-law, Lord Duffus, which fell in Middleton's way. On this the High Commissioner founded a charge of leasing making against Lorne, or of creating distrust between the king and his ministers, which, by an old Act, was declared a capital offence. The king was pressed to send Lorne to Scotland to take his trial. Charles treated the accusation with contempt, but prepared to yield to the demand. Lauderdale, whose influence had been growing lately at Court, pleaded for him earnestly; but could only succeed by giving himself as bail in obtaining the concession that Lorne should not be sent down as a prisoner. The king, however, issued express orders that no sentence should be carried out until he himself were consulted with, and when the Parliament condemned Lorne to death, granted him a pardon.¹

Lauderdale, after this, set to work to improve the advantage he had obtained over Middleton, by drawing up a regular accusation against him. While the latter's influence at Court was thus waning, he was gaining the ill-will of his countrymen at home by rash and violent proceedings against the Presbyterians.

Fairfoull, Archbishop of Glasgow, bitterly complaining of the insubordination of his clergy, which

Kirkton; Wright.

nothing seemed likely to remedy but the increased application of force, a meeting of the Council took place at Glasgow, to consider what was further to be done. On this occasion, as on too many others, most of the members present were intoxicated, two only indeed being sober. This incapable assembly passed an Act depriving all ministers who had entered upon their cures since 1649 of their livings, unless they received a new presentation from their patron, and were instituted by the bishop. The most rigid Presbyterians agreed together to refuse obedience, imagining that their number would protect them; but immediately about one-third of the livings of the kingdom were declared vacant. New ministers had to be sought for all over the country, who were ordained without any regard to their past lives.¹ The people were much inflamed against these intruders, both on account of their own conduct, and because they had been imposed upon them by the ministers. Any form of religion favoured by such riotous and disorderly men must, they said, be both profane and impious.²

Still, however, the Scotch, though discontented, carefully refrained from every symptom of rebellion; which the ministers interpreted, unfortunately, as a sign of the prudence of their system of government,

¹ Wright.

and argued from it the wisdom of pursuing the same measures.²

Lauderdale, so soon as his case was completed against Middleton, persuaded the king to summon him to London to defend himself. Some of the charges against him were that he had invaded the royal prerogative, and disposed wrongfully of the money collected under the Bill of Fines. He still had powerful friends at Court, who exerted themselves earnestly in his favour—Clarendon, Sheldon,¹ Bishop of London, and his former adversary, Monk, Duke of Albemarle. These reminded the king of his great services, especially the important work of the establishment of Episcopacy, which, they said, ought to outweigh his faults. Middleton himself was especially anxious to meet the charge of invading the royal prerogative, to which he almost entirely confined his defence.

Lauderdale had, however, so worked upon Charles, that even Clarendon's voice had lost its effect. On January 23rd, 1663, he despatched a royal letter to

² Hume.

¹ Gilbert Sheldon, an eminent English prelate, born 1598, died 1677. He attended Charles I. in the Isle of Wight, and suffered imprisonment for his loyalty. After the Restoration he was made Dean of the Chapel Royal and Bishop of London, and on the death of Archbishop Juxon was raised to the primacy. In this situation he conducted himself with great zeal for the Church, and expended above £66,000 in charitable uses.

the Council of Scotland, forbidding the exacting of more fines until his further pleasure was known, and discharging the collector appointed by Middleton. The Council immediately prepared a proclamation in obedience to the letter.

Middleton's own mad folly now completed his ruin. Believing that, were this order carried, his influence in Scotland would be destroyed, because his friends would perceive that he was no longer able to reward them, he wrote to the Chancellor, Glencairn, bidding him still to demand the fines ; on which the Council recalled their proclamation-Lauderdale, however, receiving information of all that had happened, immediately explained the affair to the king in the most disadvantageous manner to the Commissioner. Middleton was called upon to defend himself, and answered that he had the king's verbal consent to what he had done.

This assertion Charles denied, and in his indignation deprived Middleton of all his offices, bestowing that of High Commissioner upon the Earl of Rothes, and the governorship of Edinburgh Castle upon Lauderdale.¹

“ Lord Middleton retired after his disgrace,” says Lord Speaker Onslow,² in a note to Burnet, “ to the

¹ Wright.

² Sir Richard Onslow, chosen Speaker of the House of Commons, 16th November, 1738 ; elevated to the peerage, 25th June, 1716.

Friary near Guildford, to one Dalmahoy there, a genteel, generous man, who was of Scotland; had been gentleman of the horse to William Duke of Hamilton, killed at the battle of Worcester; married that duke's widow, and by her had this house." This Thomas Dalmahoy was very much in the interest of the Duke of York, which was probably the reason of Middleton's retiring to his house, James also having, Pepys tells us, "a great kindness for him."¹

The Earl of Argyle, in a letter to the Earl of Lothian, 10th June, 1663, says that "Lady Middletonne had left nothing in the Abay" (Holyrood Palace).²

In 1663 Alexander Middleton, D.D., was elected Principal of King's College, Aberdeen. "In his time," it is said, "the college flourished, as he caused good order to be kept therein."³ This can be easily believed from his stern-looking portrait, preserved with those of the other Principals in the University of Aberdeen.

On January 31st, 1664, Lord Middleton seems to have been in London, for on that night "a retainer of his and one Cave, of the King's Chapel, had a jumble for the wall about the New Exchange, and did both kill one another, each thrusting the other through."

On February 22nd, Pepys heard "from Mr. Alsopp" (the king's brewer), "that Lord Lauderdale,

¹ Pepys' Diary.

² Earl of Lothian's Correspondence

³ Search in the Records.

being Middleton's enemy, and one that scorned the Chancellor, even to open affronts before the king, had got the whole power of Scotland into his hand ; whereas the other day, he was in a fair way to have had his whole estate, honour, and life voted away from him."¹

In March, 1666, Lord Middleton lost his elder daughter, Grizel Lady Morton, who died leaving no surviving issue ; and in the following September his wife also died at Cranston.²

Charles, probably through the Duke of York's influence, soon restored Lord Middleton to some degree of favour, and conferred on him a command at Rochester. "He had," says Pepys, "the power of the place to secure the boats that were made ready by Commissioner Pett,³ and to do anything that he thought fit." It was here, June 30th, 1667, that Pepys saw him first on his way to Chatham, with his friend Creed.⁴ "At the landing-place," he says "I met my Lord Brouncker,⁵ and my Lord Douglas,⁶

¹ Pepys' Diary. By the Act of Balloting.

² Search in the Records ; Douglas.

³ Afterwards Sir Peter Pett. His ancestors had been eminent ship-builders for several generations. (Worthies of England.)

⁴ John Creed, of Oundle, secretary to the Commissioners for Tangiers.

⁵ William, second Viscount Brouncker. His father gave £1200 to be made an Irish peer, and swore the same day that he had not 12*d.* left for his dinner. (Pepys' Diary, March 24th, 1667.)

⁶ James, second Marquis of Douglas, and nephew of the Duke of Hamilton.

and all the officers of the soldiers in the town, waiting there for the Duke of York, who they heard was coming. By-and-by comes my Lord Middleton, well mounted. He seems a fine soldier, and so everybody says he is; and a man like my Lord Teviot,¹ and, indeed, most of the Scotch gentry, as I observe, of few words." He thought it a strange thing to see, that while Lords Douglas and Middleton rode up and down upon single horses, Lord Brouncker went up and down with a hackney coach and six horses at the king's charge.

After the Dutch burned the English ships during the war with Holland, Commissioner Pett, who had the care of the yard at Chatham, was committed a close prisoner to the Tower, it being supposed that the disaster might have arisen from some negligence on his part. Sir Philip Howard,² however, told Pepys that "the only fault he believed Pett could have been guilty of that he was either able or concerned to amend, was the not carrying up of the ships higher, but three or four down to Rochester Bridge, which he boldly declared to be rather the fault of Lord Middleton, who had the command of the place."

¹ Andrew Rutherford, created in 1663 Earl of Teviot. He was appointed Governor of Tangiers, where he was killed by the Moors in 1664. Pepys thought him a cunning man, inclined to enrich himself at the king's expense.

² Sir Philip Howard, seventh son of Thomas Howard, first Earl of Berkshire, and the direct ancestor of the present Earl of Suffolk.

Lord Middleton received the appointment of Governor of Tangiers, April 15th, 1667.¹ This fortress in Africa had been given up to the English by the Portuguese, January 30th, 1662, as part of the dowry of Catherine of Braganza, on her marriage with Charles II. The greatest pains were taken to preserve the fortress, and a fine mole to improve the harbour was constructed at an enormous expense. Pepys was one of the commissioners, and the treasurer. He had ever a poor opinion of the benefit its possession would prove to the king, speaking of it as "a great expense and no profit, likely only to be used as a job to do some kindness to some lord or other." The appointment of governor of the place was indeed looked upon as a species of honorary banishment.² Lord Middleton was the fourth nominated in little more than five years. One of his predecessors, Lord Teviot, had been killed by the Moors. He did not leave England until two years afterwards.

On May 5th, Sir W. Coventry,³ while discussing

¹ It is believed that this appointment was conferred on him at the suggestion of the Earl of Lauderdale, who feared lest the king's affections might return to him, unless he was removed to a distance. (Statistical Account of Scotland.)

² Wright.

³ Sir William Coventry, fourth son of the first Lord Coventry. He was Secretary to the Admiralty, and afterwards one of the Commissioners of the Treasury. Died 1686.

the affairs of Tangiers with Pepys, expressed his disapproval of Lord Middleton's appointment. "He said that he was ashamed of the place, to put the king to this charge for no good in the world; and now a man going over that is a good soldier, but a debauched man, which the place needs not to have; and so used these words: 'That this place was to the king, as my Lord Carnarvon¹ says of wood—that it is an excrescence of the earth, provided by God for the payment of debts.'"

In December of this year Middleton was married a second time, at St. Andrew's, Holborn, to Lady Martha Cary, daughter and co-heiress of Henry, Earl of Monmouth. She had issue one son, John, who died the last day of February, 1696, and was buried in Worcester Cathedral.²

Pepys met Lord Middleton, December 31st, at a committee for Tangiers. He thought him, on that occasion, "but a dull, heavy man, although a stout soldier, and feared that he would still keep that poor garrison from ever coming to be worth anything to the king." Probably he had been drinking, for Pepys had a better opinion of his mental qualities after a longer acquaintance.

May 6th, 1668, a charter was granted to "the Earl

¹ Charles Dormer, second Earl of Carnarvon.

² His epitaph in Worcester Cathedral.

of Middleton and his heirs male, whom failing, his heirs male and assignees whatsoever, of the Barony of Old Montrose, which had belonged to James Marquis of Montrose, had been disposed by him to John Graham of Fintrie, and by him to the Earl of Middleton.”¹

August 30th, 1668, he was again present at a committee for Tangiers. “Lord Middleton would, I think,” says Pepys, “have found fault with me for want of *coles*, but I slighted it, and he made nothing of it, but was thought to be drunk ; and I see that he hath a mind to find fault with me and Creed, neither of us having yet applied ourselves to him about anything ; but do talk of his profits and perquisites taken from him, and garrison reduced, and that it must be encreased, and such things ; as, I fear, he will be just such another as my Lord *Tiviott*, and the rest, to ruin that place.”

On October 12th, Lord Middleton sent a gentleman of his to Pepys, to ask about the payment of the £1000 lately ordered to him upon the advance of his pay as Governor of Tangiers. Pepys went to Lord Middleton's lodgings to speak to him on the subject, and there conversed with him for the first time. He thought him a shrewd man, but a drinking man, as the world said ; a man that had seen much

¹ Search in the Records.

of the world, and a Scot. Pepys offered him his services, though he could do him little, and Lord Middleton sent his man home with him.

On the following day he went with this man to Alderman Bakewell¹ about getting the £1000 paid, and afterwards to Lord Middleton's, to tell him what he had done. They began to converse about the Dutch war, which Lord Middleton said "he was always an enemy to." "He did discourse well of it," says Pepys, "I saying little, but pleased to hear him talk. . . . I did this day find by discourse with somebody, that this nobleman was the great Major-General Middleton that was of the Scotch army, in the beginning of the late war against the king."

On March 21st, 1669, it seemed doubtful whether Lord Middleton would go after all to Tangiers. Sir H. Cholmondeley² and Povy³ had heard that "he was resolved in the Cabal that he would not go." Sir Edward Harley⁴ was propounded instead, which Pepys was glad of, "as he was said to be a most worthy, brave man."

¹ Edward Bakewell, an Alderman of London, and opulent banker, ruined by the shutting up of the Exchange in 1672, when he retired to Holland, where he died. (Note to Pepys' Diary.)

² Sir Hugh Cholmondeley, third baronet.

³ Thomas Povy, formerly First Treasurer for Tangiers, which office he resigned to Pepys.

⁴ Sir Edward Harley, made a Knight of the Bath at the coronation of Charles II.—ancestor of the Earls of Oxford

This report seemed unfounded, for on the 31st Lord Middleton declared at last his being ready to go as soon as ever money could be obtained to pay the garrison. Pepys had orders to get money, but how soon he knew not.

April 26th, Colonel Macnahan, a Scotchman, brought a letter from Lord Middleton, saying, at the same time, that he was in great distress for £500 to relieve Lord Morton (the widower of his daughter Grizel) with. Pepys knew not upon what account. He was asked to advance this sum without order, upon Lord Middleton's pay upon Tangiers, "which I was astonished at," says Pepys, "but had the grace to deny him with an excuse."

May 3rd, Pepys had a great mind to talk to the Duke of York about the ruinous condition of Tangiers before it was too late, but dared not when it came to the point, because of the duke's great kindness to Lord Middleton. On the 7th he set out to see the Duke of York with the same intention, but his heart failed again from a like cause.¹

Lord Middleton did go at last to Tangiers, probably soon after this. Unfortunately he did not turn over a new leaf in another climate, but continued his former intemperate habits. In the year 1673,² while in a fit of intoxication, he fell down a staircase, and broke his arm so badly that the bone protruded

¹ Pepys' Diary.

² Search in the Records.

through the flesh. Probably the doctors were ignorant, and set it badly, for it mortified and caused his death in about the fifty-fourth year of his age.¹

He left considerable debts, for which his estates were adjudged by several creditors, but they were all at length purchased by his son-in-law, the Earl of Strathmore.²

His second wife, Martha, now Countess Dowager of Middleton, survived him thirty-two years. She died January 23rd, 1705, soon after the completion of her seventy-first year, and was buried in Worcester Cathedral, at the east end of the Lady Chapel.

The Latin epitaph to her memory was removed some time to the north-west aisle of the nave. The one over her son's tomb was taken into the crypt during the late restoration of the cathedral.

Lady Middleton is described as a most perfect person.

Piæ Memorix Sacrum
Honoratissimæ Dominæ,
MARTHÆ,
Comitissæ Dotariæ de Middleton,
Cujus
Ingenium Subactum,
Judicium Limatum
Consuetudinem Jucundissimam,
Humilitatem non Simulatam,
Veracitatem sine fuco,

¹ Wright.

² Search in the Records.

Pietatem omnibus numeris absolutam
 In condonando Facilitatem.
 In Reddendo Justitiam,
 In Largiendo munificentiam,
 Nulli quotquot noverint,
 Non suspexerunt, non coluerunt.
 Quid plura, Lector ?
 Velis in omni vitæ munere,
 In omni genere officii parem,
 Si quæris in terris, Frustra es ;
 Quære ut voti Compos fias, in cœlis
 Obiit eheu ! desideratissima
 Domina

IX. Cal. Febr. An Salutis Humanæ 1705
 Ætat Suae præter propter 71.

Translation.

Sacred to the pious memory
 Of the Right Hon. Lady
 MARTHA,
 Countess Dowager of Middleton,
 Whose cultivated Intellect,
 Refined Judgment,
 And most pleasant Companionship,
 Together with
 Her unfeigned Humility,
 Her unvarnished Truthfulness,
 Her Piety complete in all its parts,
 Her Readiness to forgive,
 Her Justice in rendering to all their dues,
 And her Liberality in giving,
 There were none who knew her
 Who did not admire,
 None who did not revere.
 Reader, what more can be said ?
 Would you find her equal
 In all the duties
 And several relations of life ?

If you search on earth, you will search in vain ;
Search, if you wish to find her, in heaven.
She died, alas ! most deeply regretted,
January 23rd, in the year of Grace 1705,
Soon after the completion of her 71st year.

A monument erected by the Earl of Middleton, either at Fettercairn, or in the now extinct town of Kincardine, still stands in the market-place of the former town. Queen Victoria describes it as "a sort of pillar, or town cross on steps," when she visited it on the evening of Friday, September 20th, 1861. (Prince) "Louis" (of Hesse) "read by the light of the moon a proclamation for collections of charities, which was stuck on it."¹

Lord Middleton's career is but one out of many examples of opportunities lost and talents wasted through habits of intemperance.

"It pleased" (astonished, we might rather say) "me to observe," says Pepys, while listening to his conversation, "how some men may by age come to know much, and yet, through their drinking and other pleasures, render themselves not very considerable."²

¹ Leaves from the Journal of Our Life in the Highlands.

² Pepys' Diary.

CHARLES MIDDLETON,
SECOND EARL OF MIDDLETON.
HIS LIFE AND LETTERS.

CHAPTER I.

His character—Early life—Appointed Envoy Extraordinary at the Court of Vienna—Shipwrecked with the Duke of York—Made Secretary of State for Scotland, afterwards for England—James II. entrusts to him the management of the House of Commons—Disapproves of James's system of Government, but supports the Court party—Expostulates with the king—Resists all James's attempts to convert him to Popery—Directed by the king to disclaim any secret alliance with Louis XIV.—Proves faithful to his sovereign in adversity—Present at Council—James's first attempt at flight—Middleton refuses to obey the summons of the peers—The king detained at Feversham—Middleton and others hasten to him, and entreat him to return to London—Middleton present at his last act of government—James compelled to go to Rochester—Determines on flight—Writes down his reasons for withdrawing, and directs Middleton to get them printed—Queen's ladies obtain permission to join her—Middleton remains in England—Warrant issued by Queen Mary for his apprehension—Escapes to France, but returns to England—Induces James to issue a more conciliatory declaration after the battle of La Hogue—Middleton heads the compounders—Calumnies of his enemies—Succeeds Lord Melfort at St. Germain's.

CHARLES, the second Earl of Middleton, is described by a contemporary¹ as being, in personal appearance, "a black man, of moderate stature, and a sanguine complexion." In the swarthiness of his skin, and in

¹ Quoted in Douglas's Peerage of Scotland.

many other respects, he is said to have borne a strong resemblance to his sovereign and namesake, Charles II., possessing the same gay and lively manners, embellished with wit, united to a sound judgment and a clear understanding. Like the king, he was the pleasantest companion imaginable, owing to a certain easiness of disposition, and to his having seen much of the world. He was considered one of the politest gentlemen in Europe. His temper was generous, his apprehension quick, and he was well learned; but careless in his manner of living, and indifferent in matters of religion.

As his father's marriage bears date July, 1639,¹ Charles Middleton was born probably about the year 1640. He was brought up from an early age at the exiled Court of Charles II.,² accompanied his father to Scotland at the age of fourteen, when the rank of captain seems to have been conferred upon him, and probably wrote the letter endorsed as being from Captain M. in the following June, which contains an account of the proceedings³ of the forces from their landing in the country. He would seem to have escaped to France some time during the disasters which followed.

After the Restoration, Charles II. appointed him

¹ Search in the Records.

² Middleton's Contemporary.

³ Whitlocke; Clarendon Papers.

Envoy Extraordinary to the Court of Vienna.¹ He married into a Roman Catholic family ;² his wife being the beautiful Lady Catherine Brudenell, daughter of Robert, second Earl of Cardigan, by his second countess, Anne, daughter of Thomas Rivers, Viscount Savage.³

In the year 1673, Charles Middleton became, by the death of his father, Earl of Middleton, Lord of Clermont and of Fettercairn ; but did not come into possession of his estates, which were all seized upon by creditors.

In the year 1681, Dr. Alexander Middleton, his uncle, brother of the first earl, resigned the office of Principal of King's College, Aberdeen, to his eldest son George, a short notice of whose life will be given later.⁴

Lord Middleton seems to have quitted Vienna in the early part of 1682, for we find him accompanying the Duke of York on his return to Scotland in May of that year. James's reception in England having proved more favourable than had been expected, the king thought that he might venture to reside in the country, and accordingly sent him, with a small fleet, to bring his duchess and the Princess Anne to London.

¹ Douglas.

² Oldmixon.

³ Grainger's Biographical History.

⁴ Search in the Records.

During this voyage the duke, the Earl of Middleton, and many other noblemen, ran great risk of losing their lives ; the *Gloucester* frigate, in which they sailed (which, it is thought, had been got ready too hastily for sea), being wrecked, and two hundred lives lost.

At nine o'clock in the morning of May 4th, the Duke of York and his suite embarked in Margate Roads. The passage was so slow, on account of the wet and fog, that by half-past one on the following day they had only come in sight of Suffolk.

James, who knew the coast well, observed that the course chosen by the pilot was a dangerous one, and ordered him to stand out further to sea. This command was obeyed so long as the duke was on deck ; but no sooner had he retired to rest than the man, acting on his own responsibility, changed it again ; and at half-past five on Sunday morning, May 6th, grounded the ship on some dangerous sands about twelve leagues past Yarmouth, called "The Lemon and Ore."

The duke, aroused by the tumult, rushed on deck to find that a terrible blow had just unshipped the rudder, and that eight feet of water were in the hold.

The captain, Sir John Berry, was anxious to have the barge hoisted directly, in order to secure the duke's safety ; but this he at first refused to allow,

hoping that the whole ship might be saved. The water, however, continuing to increase, the captain again urged his request, and the duke's little pinnace, which held only six persons besides the rowers, was accordingly hoisted. James got into her out of the cabin window, and then called by name to as many persons of quality as the boat would hold, to follow.

The others were then launched. The Earl of Middleton got into the long-boat. Burnet asserts that this one went off with but few, although she might have carried eighty more ; but Sir James Dick, Lord Provost of Edinburgh, who was in her, declares that she was so overloaded that those within had no room to stand. The Laird of Hopetoun, the Earl of Roxburgh,¹ and many others considered it safer to remain in the sinking ship, rather than expose themselves to the like hazard.

As soon as the duke reached the *Mary* yacht (another vessel of the fleet) in safety, he commanded her to anchor, and sent out her boats and those of the *Happy Return* to the aid of the men in the ship. It sank, however, before they could reach them.²

¹ Robert, third Earl of Roxburgh, one of the Privy Council to Charles II. (Burke.) All that remained in the ship were drowned.

² Sir James Dick ; Pepys' Correspondence ; Sir John Berry (captain) ; Lord Dartmouth ; MS. Memorials of Queen Mary Beatrice ; Journal of James.

On September 26th, Lord Middleton was constituted one of the principal Secretaries of State for Scotland. July 11th, 1684, he was sworn a Privy Councillor of England; on the 15th of the same month was made one of the Extraordinary Lords of Session for Scotland; and in the following 25th of August, one of the Principal Secretaries of State for England, which office he filled until the Revolution of 1688.¹

When the first Parliament of James II.'s reign was summoned (May 19th, 1685), the king entrusted the management of the House of Commons to Middleton, and to another peer of Scotland, Richard Graham, Viscount Preston.

The first business of the Commons being to elect a Speaker from the persons who had been already suggested (Sir Thomas Meres, by Lord Keeper Guildford, and Sir John Trevor, by Lord Jeffreys), Middleton proposed the latter, as he was preferred by the king, and he was elected without opposition.² Middleton always supported the Court party, but learning by experience how strong a hold the Established Church possessed upon the affections of the loyal gentry, he soon entertained strong misgivings as to the wisdom and prudence of James's

¹ Douglas's Peerage of Scotland.

² Roger North's Life of Guildford; Bramston's Memoirs.

system of government, and was ever in favour of moderate counsels.¹

The Earls of Middleton and Sunderland² were present at the king's interview with the Duke of Monmouth after his capture, when the latter sought in vain for mercy.

On November 9th, when the Houses met a second time, the Commons were summoned to the bar of the Lords, and the king addressed them in a speech composed by himself. He commenced by congratulating his subjects on the suppression of Monmouth's rebellion, but added that the height to which it had risen, and the time taken to quell it, proved the inefficiency of the militia. This had induced him to order that the standing army should be augmented; and he hoped that the Commons would grant him the means of meeting the increased expenditure.

This was a most distasteful proposal; but James went on to displease his subjects still more, by asserting, in the coolest manner, that he had deliberately transgressed against an Act which was regarded by the nation as one of the chief safeguards of the Established Church, and that it was his intention to persist in doing so! This was the Test Act, passed in the late reign, which provided that no

¹ Commons' Journals; Bramston's Memoirs.

² Robert Spencer, Earl of Sunderland, the other Secretary of State.

person should hold any civil or military office without taking the oath of supremacy, subscribing a declaration against transubstantiation, and publicly receiving the Sacrament according to the rites of the Church of England.¹

James now told his people that he had employed some officers who had not taken the test, and as he was satisfied with their fidelity, he was determined not to part with them, even should the harmony which now existed between himself and the Parliament be on that account disturbed. The king's speech ended, the Commons retired to their own House. An expression of deep concern was visible on the faces of many of the most respectable members, and for a long time there was an ominous silence. Then Middleton rose, and moved that the House should go into committee on the king's speech; but some members opposed this course, and demanded time for consideration. At last it was resolved that the discussion should be postponed for three days.

On November 12th, strong objections were expressed against the increase of the standing army, and great dissatisfaction at the infringement of the Test Act. After some debate, it was resolved to grant a supply to the Crown, but at the same time to bring in a Bill to render the militia more efficient,

¹ Lords' Journals.

which was tantamount to a declaration against a standing army. On the following day the contest was renewed. As the king had mentioned his wish for a standing army in his speech, before speaking of the Test Act, Middleton suggested that they should first consider the former, and dismiss the other for the present from their minds ; but the Opposition objected to this, that it had always been the reasonable and constitutional practice to redress grievances before granting money. Such a custom would fall into disuse, should they be forced to follow the precise order the king chose to adopt.

A division was taken on the question whether or no Middleton's motion should be put, and the Speaker ordered the Noes to go out into the lobby. This injunction occasioned much murmuring. It was thought at this time that the party which remained in the House had an advantage over the one which went out, and both considered that they had a right to keep their seats. Another reason, probably, had some influence upon the members. The accommodation was then so deficient, that no person who had secured a good seat cared to lose it. In spite of all these inconveniences, however, many persons now rose and moved towards the door, amongst whom were some of whose votes the Court party had felt sure.

Middleton went down to the bar and expostulated with two of these, who were officers in the army—Colonel John Darcy, son of Lord Conyers, and Captain James Kendall. The latter was a needy retainer of the Court, who had been “returned to Parliament, in obedience to a royal command, by a picked corporation in Cornwall. To engage him still more to the king’s side, he had lately obtained a grant of a hundred rebels sentenced to transportation.” “Sir,” said Middleton, “have not you a troop of horse in his Majesty’s service?” Kendall seems to have thought that, his position having lately improved, he had become entitled to an opinion of his own, and to have been determined to show that he would not remain so servile a slave of the Court as he had been. “Yes, my lord,” he answered; “but my elder brother is just dead, and has left me seven hundred a year.”

Middleton’s motion was, after all, only beaten by one, the Ayes being 182, and the Noes 183. The Government received a second defeat, November 16th, on the amount of the supply to be granted to the king. James wanted £1,400,000, but the ministers feeling that it would be useless to ask for so large a sum, the Chancellor of the Exchequer mentioned £1,200,000. Only £700,000, however, were eventually granted.

On the 17th the Commons went in procession to Whitehall, with an address on the subject of the Test Act. James's only reply was a cold and sullen reprimand.¹

The Parliament continuing to displease the king, he prorogued it, on November 20th, until February 10th, 1686.

A few of James's, tried and faithful followers, Middleton, Preston, Clarendon, Rochester,² Ormond, etc., now ventured on a few cautious remonstrances, hoping to induce him to display a little more consideration for the feelings, principles, and prejudices of his subjects. He showed his complete disregard for their counsels, however, early in the following year, by showing publicly some papers found in Charles II.'s strong-box, which contained the usual Roman Catholic arguments against Protestantism. He asserted his belief that his brother had lived and died in that religion; and went so far as to have these papers printed, appending to them a declaration from himself that the originals were in Charles's handwriting.³

Such imprudent conduct was disapproved of, even by the Roman Catholics.

¹ Commons' Journals; Bramston's Memoirs; Reresby's Memoirs; Barillon.

² Lawrence Hyde, Earl of Rochester.

³ Evelyn's Diary.

When February 10th arrived, Parliament was again prorogued until May, and again in May until November. By three more prorogations the same Parliament continued for a year and a half. Having during that time failed to bend the principal members to his will, James at last dissolved it. As it would be impossible for him to find a band of men more subservient than these, it was supposed that henceforth he intended to govern without parliaments.

In consequence of Middleton's opposition to James's violent measures, the contemporary before quoted says "that he made no great figure at Court while that prince was upon the throne." He was continued in office, however, probably more for his wife's sake than his own, she being a Roman Catholic, and one of the queen's ladies-in-waiting, for whom her Majesty entertained a great friendship.

More mindful of his sovereign's real interest than his favour, Middleton stood firmly in the gap to stop the torrent of some priests who were driving James to his ruin.¹ The king, having a passion for proselytism, tried his utmost many times to convert him ; but he had no easy subject to deal with. "A new light," he was wont to say facetiously, "never comes into a head but by a crack in the tiling."²

¹ Oldmixon, Middleton's contemporary.

² Middleton's contemporary, Grainger.

A priest being sent one day to instruct him, began with the doctrine of Transubstantiation, of which he said he was sure that he should speedily convince him. "You believe," he commenced, "in the Trinity——" "Stop!" cried Middleton; "who told you so? I expect you to convince me of your belief, not to question me on my own"—which exclamation so disordered the priest that he could proceed no further.¹

This reply is supposed by Oldmixon to be a proof of Middleton's loose principles of religion. He never says, however, that he does not believe in the Trinity, but insinuates that the priest had no right to take for granted that he did so. Scornful jesting on sacred subjects was, however, a national sin of the times. "Discourse of this kind," Bonrepaux, the French minister, had remarked some years before, "is held in execration in France, but here it is usual amongst certain people of the country."

In July, 1686, Margaret Gordon, wife of Dr. Alexander Middleton, died. The register of her burial at Aberdeen is as follows:—"Margaret Gordon, the wife of Dr. Alexander Middleton, late Principal of King's College, was buried in the church, under the Shoemaker's Seat, on 26th July, 1686."

Her husband only survived her until the December

¹ Oldmixon.

following. On the 7th of that month he was buried in the church, at the east side of the pulpit.¹

In 1688 the French king sent repeatedly to warn James of William of Orange's machinations, offering him at the same time both naval and military assistance to repel an invasion. James, however, suffered Sunderland to persuade him that Louis only affected to believe the rumours he heard for his own purposes, and rejected the promised aid. Still, unwilling to abandon an ally whose interests he considered identical with his own, Louis gave orders to his ambassador, D'Avaux (with the knowledge and concurrence of Skelton, the English minister at Paris), to remonstrate with the States of Holland, informing them that he should regard any attempt against the King of England in the same light as one against himself. James resented much this interference, which he considered highly officious, when it came to his knowledge. He was no petty prince, he exclaimed, to be upheld by a powerful patron. He solemnly disavowed any knowledge of D'Avaux's proceedings, and directed Middleton to assure all the foreign ministers that no secret alliance whatever existed between himself and France.²

On June 8th, the Earl of Middleton was one of

¹ Search in the Records.

² D'Avaux ; Barillon ; Sunderland's Apology.

the peers who signed a warrant committing the Archbishop of Canterbury and six bishops to the Tower, for presenting a petition to the king. Although not a peer of England, he was present at a Council held October 17th, when the king restored the charter of London, and other charters were considered.¹

After the discovery of Sunderland's treachery in this same month, the king ordered Middleton to demand from him the Seals. He found Sunderland in the queen's apartment, whose protection he hoped for on account of his recent conversion to the Roman Church.²

James was now to find that, although Middleton had openly testified his disapproval of his measures in prosperity, he would prove a faithful servant in adversity. He remained steadfast to his sovereign at the time when many of his other subjects were forsaking him daily.³ "Villainy upon villainy," he writes to Preston, November 24th, on the occasion of the report that Kirke, commander of one of the Tangiers regiments at Warminster, had gone over with his troops to the enemy, after refusing to obey orders, "the last still greater than the former."⁴

On November 26th, the day after the disappear-

¹ Oldmixon. ² Barillon ; Adda. ³ His contemporary, Grainger.

⁴ Quoted by Lord Macaulay.

ance of the Princess Anne, James resolved to summon a council of all the lords, spiritual and temporal, who were at the time in London. Middleton, by his direction, wrote as follows from Whitehall:—

*Lord Middleton to the Archbishop of Canterbury.
Summons to attend the king.*

“MY LORD,

“The king commands me to acquaint your Grace that he desires to speak with you at ten tomorrow morning, and that your Grace will bring with you such others of my lords the bishops as are in town.

“I am, my lord,

“Your Grace’s most humble servant,

“MIDDLETON.”¹

At this Council Middleton and Preston were both in attendance. “The king himself presided. Traces of severe mental and bodily anxiety were visible on his countenance.”² He solemnly asked the advice of those present, and promised so far to accept it as to summon a Parliament. On the following day he agreed likewise to grant a free pardon to all who were in rebellion against him, and even to declare them eligible as members in the approaching Parlia-

¹ Macpherson’s Original Documents.

² Lord Macaulay.

ment. These concessions were, however, soon shown to be intended merely as blinds to his real designs. Not daring to trust any, and having the remembrance of his father's fate ever before his mind, James had now resolved to seek for personal safety in flight, and delayed only until he could first provide for the escape of his queen and infant son.¹

Having received assurances of the safety of these latter, the king made his first attempt at flight, December 11th. Rising at three o'clock in the morning, he took the Great Seal in his hand, and ordering the Duke of Northumberland,² who that night slept in his room, not to open the door until the usual hour, disappeared through a secret passage.³

Great was the consternation when it was learned that the king had gone without making any provision for the Government. The loss of the Great Seal added considerably to the universal dismay—there was no recognized authority in the kingdom. Lord Feversham,⁴ the Commander-in-Chief, so soon as he heard of the king's flight, disbanded the troops, thus letting them loose to prey upon the country. The London

¹ Burnet ; Barillon ; Luttrell's Diary ; Clarendon.

² Son of Charles II. and the Duchess of Cleveland.

³ History of the Desertion ; Clarke's Life of James ; Mulgrave's Account of the Revolution ; Burnet.

⁴ Lewis Duras, Earl of Feversham, a Frenchman of noble birth, nephew to the great Turenne. (Lord Macaulay.)

populace rose in a tumult, destroying all the Mass-houses, and committing other disorderly acts.

In this extremity the bishops and peers then in London resolved to send to the Prince of Orange, now at Littlecote Hall, near Hungerford, begging him to come as soon as possible to London: and, until his arrival, to take the government into their own hands. Having thus determined, they sent for the Secretaries of State. Middleton, however, considering theirs an usurped authority, refused to come; Preston, quite taken aback by his master's flight, and uncertain what to do, obeyed.¹

William was eager to fly to the metropolis at the summons of the peers, but was prevented from marching there immediately, by tidings that Feversham's soldiers were scattered all over the counties through which the road to London lay.²

On the morning of December 13th, the people of London were startled by a rumour that the king was still in the country. This intelligence proved to be true. James had found Sir Edward Hales³ waiting outside the palace, with a hackney coach. After crossing the Thames, into whose waters he threw the Great Seal, he continued his journey uninter-

¹ History of the Desertion; Burnet.

² Clarendon; Citters; Eachard's History of the Revolution.

³ Sir Edward Hales, a gentleman of Kent who had turned Papist.

ruptedly as far as Emley Ferry, near the island of Sheppey, where a custom-house hoy, hired by Hales, awaited him. He went on board, but the wind blowing fresh, the master would not venture out to sea without more ballast, and put in again at Sheerness. While they were waiting, Sir Edward Hales imprudently sent his servant to the post-office at Feversham, in whose neighbourhood his estate was situated ; and the livery being recognized,¹ the man was dodged down to the river-side by some members of a gang who lived by stopping Roman Catholics who were flying from England, and robbing them of their property.

Just as the hoy was about to float, at eleven o'clock at night, it was boarded by fifty of these men, who seized upon the king and his two companions, and took possession of their jewels. Mistaking James for the chaplain of Sir Edward Hales, Father Petre, they pushed and pulled him about rudely. "That's he ; I know him by his lean jaws," cried one. "Search the hatchet-faced old rascal," exclaimed another.

As soon as the tide rose sufficiently high, the ruffians brought up the hoy to Feversham, and carried their captives to an inn. Distress of mind brought on an attack of the complaint which ultimately proved fatal to James—apoplexy. He began to talk

¹ Journal of James II.

in a rambling, incoherent manner. Violent bleeding at the nose at last relieved these symptoms. When it was discovered who he was, Sir James Oxenden¹ arrived with the militia, ostensibly to guard him from the rabble, but in reality to hinder his escape.

Just when the Council of Lords was about to adjourn, on December 13th, it was announced that a Kentish peasant requested admission, saying that he was a messenger from the king. When brought in, he delivered an unsealed letter containing but one sentence, imploring the aid of all faithful Englishmen to rescue their sovereign from the sad condition in which he then was. The messenger described, with tears, the state in which he had left his Majesty.

The lords immediately gave orders that Lord Feversham should hasten to his aid with a troop of Life Guards. Middleton, Ailesbury,² Lichfield, and Vermont posted on before to acquaint him of their coming, and beg him to return to London, whither all his friends wished him to be. They found him in close confinement, and were not allowed to see him until they had given up their swords.³

¹ Sir James Oxenden, second baronet. (Burke.)

² Thomas Bruce, second Earl of Ailesbury, was one of the first to invite the Prince of Orange to England, as a mediator between James and the English people, but refused to sanction his advancement to the throne.

³ Halifax MS. ; Citters ; Mulgrave's Account of the Revolution.

These Whig gentlemen were, however, much disturbed when they learned that the Government disapproved of their proceedings, and made no further attempt to detain him. James listened to his friends' advice, and set out immediately for London. At Sittingbourne he was met by the Guards, and halted for the night at Rochester. From this place he sent Lord Feversham to the Prince of Orange, inviting him to come to London for the purpose of holding an amicable treaty. St. James's Palace should, he said, be fitted up for his Highness.

William was deeply mortified when he heard that his uncle's attempt at escape had been frustrated. He sent back Count Zulestein¹ to decline the proposed conference, and to beg James to remain at Rochester.

Before Zulestein's arrival, however, the king had reached London. The reception accorded him was better than could have been hoped for, his misfortunes having caused a reaction in his favour. Some cheers were raised as he passed, and bonfires were kindled at night. The king supped in state at Whitehall, and held a council as to the means to be taken to hinder the demolition of Mass-houses. Middleton was one of the Privy Council

¹ An illegitimate first cousin of William's, who had been envoy between him and the English Protestants.

summoned. "This was the last act of Government, if it deserves the name," says Oldmixon, "for nobody minded it."

When James had retired to his chamber, he was informed that Count Zulestein, who had followed him from Rochester, had brought a letter from the Prince of Orange. William wrote to require his uncle to remain at Rochester while he went to London. James replied that it was now too late, but that he would have stayed at Rochester had he known that his nephew wished it. His anger was aroused on hearing that his messenger, Feversham, had been imprisoned.

On the following day the peers and William held a consultation at Windsor, as to the best course to be pursued. That James should hold a Court at Whitehall, and William at St. James's, they decided to be out of the question. James must be induced to leave London by some means or other. Some proposed that he should be subjected to personal restraint.

This night he was again disturbed whilst undressing. Lord Craven,¹ who commanded the Life Guards, came to tell him that the Dutch guards, under Count Solms,² had arrived, with orders to take military

¹ William, first Earl of Craven.

² Clarke's Life of James; Original Memoirs; Burnet; Oldmixon.

possession of the posts near Whitehall. Although a veteran of eighty, Craven asserted that he had rather be torn in pieces than give way to them. James, however, entreated him not to incur useless bloodshed.

Although surrounded by his enemies, the king continued his undressing. When asked by his attendants how he could make up his mind to lie down, knowing this to be the case, he answered that his enemies could scarcely treat him worse than his own subjects had done.

It seems to have been the Court custom at that time for a lord to sleep on a pallet in the king's room, whenever the queen was absent, and to have been Middleton's turn this night, as it had been Northumberland's on the occasion of James's former attempt at escape. Both now retired to rest, but were not yet to be permitted to sleep in quiet.

At two o'clock, the Lords Halifax,¹ Delamere,² and Shrewsbury,³ having been admitted by the Dutch guards, came to the door of the king's anteroom, and knocking loudly, demanded admittance in a

¹ George Savile, Marquis of Halifax. He had frequently opposed James.

² Henry Booth, Lord Delamere. He had formerly been tried on the charge of abetting Monmouth's rebellion.

³ Charles, Earl of Shrewsbury, one of the lords who invited William to England.

rude manner. The noise awoke Middleton; but the king, exhausted with all he had gone through, slept on. Going to the door, Middleton told them that the king was asleep, and begged them to wait until morning; but they answered that they brought a letter from the Prince of Orange, which must be delivered immediately. Having no alternative, he went up to the king's bed and drew back the curtain; but James still slept on. Kneeling down by his bedside, he was obliged to speak loudly in his ear. James started, but on seeing Middleton seemed more assured, and when brought to understand what had happened, desired him to admit the messengers.¹

The letter informed James that William would be in Westminster in a few hours, and that he would do well to leave for Ham House before ten o'clock the next morning.

James said, on hearing this, that he did not like Ham. In the summer it was very well, but it was an ill winter house; and, besides, it was unfurnished. To this objection Halifax answered that furniture should be sent in immediately.

The messengers then returned; but Middleton soon followed them, to say that the king would rather go to Rochester. They said they had no authority

¹ James's Life; Clarendon's Diary; Dalrymple.

to decide one way or the other, but would inform the prince of the king's wish. William, knowing that Rochester offered greater facilities for escape, sent back immediately a messenger with his consent.

James then expressed a wish to travel through the city; but Halifax answered rudely that it would breed disorder, and move compassion. The king must go by water, attended by Dutch guards.¹

The following day proving wet and stormy, he next objected that the weather was unfit for the voyage; but Halifax insisted on his entering the boat. A few of his peers and gentlemen attended him to the banks of the river, and took leave of him with tears. Middleton's name does not appear amongst the five faithful noblemen who accompanied him in the barge. He either went in another boat, or followed the next day. James slept that night at Gravesend, and continued his journey to Rochester in the morning, where he took up his quarters at the house of Sir Richard Head.² To afford him every opportunity for escaping, William ordered that the back premises of this house should be left unguarded.

James's faithful friends, Middleton, Arran,³ Dum-

¹ Clarke ; Mulgrave ; Burnet.

² Sir Richard Head, M.P. for Rochester. James presented him at parting with a valuable emerald ring. He died in the following year.

³ Eldest son of the Duke of Hamilton.

barton, Ailesbury, Lichfield, and Dundee,¹ did their utmost during the three days he remained here to induce him to think better of his resolution to abandon the country. Other officers of merit, the Bishop of Ely, several gentlemen of the town who visited him, did the same. "They all," says Macpherson, "argued against his flight with united efforts." A servant of Lord Middleton's, named David Middleton, repeated the following conversation between Lord Dundee and the king to Carte the historian, which he overheard while mending the fire:—" 'Make your stand here,' said Dundee, 'and summon your subjects to their allegiance. Give me your commission; I will undertake to collect ten thousand men of your disbanded army together, and with them will carry your standard through England, and drive the Dutch and their prince before you.'

"To this the king answered, 'He believed it might be done; but it would cause a civil war, and he would not do so much mischief to the English nation, which he loved, and doubted not but his people would soon come to their senses again.'

Middleton, who foresaw too truly that this hope would probably prove fallacious, pressed James to

¹ John Graham of Claverhouse, the brave Viscount Dundee, born 1650; killed at Killiecrankie, in the hour of victory, 1689.

stay, even though it were in the remotest part of his kingdom. "Your Majesty," said he, "may throw things into confusion by your departure, but it will be only the anarchy of a month. A new Government will soon be settled, and then you and your family are ruined for ever."¹

He would, however, listen to nothing. Before sitting down to supper on the evening of Saturday, December 22nd, he wrote down the various reasons which caused him to withdraw for the present, and giving the paper to Middleton, directed him to get it printed as soon as he was gone.

After supper he took leave of his faithful followers, and retired to rest; but rose again between twelve and one, and, accompanied only by his natural son, the Duke of Berwick, Mr. Biddulph, and the husband of the Prince of Wales's nurse, set out for France.²

Most of Queen Mary Beatrice's ladies applied to William for permission to follow her, as soon as she and King James were settled at St. Germain's. William granted passports to all who asked, but outlawed them and confiscated their property. At this time, therefore, the Countess of Middleton probably moved thither, with her young family. The earl himself resided chiefly in England until 1692, for the purpose of being on the spot to take

¹ Macpherson.

² Clarendon ; Clarke ; Original Memoirs.

advantage of the slightest turn in his master's favour, and to keep him informed of all that was going on.¹ William made many attempts to gain him over, but he refused all his offers, and in consequence was frequently imprisoned.²

In May, 1692, tidings of James's intention to invade England during William's absence in Holland, with a force of thirty thousand men to be embarked at La Hogue, coming to Queen Mary's ears (then Regent), she gave orders on the 24th that several suspicious persons should be arrested; amongst others, Charles, Earl of Middleton. All those against whom warrants had been issued left their homes, and sought various places of concealment. Middleton, the Earl of Dunmore,³ and Sir Andrew Forrester, took refuge in a Quaker's house, but were discovered and committed to prison.⁴

Middleton seems soon, however, to have regained his liberty, and to have gone to St. Germain's; for in the August following Macpherson speaks of his being sent again to England, and of his remaining there until January, 1693, "carrying on successful negotiations with the discontented."

The Countess of Middleton was probably present with the other noble ladies of the Court at the birth of

¹ Macpherson's History of England.

² Middleton's contemporary.

³ Charles Murray, first Earl of Dunmore.

⁴ Oldmixon; Hume.

her royal pupil, the Princess Louisa Mary, June 21st, 1692. James received this, his youngest child, born a little more than a month after the disastrous battle of La Hogue, with joy. "She was his comforter," he said, "sent by God to be a consolation in his exile—the one daughter who had not sinned against him." Lady Middleton was appointed her state governess.¹

The malcontents had by this time become so disgusted with William, that Lord Middleton found them ready to receive with ardour the assurances of James, which he conveyed to them. The last Declaration, however, which had been circulated before the battle of La Hogue, had displeased many friends even by the imperiousness of its language, and the many exceptions mentioned to the promised Act of Indemnity. In order to obtain a more conciliatory one, Lord Middleton repaired to St. Germain's in January, 1693, carrying with him eight proposals from those who wished to restore the late king, as he was now called, upon conditions.²

He gives an account of his reception at that Court in the following letter to a correspondent in London. The letter is deciphered by Colonel Sackville's cipher:—

"Though, dear cousin, I am pressed in time, yet I cannot forbear complying with the earnest desire (my

¹ MS. Memorials of Mary Beatrice.

² Macpherson.

own earnest desire) of 78 in assuring 45 (you) that *she* has (I have) and will do *her* (you) all the service *she* (I) can, which is indeed but common justice; and that *she* (I) was overjoyed to find 215 (the king) and 55 (queen) fully convinced how kind and useful *she* (I) had been to them.

“*She* (I) can only tell you, in general, that the indenture is signed, which you may see at the place you used to go to in the morning, where you have often met 540 (me, Lord M.), to whose letter she (I) must likewise refer. You will not be surprised to hear that lies have been already started at 7 (St. Germain) concerning 78 (Middleton). But, perhaps, you may, too, hear that from 3 (London) cautions have been given of her (me) as a 579 (Presbyterian) and 581 (Republican). Excuse my not writing to 39 (Lord Churchill). But let her (him) know that by the next she (he) shall hear from 540 (Middleton), and that her affairs are in as good a posture as we could wish. Post haste. Adieu.”

James had, indeed, in accordance with Lord Middleton's advice, drawn up a new Declaration, here called an indenture, based upon the eight Articles he had transmitted to him. It bore date April 17th. At the end of May, two men, named Canning and Dormer, were apprehended for dispersing copies of it.¹

¹ Macpherson's Original Documents.

The calumnies to which Lord Middleton refers were doubtless circulated by his enemies, the non-compounders. By this time the courtiers at St. Germain's had become divided into two factions, called compounders and non-compounders. The former, headed by Middleton himself, insisted upon receiving security from King James, before furthering his restoration, that the religion and liberties of England should be preserved; while the non-compounders were for restoring him unconditionally, casting themselves entirely upon his honour and generosity. The Earl of Melfort¹ (the Prime Minister), who supported this party, was a man of violent temper, deficient judgment, and headlong zeal for the Church of Rome. His conduct proved indeed so hurtful to the royal cause that it was found necessary to dismiss him from his office. Middleton succeeded him, and took up his residence henceforth entirely at St. Germain's. He was not styled Prime Minister, however, but remained as before, Secretary of State.²

¹ John Drummond, second son of James, third Earl of Perth, created Viscount Melfort, 1685, and earl of the same, 1686.

² Oldmixon; Hume.

CHAPTER II.

Description of the Chateau of St. Germain—James has some confidence in Middleton—Proceedings against the latter in Scotland for high treason—His letters from June 15th, 1693, until May 1st, 1696, chiefly concerning Queen Mary's death, and a proposed invasion of England, which proves a failure.

THE Castle of St. Germain, now the home of the Earl and Countess of Middleton, as well as that of the other families of the exiled Court, was one of the most beautiful and healthiest of the palaces of France. It was situated on the verge of a forest abounding with beasts of chase, and on the brow of a hill which commanded a view of the windings of the Seine. "The huge size and venerable age of the trees, the beauty of the gardens, and abundance of the springs, were widely famed." Francis I. had built the castle, and Henry IV. had added a noble terrace. It had been the birthplace of Louis XIV., who had resided here when a young man, at which time he had com-

pleted the terrace, and added several stately pavilions. Taking a dislike to the place, however, from some inexplicable motive, he changed his residence to Versailles.¹

“The view from the castle is enchanting,” says Count Hamilton;² “the walks delightful. No promenade in the world,” he tells us, “can be finer and more spacious than the public one upon the terrace. The air is so keen that we could willingly make four meals a day; but, as we can get scarcely half that number, it might have been better for us to have lived in a marshy district, where, enveloped in a thick fog, our senses and appetites would have been more drowsy.”

With all its magnificence, however, he complained that the chateau was inconvenient, and did not possess sufficient apartments; and especially found fault with the accommodation for devotional purposes, there being only one chapel and two oratories in the body of the place, and a parish church and some convents without.³

It would, indeed, have been rather difficult to find a mansion of sufficient size to supply comfortable

¹ Lord Macaulay.

² Count Anthony Hamilton, an ingenious writer, descended from a Scotch family, who attached himself to the fortunes of the Stuarts. (Beeton.)

³ Œuvres de Hamilton.

accommodation for so many whole families—Middletons, Dillons,¹ Hays,² Bourkes, Stricklands,³ Plowdens,⁴ Staffords, Sheldons, and others.

The little Middletons, who were playmates of the young prince and princess, and, with their other companions, formed their juvenile Court and mimic bodyguards, were five in number: two sons, John Lord Clermont and Charles Middleton, and three daughters (one or two of whom were celebrated in song by Hamilton, when they grew up amongst the beauties of St. Germain's), the Ladies Elizabeth, Mary, and Catherine.⁵

The little girls of the party wore, probably, the same strange kind of head-dress in which the Princess Louisa is portrayed, at the age of four. She and her brother, then eight years old, are running after a butterfly. The cap, called a cornette, of exactly the same shape as that worn by her mother, is "formed of three high, narrow stages of lace, stiffened very much, and fastened on wires placed upright upon the brow, one above the other, like a

¹ Theobald, seventh Viscount Dillon, followed James II., and was outlawed in 1690.

² John Hay, eleventh Earl of Erroll. (Burke.)

³ Sir Thomas Strickland of Sizergh. Lady Strickland was sub-governess of the Prince of Wales. (Miss Strickland.)

⁴ Mrs. Plowden was one of Queen Mary Beatrice's ladies. (Miss Strickland.)

⁵ Search in the Records; Douglas.

helmet, with a visor composed of point or Brussels lace, and with lappets descending on either side.”¹

The king and queen took much interest in the young children beneath their roof. As they were usually surrounded by them when they walked on the public promenade, they appeared often like the parents of a very numerous family.² They doubted at first whether the pension of 50,000 francs offered them by Louis XIV. would not be too large a sum, but soon discovered that it was inadequate to supply the wants of their numerous household, and of the needy Jacobite families who filled the town. Often the queen found herself compelled to sell her jewels to obtain sufficient.

The external appearance of the chateau is said still to be little changed, but it was plundered of all its valuable furniture at the time of the Revolution. A small portion of the apartments formerly inhabited by the king and queen remain uninjured.

“From this time James,” says Oldmixon, “carried it most kindly to Middleton, and seemed to have some confidence in him.” His services were indeed valuable, for he had more influence than any of the king’s other followers with the English Tories and Jacobites. James, however, could never quite forget that Middleton had refused to become a convert to

¹ Miss Strickland.

² Nairne.

the Church of Rome. He was seldom called to council, and had no concern in the management of affairs between Versailles and St. Germain, that being entrusted to Father Innes,¹ a Scotch Jesuit. The French Court also never depended upon his correspondence.

Middleton's letters, from this time until his resignation of the Seals in 1713, have been preserved by Nairne, his under secretary, who kept copies of all letters sent from the office. He usually gives those of his principal entire, but often only enters the contents of his own.² From this time, therefore, I will leave Lord Middleton to speak for himself as much as possible. His letters show him to have been true to his motto—" *Fortis in Arduis.*"

*The Earl of Middleton to the Earl of Mountcashel,
Lieut.-General in the French king's army.*

" St. Germain, 15th June, 1693.

" MY LORD,

" I should have thanked your lordship sooner for the honour you did me if I had not waited till I could return you some good news for yours. The king was pleased to declare yesterday that his Declar-

¹ Lewis Innes, almoner to the royal family, and the queen's confessor.

² Macpherson's Original Documents.

ation had been dispersed by his order in England. I suppose that none will be surprised to hear that the people of England should have so just a value for the kingdom of Ireland, as never to be induced to resign the interest they had in it.¹ The reasons are too many and too obvious to trouble your lordship with them. I shall only tell you that the king promises in the foresaid Declaration to restore the settlement, but at the same time declares that he will recompense all those who may suffer by it, by giving them equivalents. I mean those who have served him, and not only those here, but all who were included in the capitulation of Limerick, which will be a better security for them than what they have by the Acts of the Dublin Parliament, considering the many circumstances. I do not doubt but your lordship is fully convinced of this truth, and it will be a great service to the king to convince others of it, which I hope will be no difficult matter. For there is no man of common sense but will think himself engaged by interest, as well as duty, to contribute to his

¹ The two Houses of Parliament had addressed William on the grievances of Ireland. They complained that the too favourable conditions granted to the Papists at the capitulation of Limerick had encouraged them, and weakened the Protestant interest in the country; and that Lord Sidney had ruled with despotic authority, and engrossed great part of the forfeiture by grants from the Crown. Lord Middleton and the other Jacobites tried to turn every symptom of discontent against William's Government to their own purposes. (Smollett.)

Majesty's restoration, which without the concurrence of the greatest part of his subjects is impracticable.

This I have said by the king's commands ; and I shall only add from myself that I have been twenty-three years most sincerely,

My Lord,

“ Your lordship's most faithful humble servant,

“ MIDDLETON.”

To the Marquis de Pontchartrain, Minister and Secretary of State at Court.

[Translation.]

“ St. Germain, 15th July, 1693.

“ SIR,

“ As I cannot hope to have the honour of seeing you this week, I take the liberty to send you a memorial¹ of what hath been frequently represented to you concerning the interest of the king, my master. Amidst the embarrassment of so much other business, I imagine it will not be disagreeable to you to have the reasons in writing, in order that you may more conveniently make a report of them to the king ; and when I shall be permitted to have a conversation with you, I shall endeavour to satisfy you, the best way I can, in all the doubts and difficulties which may

¹ This memorial had reference probably to another proposed invasion of England.

occur. With regard to myself, I entreat you to be so good as to believe me to be, Sir,

“Your most humble and most obedient servant,

“MIDDLETON.”¹

The Earls of Melfort, Middleton, Lauderdale, and many other persons, were tried for high treason in Scotland, July 23rd, 1694, and pronounced fugitives and outlaws. The following account of the proceedings against them is taken from Howell's "State Trials," vol. xiii. p. 1442.

The Christian name of Lord Middleton is here given as John, but in every other place Charles. Perhaps this circumstance may somewhat invalidate the sentence passed against him.

“Proceedings against John, Earl of Melfort, John, Earl of Middletoun, Richard, Earl of Lauderdale,² and several others for treason and rebellion, inticing the French to invade their Majesties' dominions, and remaining subjects to the French king, 6th William and Mary, A.D. 1694.

“The said day their Majesties advocat ane Act of Councill, dated 19th instant, approveing his causing raise and execute letters of Treason before the said lords, against the persones mentioned in the following

¹ Original Documents.

² Nephew to the Earl of Lauderdale before mentioned.

Act of adjournall, as being in France and haveing bein there contrair to the late Act of Parliament" (in William and Mary's first Parliament, April 18th, 1693, chap. viii. sec. 4), "and as corresponders with the late King James, and granted warrant to the said Lord Advocat to insist in and follow forth the said proces against the saids baill persones.

"Their Majesties advocat produced the cōreminall letters of treasone dewly execute against them, upon threescore dayes wairning by a pursevant and trumpet, with their Majesties coat of Armes displayed sound of trumpet and using other solemnities necessar, at the Mercat cross of Edinburgh, pear and shoar of Leith, as being out of the kingdome.

"The said day John Earle of Melfort, the Earle of Middletoune," etc. etc. (a number of names follow), "being of tymes called to have compeared before our saids Lords, the said day and place, in the hour of cause; there to have underlyen the law for the crymes and treasone and lese Majesty committed be them, in sua far as his Majestie being ingadged in a just and necessary warr against the French king, for the maintenance of the religione and liberties of the people. The haill fornamed persones being native Scots-men and borne subjects of the realme, contrair to their naturall duty and alledgiance, did in the moneths of June, July, August, and remanents moneths

of the year sixteen hundred and eighty nyne, upon the first, second, third, or ane or other of the dayes of ane or other of the saids moneths, and upon the first, second, third, or ane or other of the dayes of the moneths of January, February, March or ane or other of the moneths of the year 1690, 1691, 1692, 1693 and January, February, March and Aprill, 1694, most treasoneably and undutifully ryse, and joyne in armes, and open rebellione with the French king and his forces and armes, against his Majestie and his government, and their native country did intyse the French king and his forces to invade their Majesties dominiones, and to quarrell and impunge their royall power and authoritie, and right and title to the croune, did fight, resist and oppose their Majesties forces warring against the French king, in Flanders and elsewhere, did aid, abait, assist, keep correspondence with, give help, redd, and councill to their Majesties enemies, and the enemies to the Protestant religione, and their native countray, went to and have remained wethin the kingdome of France and dominiones subject to the French king ever since the dayes specified in the Act of Parliament passed in May, 1693, and to this very day, without leave from their Majesties or the privy councill as they who were lawfully cited upon three score dayes wairning, att the Mercat

cross of Edinburgh, pear and shoar of Leith, by a pursevant and trumpeter, with their Majesties coat of armes displayed, and useing other solemnities necessar, to have found sufficient caution and sovertie acted in the books of adjournall for their appearance before the saids Lords this day and place, in the hour of cause, to have underlyen the law for the crymes above mentioned, lawful tyme of day bidden, and they nor none of them enterand nor appearand, the lords justice Clerk and commissioners of justiciary therefore be the mouth of James Guthrie, macer of court, decerned and adjudged the hail forenamed persones, and ilk ane of them to be denounced our Sovereigne lord's and lady's rebels, and ordayned them to be putt to the horne, and all their moveable goods and gear to be escheat, and inbrought to their Majesties use, as outlawes and fugitives frae their Majesties lawes for the crymes above specified, which was pronounced for doome."¹

“From a letter of the earl's, written in 1694, addressed to Mr. Appleby, a feigned name for a correspondent in England, to be delivered to the Hamburg merchant (that is a member of the House of Commons), there is reason to believe that about this time Marlborough had engaged the Prince and Princess

¹ Howell's State Trials.

of Denmark to enter heartily into terms with their exiled father.”¹

The pecuniary distress of the Court was great at this time.

“July 15th, 1694.

“I have received yours of the 23rd May. It is most certainly true that the merchant who owns the goods 368 (King James) stands in great need of money, and indeed it is not to be wondered at, considering his great losses and his numerous family, and would therefore be glad if any of his friends and old customers would advance him what they can spare, which shall be punctually repaid with interest as soon as he is in condition to appear on the Exchange. In the mean time he might be put in a condition to maintain his poor workmen, who are in great misery.

“I must tell you that 368 (King James) has agreed to what was proposed to him by 129 and 130 (the Prince and Princess of Denmark) in the main, that is, your wife (Queen Mary) shall have a jointure well secured to her,” etc., etc., etc.

[The meaning of the rest of this letter is not obvious.]

“Though Melfort was dismissed, he continued his quarrel with Middleton, of which the latter complains in the following letter in cipher :—¹

¹ Note by Macpherson in Original Documents.

The Earl of Middleton to Mr. Charles Danton.

" 22nd September, 1694.

"Your parcells marked 19 (the king) and 10 (Middleton) were safely delivered to the owners. The first was received with that just sense of your friendship which it deserved, and the other with the most *greatful* thankfulness imaginable. The owner of the goods No. 19 (the king) denies that he ever said any such thing to Z X W S Q H as what he writ to you, and desires you would write by any other way but that. He earnestly desires that you and others of the company would entertain no *jelouse* of his trading with interlopers. He assures you of the contrary, which I could safely vouch upon oath. It has been started at first to breed dissension and to serve some private turns, particularly to load the owner of the goods 10 (Middleton). We shall do all that's possible here to procure the goods that are useful, and it must be left to their judgments on the place to proceed as they see cause. You shall have an account of our diligence, as soon as there is a good opportunity, nor shall you want directions when they are requisite. The owner of the goods No. 10 (Lord Middleton) assures you that he never writ to any A O S Y (Whigs), except sometimes to X W V P H E, if he is thought one. We go to-morrow to a country

house (Fontainbleau) for some few days; therefore I am now prest in time, and must beg leave to refer to the person that was here, not doubting but you will give entire credit to what he tells you, especially when he assures you that I am, with all imaginable esteem,

“Your most faithful humble servant,

“10” (MIDDLETON).

*From Earl Middleton to Mr. Secretary Caryl.*¹

“Fontainbleau, Sept. 30, 1694.

“I dined this day with M. de Pontchartrain. It will not be necessary to repeat the dialogue, since you will easily guess my part of the discourse by his, which was, in short, that though the Memorial² was short, yet it was full and clear; that all he could say of it was what he had told the king, my master; that when the king thought fit to undertake it, nothing should be wanting that depended on him; that for the detail, that he desired to be excused from entering into it, because it belonged to M. de Croiffy, with whom he would not interfere. I went immediately

¹ Secretary to Queen Mary Beatrice. He was knighted by James II., who also conferred on him the honorary titles of Earl Caryl and Baron Dartford. He afterwards returned to England, and was on intimate terms with Pope, who dedicated to him “The Rape of the Lock.” (Beeton; Burke.)

² Referring probably to another proposed invasion of England.

from him to M. de Croiffy, who after a long preamble of his respect for the king, our master, and his earnest wishes of what was proposed, started several difficulties of a year old, as want of money, the difficulty of transportation, the want of a place of security, and the danger of their being beaten. To which I returned not only the old answers, but such new ones as the present conjuncture afforded; which will not be necessary to repeat, since I have always acquainted the king, our master, with what I thought might be said on such an occasion. He told me he would represent what I said to the king. I could perceive that what he objected was not so much from himself as what he supposed might be by others, which are indeed so very weak that I cannot but entertain good hopes, notwithstanding M. de Pontchartrain's dry answer. For it cannot be supposed that they will undertake anything till they have seen the disposition of the enemy's forces, both by land and sea; and when they do, they perhaps will keep the secret from us as they can; nor ought we to wonder at it, after the alarm that was given last spring. I can find by the courtiers that M. de Pontchartrain is the only man, at this time, that has any interest with his master. For my part, I should be very glad to be confined to Constantinople, on condition the Lord Melfort could carry our master home. But it is very probable that M. de Phillipeaux

does not differ in opinion with his father. The Court goes into mourning to-morrow, so that I must keep my chamber till I get mine from Paris. Let your landlord know that there is no 'noctes Atticæ' nor privateers aboard.

"I am most extremely, Sir,

"Your most faithful humble servant,

"MIDDLETON."

*Earl Middleton to M. L'Abbé Renaudot.*¹

[Translation.]

"Fontainebleau, October 2nd, 1694.

"The king and his ministers have approved of your memorial. M. de Pontchartrain did not choose to enter into particulars, and referred me to M. de Croiffy. M. de Croiffy started the same difficulties he started last year. I am not, therefore, able to see clearly through this affair. I sent compliments to M. de la Touche, who answered me immediately that he would come to see me the next morning. But he sent then an excuse, without fixing any other time, and as there are five days since, I have no hopes of seeing him; and I don't believe that I ought to press him further, as there may be some mystery in the case.

¹ Eusebius Renaudot, a learned French writer, distinguished by his knowledge of the Arabic, Syriac, and Coptic languages, born 1646, died 1720. (Beeton's Biographical Dictionary.)

“It is from your¹ care and prudence that I expect the success of our affairs.”

He writes to him in the same desponding strain on the 6th of October:—

“I have received your letter of the fourth, and thank God I am naturally inclined to follow the course you approve of, which is not to importune any one. Our affair is always in the same situation. It is no longer spoken of; and I imagine they want to see the disposition of the enemy’s forces by sea and land before they come to any resolution. It is so apparent that M. de la Touche purposely avoids me, that I think I should not press him any more. I will not despair while we allow ourselves to be guided by you.”

The Earl of Middleton to Mr. Mordaunt.

“December 31st, 1694.

“SIR,

“I hope the excuse you make for not writing will be received from me, since it is certainly true that there never was so little news stirring. Compliments have always been excluded in friendship, and I flatter myself with a great share in yours. If I should be mistaken, you would be very ungrateful.

¹ Middleton writes afterwards to Secretary Caryl, March 19th, 1696: “L’Abbé Renaudot may be an useful tool in this conjuncture. Flattery must not be spared—that is his foible.”

“ We have been agueish of late, but because I will not depend upon my own skill in this matter, I send you here enclosed¹ an account of it from our physician in ordinary (the Abbé Renaudot), to whom I refer. I suppose you will think fit to communicate it to some of our nearest relations, who are really concerned for the good of the family, who for that reason only endeavour to advance the match proposed to the widow ;¹ whereas there are others who, without regard to right or wrong, weigh only their own interests. These last may be discreetly managed, but ought never to be trusted, because a bribe from the rival certainly gains them. Mr. Artley (King James) and his spouse (queen) bid me assure you of the great esteem they have for you and yours, and that the kindness you have expressed for them shall not fail of a suitable return. I shall omit no occasion of doing you justice, and I shall endeavour to the best of my skill to act in everything as becomes an honest man, and your most faithful humble servant,

“ MARKE TOUCROFF ” (MIDDLETON).

After the death of Queen Mary, December 28th, 1694, James's friends renewed their attempts to

¹ A letter from Abbé de Renaudot to Mr. Mordaunt.

² The widow referred to was Lady Waldegrave (James's daughter by Arabella Churchill), who at this time married Lord Wilmot privately.

effect his restoration, although he himself had by this time fallen into a state of indifference concerning his own fate. His minister, the Earl of Middleton, maintained a constant intercourse with the principal men in England. It seemed a very general policy at that time to keep up a little with all parties, in order that men might fall on their feet whichever side rose uppermost.¹

From Earl Middleton to Mr. Appleby.

“January 13th, 1695.

“I most thankfully acknowledge the favour of yours of the 6th and 13th of December, which I could not do by the last post, by reason of an indisposition caused by a great cold, of which I am not yet quite recovered. However, I could no longer dispense with my writing to you, in pursuance of the directions I have received from our consul on the occasion of a strong report we have here of the owner of the goods No. 535 (Princess of Orange) being dead. If it should prove false, you are earnestly desired to say nothing of it to anybody. But if it should prove true, then you will be convinced that there will be enough to set all hands to work. We cannot pretend here to enter into the particulars of the acts which must be done by the factors on the

¹ Macpherson's History of England.

place. But there is one point which seems to be of great importance, which is whether the merchant who owns the goods No. 551 (the Parliament of England) is broken ; there are many good reasons for believing it, considering the great dependence he had on the other. This would be the greatest advantage that could happen to the Company, because it was he who supported all the interlopers, and before a new joint stock could be made up, the market would be stopped.

“ Pray present my service to your *Hamburgh*¹ partner, and tell him that I had wrote to him if I had been at any certainty, and that the accepted bills will be very quickly paid, and that if he will make a considerable venture now, the return will make him a leading man upon the 'Change.”

The Earl of Middleton wrote another letter of this date, with more particular directions concerning the measures to be taken by James's friends :—

“ 13th January, 1695.

“ SIR,

“ I received yours of the 10th December, which I could not answer by last post because I was ill. You may easily imagine that to be well thought of by one so generally and deservedly esteemed

¹ Earl of Marlborough.

was no small satisfaction to me. But no more of this for the future. The king has commanded me to write to you that there is here a strong report that the Princess of Orange is dead. If it is false, he desires you would take no notice of this to anybody; nor did he think fit to wait for the confirmation of it, because his friends might reasonably be impatient to hear from him on such an extraordinary occasion. Besides that, our post has been very slow and uncertain of late. But he is the less uneasy, because he knows his business cannot suffer thereby in your hands, since you want nobody to prompt or direct you in the management of it, and that you do everything to embroil and oppose the usurper's affairs, as occasion offers. If this report is true, the chief thing to be aimed at is the dissolution of this Parliament, for which many strong reasons may be urged; and although I am of opinion that they will vote themselves still a Parliament,¹ yet the contrary ought to be showed in print, for which proper persons ought to be employed. It will serve to baffle their Acts; people will be more unwilling to pay taxes, or advance anything on their security; and if a succeeding Parliament should declare this to have been null from such

¹ "The Earls of Rochester and Nottingham started a doubt whether the Parliament was not dissolved by the queen's death, but their motion met with no countenance." (Note to Smollett.)

a time, what penalties these members may incur, or what actions may be brought against them, or those who act by their authority, ought to be showed, in case still that this report is true. I do not doubt but you will communicate this to Mr. Donton and other friends, for I have neither time nor health to do it myself, which would be but a repetition of the same thing. If there is anything in this you cannot read, Thomas Adams will do it for you."

This is addressed to Mr. Lyson, to the care of Mr. Jackson.

Middleton received certain intelligence of the queen's death on the 15th January, 1695. He communicated the news immediately to the Marquis de Torcy, and added: "The king, my master, does not consider her as his daughter, because she had renounced her being so in such an open manner. There is even reason to fear that she died in her impenitence."

He next wrote a letter to King James's Lord Chancellor.

*The Earl of Middleton to the Lord High Chancellor of
England.*

"Saturday night, 15th January, 1695.

"MY LORD,

"The king has commanded me to let you

know that he desires you attend him to-morrow morning. The coachman who delivers this will undertake to bring and carry your lordship home again. The business is to know your opinion whether, by the enclosed Act, the English Parliament is dissolved by the demise of the Princess of Orange. You may be pleased to consider it as you come along. The reason of this haste is that the King of France is to be here to-morrow. In case your health will not permit you to stir out, his Majesty desires you will send him your thoughts in writing.

“ I am, with all imaginable respect and esteem,

“ My Lord,

“ Your lordship’s most obedient humble servant,

. “ MIDDLETON.”

On the 20th January Middleton acquaints the Marquis de Croiffy that his correspondents in England who sent him news of the Princess of Orange’s death add — “That the most intelligent persons think that this Parliament should be dissolved, but that it would not, because the members, being judges and parties, will not fail to decide the cause in their own favour. The king, my master, has already sent his orders to print all the reasons which can prove the nullity of that assembly, in order to discredit it in the opinion of the people.”

Earl Middleton to the Abbé Renaudot.

[Translation.]

“ 24th January, 1695.

“ If my bad state of health had not hindered me from applying to business, you would have heard from me frequently. I now take the liberty to send you reflections on the present state of England, by Mr. Caryl, which have been already sent to M. de Croiffy. I am sure you will avail yourself of them. It is certain that the conjuncture is more favourable for an enterprise than it has ever been ; but if the king does not engage in it, all will come to nothing. I was a little surprised to find that M. de Croiffy judged that the Prince of Orange's affairs were still in a good train, because the Parliament had presented addresses to him. Can any one imagine that when there is a man who is acknowledged as king, and his queen dies, who had an equal share of the sovereignty with him, a Parliament then assembled can avoid to make compliment to him upon the occasion ? With regard to the style, it is a mere form ; and with regard to the compliment at the end, I infer a very favourable conclusion from it. They promise ‘ to assert him against all his enemies, bothe domestic and foreign.’ They might say so if there had been a civil war ; but while all is quiet and obedient, I maintain it is without example.

“Here there is an authentic acknowledgment of the two Houses of Parliament, that there is a party in opposition to the Government, and that it must be very formidable, since they think it necessary to offer him their assistance against it. This appears to me to be a stronger proof of the existence of such a party than anything we could have said, and this remark being made by you will have more weight, and will not be suspected. For I apprehend, sometimes, that they suspect that we want to impose upon them, which has been always very far from my intention. But perhaps we are obliged for this to Lord Melfort.

“I send you also the *London Gazette*, where you will find these addresses more exact than anywhere else. I entreat you to be so good as to continue the honour of your kindness to, Sir,

“Your most humble and most obedient servant,

“MIDDLETON.”

There is no likelihood that Marlborough could have been forgotten during the intrigues which followed the death of Mary. Middleton, in a letter to his correspondent Appleby, on the 31st January, 1695, mentions an application which was then made to him: “I suppose you will be surprised to see an old country gentlewoman of your acquaintance, who

will deliver you bills for 86 (Lord Churchill). She knows nothing of it. I have no directions for you about them, but to deliver them immediately to whom they are payable ; for an honest and wise man never places his favours but where he has an entire confidence, and you may assure your Hamburg partner of both."

The old countrywoman was Mr. Radcliffe, who went with letters to St. Germain's on the queen's death ; the Hamburg merchant was the Earl of Marlborough.¹

From the Earl of Middleton to Mr. Appleby, with one enclosed to the Hamburg merchant.

" February 18th, 1695.

" SIR,

" This is only to acknowledge the favour of yours of the 16th January, with the enclosed for the Hamburg merchant. You may easily imagine that I can have but little to say now, since there has happened nothing since the lady went from hence. I long to have her home again, and to hear that the bills are delivered," etc.²

About this time Middleton corresponded with

¹ Note by Macpherson.

² The French Cabinet could not be persuaded to grant aid at this time. It was impossible, therefore, to take advantage of the favourable crisis produced by Mary's death.

No. 18 (Colonel Graham), who was a spy employed by King William. "Middleton," says Macpherson, "was a man of some humour and learning, and he sometimes threw a mixture of both into his letters on the most serious subjects. It appears from his answers that Graham complained bitterly that he received too little intelligence; and Middleton, who perhaps suspected him, protested that he wrote with sincerity and plainness, though he indulged in a little raillery when he had nothing material to communicate."

"April 30th, 1695.

"The said day, anent ane petition given in to the lords be Sir James Stewart, his Majesties advocat, makeand mention that where in ane justice court, holden be the saids lords upon the 23rd day of July last bypast, John Earle of Melfort, John Earle of Middletoune, Richard Earle of Lauderdale, Sir William Wallace of Craigie, Sir Adam Blair of Carberrie, and 90 others, were declaired outlawes and fugitives, for not comparing before the saids lords of justiciary for their going to and remaining within the kingdom of France after the 1st June, 1693, contrair to the eight Act, fourth sessione of his Majesties current Parliament, and for several other treasonable crymes, in the lybell raised against them theranent, and in the Act of adjournal past therupon ;

and the haill persones above named, and mentioned in the said Act, being by his Majesties appoyntment cited, or to be cited, befor the estates of Parliament, most of them (and all that are cited) to underlye the law for the treasonable crymes committed be them; and the rest as witnesses, and his Majestie being willing that the persones indyted should (until they be found guilty) have free liberty and allowance of defending themselves, and that neither should be proclued from proponeing their defences, nor the witnesses to be cited against them rendered incapable through their being rebels, fugitives, or at the horne; and that, therefor, all the saids persones, as well pairties as witnesses, may be relaxed, 'ad hunc effectum' allenarie, that they may have 'personam standi in judicio' befor the Parliament, but prejudice to his Majestie of any casualty or benefit fallen to him throw their rebellione, therefor craving the saids lords would be pleased to grant relaxatiene to the haill persons above mentioned cited, or sisted, as pairties or witnesses, 'ad hunc effectum,' that they may have 'personam standi, in judicio,' but prejudice to his Majestie as aforsaid. The lords commissioners of justiciary having considered the petitione above written, given in be his Majesties advocat, they allow relaxatiene to be exped for John Earle of Melfort and the haill remanent persones above

mentioned ad hunc effectum allennarly, that they may have personam standi in judicio befor the Parliament, and that the persones accused may propone their defences, and those called as witnesses may be capable to appear and depone, but prejudice to his Majestie of any casualty fallen to him throw their being declared fugitives or at the horne."¹

Probably none of these mentioned appeared to make any defence. Lord Middleton's title was declared forfeited by an Act passed July 2nd, 1695.²

The titles of Perth and Melfort "were restored, by the special command and recommendation of her Majesty Queen Victoria, by an Act of Parliament, which was unanimously passed by both Houses, and received the royal assent the 28th June, 1853. Lord Lauderdale, dying in 1695, was succeeded by his brother John, one of the Lords of Session. Sir William Wallace of Craigie,³ another of the outlaws, was likewise succeeded by his brother.⁴

Some of Lord Middleton's letters at this time are most allegorical, and, consequently, not easily explained; but it appears in general that he was

¹ Howell's State Trials.

² Douglas.

³ Third baronet.

⁴ Burke's Peerage. The title of Middleton has not been restored, although there are no lack of heirs.

corresponding with some men of the first consequence in England, and that the adherents of James were daily increasing.¹ Some of these were the Earl of Sunderland, who kept up a secret correspondence, the Duke of Devonshire, and the Earl of Pembroke, then Privy Seal, both of whom seemed willing to listen. The wife of the former became, indeed, one of James's agents. The Princess of Denmark and Earl of Marlborough also professed themselves his unchanged and unshaken friends.²

Middleton writes, on the 6th of June, to a correspondent under the borrowed name of Mr. Dorille:—"Fraser can speak to Pembroke³ and Devonshire,⁴ and you can speak yourself to 1 (Lord Abergavenny⁵) and Godolphin,⁶ and Lady Devonshire⁷ and Bradbury can to the Leaper."

He writes of the same date to No. 7 (Bishop of Bath and Wells). From this letter it would seem that he had been brought up in the Bishop's family:—

¹ Note by Macpherson.

² Macpherson's History of England.

³ Thomas, eighth earl. He filled some of the highest offices of state, likewise, in the reigns of Anne and George I.

⁴ William, fourth earl, created first Duke of Devonshire in 1694.

⁵ George, eleventh Baron Abergavenny, succeeded to the title March, 1695.

⁶ Sidney, Lord Godolphin.

⁷ Mary, second daughter of James Duke of Ormond, married the Duke of Devonshire. (Burke's Peerage.)

“I am glad of this opportunity of inclosing Mr. Astley’s (King James’s) letter to you, to assure you of the great regard I have for your friendship, of which I have had many remarkable instances, which is confirmed to me by several hands. Those of your family cannot be ignorant that I had the happiness of being born and bred in it; and if they are not already, I hope they will be quickly convinced that I have never proved undutiful, and it is a common artifice of people’s enemies to make them jealous of their friends. Unforeseen accident may defer the best resolutions, but reason and interest will prevail, when it is practicable, and those we deal with are convinced, which is the principal point, and therefore I hope nobody will despond. All our friends here are in perfect health; and I am most sincerely,” etc.

In a letter written in cipher about this time, by John Anderson, to the Hamburg merchant (or Lord Middleton, to a member of Parliament), we have a fresh instance of Marlborough’s intrigues.¹

“June 20th, 1695.

“Nothing could be welcomer than yours of the 21st May, and Mr. Smith (King James) was extremely satisfied with what related to him; but, alas! the profit of what you insinuate is very remote, and depends on great uncertainties; for if either 368, or

¹ Note by Macpherson.

20, or 86 (the king, the Princess of Denmark, or Lord Churchill) give it over to be 163 (are dead) before 534 (the Prince of Orange), then we might shut up shop ; and three to one, you know, are great odds. Why should not these factors, who have in their hands that bale of goods No 176 (England), be called upon to deliver it? This is a critical time ; no stone should be left unturned. I shall not pretend to set down the means, nor need I conjure you to bestir yourself, since I know you are both able and willing to restore our trade. Farewell !”

From this time we meet with frequent mention of the Earl of Sunderland’s intrigues with King James. The following letter is from John Anderson (the Earl of Middleton) to his correspondent in England, under the name of Appleby² :—

“ June 20th, 1695.

“ Since my last of the 16th inst., I have received two of yours together, the 22nd and 29th of May. I cannot guess nor imagine how 781 (Lord Sunderland) should come to know anything of 20 (Princess of Denmark). Things of that nature are often spoke at a venture, and not out of any certain knowledge, either out of malice or to value oneself on a discovery. However, it is impossible to make any true judgment of a matter that one is

¹ Note by Macpherson.

entirely ignorant of; and you will oblige me in letting me know what you can learn of it hereafter. As to what was said by 534 (Prince of Orange), I am not at all surprised that one who is capable of doing anything should say what is for his interest, though never so false; and nothing can be more so than what he said. There never was less appearance of it, nor we more reason to be satisfied; and the owner of the goods 368 (King James) had appeared on the Exchange long ere now—I mean half a year ago—but for the difficulty formerly mentioned.”

The Earl of Middleton to M. de Pontchartrain.

[Translation].

“ St. Germain, 27th June, 1695.

“ SIR,

“ I have received the order for the three thousand livres for Mr. Floyd, our correspondent for the Marine, who will be very useful. Last night I received a letter from him of the 15th inst., with a very exact account of the enemy's fleet. You may see thereby the disposition of all the forcés, and you may particularly depend upon every information which comes from him.

“ All the other letters from England never say anything, but to make haste to come over. You shall be made very welcome. Everything is arranged and prepared for that purpose.”

These assurances raised the spirits of the Jacobites, but Middleton found it a very difficult matter to induce the French minister to attempt another invasion of England. He excused them, as well as he could, to his English correspondents, who grew impatient of their delays.¹ He writes to Appleby, 6th June: "As to the bale of goods No. 219 (French fleet), if you will consider and believe what I write to you concerning it, I need say no more of it. However, I shall only add, that till it is brought into its proper warehouse, which depends on accident, it can never turn to good account."

He writes to Chapman on the 29th June:—"I am concerned that I cannot answer our wishes at present, and merely for the reason I have so often informed you of; for I find no other objection made, but, on the contrary, very great forwardness when that is removed; and then you may begin to look out sharp, if things continue in the same situation they are in at this time."

On the 12th July he writes to Appleby:—"I could wish *withal* my heart that the account you have of the goods No. 219 (French fleet) were true. It is not likely that the owner of them would let them rot in the warehouse at the time when he could dispose of them to so great advantage."

¹ Macpherson's History of England; Original Documents.

On the 17th August he writes to Chapman:—
 “Our friend Benson (French king) has put his money out to use at present, so that he cannot advance ten pounds; whereas his rents will come in again after Michaelmas quarter-day, and about that time all his goods will be in proper warehouses, so that there will not be the same reason for putting off for the future.”

On the same date he writes to Cleland (Waugh):—
 “We are at no certainty yet when our long lawsuit can be brought to a trial; but we are in good hopes, since the excuse our lawyers made will be removed very quickly.”

Middleton had some suspicion, at this time, of the sincerity of Sunderland, as appears from another letter from him, under the feigned name of “John Anderson to the Spanish merchant” (a member of the House of Peers).¹

“August 2nd, 1695.

“I received yours of the 16th of July. Those who do not doubt your will must regret your want of power. What engaged you to bid for the goods No. 781 (Lord Sunderland), we cannot tell, being wholly ignorant of that matter. The goods you desire cannot be sent now, for the danger at sea is so great; for want of sufficient convoy, nobody will ensure them. Mr. Smith (King James) is well, and remembers him kindly to you.”

¹ Note to Documents.

Hoping to impress the French ministers favourably, he wrote as follows concerning his expectations from Sunderland's credit, and from the discontents of the English nation¹ :—

Earl Middleton to the Marquis de Croissy.

[Translation.]

“ St. Germain, November 5th, 1695.

“ We have just received letters from England of the 26th October, N.S., by which we learn that the Prince of Orange has dissolved the Parliament, and called another to meet the 2nd December. The two greatest difficulties in the enterprise against England consist in the safety of the transports, and in the means which the English, who are loyal, may find to assemble themselves together after the landing, in order to join their king or make a diversion ; and, now that Rooke² is failed, the coasts are without shipping, and all the people met together for new elections, which would be the best pretext that could be wished for ; but, above all, the great credit of Lord Sunderland, who has been always the first to deceive himself, and the first to betray.

“ They write, likewise, that the Prince of Orange is to travel through the counties for twenty-six days,

¹ Note to Documents.

² Sir George Rooke, a gallant English admiral, born 1650, died 1709.

in order to acquire applause, and to contribute to the election of his creatures. They say that eight millions sterling will be demanded of the Parliament, and that the settlement of the crown will be changed, by preferring the children that he may have to the Princess Anne of Denmark ; and that Lord Danby¹ will be disgraced, 'sed de futuris contingentibus non datur determinata veritas.'

"I am, Sir,

"With great respect," etc.,

"MIDDLETON."

Earl of Middleton to Sir William Bruce, concerning the affairs of Scotland.

"23rd December, 1695.

"SIR,

"I have received yours of the 26th August and the 23rd September, which came to my hands about ten days after the other, and both of them within these three weeks. I am sorry for the good reason you give me of not hearing oftener from you and the worthy persons you name, and I am very sensible both of the difficulty and danger you are in when you do send ; and it is for that reason you do not hear oftener from me, because of the hazard of intercepting my letters, which to you might prove

¹ Thomas Osborne, Earl of Danby, afterwards Marquis of Carmarthen and Duke of Leeds, one of the lords who invited William to England. He was Lord High Treasurer.

troublesome ; for though in other matters you may imagine us in great misery, yet in this we are, both in sending and receiving, in great security, and therefore I shall be always very cautious in exposing of you, but when there is good cause for it ; and when that is, I will not fail in giving you timely advertisement, and that with as much security as I can contrive.

“ Be not, therefore, anxious in exposing yourself by writing often, or expecting to hear often from me. When there is anything material upon your side, I know you will let us have it ; and for what is common, such as the present forces of the kingdom, may be done in the way of a common news letter, without exposing anybody, and yet as much said as we shall want to know.

“ The king is very sensible of your great endeavours for him, and you may be persuaded that upon all occasions I shall give a just account of you and others, as I am informed. Doctor Cockburn has left his ciphers with me, and you may, as you have occasion, continue to write by them. I am glad to hear of my Lord Strathmore's” (his brother-in-law, the husband of his sister Helen) “good inclination before his death,¹ and of the good opinion you have of his

¹ He died some time in 1695. He was third Earl of Kinghorne, and first Earl of Strathmore. (Burke.)

son" (his nephew John, afterwards fourth earl¹), "as I am of Tarbat² and Queensberry's³ good behaviour in the Parliament, which should be encouraged; and that the discontents among our enemies prove for our advantage, and that our friends persevere, which in a great measure is beholding to the good management of you and your partners. The king is very sensible of the good behaviour of the clergy and the bishops, and I have taken particular notice what you say of the Bishop of Edinburgh. The king entreats all of you to continue and dispose of everything for the best, that when it pleaseth God to give the opportunity, things be found in a readiness. I do not remember that the two priests said anything of your affairs, and I am sure Dr. Cockburn gave me no letter of the 25th February from you. I keep very carefully all your letters that I have received from him, and I find none of that date amongst them.

"I have told you formerly that the king was resolved to have no Secretaries of State for Scotland till he be on the other side, as you have advised him;

¹ He married Lady Elizabeth Stanhope, daughter of Philip, second Earl of Chesterfield, and died 1712. (Burke.)

² Sir George Mackenzie, created Viscount Tarbat in 1685. He was well received by William, and restored to his office of Lord Clerk Registrar in 1692.

³ James, second Duke of Queensberry, Lord High Treasurer of Scotland.

and you may depend upon it, for he is still in the same mind.

“People coming from hence is not my fault; we have not wherewith to maintain them. But if there be any amongst them that pretends to have been trusted, or to deliver messages, do not believe them. You have been at this sport before, and may remember of the straits you were in, and that it is no more in the king’s power then than it is now to help it. As for scribblers, if you can fix anything upon any person here, it would be good service. But I assure you the little affairs we have is in so few hands that you may depend upon it, if you be not deceived in the person you trust, you shall not by any means of ours.

“Sir Andrew Forrester went from hence by his own choice and desire, the condition of his affairs obliging him to do it.

“I take what Secretary Johnston¹ said to you to be pumping, and no more; and I think it is easy for you to consider what letters could be wrote to you from hence. I understand mine came safe, and you may know if Dr. Cockburn’s did or not, or if you had any other correspondence. By examining in this manner, you will easily find what letters could come

¹ William’s Secretary of State, who kept a watchful eye on the proceedings of the Jacobites. (Smollett.)

to you, and so will the rest ; and I will be so cautious in bringing you into danger that way, that you may all be persuaded I will only trouble you when it is material and absolutely necessary ; and I entreat all of you to believe me, your most faithful and humble servant,

“ MIDDLETON.

John Anderson to Mr. Ward, i.e., The Earl of Middleton to Colonel Sackville.

“ January 11th, 1696.

“ SIR,

We are much divided here in Holland (France) about the Scottish East India Company,¹ nor can we well see how the matter can be settled, without a dispensing power, in the case when people's properties are concerned, which was never yet pretended to ; nor is it credible that the Scotch can be hectored into such a servile compliance, as to sacrifice their most undoubted right, manifest interest, and boasted independence. I must needs tell you a story which I had from a factor of this East India Company,

¹ The Scottish East India Company had been established in 1695, by an Act of the Scottish Parliament, without direct warrant from the Crown. The English Houses afterwards petitioned against it, alleging that it would injure the trade of England, as the Scotch, on account of the exemption of taxes promised to their Company, could afford to undersell the English India Company. The king was induced to disown it, which highly incensed the Scotch. (Smollett.)

when they had the news in India of the revolution in England. The General of Batavia sent an ambassador to the Mogul, who, among other things, told him that they had drove away the English king, and sent a servant of them to rule that people, to which old Aurungzebe¹ replied that he was glad of it; that the English had wickedly defrauded his subjects of what was justly due to them, and against the public faith had plundered them at sea; and now that they had subdued them, he expected they should make him reparation. Depend upon it, this story is seriously true.”²

The Earl of Middleton wrote several letters in the course of this and the ensuing month to Chapman, Lyson, Ward (Sackville), Cleland (Waugh), and Green (Sir Andrew Forrester), giving them hopes of an immediate invasion.³ In the beginning of the year, Mr. Powel (a secret agent) brought messages from James’s adherents in England, urging that there

¹ Known as the Great Mogul—the last of the energetic sovereigns who sat on the Mogul throne during the 17th century. (Beeton’s Biographical Dictionary.)

² The Scotch, notwithstanding the opposition they met with, endeavoured to found a colony on the coast of Darien. William, however, forbidding the English colonies to supply them with provisions, they were reduced to a state of starvation, and when the Spaniards marched against them, were obliged to abandon their project. (Smollett.)

³ Macpherson’s note.

might be no further delay. William was most unpopular, he said, and the people would eagerly welcome their former sovereign. On the 24th of January Middleton speaks of Powel's expected arrival:—"I am not sorry of Powel's thinking of visiting us, for he will be quickly undeceived¹ in what you suspect, and be able to set all matters in a true light at his return, if his sincerity is equal to his capacity."

Louis was at length prevailed on to grant a force of 12,000 men to aid an insurrection which, he believed, would be first begun by the Jacobites in England. The Duke of Berwick was appointed to the command. He refused, however, to allow the troops to quit Calais, until positive intelligence had been received that the rising had really commenced.²

On the 26th of February Middleton writes to Ward:—"Mr. Smith (King James) bid me tell you that his partner (French king) has the money ready; but that he will not pay it till the company (the adherents of James) has taken up the goods No. 953 (arms), and upon the first notice of it (insurrection) he will immediately despatch away Mr. Smith (King James) to conclude the bargain. Pray let us know

¹ In the hope, perhaps, that Louis would allow his troops to land before the insurrection had begun in England.

² Journal of James II. ; Macpherson.

your opinion of this matter, for as it is important, so it requires haste ; and if this opportunity be lost, it may prove fatal to the company."

The following letter to Lyson, dated 26th of February, relates also to this circumstance:¹—"This is only to acknowledge the favour of yours of the 5th instant ; it will not be necessary to repeat what you have from the best hand. Besides that, old Wall Freeman (probably the Duke of Berwick²) must have seen you before this comes to you. He can best inform you, though, perhaps, not satisfy you ; for there is one of the marriage articles which appears very difficult to perform ;³ and although something ought to be ventured, yet what is altogether unreasonable ought to be considered impossible ; but of this you can only judge."

On February 28th James departed for Calais. Middleton accompanied him. During their absence the business of St. Germain was directed by the queen.⁴ On March 19th Middleton writes, by order of the king, to Caryl, Secretary of State, concerning a manifesto which the Court of France proposed should be issued.

¹ Note by Macpherson.

² In the beginning of February the Duke of Berwick repaired privately to England, to distribute commissions, etc. (Smollett.)

³ That the English Jacobites should first take up arms.

⁴ Journal of James II. ; James's Life ; Macpherson.

“ Calais, March 19th, 1696.

“ The king has commanded me to tell you that he finds many difficulties in the manifesto proposed by the Court of France, for the same objections lie against publishing it as the Declaration ; for to say more cannot be intended, to say less is against his interest, and to come just up to it is the same thing, only with a new name. To say only that he was invited by a great part of the nation, can be of no advantage to his Majesty, but, on the contrary, a great prejudice to his affairs, by raising the persecution higher against his friends, who may thereby be put out of a condition to serve him ; and it would be a plain proof that there was a plot, though not such a one as is pretended” (to assassinate King William¹), “ which may beget abjurations and greater penalties on non-swearers. But perhaps the proposition may be mistaken, and in that case the surest and shortest way of clearing it will be to make a draught of that paper, to be laid before the king. But if the queen thinks the above said objections to be reasonable, then it will be necessary that they, and such others as occur to you, should be represented to Mons. de Croiffy in writing, that they may

¹ There was such a plot undertaken by Sir George Barclay (who pretended to have a commission from James) and others, but the conspirators, who were executed, declared solemnly with their dying breath, that they had never seen or heard of this commission. (Smollett.)

be read in Council; and because that Court may be alarmed at the proceedings in England, it may be fit, in another paper, to show, by many instances, how frivolous addresses are; and whilst there is one acknowledged king, the common style must be observed; and that many of our master's secret friends may appear the forwardest for their own preservation.

“ I send you Mr. Stafford's credential,¹ which you may be pleased to seal and deliver to him when the queen thinks fit. L'Abbé Renaudot may be a useful tool in this conjuncture. Flattery must not be spared; that is his foible.

“ Pray let me know if my pacquet of the 10th came to you. I have just now received yours of the 17th.

“ I am, etc.,

“ MIDDLETON.”

While they were thus waiting, many of the transports in which the troops were to have sailed to England were wrecked in a violent storm. James retired to Boulogne, March 23rd, to remain until something decisive should take place. Middleton endeavoured to persuade the French ministry of the necessity of an immediate invasion, without

¹ James's ambassador at Paris.

waiting for tidings from England, now so difficult to procure on account of the inclemency of the weather.¹

The Earl of Middleton to the Marquis de Croiffy.

[Translation.]

“ Boulogne, 7th April, 1696.

“ SIR,

“ I have been very sorry that I have not had any news to send you since we were here, because the bad weather has prevented our boats from landing, and the frigates of the enemy² cruise along the coast. The letters by post from Holland have been all examined ; probably those which were suspicious retained. We shall send you immediately the first messenger or packet arrives.

“ Mr. Caryl has already explained to you the reasons why the King of England does not think it his interest to publish his Declaration, nor any manifesto in his name, before his landing in that country ; and you have seen by the answers which I have made to M. de Pontchartrain, what I had to say concerning the navy and the expenses.”

¹ Macpherson ; Dalrymple.

² William received tidings of the purposed invasion immediately after James had reached Calais, from the Duke of Wirtemberg, Elector of Bavaria, and the Prince of Vaudemont. Admiral Russell set sail with fifty sail of the line, and his appearance so confounded the French, that they hauled in their vessels under the shore. (Smollett.)

To the Marquis de Pontchartrain. James is determined not to expose the army ; it is difficult to have intelligence.

[Translation.]

Same date.

“The king, my master, commands me to tell you that he agrees to all that is contained in the letter you did me the honour to write to me the 4th instant. He hopes that the king is persuaded that he will never propose to undertake anything *mal-a-propos* ; and, indeed, to desire to expose without reason this army, which he considers as the only bridge by which he can find his way to England, would be not only to make bad acknowledgments for his Majesty’s kindness, but to act contrary to his own interest.

“We have not been able to procure any intelligence of the enemy’s fleet since this alarm. They write from Holland that all letters are examined in England, and there also, and that they retain those which appear suspicious ; and our boats have been hitherto prevented from landing, sometimes by meeting the enemy’s frigates, but oftener by bad weather.”

Early in April the queen had a long interview with Louis XIV., in hopes of persuading him to allow the troops to embark immediately ; but he was inflexible.¹

¹ Journal of James ; Original Documents.

To the Marquis de Harcourt.

[Translation.]

“Boulogne, 8th April, 1696.

“SIR,

“I thank you most humbly for the letter you did me the honour to write to me the 4th inst. The queen had already acquainted the king, her husband, with the success of your negociations, and I want to confirm to Mons. de Pontchartrain what you have already said to the king, that it was not the design of the King of England to expose the king’s army, if it should be inferior to that of the enemy. But in this case a judgment should be formed of a superiority rather from the quality and condition of the ships, than from their number, and we are extremely sorry that we have not been able yet to procure information of these particulars. All the attempts of our boats to land have been fruitless. The letters that come by way of Holland are opened, and those that look suspicious retained; and no person is allowed to come over without a passport.”

The news that came at last was, that William had discovered the assassination plot, and that some of the conspirators had been executed.¹

¹ Journal of James II; Life of James; Macpherson.

To Mr. Secretary Caryl.

“Boulogne, April 13th, 1696.

“Though it is very probable that Jones has sent you a copy of the paper given in by the three persons lately¹ executed, yet in case he has not, I send them that you may see what they have declared with their last breath, which may be of use. Pray let me know if you would have Mr. Sheridan’s and the abbot’s papers returned; and let us know what you hear of Chateaufort² and Rooke.”

The French ministers were discouraged at these tidings, but Middleton endeavoured to persuade them to persevere.

To the Marquis de Croissy.

[Translation.]

“Boulogne, 14th April, 1696.

“We have not yet any news from England, our boats not having been able to land in that country, and the news, by those which can cross over from Holland, come straight to you. You will also hear

¹ Robert Charnock, a fellow of Magdalen College, Lieutenant King, and Thomas Key. They delivered a written paper to the sheriff, in which they declared that they had never received any commission from James to assassinate William. (Smollett.)

² The French commander.

from Calais what passed there yesterday.¹ By the noise which your enemies make on all sides, they appear to be driven, by rage and despair, to make the last effort to cover the weakness of a sinking cause; for it is impossible but England, which furnishes supplies to the rest, must, however rich, be now entirely exhausted. You are too well instructed in the affairs of that country to judge of the affections of the people from the addresses and association that are now formed.² Without speaking of the addresses that were presented in former times to the Earl of Essex, general of the rebels, and to what is called the Long Parliament, and afterwards to Cromwell, and to his son Richard, those that were presented to the king, my master, on the birth of the Prince of Wales, and on the design of the Prince of Orange, when everything was disposed for a revolt, prove convincingly how little stress can be laid on such fallacious appearances.”

[He proceeds to convince De Croiffy that his master has a strong party in England.]

“Therefore, sir, I see nothing that should divert

¹ It had been bombarded by the English fleet, under Russell. See following letter.

² Both Houses presented addresses to the king, expressing their abhorrence of the barbarous design which had been formed against his sacred person; the Commons drew up also an association, binding themselves to assist each other in support of the king, and to revenge any violence attempted against him.

the king from his great design ; and I hope, by his prudence and usual magnanimity, all things will succeed to his glory and advantage, which the king, my master, desires as much as his own."

To Mr. Secretary Caryl.

Same date.

" SIR,

" Last night we had advice from Calais that they had been bombarded from one till five in the afternoon ; that three hundred and thirty bombs had been shot without any conflagration ; some few houses and two vessels had been pierced. Since that time the wind had silenced them.

" I send you a copy of my letter to Mons. de Croiffy, for her Majesty's perusal ; for it is necessary to entertain them, though with repetitions, for they are sometimes apt to forget ; and I humbly conceive it would be for the king's service if you would be pleased to represent to them your reflections on all emergencies.

" I am,

" Your most humble servant,

" MIDDLETON."

After the bombardment of Calais, Louis insisted upon the invasion of England being laid aside for the

present. James wished to continue on the coast for a time ;¹ Middleton writes to request the King of France's permission.

To the Marquis de Croiffy.

[Translation.]

“ Boulogne, 28th April, 1696.

“ I have given the king, my master, the letter which you did me the honour to write to me the 25th of this month. He commands me to tell you that he wishes you had acquainted him with the king's sentiments with regard to his staying in this place, or his returning to St. Germain, that he might conform himself to them.

“ It is true I have already had the honour to write to you that the preparations at Dunkirk, when the king's army was at sea and the troops on the coast, would so far disconcert the measures of the Prince of Orange, that he would not know to what side he could direct his attention. But at present, when he sees nothing of this kind, it is not to be believed that the King of England's stay in this place can embarrass him in any manner; yet his Britannic Majesty believes that he ought to stay here until Rooke² arrives, rather

¹ Journal of James.

² When the conspiracy was discovered, Rooke received orders to return from Cadiz. He arrived at the end of April. (Smollett.)

than return precipitately, and furnish our enemies with subject for remarks; and all they can say afterwards is that the enterprise is disappointed thereby, although I am persuaded that it is only delayed for an opportunity of executing it with success. These are the sentiments of the king, my master, who cannot ever come to any determination without knowing those of the king. It is for this reason he begs you to inform him of them."

Louis XIV. wished to employ the troops elsewhere, so would not agree to this.¹

The Earl of Middleton to the Abbé Renaudot, vexed that the expedition is put off.

[Translation.]

"Boulogne, 29th April, 1696.

"SIR,

"I have just received your letter of the 27th, and I have since my last received a long despatch from Mons. de Pontchartrain, showing the necessity of putting off the enterprise to a more favourable conjuncture, on account of the superiority of the enemy at sea, and the use they had for the troops intended for embarkation, leaving it to the choice of the King of England to remain here or to return to

¹ James's Journal.

St. Germain's. At the same time, Mons. de Barbesieux¹ wrote to the officers to go to take care of their own affairs. Thus, you see, we are in a frightful solitude. Although I was sensibly affected with this resolution, as you may very well believe, I was not at all surprised at it. In my answer to Mons. de Pontchartrain, which I send you, I avoided to plead a cause which was already finally determined."

Louis having expressed a wish to the queen, at Marli, that James should return to St. Germain's, he prepares to do so.²

To the Marquis de Pontchartrain.

"Boulogne, 30th April, 1696.

"Having wrote to you in the letter which I had the honour to send you the 28th, the King of England could not come to any resolution about his stay in this place without being made acquainted with the king's sentiments; and the queen, having written since that the king told her at Marli that the King of England should not stay here, since all the officers were gone, I consider myself bound to acquaint you that his Britannic Majesty has resolved to set out soon, on his return to St. Germain's."

¹ Son of Louvois, Secretary of State in France. (Smollett.)

² Journal of James.

To Mr. Caryl. Expects to see him the next Saturday.

“Boulogne, May Day, 1696.

“I have wrote to Mons. de Pontchartrain, to acquaint him with the king our master’s resolution to return on what was said to the queen at Marli. We are to be at Abbeville next Thursday, and Clermont Friday ; so next Saturday I hope to have the honour of assuring you that I am,” etc.¹

After this disappointment, James and the French people seem to have come to the unanimous determination that Heaven and his evil star were against him ; therefore further endeavours after his restoration would be useless.

¹ Original Documents.

CHAPTER III.

Letters from June 20th, 1696, until December 8th, 1700, concerning some proposals to assassinate William III.—To correspondents in England—The escape of one Birkenhead—The queen's dowry—Some traitors—The King of Spain's will—A letter of the Earl of Melfort, intercepted by William, containing some aspersions upon Middleton's character.

The Earl of Middleton to the Marquis de Croiffy.

[Translation.]

“ St. Germain, 20th June, 1696.

“ IN a conversation which the king, my master, had with the Nuncio, he found him very ill-informed of his affairs, and even a little prejudiced by what the Austrians advance at Rome, and their partisans everywhere. He therefore thinks it necessary to inform his Holiness exactly of his intentions, and to endeavour to engage him to exert himself for his interest. But as he does not choose to do anything without the approbation of the king, he entreats you

to communicate this memorial to his Majesty, and to inform him of his sentiments on the subject, in order that he may conform himself to them.

“ I am, Sir,

“ Your most humble and most obedient Servant,

“ MIDDLETON.”

After the execution of the conspirators in England, James found it difficult, upon his return to St. Germain, to renew a correspondence with Britain. The first attempt was from the Earl of Middleton to Mr. Nowell, on the 30th June :—

“ I was very glad to find by your letter that you were in safety. His Majesty approves of what you have done and proposed for his service, and would have you give him an account of the persons designed to carry the packet to and from the water-side, and what is to be given to each person respectively who are to be concerned in the management of this affair.”

On the 4th August he wrote to Mr. Pigault, merchant, at Calais :—“ I desire the favour of you, that you would let me know the particulars of what you proposed for restoring our correspondence in England ; as, for instance, the place on the other side, the name of the person who is to receive and carry the packet to London, and bring it back from

thence. Pray present my service to Mons. le President, and concert this matter with him."

On the 13th August he wrote again to Mr. Nowell:—"The king has commanded me to acquaint you that, since he cannot at present set up a correspondence, he is willing to allow you five hundred *livres* a year to remain at Calais, that you may make the best interest you can among the sailors, and procure him, by that means, the best intelligence you are able, that when occasion offers for his service, you may be in readiness."

It seems that Middleton suspected Nowell, for he wanted another to act in his place, as appears by a letter he wrote the same date to Mons. Bretagne:—"The great difficulty we find in setting up our correspondence is the want of a person, such as we had before, to take care to deliver what is sent. If you can help us in this you will oblige."¹

He likewise cautions Mr. Pigault, in two different letters, against Mr. Griffiths—"Who seems to be very busy in this matter of correspondence, without any warrant from the king, my master; and the general rule in such cases is never to believe without seeing something in writing from his Majesty, or by his order."

Louis XIV. finding himself unable, for want of

¹ Macpherson's note.

funds, to maintain much longer the war against the Anglo-Germanic, Spanish, and Papal league, was obliged to enter into negotiations for a general peace, one of whose leading articles was that he should acknowledge William III. King of Great Britain. A rumour of what was going on reaching the Earl of Middleton's ears, he wrote in alarm the following letter :—

To the Abbé Renaudot.

[Translation.]

“ St. Germain, October 4th, 1696.

“ SIR,

“ I have shown your letter of the 1st instant to the King of England, who was agreeably surprised at it, and desires he may speak to you before his journey to Fontainbleau, which will be on Wednesday next.

“ I have nothing now to tell you concerning England, since all our intelligence from that country contains nothing but accounts of its weakness. It is impossible to add anything to what has been already said on the subject. By the last advices, all honest men are confounded at the rumour of a general peace. I beseech you, sir, to come here, in order to give us all the necessary light for conducting ourselves, at Fontainbleau, in a conjuncture which must be decisive of our fate.”

The Earl of Middleton to M. de Thope, President of the Admiralty at Calais, concerning one Birkenhead, who had probably been implicated in the late attempted invasion, and who had succeeded in escaping to France.

“ St. Germain, 20th October, 1696.

“ It is impossible to commend sufficiently your goodness to our friend Birkenhead. He will explain to you what must be done for James Hunt, and those who are expected from the other side. He will deliver you the order for getting them cured.”

“ St. Germain, 28th October, 1696.

“ Mr. Birkenhead, who will have the honour to deliver this letter to you, having informed the King of England of your politeness to him, his Majesty has commanded me to thank you from him, and to tell you that he hath given him in charge to propose to you what is necessary to be done for Hunt, and for the other two, who are still expected from the other side.”

Along with this letter Middleton sent the following order from Mons. Philippeaux to M. de Thope, of Calais :—

“ I desire you, as soon as you receive this, to arm, in all diligence, a shallop at Calais. Let her be a good sailer, and put one Betton board of her, who

will go to the coast of Sussex, near Shoreham, to take up two men, of whom he will hear at the house of Mr. Young."

The Earl of Middleton to the Abbé Renaudot.

Birkenhead's escape.

"St. Germain, 30th October, 1696.

"I do not know if Birkenhead has been lucky enough to find you, but he wishes much, for reasons that I shall tell you another time, that what follows may be inserted in the *Gazette*:—'Mr. Birkenhead having escaped from the prison of Newgate, in London, came to the shore, where he luckily found a French vessel; and the next night he came ashore, near the house of one Hunt, who had given information to the Government against him, and against several others; and having landed with eighteen men, after having broke open the door of the house, notwithstanding the resistance of Hunt, who fired a pistol at him, he carried him away by force, and brought him to Calais.'"

The Earl of Middleton to the Marquis de Torcy.

James informs the King of France of Vane's offer to assassinate King William.

[Translation.]

"St. Germain, 8th May, 1697.

"There is an Englishman arrived here, who calls himself Vane, without a passport and without recom-

mendations, and there is not one man in the place who knows him. This fellow has had the impudence to propose to me an attempt on the Prince of Orange's life ; and as I rejected this proposal with aversion, the conversation finished. But when I gave an account of it to the king, my master, lest the man should make his escape, he spoke to the Count de Druis, to secure his person until the king's orders about him should be received. It is for this reason the King of England desires you to inform his Majesty of this adventure immediately, it being his opinion that the said Vane should be closely imprisoned, but in other respects well treated, because we cannot prove whether he has been instigated to this by our enemies, or by indiscreet zeal."

The treaty for a general peace was signed September 20th. Louis acknowledged William as King of Great Britain, but refused to banish James and his queen from St. Germain's, as the former wished him to do. One of the stipulations likewise insisted on by the French king was, that Mary Beatrice should be paid a dowry of £50,000 as Queen of Great Britain, her undoubted right, whether she were regarded as queen consort or queen dowager. Necessity obliged James to accept this offer, but he was much at a loss about the proper manner of receiving the dowry.

His difficulties are explained in the following letter :—

The Earl of Middleton to the Marquis de Torcy.

[Translation.]

“ 5th October, 1697.

“ As his most Christian Majesty has been pleased to obtain by his mediation a promise from the Prince of Orange that the Queen of England shall be paid what is due to her, we are persuaded that his Majesty will be sorry that she should be deprived of it ; and as we have too much reason to distrust the Prince of Orange’s sincerity, it will not be difficult for him to invent quirks for eluding his promise. For instance, if the queen is desired to sign the discharges, they may be drawn up in such a form that she will not and cannot sign them.

“ Again, if officers named by the queen are put in possession of her estates, and if the tenants and others refuse to pay, they cannot be forced but in a court of justice, and the queen will neither plead before their courts nor acknowledge them. Besides that, the Prince of Orange might think himself freed from his promise when he pleased, from a pretence that the money was employed against him.

“ So that there is no expedient, but that the

Prince of Orange should oblige himself by a secret article to pay the sum mentioned to his most Christian Majesty and his successors during the life of the queen. If the Prince of Orange acts sincerely, he will accept this proposal. If it is rejected, the affair, in all likelihood, will be of no consequence ; and yet there is no doubt that his most Christian Majesty is very careful to put on a solid foundation a thing so honourable to himself, and necessary to the Queen of England.”

To the same.

[Translation.]

“October 21st, 1697.

“I have received the letter you did me the honour to write to me from Fontainbleau, on the 15th inst., with the extract of the mediation and the instructions for his Majesty’s plenipotentiaries, with which the Queen of England is entirely satisfied, and she has ordered me to thank you. But there is a gross mistake in the extract, which you will undoubtedly judge necessary to correct, because Acts of Parliament are never sealed, and have no other sanction but that it is the king’s pleasure. This may give a chance to the English to use shifts, and to say that they are not obliged to make any payments unless a sealed Act is produced, which is impossible.

I have marked the words in the extract, which I return to you, and below I have written those which ought to be substituted in their place. I am persuaded they will agree to them without any difficulty, because they will be ashamed to acknowledge an ignorance or a villainy equally insupportable. It was merely to avoid these difficulties that the king, my master, proposed to send one of his subjects to Delft, as it is impossible that these particulars can be known to others.”¹

The distrust felt of William's sincerity was too well founded. The English Parliament granted the dower, but “it never,” says the Duchess of Marlborough, “found its way farther than the pockets of William.”² At the same time he also appropriated part of the sum allotted to the use of the young Duke of Gloucester, the son of the Princess of Denmark. Mary Beatrice's proud determination “to demand nothing, or receive nothing, except through the medium of the King of France,” enabled him to perpetrate this dishonesty unchidden. The Earl of Portland,³ during his embassy to France, hinted that the dower would never be paid so long as James remained

¹ Original Documents.

² Conduct of the Duchess of Marlborough. (Burnet.)

³ William Bentinck, first Earl of Portland, the favourite of William

at St. Germain. Prior the poet,¹ secretary to the embassy, writes thus to his master, Halifax, on the subject:—"I have written to my Lord Portland the sum of several discourses I have had with M. de Lauzun,² or rather they with me, about the pension which we were to allow the queen. Do we intend, my dear master, to give her £50,000 per annum or not? If we do not, I (or rather my Lord Jersey³) should now be furnished with some chicaning answers when we are pressed on that point, *for it was fairly promised*; that is certain.⁴

The Earl of Middleton to Mr. Biddiford, at Calais.

"St. Germain, 2nd January, 1698.

"SIR,

"I am informed that one Mr. Piggott, a fat, squinting fellow, to say no worse of him, pretends to many people to have directions and messages from hence, which I can assure you is most false. Therefore you cannot do our master better service than to give them a caution of it, and that they should trust none but such as they have an entire confidence in, or produce a credential. I hope to hear from you

¹ Matthew Prior, an eminent English poet. He wrote some easy and elegant poems, and likewise a history of his own times. (Beeton.)

² Antoine Duke de Lauzun, a celebrated favourite of Louis XIV.

³ Edward, first Earl of Jersey.

⁴ Letters of Eminent Literary Men, by Sir H. Ellis, Camden Society.

sometimes ; and as often as I have occasion, I shall endeavour to convince you that I am most really," etc.

The man James Hunt, whose escape from England Lord Middleton had had some difficulty in procuring, seems to have turned out a traitor.

The Earl of Middleton to the Marquis de Torcy.

[Translation.]

“ St. Germain, January 16th, 1698.

“ SIR,

“ Mr. Birkenhead writes to me from Calais that one Hunt, whom he had brought here, as you know, has resolved to go back to England, and to recommend himself at the expense of all those who came over to France during the war ; and amongst the rest, Lord Ailesbury¹ will undoubtedly be beheaded. Against so great an evil there is no remedy, unless the king will be graciously pleased to send him silently to the Antilles, St. Domingo, or Canada, with an order to the governors to confine him ; and by this means, if he is demanded, it may be answered with truth that he is not in France. The evil is immediate, and therefore the King of England beseeches you to represent this to the king, and to let him know his Majesty's intentions.”

¹ He had before this been committed to the Tower on suspicion, which calamity caused the death of his countess, January 12th, 1697. (Burke.)

The Earl of Middleton, in a letter to the Marquis de Torcy, on the 19th, desires that the same precautions should be taken against Mr. Goodman, who had been an evidence against several in England, and had particularly informed against the Duke of Powis,¹ who, however, bribed him to retire to France. Middleton suspected that his intention was to put himself under the protection of the Earl of Portland when he arrived, and therefore, in his master's name, desired that he should be secured with Hunt. It appears from another letter to De Torcy, written some months later, that Goodman was sent a prisoner to Dauphiny, where his wife, in a petition to the queen, desired to be imprisoned with him. Middleton, in the mean time, endeavoured to renew his former correspondence with some of his friends in England. There is a letter from him of the 16th February to Cleland (Vaugh), containing general expressions of kindness and regard. He was then greatly alarmed that some letters of consequence might be found upon Mr. Crosby, who had been assassinated in the streets of Paris. Crosby had carried on a correspondence for some time with James's secret friends in England, and Middleton was afraid that he

¹ William, third Baron Powis, created earl in 1644, marquis in 1687, and duke by James II., during his residence at St. Germain. His son succeeded to the marquise in 1722, the outlawry being reversed.—Burke.

might have letters about him which would involve many in trouble if they fell into improper hands.¹

*The Earl of Middleton to the Marquis de Torcy.
Charras offers to assassinate King William.*

[Translation.]

“ St. Germain, 17th November, 1699.

“ I send you two informations ; the one from a chaplain of the King of England, and the other from one of his physicians. Although Charras said he would come and call upon me, he has not done it, but left the place while I waited for him ; probably the physician’s discourse frightened him. The king, my master, is desirous that he may be apprehended and questioned. It is probable he may be caught at his brother’s, the apothecary’s, or by watching the streets in the corner of the town where Lord Manchester² lives.”

The young Duke of Gloucester died August 12th, 1700. The Jacobites, believing that the chief bar to the succession of the Prince of Wales was now removed, bestirred themselves vigorously. Mr. Graham, brother of Lord Preston, was sent to St.

¹ Note to Original Documents.

² Charles, fourth Earl of Manchester, accredited Ambassador Extraordinary to the Court of France in this year. He was one of the first to espouse the cause of the Prince of Orange. (Burke.)

Germain. It was reported also that the Princess Anne had sent a private message to her father.¹ The generality of Protestants, however, turned their eyes upon Sophia, Electress Dowager of Hanover, granddaughter of James I.

The Earl of Middleton to his correspondents in England.

“ Wednesday, 20th October, 1700.

“ I have so full and so good an answer to give you from Mr. Mons (the king), that your heart cannot think or wish for a better. But how to do it without the key (the cipher) of the cabinet where the papers lie is impossible. Wherefore upon receipt of this send me the key. I am very glad the Colonel (probably Colonel Sackville) minds his business. His letters will be acceptable, since the people he has to do with are in a full disposition to take advice. Do not you think that the credit of our trade will increase every day, when it evidently will appear that we go upon fair and just things, and will be a motive to good men to deal more freely with us ; and the greatest service that can be done is to persuade such to do so ? For we are disposed to give an entire and full satisfaction to everybody, and we aim at nothing but peace, rest, and quiet, and to leave people to cut

¹ Lamberty.

out their own happiness in their own way, and by their own instruments.”

The discontents in England continued to increase. Some of the Tory faction began to think, in earnest, of establishing the succession upon the Prince of Wales.

“ Wednesday, 3rd November, 1700.

“ SIR,

“ Mr. Mons (the king) desires to be kindly remembered to you, and bid me tell you that you may, in his name, inform the gentlemen you mention in yours, and any other you judge convenient, that John Murey (the king) is fully resolved to give all the satisfaction to his creditors (people) of all sorts that their hearts can wish or desire ; that the old debts (the passive) shall be first considered (forgiven), and then the new (the active) rewarded ; and that all other things shall be left to the arbitrement and the arbitrators (Parliament that shall be immediately called). In the mean time, it is desired from his friends that may be in or out of town (Parliament), to guard against anything that may be proposed relative to the sale of lands (the succession) at all. But if they find they cannot obtain that, and that they will take it into consideration, rather than any other should be named, to endeavour that Mr. Murey’s best friend (the Prince of Wales) have the preference.”

“ November 17th, 1700.

“ I received yours of the 24th October, which was our 6th November, with one enclosed from the colonel, to which I give you the trouble to give him the enclosed for answer, which I should have done by the last post, but could not by reason of a meeting I had with some friends, which took all my time for that day. I am very sensible of that gentleman's good intentions to do us all the good he can, and I believe he will do me that justice to say I was always so from the first day I had the honour to know him ; and what I say from Mr. Mons, he will see how he thinks he is obliged to him. If you have received all mine of the 3rd instant, you will perfectly see that John Murey (the king) does not intend that words, but deeds, should convince both his friends and his enemies ; for as he reserves nothing in his own power, they have nobody but themselves to blame, if everything be not done to their contentment ; and if that cannot do, you know the proverb—‘ You can have no more of the cat but the skin.’ However, if there be anything to be expected from his creditors (the people), he is very desirous to give a meeting to any one that will come from them, and he does not doubt but to give them all the satisfaction they can expect ; and if the thing be rightly understood, they must see the great advantages that is upon their side. Whereas

he has nothing before his eyes but to have everything by arbitrement of the arbitrators (Parliament) disposed of to the best advantage to his creditors (people), and nobody can imagine but the longer it is delayed, the greater will be their loss. For if the sale of lands (succession) be neglected, you will allow the loss will every day be the more. Therefore, let me entreat you to press the having all these things taken into consideration.

“As for news, you had the contents of the King of Spain’s will in the last gazette, viz., the Duke of Anjou is named to the entire succession of the whole monarchy; failing him, the Duke de Berri; and failing him, the Archduke, second son of the Emperor, and after him the Duke of Savoy.

“The bees¹ (city) you mention have been and are still very troublesome, and that, you will see, confounds all, and makes us despair of all the rest, when so little a thing cannot be removed. So that all I can say is, that if you could get the bees (city) recommended by the worthies you mention in yours as injurious to them in the present conjuncture, and that at such a time, when they are setting up for good management, everything should appear by actions as

¹ The city of London was at this time much torn by faction. (Smollett.) The constant disturbances are not unfitly likened to the buzzings of bees.

the parting with such as have wasted by their profuseness, and destroyed by their councils, all the improvements that might have been made ; that it is not agreeable with good management to put¹ strangers over a family that reckons they have wiser people of their own. The oldest of the bees (city) is supported by nothing now, but the shame of acknowledging a fault ; and it's he only that supports the rest ; and instructions upon that, from these people, would be well taken, but from no other, showing them that persevering in bad things is the greatest fault, and coming out of it makes the greatest amends that can be for any fault—that, whilst they think to cover it by their perseverance, the meanest capacities of their servants see it, and consequently despise them for it.”

[He probably alludes in the last part of this letter, which follows, to the notorious Simon Fraser, Lord Lovat,² who at this time visited St. Germain, and offered his services. Horror at his well-known bad character, and suspicions of his sincerity, induced the king to decline them.³]

“Since I begun to write this letter, I have got

¹ The Parliament petitioned the king to form a Council of his natural born subjects, instead of trusting to the advice of foreigners. (Smollett.)

² He had been outlawed for his conduct towards a sister of the Marquis of Athol.

³ Lockhart.

yours of the 28th, and I thank you for the account you gave me of that worthless fellow. I am satisfied of the truth of it, for these letters have been shown on this side, as well as on yours; and yet, for all that, and all that we could say of the affront and injury done to the person of honour,¹ which Mr. Mons represented very warmly, the M. i. i. f. c. y. and his gang carried it, and he was justified. If that gentleman knew what Mr. Mons said upon that head, he would be well pleased; but he was answered, that it was otherwise—that, far from doing him prejudice, he had served him. In a word, he has qualified himself to be thought capable of serving what I am satisfied he sets up for (probably a spy), and he was certainly sent thither for that end.”

Charles II., King of Spain, to whose will Lord Middleton refers in the foregoing letter, had been for some time in a dying state. As he had no issue, the crown would have naturally devolved upon his sister's son, the Dauphin. Philip IV., however (Charles's father), had made a will bequeathing the crown, after his son, to the children of the Emperor of Austria. The King of France had, moreover, renounced solemnly his wife's right to the succession.

Notwithstanding, Louis wished to secure the crown

¹ Either the Marquis of Athol or his sister.

to one of the Dauphin's sons, and instructed his ambassador, the Marquis d'Harcourt, to do his utmost to induce the dying monarch to make a will to that effect. Should this be impossible, Harcourt must at least contrive that the throne should not be bequeathed to a son of the Emperor of Austria.

Louis felt that these intentions of his would be frustrated, should William of England suspect them, and form such another confederacy of the European powers against him as he had done in the war just concluded. He determined, therefore, to amuse him by a treaty, which should flatter William's pride and ambition, by causing him to appear umpire of the affairs of Europe. For the purpose of negotiating this treaty the French minister, Count Tallart,¹ had an interview with William at his house at Loo. Between them it was resolved, without any consultation with the Spaniards themselves, or their dying king, that the kingdom should be divided as follows:—Naples, Sicily, and several other places dependent upon the Spanish monarchy, should be bestowed upon the Dauphin, in consideration of his right to the crown; Spain itself should be given to the electoral Prince of Bavaria, who was a grandson of a daughter of Spain; the duchy of Milan alone was to be settled on the second son of the Emperor of Austria

¹ Camille d'Hostun, afterwards Duc de Tallart and Marshal of France.

(the Archduke Charles). If either of the two last refused to accept the portion assigned to him, it should be sequestered until the dispute could be settled.

A second partition treaty, signed in London, differed from this in some important particulars. In this it was resolved that the Archduke Charles should succeed to the throne of Spain, and that the monarchy should never descend to a King of France, or Dauphin.

In the mean time, Louis's ambassador was busily engaged in forming a party in Spain. He represented to the people that their late sovereign, Philip IV., had no right to will away the throne against the laws of nature and customs of the realm. The Dauphin and his children should inherit it, before more distant relations. Should they accept the young Duke of Anjou, they might educate him in the customs of their country.

At first Harcourt had some difficulties to encounter, but when tidings of the partition treaty reached Spain, public opinion turned in his favour. The people were justly indignant that France, Holland, and England should presume to parcel out their kingdom, without so much as consulting them on the subject. Some nobles, who had been gained by the French party, assured them that their only security against dismemberment lay in accepting a French prince for their sovereign. The insolent conduct of

the Queen Mariana had also alienated them from the House of Austria.

Charles was persuaded to consult Pope Innocent XII., who, being in favour of France, pronounced the renunciation of the mother of the Dauphin null and void, and exhorted him to make a new will in favour of the Duke of Anjou,¹ his son.

Lord Middleton's opinion of the whole affair is shown in the following letters :—

Earl Middleton to an English correspondent.

“ 24th November, 1700.

“ SIR,

“ In my last I gave you the account of the King of Spain's death, and that the entire succession to these great dominions were given to the Duke of Anjou, etc., and now what may be the consequence of it is at present the great subject of our discourse and reasoning. The French reckon themselves much obliged to the league they lately made with Holland and England ; and, indeed, so they may, for that, and that only, has put a constraint upon Spain to put aside the Archduke, seeing themselves under a necessity either to do that or have their dominions torn in pieces by the partage. I long extremely to hear how this will be taken by the Parliament, and by the wise people of England. For here was a league

¹ Smollett.

made without advising or consulting them upon the matter, and certainly very much to the prejudice of trade and the interest of the nation, which no doubt would have been examined into by the Parliament. And, indeed, if it was reasonable to do it then, it is no less reasonable to do it now, upon what has happened ; for, in all respects, this settlement has at least as bad an aspect towards England as the other. Humanly speaking, here is a friendship betwixt the two crowns of Spain and France for fifty years, taking in a grandfather, a father, and a brother's friendship to a king of their own setting up. What trade can England propose to have in the Mediterranean, and in all the Spanish dominions, if France vie with them for it, though there be no war ; and if there be, how can they maintain a fleet without the assistance of the Spanish ports and harbours ? And it is evident that this and whatever worse consequences may arise from it, it is this triple league that is the occasion, since it brought them upon the necessity before mentioned. The Duke of Bavaria has writ to the King of Spain, and the general of their forces in the Netherlands will be at Versailles the morrow, so that you see here Flanders consenting already ; and in what a condition would the Hollanders be, though Spain never made war upon them, but only were, in case of a war betwixt France and them, consenting to their troops

marching through Flanders? and what would become of that bulwark which England and Holland have formerly thought their interest to maintain, though at their own charges, and which, in all appearance, is now lost by a league of their own making with the King of France? Doctor Davenant¹ will not need burn his book against the league, but add an appendix to show that it has had the same evil consequences, or rather worse, than it could have had if all things had stood as they were when it was made, and the execution been made accordingly.”

The partition treaty was indeed much condemned in England by the intelligent part of the nation, who complained bitterly that an affair of such importance should have been concluded without the advice of Parliament.²

“Wednesday, 1st December, 1700.

“SIR,

“I have yours of the 14th November, O.S.,³ and I am sorry you had then so little time to write;

¹ Dr. Charles Davenant, son of Sir William Davenant, born 1656, died 1714; was well versed in politics, and published some works connected with political and social economy. (Beeton's Biographical Dictionary.)

² Burnet; Oldmixon; Lamberty; Cole; State Tracts; Rapin; Voltaire.

³ The Old Style was used in England until the middle of the last century.

for there are two things I hoped to have had from you. One was the account of the Scotch Parliament; the other, how you reason upon this great affair of the Spanish Succession, whereof you had my opinion upon the 24th November, N.S. Of both I hope to have something from you by the next. As to the Scotch Parliament,¹ by other letters I am glad to find all goes for the Court. You know my opinion as to John Murey's (the king's) affairs is the same as yours; and yet, if it were possible to persuade people to accept of what he offers, it would bring every one into the same channel that we proposed it to run in, by a more natural way than all other overtures can make it; and by this method, too, you see he does not desire to be trusted, for he gives all out of his own hands. But this is an argument that I would not have you make use of with the colonel; and yet it is the best thing could happen, both for him and his friends. But all propositions any other way in our parts, that is downright, will be to no purpose; and yet, upon your side of the water they would naturally of themselves consider this, and press it where there is occasion. The bees (city) are a dead weight upon them, and look more like a judgment than anything else, they being an abomination to all the rest of man-

¹ The Scotch, indignant at the abandonment of the Settlement of Darien, petitioned for a new Parliament. (Smollett.)

kind but themselves ; and this case, truly stated by the colonel's friends, would be of great use for them, and us too, and I am persuaded they suffer at least as much by them as we do.

“Yesterday the Dutch ambassador was at Versailles, to demand an audience of the king, and was refused. It is said the King of France should say that when he had his audience of the King of Spain, he should have it of him.

“Whether he said this or not, I cannot be positive. But it is certain he was refused, and that to the seeing of as many as were about the king's apartments at the most public time of the day ; and it is believed the English ambassador will be served just so. Thus, you see what that secret treaty is like to bring us to. How seasonable it may be to think upon John Murey's (the king's) proposition I leave you to judge.”

When the King of Spain's will was made known in France, Louis made show of hesitating between his inclination and engagements with Holland and England. Madame de Maintenon and the Dauphin, however, easily persuaded him to accept it. The new monarch received congratulations from all the princes of the blood. William deeply resented Louis's conduct in accepting the will, but thought it as well to

conceal his sentiments until he should have sounded the opinions of the other European powers.¹

“ Wednesday, 8th December, 1700.

“ SIR,

“ I have seen yours of the 27th November, and I am glad you are got safe to London. I find you are alarmed there with the Duke of Anjou being declared King of Spain, and no doubt you have reason ; for the consequences of it may be still greater than your apprehensions of them are. It is not probable that the Duke of Bavaria will remain long Governor of Flanders, though he has sent his compliments to the King of Spain, and done all other marks of joy and acknowledgment upon that subject. The general of the Spanish forces in Flanders was likewise with the King of Spain before he went from hence, and was immediately sent back upon an express from the Duke of Bavaria upon some apprehension they had of the Dutch garrisons. It is certain that the King of France asked the Spanish ambassador what their debt was to the Dutch, for which they had the possessions of these towns. He answered six million. ‘ Well,’ said the king, ‘ if the Councils of Spain think fit to free themselves of these garrisons, I will make good the money.’ So that, you

¹ Smollett.

see, there is made good what you seem in England to fear, in the most material part. Besides the governor of the French Flanders has orders to send the Duke of Bavaria or the Spanish general what troops they shall demand upon any occasion. When I think upon the consequences that this succession to Spain may produce, I cannot but reflect upon the means and instruments that have been made use of to bring it about. To say that England and Holland should be these instruments is strange, and yet certainly true. For that secret treaty made by the King of England and the Dutch with France has put the Spaniards upon a necessity of doing for themselves the wisest thing they ever did, calling the Duke d'Anjou to be their king; for nothing but this necessity could have made them lay aside the Austrian family. They saw by this secret league their territories divided, their monarchy torn in pieces, a power set up against them; France, England, and Holland, to make good their division, too strong for them and all they could expect to assist them; and so, by giving it to the Duke of Anjou, humanly speaking, they have secured to themselves a peace with France for fifty years, entailed upon a life of a grandfather, father, and a brother, who will think it their glory to maintain a son of France in these great dominions. And it is not to be doubted but the children of his body will be as good

Spaniards as ever were before them ; so that Spain has acted a wise part.

“ It’s dangerous for any State to be governed by a head that is national, for such are generally given to try experiments. What greater security could England have than in the Augsburg¹ league ? Why was not that renewed, which would have kept the kingdom in peace for hundreds of years, in all probability ? But this treaty, amongst other things, has destroyed the credit and friendship the Austrian family can have for our king hereafter. So that by this *tour de baton*, he has left his new friends and his old ones together.

“ Your cousin (the king) is very well. I never saw so great a change upon a man in so little time. I was with him at Versailles, when the King of Spain parted ; and I dare be bold to say that if you see him three or four months hence, you will admire the alteration with great joy. My friend and his partner give you both their humble service ; and they do not doubt but you will mind them upon occasion.

“ I am, Sir,

“ Your most faithful and humble servant.”

In February, 1701, a letter from the Earl of

¹ A German league formed against Louis XIV. in 1688.

Melfort to his brother, the Earl of Perth,¹ governor to the young prince, was intercepted and delivered by William to the Parliament, which did much mischief to the Jacobite cause. It contained a scheme for another invasion of England. "A powerful party in Scotland was," said Melfort, "ready to rise in favour of the exiled sovereign." It was also, he declared, James's intention to re-establish the Roman Catholic religion in England. The letter likewise contained some reflections upon Middleton's character. His chief object in writing it is indeed thought to have been to bring his rival into disgrace, and to recommend himself to James. The French ministry, in order to show that they had no connection with Melfort, banished him to Angers.

¹ James Drummond, fourth earl, created by James II. Duke of Perth; died at St. Germain, 1716.

CHAPTER IV.

Illness and death of James II.—Middleton one of the Council appointed in his will to aid the queen—Letters concerning the queen's manifesto to the English—The Scotch wish the young king to go to Scotland—Middleton persuades the queen to refuse her consent—Falls under her Majesty's displeasure—Turns Roman Catholic, and retires into a convent for a year—Returns hastily to Court on learning of the promise extracted by Lovat from the queen—Persuades her to appoint a trustworthy person to watch Lovat—Lovat's return to France, and false account of his proceedings—Queen receives him favourably, and distrusts Middleton—Hurt feelings of the latter—Lovat's treachery discovered, and his imprisonment—Young king attains his majority—Middleton praises his industry—Life at St. Germain's—Princess Louisa and her ladies—*La belle* Middleton—Hamilton's songs upon her.

KING JAMES'S health was far from being in the favourable state supposed by Middleton. In the midst of the vexation caused by the annoying business mentioned in the last chapter, he was seized with another attack of apoplexy, whilst attending divine service at the Chapel Royal at St. Germain's, March 4th, 1701.¹ During his absence with the

¹ Somer's Tracts ; St. Simon.

queen at Bourbon, whither he was ordered by the physicians,¹ the royal children were left under the entire charge of the Earl of Perth and the Countess of Middleton. The character and disposition of the sweet young Princess Louisa does great credit to her governess's system of education. Both children wrote daily to their parents, and a packet of their letters has been preserved.²

The temporary improvement in James's health was not lasting. Soon after his return to St. Germain he had a relapse, and died in the following September. While on his deathbed, he sent Lord Middleton to Marli, to thank Louis XIV. for his promise to recognize his son as King of England. He exhorted his servants to forsake sin, and lead holy and Christian lives; and these words of his dying master are said to have made a serious impression upon Middleton.³

So soon as he had breathed his last, the whole Court went to the Prince of Wales, now a boy of thirteen, and saluted him as king. The same hour he was proclaimed at the gates of the chateau, by the titles of James III., King of England, Ireland,

¹ Despatches of the Earl of Manchester; St. Simon.

² In the archives of France.

³ Macpherson; Duke of Marlborough's Biographical Notes; Miss Strickland's Mary of Modena; Life of James II., from Stuart Papers.

Scotland, and France.¹ "What was done in the town," says the Earl of Manchester, "was done in a tumultuous manner. Some say there was a herald, an Irishman. Lord Middleton, etc., did not appear, because they could not tell how the title of France would be taken here, had they done it in form. Lord Middleton brought the Seals to him, which he gave him again. Others did the like."²

After the proclamation, John Anderson (Lord Middleton) consults Mr. Appleby, a correspondent in England, about the measures that were to be taken :—

"September 27th, 1701.

"Though I am sure you have heard what has happened to the owner of the ship in which were loaded the bales No. 369 (the King James), yet I cannot forbear telling you of it, that you may let his executors know what your opinion is, and whether his debtors (people) should not have formal notice of it by the account No. 1017, whereby the heir may assert his right, claim what is due to him, and promise them all the ease and security they can reasonably expect, which is expressly enjoined by the last will of the deceased. In this you will consult the learnedest counsel and ablest traders, and give advice thereof to yours," etc.³

¹ Duke of Berwick.

² Earl of Manchester's Despatches.

³ Original Papers.

Middleton was one of the Council appointed by James in his will to assist the queen in her office of guardian of his son. Her first step in this new capacity was to publish a manifesto in her son's name, setting forth his claims to the crown of Great Britain.

The Earl of Middleton to the Marquis de Torcy.

[Translation.]

“October 7th, 1701.

“I send you, by the queen's order, the French translation of the manifesto addressed to the English. You will be pleased to remark that there is not a word in it which can be considered to regard the king; and the queen begs of you, sir, to mark precisely the changes which the king will judge proper to be made, and to obtain a permission to print it in English and Latin, in order that foreigners may be informed of the truth, and that false reports may be prevented.”

The same to the same.

“October 11th, 1701.

“The order is sent to Liege for printing the manifesto, and everything shall be executed according to his Majesty's intentions.”¹

¹ Original Documents.

This manifesto produced but little effect in England, but the party against William's Government in Scotland perceived that a powerful instrument might be made of the young king, could he be induced to act in person. Lord Belhaven¹ went to Paris for the purpose of prevailing on the queen mother to part with her son. He had several interviews with Lord Middleton on the subject, to whom he got an introduction through his brother-in-law, Captain Livingston; but Queen Mary Beatrice would not consent while her son was a minor.²

After the death of William, March 8th, 1702, the Cabinet at St. Germain was divided as to the course to be pursued. The Duke of Perth, so declared after James's death, wished to employ energetic measures to replace the young prince upon the throne of his ancestors; but Middleton maintained that the only means to be adopted should be treaties and amicable conventions. The queen mother was unable at the time to decide between the two rival ministers, being brought to the brink of the grave by a violent illness. The palpitations of the heart from which she suffered obliged the physicians to insist upon perfect quiet;

¹ John, second Baron Belhaven. He was committed to the Tower in 1708, as an ally of the Chevalier St. George, and died directly after his release, 21st June, in that year.

² MS. in the St. Germain's collection, on Lord Belhaven's secret mission.

when she recovered sufficiently to attend to business, Anne's throne was too firmly established to be shaken.¹

Simon Fraser, Lord Lovat, immediately after William's death, proclaimed the young prince James VIII., King of Scotland, in his own county of Inverness; and soon after again presented himself at the Court of St. Germain, in hopes of persuading the queen mother to allow her son to follow up this daring act by appearing in person. He promised to raise an army of 12,000 men in the Highlands, provided the King of France would assist him. The Duke of Perth urged the same course upon the queen mother, showing a letter from the Marquis of Drummond, his eldest son, asserting that the principal Scotch lords were ready to take up arms in his favour, and in all probability Ireland would soon also do likewise, should the young prince appear in person. Middleton was, however, of a different opinion: he reminded the queen of Lovat's very doubtful character for integrity, and of the dangers to which the young prince would be exposed. Might he not likewise acquire habits of intemperance and vice from those rude Highland chiefs? On the other hand, Queen Anne was childless, and, although not old, unlikely to

¹ Inedited letters in the archives of France; Duke of Perth's Posthumous Memorials.

live many years. She seemed to entertain favourable intentions towards her brother, and would in all probability appoint him her successor, if he did not displease her by ill-advised attempts against her Government. Above all, the introduction of French troops into the kingdom was likely to injure his cause.¹ These last counsels prevailed upon the queen. Middleton, notwithstanding, in some way incurred her displeasure soon after King James's death. Probably she listened to his many enemies, who were ever whispering suspicions of his fidelity, and hints that he was a paid spy of William's, to betray the innermost secrets of St. Germain's.

At this time, to the amazement of all who knew him, he who, in the words of the contemporary before quoted, "had resisted all the temptations of James's reign, had said as much as any man then living against Popery, and had so mean an opinion of converts, that he had ever been wont to say, when speaking of them—'No new light ever comes into a house but through a gap in the tiling,'" suddenly declared himself a Roman Catholic. This conduct seemed so inexplicable to all who had ever known him, that various motives were alleged for his change of religion. St. Simon insinuates that his object was to regain the queen's confidence; Oldmixon, that on

¹ Lives of the Jacobites; Duke of Perth's Memorials.

account of his being abridged of his pension by the French Government, in anger at his declaring against restoring the *forefaulted* king by a foreign power, he was obliged to turn papist to gain a sorry subsistence of £100 a year. If this were indeed the case, his conversion did him but little service, as it was never believed to be sincere. There are, indeed, too many instances at that time of persons changing their religion from unworthy motives, but it is possible that Middleton may have been sincere. If careless and indifferent to religion during youth and middle age, he may have felt that at sixty-one it was time to think more seriously. Both Nairne and Marlborough say that James's dying words made a deep impression upon him.¹

St. Simon thus describes the scene of his declaring his conversion to the queen:—"He had been ill for some time, or pretended to be so. One morning, he came in great agitation, and demanded an immediate audience of her Majesty. As soon as he entered her presence, he exclaimed 'that by a miracle his health had been perfectly restored; for he had seen a vision of his lost master, King James, in the night, who told him that he would recover; but that he owed his health to his prayers, and that he must become a Catholic. He could not disobey

¹ Original Papers; Duke of Marlborough's Biographical Notes.

the vision, and therefore declared his conversion.' The poor queen, on hearing this, burst into tears of joy, and received Middleton into her confidence. He soon afterwards publicly abjured the Protestant faith, and took the sacraments of the Romish Church."¹

Shortly after this he left the Court of St. Germain for a time, and retired to a convent at Paris, to be satisfied in some doubts, and to be instructed more fully in the tenets of the Roman Catholic faith. Among Nairne's MSS. there is a rough draft of the reasons which he himself alleges for leaving the Court at this time.²

"He never," he says, "thought himself qualified for business. He accepted the Seals on condition that he could resign them when he pleased. He thought, as he was now a convert to Popery, his continuing in office would give offence to Protestants in England. He could have no provocation in retirement to resentment, or revenge against enemies, and he would have more time to attend to the duties of religion."

Middleton would seem to have been out of office nearly a twelvemonth, as there are no copies of his letters among Mr. Nairne's papers from the month of July, 1702, to the 14th June, 1703.³

¹ St. Simon, vol. vi. p. 124, *et seq.*

² Nairne; Marlborough.

³ Original Papers. War between the Allied Powers and France was

During his absence Lord Lovat, still undaunted by the twice refusal of his proffered services, again appeared at St. Germain, bringing with him letters from the Earl of Erroll¹ and Lord Keith, two faithful adherents of the Stuart cause. In order to gain the queen's favour and confidence, he professed to have become quite a reformed character, and likewise to be a convert to the Church of Rome. As that creed had so many opponents at this time, it never seems to have occurred to Queen Mary Beatrice that any one could adopt it through purely worldly motives. Not only did she, however, allow herself to be duped, but even the Duke of Perth and the Pope's nuncio believed in his sincerity. Lovat persuaded her that Scotland was ready to declare her son king, and to maintain him as such against the power of Anne, if sufficient money were supplied, and on condition that the whole subject should be kept a profound secret for the present. This latter stipulation might seem to be even more difficult of fulfilment than the former, for so remarkable was the failing of the queen mother's Council in this respect, that the warning—"No secret can be

again declared, May 4th, 1702. The former supported the Archduke Charles, son of the Emperor of Austria (who, as well as Philip of Anjou, assumed the title of King of Spain), against his rival.

¹ John Hay, eleventh Earl of Erroll.

kept at St. Germain's," had passed into a proverb throughout Scotland.

Having before had experience of Middleton's want of faith in him, and perhaps knowing his prudence and caution sufficiently to feel sure that he would warn the queen to have no dealings with him, Lovat instilled into her, especially, that the success of the plot altogether depended on his knowing nothing of it. He even went so far as to utter some suspicions of his trustworthiness, to which Mary Beatrice did not turn a deaf ear, forgetting the many proofs of fidelity he had given, and his abandonment of country and title for his sovereign's sake.

After Lovat's flattering representations, the queen consented to grant him a commission of major-general, with the power to raise and command forces in Scotland on her son's behalf, and to raise the sum of twenty thousand crowns, which he told her would be required, by selling the remainder of her jewels.

Fortunately this adventurer was hindered from doing quite so much mischief as he wished, by the timely discovery of the affair by the Marquis de Torcy, who immediately informed Middleton. If the latter was still in retirement, he must immediately have returned to Court, for we find him speaking gravely to the queen on the subject, and convincing her apparently of the imprudence of which she had

been guilty. As it was too late to retract altogether, he persuaded her to appoint at least some trustworthy person to accompany Lovat, who would keep an eye upon his proceedings. As Torcy made the same demand in his master's name, Captain John Murray, brother of Mr. Murray of Abercarnie, was appointed to this office. Captain James Murray, likewise brother of Sir David Murray of Stanhope, who had been asked to go to Scotland by Lord Arran, under the protection of Queen Anne's indemnity, "in order to send him back again with information concerning the state of the country, and what they intended to do when the Parliament should rise," kept a watch upon him.

Lovat and John Murray arrived in the north of England early in the summer of 1703. The first act of the former was to discover privately the whole affair to the Duke of Queensberry,¹ whom Lockhart, indeed, declares to have been the prime instigator of the plot, which he had got up merely to ruin the Cavaliers and country party in revenge for their opposition to him during the last session of Parliament. Lovat, he says, was merely Queensberry's instrument. However this may be, Lovat undertook to acquaint Queensberry with the whole correspondence between the Pretender and the Jacobites. To gratify his own

¹ James, second Duke of Queensberry.

private revenge against the Marquis of Athol,¹ who had prosecuted him for the injury done to his sister, he enclosed a letter entrusted to him by Mary Beatrice, for the Duke of Gordon, in a cover addressed to Athol, in hopes of thus ruining his prospects with Anne. He then promised to return to St. Germain's and make further disclosures, if Queensberry would obtain a pass for him.²

Some persons were soon after this apprehended on suspicion, amongst whom was one Lindsay, who had been under secretary to Middleton. No important information, however, could be extracted from him.³

On 1st September, 1703, Middleton enclosed a memorial to De Torcy, desiring a passport for a vessel to go to Scotland, to bring back Captain James Murray, whom Lord Arran had sent for.

Lovat contrived to elude John Murray's vigilance, and returned to St. Germain's alone, in January, 1704, where he delivered the most flattering account of his reception in Scotland, and the north of England. "At Durham," he said, "in particular, the Catholics received him with open arms, and when he showed them the

¹ John, first Marquis of Athol. He died some time in this year. (Burke.)

² Original Papers; Macpherson's History of England; Life of Lord Lovat.

³ Smollett.

picture of the young king, knelt down and kissed it, and prayed for him. That there was a general meeting of all the gentlemen of that persuasion soon after, and that they sent four of their number to entreat him to inform the queen that all the Catholics in the north of England were ready to venture their lives and fortunes for the king, whenever his banner should be displayed in that country. Also, that an Irish nobleman declared, that if the King of France would send them arms, he would engage five thousand men to rise in Ireland; that the Earl of Leven, on his representations, begged him to make his peace with the young king; and even the Earl of Argyle had said, that rather than the Duke of Hamilton¹ should get the crown, he and his kindred and clan would be the first to draw his sword for King James's son."

Middleton returned this answer to a letter from Lord Lovat, January 15th, 1704 :—

"MY LORD,

I received not till 12 o'clock the honour you was pleased to do me; nor could I receive till after dinner directions concerning what your lordship was pleased to write of, which are conform to my own sentiments, which is to deal candidly and sincerely;

¹ James Douglas, Duke of Hamilton.

and, indeed, it were unfit to conceal any part or circumstance of one's case from a physician.

“ I am very glad your good friend has a mind to appear in your small pretensions, and since it requires not haste, I shall not move in it till he comes. Your man's impatience may excuse the shortness of this trouble from,

“ My Lord,

“ Your lordship's most obedient humble servant,

“ MIDDLETON.”

Although he wrote thus civilly, Middleton was not deceived by Lovat's statements, as may be seen by his letter on the following day to Torcy, suggesting that it might be as well to arrest him :—

“ Paris, 16th January, 1704.

“ I have the honour to send you the account which Lord Lovat has given the queen. The original is written with his own hand, and signed with his name; and I venture to assure you that the translation is exact, and even literal. I doubt not but that you will be as much surprised at it as I have been; for, although you know I never had a good opinion of him, yet I did not believe him fool enough to accuse himself. The information given against him by others is out of the question, and it is unnecessary

to fatigue you with an infinite number of remarks, because everything is explained in his own memorial. He has not, in some places, been as careful as authors of romances to preserve probability; for, besides the vanity which runs through the whole, as if he himself were the first man in the world, he begins with a story at Durham, which is totally false. He acknowledges plainly a formal disobedience; for he was absolutely forbidden to treat with any but the Highlanders, and only with such amongst them as had sent him.

“He told me that Queensberry, Argyle, and Leven were the greatest enemies of the king, my master, in that country; yet he communicated to them the whole of his commission, which is a crime that deserves hanging in every country. He rejects extraordinary offers, but obtains a pass to go to London; and from thence the same Queensberry obtains another pass for him, under another name, to secure his safe return to France. This is very true, for he has produced them. It is, therefore, clear as daylight that these noblemen wanted to employ him here as a spy, and for seizing letters and commissions which might serve as proofs against the men of honour in that country. You will be pleased to observe, sir, that in his own report he makes every one ask commissions, in order that he might obtain

now what was refused him last year. He accuses none but James Murray, who is a man of such known probity, that my Lord Arran called for him, as a man in whom he could place the greatest confidence; but, foreseeing that Mr. Murray's account would not be favourable to him, he chose to be beforehand with him. If the king thinks proper to apprehend him, it should be done without noise. His name should not be mentioned any more; and, at the same time, all his papers should be seized. He has a companion called Fraser, who has attended him everywhere. I know nothing more about him."

January 18th, he sends a list of questions to Torcy, which it would be advisable to put to Lord Lovat, in order to prove the truth or falseness of his statements, one of which was to demand the names of the Irish nobles and gentlemen who had made such large promises of assistance:—

"I have the honour to send you questions which may be proposed to Lord Lovat and to his companion Fraser, when they are apprehended, if you approve of them. He has brought here a young brother with him, who ought to be apprehended likewise, even though he should not be guilty, to prevent his making a noise."

To the Nuncio. Sends him Lord Lovat's account of his journey to Scotland, and questions to be put to him.

“January 20th, 1704.

“I could not send your Eminence sooner this report, because the translation of it was not finished till this day. I have the honour of communicating to you likewise a copy of the questions which I have given to Mons. de Torcy. If there is anything to be added, or anything further to be done, I entreat you to acquaint the queen; and, to do me justice, to be persuaded that there is no one who honours you more than,” etc.

Lovat replied to these questions, that “one and all had engaged him to promise not to tell their names to any one but the queen, to whom he was ready to declare them in private audience; and then only on her Majesty giving her royal word not to reveal them to the members of her Council, because they had experienced how little they regarded secrecy.”

He wrote long letters to the queen and Middleton on the same subject, January 19th. Mary Beatrice was so delighted with his report, that she was again foolish enough to act on her own responsibility, and to return a gracious reply without consulting Middleton on the subject. His hurt feelings at this treatment are shown in the following letter :—

To Lord Lovat.

“January 23rd, 1704.

“MY LORD,

“Your ambassador’s conduct is impenetrable, which I shall acquaint your lordship with when I have the honour to see you. In the mean time, I think myself obliged to tell you that I showed your letter to the queen as soon as she had dined, which I had received but between ten and eleven. Her Majesty is pleased to tell me that, three days before, she had seen one of the same date and to the same purpose, to which she had given her answer already. I said that was enough, and withdrew. Thus, though an useless tool, I would not fail in answering your letter, being resolved never to fail in paying your Lordship that respect which is due to you from,

“My Lord,

“Your lordship’s most obedient and humble servant,

“MIDDLETON.”

There was doubtless some irony in Middleton’s statement of his resolve never to fail in paying Lord Lovat the respect *due* to him. Much just indignation and hurt feeling was contained in the simple reply to the queen—“That is enough.” He could not have been severely blamed if, finding himself but “an useless tool,” he had resigned his post in disgust; but

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had he done so, Lovat would have been left master of the situation, and he was too faithful a servant to abandon the widow of his beloved master to certain ruin. His suspicions of Lovat's treachery were soon confirmed by James Murray, who returned at this time.

To the Marquis de Torcy. Sends him a translation of Captain F. Murray's account of his journey to Scotland.

“ February 22nd, 1704.

“ SIR,

“ I did not choose to delay a moment to send you Mr. James Murray's papers, as soon as a translation of them could be finished ; and to avoid confusion the subject has been *seperated*. If you are desirous of seeing him, he will not fail to wait upon you at the time you will be pleased to appoint him. I take the liberty to recall to your remembrance that, although the queen has a very good opinion of this gentleman, she did not choose him, but my Lord Arran demanded him. With regard to the contents of his papers, the queen will speak to you about them the first opportunity that offers.”

Lovat took up the tone of an injured person, and wrote to Lord Middleton :—“ I am daily informed

that the queen has but a scurvy opinion of me, and that I rather did her Majesty bad than good service by my journey. My Lord, I find by that, that my enemies have greater power with the queen than I have; and to please them and ease her Majesty, I am resolved to have no more to do with them till the king is of age." He tells Middleton, in conclusion, "that he relies on the promises the *lady*" (the queen) "had made in his behalf."

The Duke of Perth received a letter from his son, Lord Drummond, and Father Saunders one from Lord Ailesbury, warning them against Lovat. Middleton sends copies of these to the Marquis de Torcy:—

"March 6th, 1704.

"SIR,

"Last night the queen gave me two letters, which I have the honour to send you now. The first is an original letter from my Lord Drummond to his father, the Duke of Perth, under the name of Cupignan. I believe that those four words will be sufficient to explain it. Traffick signifies project; factor, Lord Lovat; wine, succours; supercargo, James Murray.

"The other is a translation of a letter written to the confessor of the king, my master, by my Lord Ailesbury, whose character is too well known to doubt of his sincerity and disinterestedness."

The Duke of Berwick also wrote to his royal stepmother, enclosing a letter from an Irish priest.

“Your Majesty,” he says, “will see here a new confirmation of Lovat’s knavery; and I believe it is absolutely necessary that your Majesty send a French translation of this paper to the Marquis de Torcy. The affair is of great consequence, and your Majesty may depend that the king’s affairs are ruined unless Lord Lovat is apprehended.”

To the Marquis de Torcy. Middleton sends him further information, and gives the character of Lord Granard

[Translation.]

‘ 14th April, 1704.

“SIR,

“Last night the Queen of England received a letter from the Duke of Berwick, with a short memorial from an Irish monk, of which I have the honour to send you a translation by her Majesty’s order. As all the information rests with my Lord Granard,¹ it is necessary to tell you that since our misfortunes he has distinguished himself by his fidelity, under the name of Lord Forbes, as he was called in his father’s lifetime; that he has exhibited

¹ Arthur, second Earl of Granard, succeeded to the title in 1696. He was deprived of the command of the 18th Royal Irish Regiment, raised by his father, and imprisoned in the Tower of London.

on all occasions a veracity and firmness which cannot be sufficiently commended; and that he has resisted the persecution, not only of the public, but also of his own family, without being staggered by imprisonment or poverty.”

To the Marquis de Torcy, about sending a ship and the pilot Carm to Scotland.

[Translation.]

“ April 28th, 1704.

“ SIR,

“ I could not have answered sooner the letter you did me the honour to write me concerning the little vessel designed for Scotland, because I have just now learnt the name of the man who must necessarily be employed. He is a native of Scotland, and pilot of the king's frigate, called the *Ludlow*, an English prize now at Dunkirk. He knows the place where he ought to land, which is called the Castle of Bownes, the residence of the Earl of Errol, in the county of Buchan. It will be sufficient if the vessel can be ready on the 10th of the next month, with orders to sail as soon as they receive their despatches, and to return immediately after they arrive at the place of their destination. To keep this secret it is necessary to give him his orders sealed, with a prohibition to open them till he is at sea, or to carry

any one along with him who does not belong to the ship. The Scotch pilot, of whom I speak, is called Carm, a name which would frighten a scholar—but sailors do not study the *belles lettres*.”

To the Marquis de Torcy. The same subject continued.

[Translation].

“ May 5th, 1704.

“ SIR,

“ The queen has commanded me to tell you, in answer to Mons. de Pontchartrain’s question, that there will be nobody in the place where the little brig must land, because she is not expected, and there would be a danger of her remaining on the coast for fear of giving alarm, and, as the place is distant from Edinburgh, an answer cannot be expected for a long time. Therefore, if the vessel will go back, a month after its return to Dunkirk, with an order to receive on board a man, if he presents himself, that will be soon enough.”

A memorial on the same subject.

[Translation.]

“ St. Germain, 6th May, 1704.

“ The man called Carm, who is to go over in the brig, will only land and deliver the packet with which he is charged, in a house which is near the shore, and

return immediately on board without waiting for an answer. Therefore, it is only necessary for the brig to remain a few hours on the coast, to take this man on board again, and bring him back to Dunkirk. But in order to have an answer to the packet it will be sufficient to return to the same place in a month thereafter, as my Lord Middleton has had the honour to observe in his letter of yesterday to the Marquis de Torcy," etc.

John Murray, on his return, produced abundant proofs that Lovat was the bribed instrument of Anne's cabinet.

Middleton to the Marquis de Torcy. Pleased with Captain Murray's narrative, and sends a translation of it.

[Translation.]

"May 3rd, 1704.

"The queen could not say anything to you about the return of John Murray, until her Majesty had seen his narrative; and, although her Majesty does not doubt but Mr. Murray has executed his orders in giving it to you, she has commanded me to send you a literal translation of the account she received, in order to show the conformity. I shall have the honour to speak to you on the subject Sunday next. I shall only take the liberty at present to put you in

mind that there never was any doubt of the disposition of the Scots, and still less of the ardour with which the queen wishes the restoration of the king, her son."

To the Marquis de Torcy. He sends the letters which the queen had received, by Captain Murray, from Scotland.

[Translation.]

"June 1st, 1704.

"I have the honour to send you a letter, which I unluckily forgot to give you to-day. It was delivered by Mr. John Murray to the queen, from my Lord Marischal, who is a man of honour, and of one of the first families in Scotland, and son-in-law to the Duke of Perth. Her Majesty has received only another letter from the countess, sister to the Duke of Perth, and a short billet from her husband, which contains nothing."

In consequence of Berwick's advice, the French Government caused Lovat to be apprehended and sent to the Castle of Angoulême.

To Lord Ailesbury. Answers a letter the queen had received; anecdotes of the Court.

"August 12th, 1704.

"Mrs. St. Johns (the queen) commands me to tell you, sir, that it is but four days ago since she could

read yours of the 18th June, for which she thanks you. The matter is very important of its own nature, and your recommending it adds great weight to it; but the misfortune of the times is such, that one cannot, in prudence, write so plainly, or give sufficient light for transacting such an affair; for Mr. Truman (king of France), and Mr. Pomfret (Mons. de Torcy), will expect to be informed of every minute particular, with reasons for what is proposed, and on what authority it is grounded. For, though Mr. Atkins (Ailesbury) is well known and esteemed by them, yet they will certainly insist on knowing his Knibb informer (the State); for from the character of the man, they will judge of the matter. It will be difficult to persuade them that the State can be brought to think it his interest to prefer Mr. Harling (the king) to Mr. Davis (Hanover). They will hardly believe that Mrs. Mansfield (Princess Anne), and her attorney (Chief Minister) and solicitors (other ministers), have any good intention while they recommended so heartily Mr. Davis (Hanover) to Mr. North (Scotch Parliament), and have employed this new set on that condition; and though they desire nothing more than to destroy the hearing, yet they will expect it should be well explained by what means it can be performed. 'Tis most certain that nobody could so well negotiate this affair as Mr.

Allen (Ailesbury); but since that cannot be reasonably expected, it were to be wished that he could send some person well qualified to be sent hither, well instructed by him for that purpose.

“French letters speak of one Fraser’s being seized at Bourge, and sent prisoner to the Castle of Angoulême.

“If you have not seen the *London Gazette* of the 20th July, endeavour to procure it.”

Lovat was detained a close prisoner for several years.

To the Marquis de Torcy. A ship to be sent to Scotland; the King of France had made proposals to the Scots.

[Translation.]

“August 25th.

“SIR,

“The queen having read your letter concerning the vessel designed for Scotland, has ordered me to tell you that she has not changed her mind in that respect, providing, at least, the king does not believe that it will be better to delay the proposal which he has made to the Scots till another time, and in that case this visit will be very useless; but if his Majesty approves of sending her immediately,

the despatches will be made ready as soon as you have acquainted the queen of the king's intention. This great delay has happened in order to acquaint them of what concerns Lord Lovat, which is considered in Scotland as an important point."

*To the Marquis de Torcy, concerning the pilot Carm
and Lord Lovat.*

[Translation.]

"November 10th, 1704.

"SIR,

"I think it improper to delay longer to acquaint you that Carm, the Dunkirk pilot, is come back from his voyage to Scotland, where he has, with great fidelity, delivered his despatches, and brought back a letter from the person who received him, with assurances that the letters would be delivered carefully, according to their addresses; that it was not possible to fix then a time for his return, but that notice should be sent of this by post. They endeavour to excuse Mr. John Murray for having been duped by Lord Lovat."

At the end of 1704 the union between the two kingdoms of England and Scotland was first proposed, which excited much discontent and violent opposition in the latter kingdom.

To the Marquis de Torcy. Sends him translation of letters of intelligence from Britain.

“ April 17th, 1705.

“ SIR,

“ I have the honour to send you translations of a letter from Scotland, and of another from London, to which I refer myself simply, having never been disposed to embellish originals; but if you judge that there is any answer to be made, the queen will be very well pleased to have your sentiments upon the subject.”¹

At the time of the disturbances on the subject of the union, the Pretender's birthday was often kept publicly in Scotland. The Scottish Jacobites continually urged the Court of St. Germain's to send money and arms. A semblance merely of support from France might have sufficed to organize a general rising in Scotland, but Louis and his ministers had been too much crippled in their resources by the expenses of the late wars to afford any assistance just now.²

June 10th, 1706, James Francis Edward completed his eighteenth year, after which the whole Court of St. Germain's treated him as their sovereign

¹ Original Papers.

² Continuator of Mackintosh; Calamy; St. Simon.

and master. Lord Middleton praises his industry and attention to business in the following letter :—

To the Marquis de Torcy.

“ 28th June, 1706.

“ The king my master applies to business now with the address of a skilful workman. The despatches for Scotland were exactly conformed to what you said to me. They are all in his own hand and style, as well as eight letters to individuals of the first consequence ; as this gives myself very great pleasure, I believe you will not be displeased to know it.”¹

The following is a specimen of one of James's letters, written on the day following :—

*To the Marquis of Drummond.*²

“ St. Germain, June 29th, 1706.

“ Having found a safe opportunity of writing into Scotland, I take that occasion of writing this note to you. I will say nothing to you of my own affairs, referring to what I writ to you and my other friends, which will be communicated to you by the Countess of Errol, your aunt, and so will only add here, how pleased I was to hear that your marriage with the Duke of Gordon's daughter³ is like to be

¹ Original Papers.

² James, afterwards second Duke of Perth.

³ Lady Jane Gordon.

soon concluded. The kindness I have for you and your father makes anything agreeable to me that I think so much for your interest as I think this is. I am very sensible of your own and family's services, as I hope one day to be in a condition of showing you, and of giving you proofs of my kindness for you.

“JAMES, R.

“Pray remember me kindly to Lord John Drummond; do the same to Lord Stormont,¹ and assure him I shall not forget the zeal he has for my service, nor the care he took of me when a child.²”

The Princess Louisa and the other young members of the Court were now also fast growing up. Many amongst the throng of children who had surrounded James II. and his queen during the earlier years of their residence at St. Germain's were now men and women, and had children of their own living beneath the same roof. Count Anthony Hamilton, the self-styled and unpaid poet laureate of the Court, gives a good account of their manner of life and amusements. “The princess herself,” he tells us, “has the plumpness one adores in divinities of sixteen, with the freshness of an Aurora; her complexion

¹ David, fifth Viscount Stormont.

² Autograph letters in the archives of the House of Drummond of Perth.

reminds us of the most brilliant, yet delicate, tints of the fairest flowers of spring ; her hair is very beautiful, and of the loveliest tint of brown : she has her brother's features cast in a softer mould, and her mother's eyes."

" Amongst the ladies of the Court," he says, " the most fastidious taste can be satisfied. In this little number the most brilliant beauty, agreeable manners, wit, and good sense are to be found. It must be owned, however, that as much cannot be said for the other sex, for it was with difficulty enough young men of sufficient merit could be found to form the household of the Prince of Wales." (It is impossible to say whether or no the two sons of the Earl of Middleton were included in this number.)

In one of his letters Hamilton describes the whole Court while standing in a balcony of the castle, to watch the sights at a fair held on the day of the patron saint of St. Germain. One of the first ladies he mentions is "*la belle* Middleton, whom it is impossible to mistake, although she has changed her name." This was perhaps Lady Elizabeth Middleton, the eldest daughter, who married Edward Drummond, third son of the Duke of Perth.¹ Burke and Douglas say that Lady Mary Middleton married

¹ By his third wife, Lady Mary Gordon, daughter of Lewis, Marquis of Huntly. (Burke.)

Sir John Gifford, Knt. ; but Hamilton, in a letter to the Duke of Berwick, in Flanders,¹ June 18th, 1706, speaks of the approaching marriage of a Madame Catherine with the Chevalier Gifford. (Madame is a title frequently used by him for the ladies of the higher ranks.) At the same time he tells of the engagement of my Lord Talbot with a Madame Charlotte, and, in fun, of two more weddings—one George to Mademoiselle Arthur, and my Lord Caryl to the princess herself. “It is true this last announcement had not been cried,” he said, “as was the custom at St. Germain, but to judge from the manner in which they had played at bowls together it would not be long first.” (The George he spoke of was a *laquais*, so Berwick might suppose that the demoiselle Arthur was not the marchioness of that name.) “Lord Middleton commissions me to acquaint you with the news,” he continues, “that a wife of one of the queen’s footmen ran away one morning, carrying away with her all she could find in the house, even the clothes of her poor little children. It is said that all the husbands have been on the alert since this incident; but it is a bad report, and I do not believe it. ‘Riva’” (some member of the queen’s household, mentioned in a former letter, who, growing tired of acting the invalid without pity, pretended to hang

¹ Berwick had a command in the French army.

himself in the presence of the ladies, to make them cry) "was cupped (*ventouser*) yesterday to pay his court to my Lord Middleton."

The Countess of Middleton had some fear that her young charge might be kidnapped. She seems to have entered heartily into her youthful amusements, and to have borne her part in them.

July 7th, Hamilton writes to Berwick that the countess (probably Lady Middleton) was ready to tear his eyes out, because he had not only neglected to answer her two last letters, but told every one that she had written to him. "I had intended to write all the news from here, but time presses. I will only tell you of two bold haymakings undertaken by our ladies a few days ago—one on the cannon of the new castle, the other on the contrescarp of the terrace. They returned with glory, and with more hay than St. Germain has had for a long time, in their *falbalas*, their corsets, the pockets of their petticoats, their stockings and shoes. Mademoiselle (the princess) and the countess distinguished themselves in the sight of all the troops, who stopped to look at them. They ascended the pyramid of hay, raised nearly to the sky, and, with heads foremost, fought a thousand battles in the air, until they fell down suddenly, with no further injury than some bruises and a slight disarrangement of dress, which was no disadvantage."

“The two Messieurs Caryl, uncle and nephew,” he writes, “have made much progress with the ladies lately: the former possessed himself of Mamzell’s affections with two turns of the bowl, and the nephew, surnamed Cupid, has conquered the countess with a basket of strawberries. I think this affair will go on very well, in her present state of anger against you; for Cupid has an air of wisdom, and will think twice before speaking of letters she writes to him.”

July 15th, the ladies, supposing Berwick might very likely have committed suicide, in despair at the disgrace into which he had fallen with them, determined to erect a monument to his memory. Mamzell and the countess fixed on a haycock as the most suitable, and sent out a melancholy-looking footman, named St. Jean, to collect sufficient hay for the purpose. While they were waiting, the two put their heads together to invent a suitable epitaph. After biting the nails of her left hand a little, the countess wrote one beginning—“Here lies the most tender pike that ever burned the water,” etc., pike¹ being the nickname by which Berwick was called.

The following sonnet was probably composed in honour of Lady Mary Middleton, who must afterwards have married Michael Comte de la Roche,

¹ Brochet.

if her sister Catherine married Sir John Gifford. It would seem from these lines that she was not a favourite with her father.

À MADEMOISELLE MIDDLETON.

“ Qui voit Flore en sa saison
Voit la belle Middleton.
Le ciel qui la fit
Lui mit dans l'esprit
L'exemple de sa mère,
Mais par malheur lui défendit
Les penchans de son père.” (*Bis.*)

Translation.

“ Who the fair Middleton doth view,
Sees Flora in her brightest hue.
Good Heaven placed within her mind
Th' example of her mother kind,
But, alas! refused to move
Like portion of her father's love.”

In another song, to commemorate a voyage undertaken by the king, princess, and the ladies of her Court, to Pontalie, the estate of the Countess of Grammont (Hamilton's sister), he thus speaks of the latter :—

“ B—— Gifford et Mademoiselle
Ploydon
.
Et vous, attraits naissans de Laure,
Fraîche et brillante Middleton,
Que l'Amour prenait pour l'Aurore.”

Translation.

“B— Gifford and Mademoiselle
 Ploydon

 And thou with budding gifts of Laura,
 Fresh and brilliant Middleton,
 Whom Love mistaketh for Aurora.”

“Each lady merits,” he says, “to be sung in verse worthy of Parnassus ;” but this he cannot attempt—they must be satisfied with seeing their portraits in the *Mercury* of the month following.

In another song he describes a ball at St. Germain. The Goddess Venus, descending in the midst of so much beauty, is troubled because all around she sees so many bright eyes which eclipse her own. Momus laughingly tells her she must carry elsewhere her art of seducing hearts, for here she can do nothing. When the nymphs begin to dance, their graceful figures and conquering glances make them seem like disguised angels. England, so fertile in attractions, could surely never have seen as many beauties in her isle as were to-day assembled around the young prince.

He then describes several of the dancers in separate songs. Amongst others—

POUR MADEMOISELLE MIDDLETON.

Sur l'Air du Branle de Metz.

“Les Grâces et la Jeunesse
 Dansaient avec Middleton,
 Et dans son cœur Cupidon

Voulait placer la tendresse ;
Mais l'Hymen lui dit tout bas :
' Sans moi vous ne l'aurez pas.'” (Bis.)

Translation.

“ With Middleton dance both Youth and Grace,
Love in her heart would Cupid place ;
But Hymen in low voice replied,
' Except with me it is denied.’”¹

The young people were happy in spite of privation and of the cares of their elders. Many were too young to remember any life but that spent at St. Germain. Sometimes they acted comedies, and, when the weather permitted, had several outdoor amusements. The ladies would go in large parties to bathe in the river, or on hunting expeditions. Often the whole court picnicked out of doors, on tarts and cheesecakes, syllabubs,² sack possets, and junkets. It was not always play. Sometimes they would unpick their cornettes, wash and iron the lace of which they were composed, and hang it out to dry on the bushes in the gardens ; or they embroidered and did tapestry work. A monkey, worked for a footstool by the princess and her sister-in-law, the Duchess of Berwick, was pronounced so like a pike

¹ “ *La belle Middleton* ” was probably young looking for her age. She was about twenty-two or twenty-three at this time (see her age at her death, in Douglas).

² Sellibots (?)

that it was thought they must have meant it for the duke's portrait.

Once, when Mr. Dicconson, Comptroller of the Household, was seized with the ague, the whole Court went on a pilgrimage to a chapel dedicated to St. Thibaut, to pray for his recovery. While enjoying their repast under a tree, on the conclusion of their devotions, the invalid suddenly appeared amongst them. A cry arose—"A miracle! a miracle!" and they were quite convinced that their prayers had cured him.¹

Alas! these innocent amusements were soon to be interrupted by an ill-fated expedition, which brought misfortune especially upon the Middleton family.

¹ Œuvres du Count Antoine Hamilton.

CHAPTER V.

Letters concerning Colonel Hooke's visit to Scotland—The attempted invasion of 1708—The *Salisbury* captured by Sir George Byng, and Middleton's two sons made prisoners—The Queen tries ineffectually to obtain their release—Renewed propositions for peace—The Chevalier offers to leave France—War continued.

IN 1705 Colonel Hooke, who had been formerly chaplain to the Duke of Monmouth, but had afterwards entered the French service, was sent by the Court of St. Germain's to Scotland, to ascertain the number and power of the prince's friends in that country. Unfortunately, he was a mere creature of the Duke of Perth, determined to support the members of the party who wished to restore James without conditions, and to neglect those faithful upholders of royalty who favoured Middleton's moderate principles. During this visit he succeeded only in obtaining general promises from the prince's adherents of their readiness to support his cause. A short time after his return, however, the Scotch

nation sent Mr. Charles Fleming, brother of the Earl of Wigton, to France, with a memorial informing the French king that they had abundance of provisions to supply a body of troops, having the harvests of two years in their granaries, and plenty of meat, drink, and clothes. Arms and money were what they chiefly required. In 1707 it was proposed to send Hooke a second time; and Louis XIV., having met with losses at Ramillies and Turin, seemed inclined to approve of the project—his real hope being to hinder Queen Anne from opposing his arms on the Continent, by embroiling Great Britain in a civil war.¹

Middleton's letters do not show any distrust of Hooke.

From Earl Middleton to Colonel Hooke. He is uncertain about the intentions of the Court of France.

“8th February, 1707.

“Their Majesties have commanded me to tell you, sir, that the letters you propose should be written as soon as can be. The queen's to the great man will be sent to-morrow. The only difficulty was lest it be ill taken, which is hard to foresee; and in this case you will endeavour to set them right.

“Their Majesties desire that you would make

¹ Secret History of Colonel Hooke's Negotiation in Scotland.

draughts of the commissions and instructions, as being the shortest way and the most conformable to what the Court of France designs, which we are not apprized of. I have marked the articles in your paper, which I send you back, lest you have kept no copy of it. It is certain that the king can give no declaration but in his own name; the other way can only be an instruction to be exacted, by the advice of his friends in the place."

The Earl of Middleton to M. de Chamillard. He endeavours to reconcile him to the intended expedition into Scotland.

[Translation.]

"February 11th, 1707.

"I have given an account to their Britannic Majesties of what you did me the honour to tell me. They are highly satisfied with it, and have commanded me to thank you in their name; and although they will not urge you further on the subject, they think it proper to propose to you these doubts by way of explanation, of which you will be the best judge, and they refer themselves entirely to you.

"First. If the person who receives instructions from you finds all the dispositions in the country which are favourable to your design, would it not be better to set them in motion immediately, in order

to gain time to take advantage of their first fervour, and to prevent the exportation of corn, since without that a great part of the summer may pass in performing certain expeditions at sea, and delays often cause discoveries ?

“Secondly. If this is agreed to, would it not be necessary to send some money—not as much as will be necessary to support the war, but to be distributed among the leaders of the parties—in order to put them in a condition of acting, which money might be brought back to you in case things are not circumstanced as one could wish ?

“Thirdly. But in case that cannot be done, would it not be better not to send any warlike stores till the treaty is finished, because that might alarm the enemies and give umbrage to the well-affected, who would fear, perhaps, that they had nothing further to expect ?

“In the mean time the king, my master, is at work with despatches, which will be ready in a few days.”

The French king being desirous to ascertain the exact situation of affairs in Scotland, M. de Chamillard, Minister of War, furnished Hooke with a paper of questions, to which he was required to obtain decisive answers.¹

¹ Secret History of Hooke's Negotiation.

To M. de Chamillard. Middleton endeavours still to reconcile him to the expedition.

[Translation.]

“February 13th, 1707.

“I have given the queen your letter, and the instructions you prepared for Colonel Hooke, from whom I received them. Her Majesty commands me to represent to you, that there is a year and a half since Hooke was sent upon the same business ; that those whom he saw were scrupulous to answer immediately, being willing to examine first the state of things in the different countries, and promising to send the exact account by a man of confidence. Accordingly, some month thereafter, Mr. Fleming came in their name, and presented to you a memorial from them, which is now referred to. If you find any parts of it which are not sufficiently clear, he is here, and will wait on you when you order him, to give a satisfactory answer to all the questions that shall be proposed to him ; but you may be assured beforehand that you will find nothing in it but what regards men who have good intentions, and something about corn, meat, drink, and a certain quantity of swords and guns, although it is not sufficient for so extraordinary and important an occasion. The queen has likewise observed that the succours that

the Scots may expect from the king are not specified, and therefore that they will agree to nothing upon such a general and ambiguous proposal."

The Earl of Middleton to Colonel Hooke, of the same date.

[Translation.]

"Although I hope to have the honour of seeing you on Wednesday, I did not choose to delay to send you back your instructions, and at the same time you will receive a copy of my letter to Mons. de Chamillard. The queen imagined it would be sufficient to show the inutility of your journey without opposing it formally, lest they should accuse her of breaking off the project, and of chusing to conceal the state of that country, which is very far from being her intentions. I write to you in French, that you may show this letter, with copy of the letter enclosed, to M. de Torcy."

To Colonel Hooke. The French are by no means sanguine.

"February 16th, 1707.

"The task you sent me, sir, could not be got ready so soon as you reckoned; so I delayed my coming this morning, when I received this letter, of

which I send you a copy, to be shown to M. de Torcy; and it being so very positive, I need neither go or write any more about that matter, in which we are humbly to acquiesce. I hope to see you on Sunday morning, to wish you a happy return, but I am afraid you will leave them in a worse humour than you find them. But this I am sure of, that your courage and zeal can never be sufficiently commended and recompensed.

“I am, Sir,” etc.

To M. de Chamillard. Louis XIV. is not yet reconciled to the scheme.

“February 16th, 1707.

“I have shown to the king and queen of England the letter which you did me the honour to write to me this morning, and they have commanded me to assure you that they consent with pleasure to all that the king judges necessary to give him satisfaction concerning the affairs of Scotland; and they find themselves much obliged to you for the good offices you have rendered them on this and on all other occasions, on which they will always depend.”

The Earl of Middleton to Colonel Hooke. He tells him he is only to negotiate a treaty with the Scots.

“St. Germain, March 11th, 1707.

“I wrote you an answer, sir, to what you said concerning Mr. Fleming, which I directed to Mr.

Cantillons, as you desired me ; and so I suppose you received it. I was sorry not to be here to take leave of you. I send you his Majesty's letters, with a copy of M. de Chamillard's, though you have seen it already, that you may clearly perceive it is not his intention that the Scots should stir, though they were inclined to it, till the treaty was finished—a consideration founded on good sense and good nature. Therefore the king, our master, thinks his *courir sus*¹ would be at this time both useless and inconvenient, because the errand is only to treat, and his friends may think that he has little regard for their safety, and apprehend that he might be offended at their disobedience.

“ Once more I wish you a happy return, which is all that can be expected.

“ I am,

“ Your most obedient humble servant,

“ MIDDLETON.”²

Colonel Hooke gave on his return a most flattering report of the zeal of the Scotch people on the prince's behalf. He accused, however, the Duke of Hamilton and some others of lukewarmness, because they had declined to commit themselves openly,

¹ Hastening over (?)

² Original Papers.

on account of the imprudence of himself and his friends.¹

Middleton endeavours, in the following letter, to persuade Chamillard to send them succours, and has great hopes of the success of an invasion :—

To M. de Chamillard.

[Translation.]

“ 27th July, 1707.

“ The king, my master, has commanded me to tell you that Mr. Hooke has been here now for seven days, to inform him of the success of his journey.

“ I do not pretend to trouble you with tales of antiquity, but to remark what we ourselves see.² What embarrassment have not the Hungarians given to the emperor? Who would have believed that a few peasants in the Cevennes, without any succours,

¹ Secret History of Hooke.

² He seems here to endeavour to persuade the French Court that an invasion of England at this time would probably occasion as much annoyance to Louis XIV.'s enemies as the Hungarians had given to the emperor, and the peasants of the Cevennes to the French mareschals. The King of Sweden, after trying for five years to drive the Elector of Saxony from Poland, found it impossible to end the war until he invaded his opponent's patrimony; to save which the Elector found himself obliged to relinquish the Polish crown. The enemies in Germany, by their return to Philipsburgh, had obliged the Mareschal de Villars to retrace his steps; Louis's enemies themselves had set him the example by endeavouring several times to invade his own dominions.

could have occupied so many regular troops, commanded by marshals of France, for three years? The King of Sweden, always favoured by fortune, during five years in Poland, has been convinced that he could never finish the war without entering Saxony; and his enemy, after having obtained a victory, has been obliged to renounce his dignity in order to save his own patrimony; and the enemies in Germany, who fled before the Mareschal de Villars, by their return to Philipsburgh have obliged that general to return by a forced march, in order to save Alsace. The king, by his great conquests, has extended the frontier of his kingdom further than all his ancestors. We see, however, that all the art of our enemies have been employed to carry the war into his dominions; of this their efforts in Spain, their attempts upon the Moselle, their project of a descent, and the invasion of the Duke of Savoy for the second time, are very sensible proofs.

“Mr. Hooke has informed us of the good disposition of the Scots, whose fidelity and capacity are known to you. They demand their king, who wishes ardently to join them. If the affairs of the king are urgent here, that pleads strongly for the project in Scotland. If a small part of the money and of the troops which are employed here would finish the business there, it would be wrong to hesitate, and what would

be formerly prudent and glorious, becomes now absolutely necessary.

“The King of England beseeches you to examine and to weigh deliberately this important affair, and to be pleased to represent it to the king, it being undoubtedly the most important and most useful that can happen in his reign.”

Louis had, however, by this time become indifferent to the proposed expedition. Having obtained a victory over the Allies at Almanza, he hoped to retrieve his affairs without the aid of the descent into Scotland. To hasten the enterprise, the Cavaliers again sent Mr. Fleming to France, with urgent letters to the king and Prince James. After this, preparations were commenced at Dunkirk; but the armament which Hooke had promised the Scotch should set sail about August, was not ready until the following March. The Chevalier de Fourbin¹ was appointed to the command.

Tidings of these preparations caused great excitement in England. The Houses of Parliament presented addresses to Queen Anne, pledging themselves to defend her against the “pretended Prince of Wales,” and all her other enemies. A large fleet was assembled at Deal, and despatched

¹ Claude, Chevalier de Fourbin, a French naval commander; born 1656, died 1733.

towards Dunkirk, under the command of Sir John Leake,¹* Sir George Byng,²* and Lord Dursley.³

Prince James himself seems not to have been informed of the exact destination of the French fleet until the last moment, when he received a hasty summons to join it. Tarrying only to bid farewell to his mother and sister, he left immediately, accompanied by two or three officers of his suite, leaving his baggage to follow. Every requisite of his rank was provided in abundance—rich dresses, sumptuous services of gold and silver plate, splendid liveries, etc. “The Pope, who contributed towards the expenses of the expedition, presented him with several religious inscriptions, which were wrought upon his colours and standards.”

On taking leave, King Louis gave him a valuable sword, uttering at the same time the wish that he had before offered to his father, “that he might never see his face again.”

The usual ill-fortune, however, of the Stuarts followed James. Scarcely had he reached the coast than decided symptoms of the measles showed them-

¹ Sir John Leake, an English admiral, son of Richard Leake, Master Gunner of England; knighted for the assistance granted by him to Sir George Rooke in taking Gibraltar, in 1704. (Beeton.)

² Sir George Byng, created Viscount Torrington in 1721.

³ James, third Earl of Dursley.

* Both Leakes and Byngs are now related to members of the Middleton family.

selves. Conscious how greatly the success of the expedition depended upon immediate action, he would have embarked, notwithstanding; but his attendants, knowing his delicacy of constitution, persuaded him to keep his room. He insisted, however, on going on board before it was prudent to move.¹

Sir George Byng says that he made the voyage in the vessel named the *Mary*. Calamy and others assert, however, that he was on the *Salisbury* at the time of its capture. Lord Middleton, the Duke of Perth, and several other officers and gentlemen, were on board the former vessel; Lord Clermont, Captain Charles Middleton, Edward Lord Griffin, Colonel Francis Wauchope, and several Irish officers, in the *Salisbury*, a vessel which had been formerly taken from the English. Twelve battalions likewise embarked under the command of the Count de Gace, a Mareschal of France.

The expedition consisted in all of seven men-of-war, two of which were fitted up as transports, and twenty-one frigates, having on board 5100 troops.

Unfortunately, during the short delay caused by the prince's illness, the wind had changed; and soon afterwards the English fleet (which the French had supposed to be bound for Lisbon) appeared off Mardyke.

¹ St. Simon; Continuator of Mackintosh; Calamy.

Astounded at the sight, Fourbin stopped the embarkation of troops, and sent off an immediate despatch to Paris, to represent to Louis the great danger of the enterprise, and the small chance of success. He received, however, in answer a positive order to continue the embarkation, and to set sail with the first favourable wind.

The British fleet having been forced by stress of weather to leave their station, March 14th, the French squadron left Dunkirk accordingly on the 17th, but the wind changing, it was detained in Newport Pits until the 19th.

While at Newport a council of war was held in the Chevalier's apartment. Three of the frigates having sustained damage, it was found necessary to send them back to Dunkirk; but, at the same time, it was resolved to proceed without them, although these vessels had eight hundred troops on board, and a considerable quantity of arms and provisions. Colonel Hooke wished to land in the north; but Middleton believed that Burntisland, in the Forth, would be the most suitable place for embarkation,¹ and his advice prevailed.

On the 19th, the squadron set sail with a fair wind for Scotland, and reaching the Frith on the evening of the 23rd, anchored off Crail, the com-

¹ Wright; Hooke's Secret History.

mander intending to proceed up the Frith on the following morning.

The movements of the French squadron, while in Newport Pits, had, however, been observed from the steeples of Ostend, and tidings of its whereabouts had been sent to Sir George Byng, who immediately followed in the same direction.

The following account of the discomfiture of the French is in his own words :—

“ According to the opinion we had formed when we left the station of Dunkirk, it has proved that the enemy was designed for Edinburgh. This morning we saw the fleet in the mouth of the Frith, off of which place we anchored in the last night, and sent a boat ashore to the Isle of Mull, from whence we had an account that the *Frence* came to an anchor yesterday, in the afternoon. They sent one ship up into Leith roads, which had a flag at the main topmast-head. They report it a blue one, but we are rather of opinion that it is the Standard. The people of the island say, that by the time that ship could get up before the town they heard several guns fire, which were in the manner of salute. The ship that went up yesterday came down this morning, and is now within two leagues of us. She appears to be a ship of sixty guns, but has now no flag on board. We saw this morning, when we weighed, a flag at the main top-

mast-head on board one of their ships; they stood from us, and we after them, with all the sail we could make. We chased them to the northward of Buccaness, sometimes with reasonable hopes of coming up with them. The *Dover* and *Ludlow Castle* being the only clean-sailing ships we had, they were the first that came up with part of the enemy's squadron, passing by some of the smaller to engage some of the larger ships, and stop them until they could be relieved. They attacked two or three of their ships, among which was the *Salisbury*; they did not part with them till more of our ships arrived, but worked their ships in a handsome manner, to cut them off from the rest of the fleet; but, in the darkness of the night they all got out of sight, except the *Salisbury*, who falling in amongst our headmast ships, the *Leopard* entered men on board her. We were informed by the officers we had taken that there were twelve battalions on board their squadron, commanded by the Count de Gace,¹ a Mareschal of France; the pretended Prince of Wales, Lord Middleton, Lord Perth, the Macdonalds, Trevanion, and several other officers and gentlemen were on board the *Mary*, in which also was Monsieur Fourbin, who commanded the squadron,"² etc., etc.

¹ Sometimes called the Marshal de Matignon.

² Two letters from Sir George Byng, dated 13th and 15th March, O. S.

Those historians who affirm that the prince himself was captured in the *Salisbury* go on to say that Byng sent him privately on board Fourbin's ship, after having taken his word of honour that he would retire to France without attempting to land. This would seem to be not probable, since James appears to have expressed a wish to land in Inverness. Fourbin would have agreed, had not the wind changed. A council was therefore held, when, Fourbin representing the great risk the fleet ran of being dispersed, it was unanimously resolved to return again to Dunkirk, in which port they arrived in safety, April 7th.¹

They seemed only to escape the storm of the elements, however, to encounter a storm of another kind. The Court of St. Germain, in disappointment at the ill-success of the expedition, endeavoured to cast the whole blame of the failure, now on this person, now on that.

The queen writes to the Abbess of Chaillot, soon after her son's arrival:—"My heart is much broken, and I have had, for these ten days past, business and domestic quarrels that have disquieted and vexed me to a degree of which I am ashamed; and I declare to you, that coming so immediately on the rest of my troubles, I have been completely overwhelmed with it all. Pray God, my dearest mother, to succour and

¹ Macpherson; Calamy's *Life and Notes*.

support me. . . . These last affairs have scarcely left me time for my prayers. . . . My God, what a world this is, and who can understand it! . . . Unhappy are they who have much to do with it!"¹

Immediately after his return, James was obliged to appear at a review. He was well received, notwithstanding what had occurred.² Soon after he departed for the Low Countries, Middleton accompanying him,³ and served in the French army as a volunteer. Being unable to maintain a state sufficient for his royal dignity, he now, for the first time, assumed the title of the Chevalier de St. George, with which order he had been invested by his late father, at the age of four.⁴

Queen Anne first bestowed the name of "The Pretender" upon her brother in her address to the new Parliament, which assembled in November.⁵

About April 15th, Lord Clermont and Captain Middleton, with their companions in misfortune, the other passengers in the *Salisbury*—Edward Lord Griffin, Colonel Francis Wauchope, and several Irish officers—were brought from Scotland to London. The Middletons, Lord Griffin, and some others were committed prisoners to the Tower, and the remainder to Newgate, to take their trials for high treason.⁶

¹ Letter of Queen Mary Beatrice in the archives of France.

² Ibid. ³ Macpherson. ⁴ St. Simon. ⁵ Burnet. ⁶ Oldmixon.

Queen Mary Beatrice was much distressed on hearing what had befallen them. During Middleton's absence she did her utmost to procure their liberation, writing with her own hand a letter to M. de Chamillard, entreating him to claim them as officers in the French king's service.¹

M. Puech, commissary in the army, received orders to effect their exchange, if possible, for two English officers.

*Translation of a letter from him to Mr. Cardonnell,
dated June 16th, 1708.*

"SIR,

"I have received orders to propose to you the exchange of the two sons of my Lord Middleton, made prisoners of war on the *Salisbury*: the one who is a colonel, for the Sieur Alexander, or for the Sieur Allnutt, both colonels in your troops; the other, who is a captain of cavalry, for the Sieur Cosby, of the same rank, in Blood's regiment. I beg you, sir, to communicate this proposition to my Lord Duke of Marlborough, and to inform me of his reply.

"I have the honour to be,

"With the sincerest esteem, Sir,

"Your very humble and most obedient servant,

"PUECH."

¹ Stuart Papers.

This letter Marlborough forwarded to Secretary Boyle.

“Camp at Firbanck, 18th June, 1708.

“SIR,

. . . “You have here a copy of a letter from the French commissary, wherein he proposes the exchange of my Lord Middleton’s two sons, who are prisoners in the Tower, and pray you will lay the same before the queen, and let me receive H.M.’s pleasure what answer I shall return to it,” etc., etc.

(Signed)

“M.”¹

June 23rd, Queen Mary Beatrice writes to the Abbess of Chaillot:—“We have some hopes of obtaining the liberty of the two Middletons, and of the other Irish prisoners; but for my Lord Griffin, they have condemned him to die on the 27th of this month, which causes me pain. I recommend him to your prayers, and to those of our dear Sisters.”²

Queen Anne would not, however, consent to Lord Griffin’s execution, whom she had known from a child. He was respited from time to time, until he at last died from old age.

Marlborough says, in another letter to Boyle, 2nd July, 1708:—“I shall take care that the French

¹ Marlborough’s Despatches.

² Queen’s letter in the Chaillot Collection.

commissary be acquainted with what you mention, relating to the Earl of Middleton's two sons."¹

The exchange was evidently disapproved of, for the Middletons languished three weary years in prison. The confinement and hardships they endured injured their health.²

The Chevalier gained the esteem and affection of his commander and brother officers by his conduct during the campaign in Flanders. He was obliged, however, to return for change of air to St. Germain, towards the close of the summer, having caught a malignant intermittent fever, which raged in the country surrounding Mons.

The exhausted state of the French finances, the late reverses sustained by the army, and the distress caused by a severe winter, rendered Louis XIV. most desirous of peace in the beginning of 1709. Instead of commencing a new campaign, he sent plenipotentiaries to meet Prince Eugene and Marlborough at the Hague, for the purpose of settling preliminaries for an amicable treaty. Both James and his mother knew well that Louis could only obtain a peace by promising to withdraw his protection from the former. To avoid the mortification of a dismissal, he was eager to try his fortunes once more in Scotland, from

¹ Marlborough's Despatches.

² History of the Life and Reign of Queen Anne.

whence he had received fresh invitations and promises of support ; but, after entreating aid from Louis on his knees, that monarch answered him shortly, that he had quite enough to do now to defend his own kingdom. He likewise ended with the hint that, should James contrive to embroil him further with Queen Anne, he should be compelled to deprive his mother of her home at St. Germain, and to stop her pension.

Marlborough, during these conferences, alluded to the Chevalier in terms scarcely befitting the devoted servant of Queen Anne. He called him "the Prince of Wales," expressed an ardent desire of serving him, and hoped that a suitable income might be secured to him. He likewise advised that an attempt should now be made to secure the payment of the queen's dowry. He recommended Berwick, who was his nephew (the son of his sister, Arabella Churchill), to persuade his royal brother to emancipate himself from the political thralldom of France by leaving immediately, as the English people were never likely to accept a sovereign imposed on them by that kingdom.

Neither the prince nor Berwick, however, received Marlborough's advice with much confidence. They feared that his real aim was to induce the prince to barter his crown for a pension, and to leave his only protector, Louis XIV.¹

¹ Macpherson ; Continuator of Mackintosh ; Mémoires de Torcy.

The Earl of Middleton to the Marquis de Torcy.
(*A copy in Middleton's own hand.*)

[Translation.]

“St. Germain, April 30th, 1709.

“I have the honour to send you a memorial concerning the interest of the king, my master, and I hope you will approve of the method which I have taken, of inserting nothing in it but what might serve for an instruction to your negotiator, in case the king approves it; reserving to myself to explain to you here the sentiments of the King of England, because that mixture might occasion some confusion.

“Although France is the only country in which his Britannic Majesty can find any consolation out of his own country, yet, since the enemy insist upon his leaving it, he asks the king's permission to do so, as the only means of giving him a testimony of his gratitude. The ecclesiastical State is excluded, for reasons too evident to be specified; and likewise the Swiss cantons, because there he would be deprived of the society of men, and at too great a distance from what he ought never to lose sight of; and he would have no neighbours there, but goats, who could walk out and resist the rigour of the winter. The Spanish Low Countries are named only in preference.

“I acknowledge that sentiments are divided here

about the Article of Indemnity. Some say that those who are at home will complain with justice that they are abandoned to the fury of their enemies, and that those who are here will exclaim that they are neglected—that they might subsist at home, if they could return in safety ; and that this Court will be delivered from a number of troublesome people, who will die of hunger after our departure. Others think that a security for the past will render them useless for the future ; that self-love is a powerful motive for exciting the generality of men to perform their duty ; that several may return from thence full of ill-humour, and, in order to be well received, will become informers, which would produce very bad effects ; and also that this would weaken the Irish regiments in the service, many of whom will be seized with the sickness of the Swiss. It is hoped the king will be pleased to decide upon this diversity of opinions.

“With regard to the queen’s dowry, her Majesty orders me to tell you that after her death, and the restoration of the king, her son, she gives the million in the town-house to his Majesty, to refund in part some small share of his bounty. But above all, his Britannic Majesty insists most earnestly not to be named in the Article which concerns the queen ; for although there should be no express condition, all the world will suppose that his honour will be deeply

wounded by it. He will be abandoned by all his good subjects, and will find himself exposed to the contempt of every one, which such a suspicion will infallibly draw upon him.”¹

Queen Anne’s ministers refused to pay the dowry, on the plea that the sum granted by Parliament had been employed for other purposes.

Copy of Lord Middleton’s answer to the Duke de Beauvilliers.

[Translation.]

“May 27th, 1709.

“I have shown to the king, my master, and to the queen the letter you did me the honour to write to me to-day, upon which their Majesties have commanded me to beg of you to remark three things :—

“1st. With regard to their saying that they cannot pay the queen’s dowry, as being contrary to the laws of England. In that they are not sincere, for, although they have converted the fund to other purposes, there never was any legal *decession* against her Majesty or her pretensions ; and the Parliament, after the Peace of Ryswick, acknowledged them so fully, that they granted without any difficulty the whole sum, which the Prince of Orange received and detained upon an ill-founded chicane.

“2ndly. Their offer to charge themselves with the

¹ Original Papers.

maintainance of the king, my master, in case he leaves France, is to be neglected; and, indeed, one may easily perceive that the malicious design of it is to make the world believe that he renounced his pretensions on account of his pension, and at the same time to have it in their power to reduce him to the last extremity, which his Majesty will rather endure than expose himself to be suspected of such meanness. I had set forth in a memorial all that I now say, and explained it more fully in a letter I sent to M. de Torcy the evening before he set out.

“3rdly. The King of England is highly pleased that a general security is agreed to, in case they insist on his changing his place of abode. But it ought to be considered whether the word of these two English gentlemen may be depended on, for it would be better to have a written deed, signed by all the confederates, to be inserted by the mediator among the acts of the treaty.

“I am very unhappy, sir, to have missed the honour of seeing you every time I have been at *Varsailles*, and I entreat you to believe me to be, sir,” etc.

The peace negotiations at the Hague proved fruitless, on account of the exorbitant demands of the Allies. Nothing more was said at this time regarding

the Chevalier's change of residence. The queen likewise lost all chance for the present of receiving any portion of her dowry. Soon afterwards James, having recovered his health, returned with Middleton to the French head-quarters. At the battle of Malplaquet, fought September 11th, 1709, in which the French army was defeated, he behaved with great gallantry, breaking the German horse with one desperate charge, which nearly turned the fortunes of the day.¹ At the conclusion of the campaign, towards the end of October, he and Middleton returned again to St. Germain.

For some time after the failure of the expedition of 1708, a chance of a restoration seemed nearly hopeless; but the spirits of the Jacobites were again raised by the popular manifestations of favour displayed in England towards Dr. Sacheverel, who was impeached December 13th, 1709, for preaching two sermons which struck at the very principles of the Revolution, by inculcating the doctrine of non-resistance under all circumstances.² One Menzies, a Scotchman, seems to have been sent to England from St. Germain about this time, with whom Lord Middleton corresponded under the feigned name of Abram.

¹ Macpherson ; Jesse ; Lediard's *Life of the Duke of Marlborough* ; Despatches of Mareschal Boufflers.

² Burnet, *Marlborough*, etc.

The Earl of Middleton to Abram.

“January 30th, 1710.

“I received yours, sir, of the 23rd instant, by which you inform me of the reason of your delaying your return to your own house and family (to St. Germain), who long to see you; which encourages me to write to you, though I am sorry at the same time that you have lost so fair an opportunity of pursuing your designs.

“I am glad you have sent your friends away, but are still in apprehension of their being seized by the searchers of the Custom House, for the conduct of our colonies that are imported from foreign parts are confiscated (letters intercepted).

“Our landlord (the King of France) here knows nothing of your business. He allows us only to follow the law of nature, to do what we can for ourselves, since he can do nothing; and this is what you may assure your friends.”¹

Lady Middleton seems to have had some slight illness in the beginning of 1710. The sad condition of both her sons, no doubt, weighed heavily upon her mind.

The Princess Louisa writes, February 9th, on her

¹ Original Papers.

return to St. Germain, to her mother at Chaillot:—
“I found the Countess of Middleton up and dressed
this evening; her indisposition is gone, and she would
wait at supper.”¹

Earl Middleton to Abram.

“March 27th, 1710.

“I heard but once from you since you came to
your journey’s end. I am glad that you met with
your wallet, but that Freeman was peevish I am sorry
but not surprised. The letters from Mr. Holloway
have miscarried, which should have brought accounts
from your parts of the 11th, N.S. If you writ at that
time, let us have it again, with what has occurred
since; for your correspondents expect to hear fre-
quently from you in such a critical conjuncture. Tell
Morley that this is the time to bestir himself, and to
consult the College of Physicians about John Ken-
naird’s (the king’s) health. No cure, no money. They
may have what they please on that condition; but
otherwise they may drive him to the necessity of
putting himself into the hands of quacks, which would
be much against his inclination. If Mr. Atterbury
(Queen Anne) could be persuaded to dismiss Proby
(the Parliament), it would be a great point.”²

¹ Chaillot MSS.

² Original Papers.

Parliament was prorogued April 5th. Negotiations for peace were resumed March 19th, and lasted until July 25th, but again proved fruitless, on account of the impracticable demands of the Allies—one condition insisted on being that Louis should declare war against his own grandson, Philip of Spain. The French ministers, the Abbé (afterwards Cardinal) de Polignac and the Mareschal d'Uxelles, were subjected to every species of mortification while the conference lasted. They were not allowed to enter Holland, but were met in the small fortified town of Gertruydenburgh by the deputies Boys and Vanderdussen. Here they were in a manner confined, and all their conduct watched narrowly. "Their accommodation was mean, their letters were opened, and they were daily insulted by injurious libels."¹

*To the Abbé de Polignac.*²

[Translation.]

"April 15th, 1710.

"I have received the letter which your Excellency did me the honour to write to me on the 9th instant, with the two letters addressed to their Majesties, which I have delivered to them; and they have ordered me to assure you of their esteem, and of their

¹ Smollett.

² Melchior de Polignac, born 1661, died 1741. (Beeton.)

joy for having so able and so affectionate a friend to take care of their interest. We know from the printed proposals on both sides, that our affair was put off to the general treaty. I shall therefore say nothing about it at present. When you summon Mr. Hooke to repair to you, he will be instructed with a particular detail.

“We have no news yet of Johnston. It is evident that he is unknown to me, since he demanded such a strong introductory letter from you as you wrote to M. de Saillant. But if that adventurer does not explain himself more clearly here, he will not be sent back for some time.

“I am very impatient that you should leave your lazaretto since your quarantine is finished. This gives an idea of the penance which was imposed in the first ages of the Church.

“I have no news; I don't meddle in politics. We submit ourselves to Providence. I entreat you, sir, to be persuaded that no one honours you more than your,” etc.

“I entreat you, sir, to make my compliments, with Roman superlatives, to the Mareschal d'Uxelles.”

On May 16th, the Chevalier left for his third campaign in the Low Countries; but Middleton did

¹ Original Papers.

not this time accompany him. Probably his services were more required at St. Germain's.¹

To the Marquis de Torcy. James Ogilvie is suspected of being a spy from England.

[Translation.]

“5th July, 1710.

“Some years ago Mr. Ogilvie was accused of being a man who had sold himself to the Government of England, and we expect him here to-morrow. He passed through Ipres, and from thence to Arras, where he presented himself to the king, my master, who recollected directly the informations he had, of him. However, he heard him favourably, though he advanced tales equally false and ridiculous. He has named several persons of known probity, but without proofs, except my Lord Drummond, the eldest son of the Duke of Perth, a man of strict honour. But he is not the first who has allowed himself to be surprised by the artifices of a rogue. The queen believes it will be necessary to send him to the Bastile. He shall be sent to you as if it were to give you an account of his business. He will have a letter from me to introduce him, in order that you may dispose of him as you choose; but I hope you

¹ See the dates of his letters at this time, and those addressed to him by the Chevalier from the camp at Arlien.

will reflect upon the mischief which his return may occasion to a number of honest men.”¹

Marlborough and his duchess were now in disgrace with Queen Anne: the influence of the Allies alone kept him in command of the army. Thinking it as well to keep in favour with the other party, should their turn come soon, he kept up a close correspondence with his nephew Berwick, who had a command in the French army. On June 13th, he even sent a communication through him to Queen Mary Beatrice, informing her of his intention of resigning his appointments under Queen Anne.² This letter the queen thought it advisable to answer herself. Lord Middleton enclosed a translation to the Marquis de Torcy.

To the Marquis de Torcy.

[Translation.]

“6th July, 1710.

“SIR,

“My Lord Churchill having begun to make some advances to serve the King of England in his letter to the Mareschal de Berwick, to which no answer hath been made; and although he is not a man to be depended upon, yet it was always your opinion that it was necessary to treat him with

¹ Original Papers.

² Ibid.

attention, and his present situation induces us to do so now more than ever, because, being obliged to form new engagements for his own safety, there is reason to fear that, if we neglect him, he will attach himself to the family of Hanover, which would be such a fatal blow, that we must employ all possible means to parry it. These several considerations have induced the queen to write him a letter, of which I enclose you a translation; and her Majesty begs of you, sir, to write to the Mareschal de Villars,¹ to put under his cover the letter which the Chevalier St. George will give him, and to send it to his adversary by the first trumpet, in order to avoid the difficulty of sending it contrary to orders.

“I am, Sir,” etc.

The Chevalier wrote sometimes to Lord Middleton during his absence. In the following, dated July 5th, he alludes to Marlborough's correspondence:—“You will have seen, before this, Gurneys (Marlborough's) letter to Daniel (Berwick), and another to Hector (Villars), in which Follette's (the queen's) children (himself and his sister) are mentioned. I find Hector very willing to do anything in his power for them.”

Queen Mary Beatrice, during her son's absence,

¹ Louis Hector Villars, a celebrated French general, made Marshal of France, and a grandee of Spain.

took up her abode at Chaillot, in order to avoid the trouble and expense of keeping up a shadow of a Court. Sometimes she went to St. Germain's to transact business ; at others her ministers waited on her in the convent. This accounts for the date of the following letter.¹ The hopes of the Jacobites being high at this time, on account of the intrigues of the English Tories against the Whigs, Middleton tries to persuade Louis to undertake another invasion.

*To the Marquis de Torcy. Sends him a memorial ;
the reason why ; the subject and its importance.*

[Translation.]

“ Chaillot, August 29th, 1710.

“ SIR,

“ You would have received the enclosed memorial sooner, if it had not been necessary to send it first to the king, my master, in order to have his approbation, and receive his orders concerning it. Although we were unwilling to repeat over again former memorials, it was, however, judged necessary to put you in mind of some principal points. You will find in it again the word Capital, for if you begin with this project, you will find everything that is necessary to make it so. But if in preference you mean to execute every other design, and to put off

¹ Records of Chaillot.

this as superfluous, I own beforehand you will find nothing in it.

“All that is new in this memorial is the State of England, and the demand made of the Irish troops. As to what regards England, it is a matter of indifference to you whether the Parliament be dissolved or not,¹ or whether the High or Low Church prevail. You will always find they are our enemies; and I am very sorry, sir, to tell you that even our friends will do nothing for you, while you do nothing for them. They don't believe you are disposed to do anything, and there is nothing but an actual landing which can cure them of their credulity. That will contribute to conceal the design in that country; but it will be more difficult to concert it here, because all conversations at the *Thuilleries* and in coffee-houses run upon this project; and the voice of the people desire it, as the only remedy to their calamities.

“With regard to the demand of the Irish² troops, I consider it as granted, because it cannot be conjectured from what motive it can be refused, since, besides the convincing reasons of the memorial, the Irish making but half the number of troops which was proposed, the armies will be less diminished by

¹ The Whig Parliament was shortly afterwards dissolved. (Smollett.)

² Those in the French service (?)

it, and they will be transported with less difficulty and at less expense ; and it is essential to the service to do everything which humanly may secure its success, since thereby we shall gain our cause.

“ If the bad news from Spain¹ are confirmed, they should forward this project, because he will be more pressed on all sides, and you will have no favourable prospect from any other quarter. In short, it is necessary to determine upon something. Even should this project be difficult, a peace is impossible ; therefore there is no choice.

‘ “ I am, Sir,” etc.

¹ Charles defeated Philip at Saragossa, and obliged him to retreat to Madrid ; but his triumph was of short duration. (Smollett.)

CHAPTER VI.

Another attempt to procure the liberation of the Middletons—Released on bail June, 1711—Queen, princess, and Lady Middleton visit the king's remains—Marlborough's intrigues—Death of the Princess Louisa—Her brocaded petticoat—Harley gives hopes that the Protestant succession may be changed—Chevalier leaves France—Middleton accompanies him as his principal adviser—Peace of Utrecht—Louis XIV. agrees to acknowledge Anne as Queen of Great Britain—Lady Middleton disapproves of the queen's residence at Chaillot—Chevalier listens to the insinuations of Middleton's enemies—He offers to resign his post—Queen entreats him to remain with her son—Letters to English correspondents.

ANOTHER attempt to procure the liberation of the Middletons seems to have been made by the Mareschal de Villars at this time, to which Marlborough returned the following reply. By some mistake, he imagined that Lord Middleton himself was a prisoner. As his last letter is dated "Chaillot, August 29th," and other letters from him are mentioned, written in October, November, and December, 1710, it is probable that he was safe at St. Germain's.

From Marlborough to M. de Villars.

[Translation.]

“ Au Camp de St. André, 10 September, 1710.

“ SIR,

“ I have received the letter you did me the honour of writing to me on the 7th of this month, and return you very humble thanks for the obliging manner with which you have interested yourself to obtain permission for the Sieur Paget to retire from Luxemburg to Paris. I should be delighted if in return I could contribute to the liberty of my Lord Middleton, whom you recommended to me in your preceding letter. If it depended upon me, I assure you, sir, that you should soon be relieved from importunity on his account ; but I own to you that the reply I received from the Court to your first letter for his exchange does not permit me to return to the subject. I will not be prevented, however, on my return to England, from doing my utmost to obtain the liberty of a person for whom you are so anxious. The good treatment which the Sieur Paget has received may be of some use in inducing his relations and friends to unite their endeavours to mine.”¹

There are several letters from Middleton to Lamb

¹ Marlborough's Despatches.

and Abram in the months of October, November, and December, 1710; but they are all allegorical, and without a key.

Earl Middleton to Abram.

“March 5th, 1711.

“The last post brought us nothing from Mr. Morley, whom we can only rely on. You will herewith receive what you ordered from Mr. Brown; if it is not right, the writer is not in the wrong. ‘It is not he who says, Lord, shall enter into the kingdom of Heaven, but he who does the will of My Father;’ ‘Every tree is known, not only by the bark and leaves, but by the fruit it bears’—these are texts for Abram to hold forth on. There seems to be a coalition betwixt Honyton (Harley) and Williamson (the Whigs). Cut a snake asunder, and it will join again. If Marville (Marlborough) has done this, ’tis the greatest action of his life, and of a piece with the rest. Pray enlarge and explain the visit to be made to Mr. Swift. If poor Lamb were alive, we might expect to know many things which, I confess, are not easily transmitted otherwise. Infatuation is the word.”

A letter of Lord Lovat’s was intercepted, and returned to St. Germain’s. The Earl of Middleton

sent a translation of it to the Marquis de Torcy, dated March 8th, 1711 :—

“It is long since my sentiments of the pretended Lord Lovat were known to you. An original letter, written by him to Lord Leven,¹ is come back to us from England. We have compared the handwriting with that which we have from him ; there is an exact resemblance, and the subject and style do not belie the author. I send you a literal translation of it. Balgony is my Lord Leven’s son ; the young man in the Highland dress is Lovat’s brother, who, I believe, was in France. Here, sir, is a spy of consequence unmasked, and we know very well the means of preventing this correspondence for the future.”²

Marlborough now renewed his secret correspondence.

To Abram.

“ March 19th, 1711.

“By the last post I received yours of the 23rd February, which gave great satisfaction to all who saw it, notwithstanding the many reasons we have to distrust Melville’s (Marlborough’s) sincerity. But

¹ David, second Earl of Melville, inherited as third Earl of Leven.

² After all, Lovat lost his life for the Stuart cause. On the accession of George I., he showed himself a warm friend to the Protestant succession ; but, his ambition being disappointed, he changed his principles again, and was executed in 1747 for his share in the rebellion of 1745.

since it is now more his interest than formerly, we depend more on that than his promises. But if he has the will, he wants the means ; they are, with him, like two baskets ¹ on the same rope.

“As to the letters, we can say nothing till we see draughts. The three persons proposed to deliver them are very proper, if they will undertake it, which I doubt much. As for Musgrave (supposed to be the Duke of Bucks), he is by no means fit; for if Conrad would accept them from any of the other three, yet he would not trust him. If Honyton (Harley) would receive his own well, he would not refuse to give the other, and it must land there at last. But if he does not accept his own, then why should not you try Mrs. Settle (Mrs. Masham), who, you said, had offered herself for such a purpose? But this will not come to bear till you are possessed of the original.”²

On June 24th of this year, Alderman Cass and Mr. Lamb were elected sheriffs for the City of London, much to the joy of the High Church party and the friends of the Pretender, who believed that Alderman Cass was their well-wisher, he having formerly sheltered Sir John Friend in his own house, who was one of the conspirators in the plot to assassinate

¹ When one was up, the other was down ; he had never both together.

² Original Documents.

King William. Lord Clermont and Charles Middleton took advantage of this favourable juncture to procure their enlargement. They laid a humble petition before Queen Anne, representing their bad state of health, caused by a close imprisonment of three years.

Anne received their petition graciously, and ordered the Attorney-General to admit them to bail. This was done accordingly, June 20th, in the Court of Queen's Bench; they themselves entering into a recognizance of £4000 each, and their bail, the Dukes of Beaufort,¹ Bolton,² and Hamilton, and the Earl of Wharton, in £2000 each, for their appearance at the Queen's Bench bar the first day of next term.

"Though," says the author of the *Reign of Queen Anne*, "some persons repined against and made sinister construction of this act of clemency, yet it is certain that of the four illustrious persons who bailed them, two were of the High Church and two of the Low Church party."³

Queen Mary Beatrice having imprudently promised her daughter to take her to the Italian Comedy in Paris, at a time when small-pox was raging in the

¹ Henry, second Duke of Beaufort, succeeded to the title in 1699. His second wife was Rachel, daughter and co-heir of Baptist Noel, Earl of Gainsborough. (Burke.)

² Charles Paulet, fifth Duke of Bolton. (Burke.)

³ *History of the Life and Reign of Queen Anne.*

city, Lady Middleton showed her motherly care for her royal charge by reminding the queen of the great danger of going into the midst of the bad air. Although the princess had set her heart upon the treat, it was resolved to follow Lady Middleton's advice. Louisa bore the disappointment meekly, saying that the queen's kindness almost consoled her for the loss of her amusement. Lady Middleton took her, however, *incognito*, to dine with her daughter, Madame Roches (*la belle* Middleton), now married,¹ who probably lived in a healthier part of Paris. During her absence the queen repeated many times: "It must be owned that we miss my daughter very much."

In spite of the infection, the queen and her daughter would not give up their annual visit to the church of the English Benedictines, where the body of James II. lay unburied. Only Lady Middleton and the Duchess of Perth accompanied them; and, to avoid attracting attention, they travelled in a hired coach. They succeeded in entering the church unnoticed, but some persons having the curiosity to inquire of the coachman whom he had brought, he answered, "Only two old gentlewomen, one middle-aged, and a young lady." This unceremonious

¹ To Michael Comte de la Roches or Rothe, lieutenant-general in the French service. (Douglas.)

description caused the queen to smile. Lady Middleton must have been at this time about sixty-three, and the queen ten years younger.

The Earl of Middleton to Abram.

“November 8th, 1711.

“I was obliged to write to you, nor did I fear that you would take it ill from a friend that loves you; but when I was ordered to write to Dame Lilly, I knew her to be *exceptionous*, and thought the best way to soften the matter was to let her see that there was *nother* said to her but what had been written to you, never dreaming that she could have made so bad a use of it; but that shall be a lesson to me for the future. But I believe you are convinced, as well as I, that I should show no resentment. *Rebus sic stantibus*.

“If Phipps (the peace) comes on his trial this term, you should engage all your friends to do him what service you can.”

After the preliminary negotiations for the Peace of Utrecht were commenced, Marlborough so far committed himself as to confer personally with Trevor, one of Middleton's agents. Trevor wrote to Middleton that Marlborough had solemnly sworn to him that he considered the recall of the prince as certain to take place. He recommended that he should on

no account agree to take refuge in the Papal dominions, but to fix his abode in some Protestant State. He likewise suggested that the payment of the queen's dowry should be strenuously insisted on, and promised to exert any influence he might possess in her behalf.

Middleton shows but small faith in his (Marlborough's) promises in his answer to Trevor, although he hopes that there may be some foundation for his good news :—

To Mr. Tunstal (Trevor).

“ November 18th, 1711.

“ I received yours of the 3rd inst., for which I return you many thanks. As for your lawyer (Marlborough), he is gone, and before you meet again, we shall see clearer. His letters being intercepted is a good reason for not writing to him. In the mean time, you must continue to see him when there is occasion, and return compliments for compliments, which are more innocent than equivocation, because nobody is deceived by them. He had it in his power to have been great and good, but God hardened Pharaoh's heart, and he can now only pretend to the humble merit of a post-boy, who brings good news to which he has not contributed. Everybody here is well satisfied with your prudent diligence ; and in my own

particular you will still find me, Sir, your most faithful humble servant."

*To the Abbé de Polignac
(one of the French plenipotentiaries).*

"St. Germain, March 6th, 1712.

"SIR,

"The person who will have the honour of delivering this to your excellency is the Sieur Menzies, whose fidelity and capacity I am acquainted with of a long time. He is thoroughly instructed in everything that regards ourselves; he will give you all possible lights concerning them, and I doubt not but you will be satisfied with him. He has no other orders from this place but to follow yours.

"I shall add nothing farther, Sir, not doubting but you are thoroughly persuaded that I am, very respectfully," etc.

To Berry. An allegorical letter.

"March 31st, 1712.

"SIR,

"Mr. Arnold's letter to Nelson (Middleton), of the 4th, O.S., came safe with Berry's enclosed, which was delivered to Plessington (the king) and Wisely (the queen), who desired me to tell Berry that they were very glad to hear he had seen Mr. Armsworth

(Marlborough). They are fully persuaded that he is now very sorry that he has not followed their advice in compounding their debts whilst he had sufficient effects in his hands ; but it is the misfortune of very many just men to let themselves be overruled by pretended friends, who have different views. However, pray see him as soon as you can ; and you may very *truely* assure him of the friendship that Goodall (the king) has for him, the confidence he has in him, and the assistance he expects from him ; for though his affairs are in a low condition, by reason of his losses at sea, yet his prudence and experience may be of great use ; and his substantial associates may put him in a condition to appear again on the Exchange, and establish his credit on a sure bottom. But it is very natural for Plessington (the king) to expect to hear from him, to know by what ways and means, when and how, he designs to do him justice.

“Squire Young (Princess Anne) is so entirely in Goldsmith Baker’s (Harley’s) power, that we cannot tell what judgment to make of him ; Manning (King of France) knocks under the table ; so that we must shift for ourselves. Nothing but want of bread can make us go to Mr. Dean’s door, being sensible that would be the worst that could befall us. I am confident that Gurney (Marlborough) and Gilburn

(Godolphin) will be grieved to see our present distress,¹ and use their best endeavours to relieve us.

“R. CROFTON” (MIDDLETON).²

On April 18th, 1712, the Countess of Middleton had the grief of losing her beloved royal pupil, the Princess Louisa. Her brother, the Chevalier, was attacked with small-pox, April 1st. The princess was much distressed at the thought of his danger, but felt no fear of taking the infection herself. On April 10th, however, the rash showed itself. At first the disease seemed of a mild form, and it was hoped that both her life and beauty might be spared; but unfortunately the doctors resorted to the pernicious practice of bleeding in the foot, which proved too much for her strength. She grew weaker and weaker, and died at nine o'clock in the morning of April 18th.³

In England, as well as at St. Germain, much sorrow was felt for her death. The following is an extract from a letter of condolence, from some person in the Court of Queen Anne, addressed apparently to Lady Middleton:—

“You cannot imagine how generally she is

¹ The 4th and 5th Articles of the Peace of Utrecht stated that to insure for ever the peace and repose of Europe and of England, the King of France recognized for himself and his successors the Protestant line of Hanover, and engaged that he who had taken the title of King of Great Britain should remain no longer in France, etc.

² Original Documents.

³ Chaillot MSS.

lamented, even by those who have ever been enemies to her family. I and mine have so shared in your loss, that we thought our sorrows could have no addition when we heard your Chevalier was recovered ; but now we find our mistake, for since we had yours to my daughter Jenny, 'tis said at Court he is despaired of, and on the Exchange, that he is dead ; that he ate too much meat, and got a cold with going out too soon. If this be true, all honest people will think no more of the world, for sure never were mortals so unfortunate as we. . . . I beg you will make our condoling compliments, for to write it myself to your mistress is only tormenting her now ; but pray assure her I grieve for her loss, and the sense I am sure she has of it, to a degree not to be expressed, but felt with true affection and duty. . . . I do not question but you must guess at the concern my sisters were in when we received the news of your loss. Upon my word I was stupefied at it, and cannot help being still anxious for the brother's health, notwithstanding your assurances of his recovery, for we have so many cruel reports about him, that it is enough to make us distracted. Pray assure his afflicted mother of my most humble duty. God in heaven send her comfort, for she wants it : nothing but her goodness could resist such a stroke." ¹

¹ Original Papers.

The remains of the princess were attended by Lady Middleton to the church of the English Benedictines, where they were placed by the side of her father. All her ladies-in-waiting and maids of honour were likewise present, and also the Duke of Berwick, the Earl of Middleton, the officers of the queen's household, and all the English residents at St. Germain's.

The princess's clothes became, after her death, Lady Middleton's perquisite. Amongst them was a petticoat (*une belle jupe*) which her brother had bought for her at Lyons the summer before. At this time French machinery was in advance of English. The Chevalier was astonished to see a water-loom in a silk factory at Lyons, which moved 2000 reels at once, with only one wheel. He determined to give his sister, as a memento of his tour, enough of the best specimen of brocaded silk made there for a petticoat, but could not fix on any as sufficiently good, until he had asked the advice of Madame *l'Intendante*. This petticoat was never destined to be worn. When the Chevalier presented it, his sister was in mourning for the Dauphin; before it was etiquette to wear colours, all France was plunged into gloom by the deaths of the young Dauphin, Dauphiness, and their son; and but two months after these sad events the princess died herself.

In the July after, the queen inquired of Lady Middleton what she intended to do with the petticoat. "To present it to the conventual church of Chaillot, out of respect to my lamented royal pupil," she replied. "I myself would rather present it," said the queen; "I will therefore buy it of you." Lady Middleton, feeling that she would not be otherwise satisfied, consented to receive a trifle; and the petticoat was sent to Chaillot as the Queen of England's gift.¹

The Earl of Middleton to Mrs. Watson (Plunket).

"12th June, 1712.

"This is to tell you that I write by the last post, and that the enclosed is for the Doctor, with a new key, that the old one may not be discovered. Persuade him to take it, if he thinks it may be useful. It is all written in a hand he has seen before, that he be sure nobody else knows anything of it; and that he may assure his friends, but especially Honyton (Harley), that it is no penny-post letter from Williamson (the Whigs). If he thinks it useless or dangerous to meddle with it, I have nothing to say, but shall still have the satisfaction of doing my duty for my well-discerning friends."

¹ Chaillot MSS.

Earl of Middleton to Mrs. Watson. (To be given to the Doctor.)

“28th July, 1712.

“I was in hopes that the interest you had with Tom’s lawyer (Princess Anne’s ministry) might have given you an opportunity of advancing the match proposed ; for the only person who can dispose of the party, Mrs. Overbury (Duke of Ormond¹) by name, is utterly unknown to us ; nor had we ever any correspondence with her ; and as to her inclinations, that is what we desire to know. The world, judging by interest, thinks she ought to be favourable, and rather marry her niece where she may procure great advantages to herself, than to a malicious, covetous fellow, who will make her account for the last farthing that she has received during her guardianship ; and this was the drift of the former scribble, to which I shall add nothing.”

It is evident that the Court of St. Germain’s were of opinion that Marlborough, if he had continued in power, would at length serve them. Middleton, having furnished his correspondents in this letter with reasons for convincing the ministry of the dangers of delay, concludes with these words : “ The

¹ James, second Duke of Ormond, declared in 1711 Captain-General and Commander-in-Chief of the land forces of Great Britain to be employed abroad. (Burke.)

greatest should take examples by Croesus (Marlborough), to make use of their time ; the star of the most fortunate is not fixed, and just now the cracked bully of the age has been severely banged for his presumption.”¹

Harley, Earl of Oxford, contrived to instil into the minds of the Jacobites, in an indefinite and mysterious manner, some hopes that the succession might still be altered, even after the conclusion of peace. It is thought that his object in so doing was to hinder them from attempting to embarrass his administration.²

To Mr. Berry.

“ August 4th, 1712.

“ I imparted to Mr. Goodall (the king) what you writ to me, the 8th July, of the disposition the Court of Chancery seems to be in, to reverse the decree in favour of Mr. Harper (Hanover), and to leave the equity of the redemption of the estate in question in Mr. Aylmer’s (probably Queen Anne) disposal and nomination ; and that Hampton will, as your informer thinks, be easily inclined to give his consent to such a decree, but probably with a limitation excluding all the family of Cottons (Roman Catholics). Mr. Goodall (the king) thanks you for the notice you

¹ Original Papers.

² Smollett.

give him of this matter, and bids me tell you that it will still be a great step gained to have Harper's (Hanover's) decree reversed, and the nomination left in Aylmer; for though Plessington (the king) will never comply with the limitation above mentioned,¹ yet when a rich and numerous family are turned out of doors, and the house left empty, it will be much easier to get possession of it. I think it is demonstrable that neither Edward (England) nor Aylmer (Queen Anne) have any interest to oppose old Cotton (a Roman Catholic), of which you shall hear by the next. In the mean time, Mr. Goodall (the king) desires you would let him know your informer's name, which shall be concealed with all possible secrecy, because it is the character and credit of the person that gives credit and weight to what he says."²

Lord Bolingbroke, during a brief stay at Paris, for the purpose of arranging the preliminary articles of the Peace of Utrecht, promised that the dowry should really be paid. The form in which the queen should acknowledge its receipt now required to be considered. "Should the queen," observes Middleton, "style herself queen mother, she supposes that it will not be allowed; should she style herself queen dowager, that would be a lessening of herself,

¹ To change his religion.

² Original Papers.

and a prejudice to the king her son, which she would never do. The question is, whether the instrument may not be good without any title at all, only the word WE; for inasmuch as it will be signed 'Maria, R.,' and sealed with her seal, one would think the person would be sufficiently denoted. Our Council here think she might sign herself thus: 'Mary, Queen Consort of James II., late King of England, Ireland, and France, Defender of the Faith,' etc." The simple regal signature, "Maria, R.," was finally adopted.¹

The unfortunate queen had soon the farther grief of parting with her last remaining child. The Chevalier was obliged to quit St. Germain's August 18th. Middleton accompanied him as his principal adviser. He was the only Roman Catholic in the retinue; and the Chevalier took with him a clergyman of the Church of England, to perform divine service for his followers of the reformed faith. They were allowed to remain a few days at Livry, and during that time the mother and son frequently met. On learning that the queen had been seized with illness, James came over to Chaillot to see her; and on the following Tuesday she went to Livry to dine with him, accompanied by Lady Middleton, who had to part also with her husband for an indefinite time, and

¹ Original Papers.

several of her other ladies. The Duke de Lauzun lent his coach for the accommodation of those attendants for whom there was no room in the queen's vehicle. They returned to Chaillot at eight o'clock in the evening.

The Chevalier took his final leave of his mother September 6th. He was almost totally unprovided with money for his journey; Mr. Dicconson, the queen's treasurer, having endeavoured in vain to induce the French ministers to pay any part of the pension which had been due for the last six months. He and his suite slept the night at Livry, which they quitted on the following morning. In three days they reached Chalons-sur-Marne, where they were to remain until the Chevalier's future residence should be agreed on between France and the Allies.

On October 27th tidings of the alarming illness of Louis XIV. plunged the queen and her ladies into the greatest consternation and anxiety. At this time he seemed their only protector; on his life depended, they believed, their sole security for food and shelter. They had no certainty that a regent would continue the pension to the queen, which formed their only support. "Oh, my God!" exclaimed the queen, after reading Madame de Maintenon's report of the king's danger, "what a calamity for France, for his family, and for us poor unfortu-

nates!" She and her ladies wept bitterly. The queen was too anxious to eat. Lady Middleton read a chapter out of the "Imitation of Christ," endeavouring to console her mistress and herself, but their spirits remained sadly depressed. Morning, however, brought reassuring tidings; the king had borne bleeding well, and was out of danger.

Lady Middleton and the queen's other ladies, although strict Roman Catholics, were not so entirely detached from the world as their royal mistress. They grew utterly weary of the continual prayers and monotony of a conventual life, and entreated the queen to return to St. Germain. Had she followed her own inclinations, she would never have gone back there. "Alas!" she said to the nuns, "picture to yourselves the state in which I shall find myself in that place, where I lost the king, my lord and husband, and my daughter. Now that I am deprived of my son, what a frightful solitude does it appear! I shall be compelled to eat alone in public; and when the repast is ended, and I retire to my cabinet, who will there be to speak to there? Here I find, at least, a little society. I had hoped to remain here always." After much prayerful consideration, however, and consultation with friends, she had become convinced that the present position of her son's affairs made it necessary that she should reside for part of

the year, at least, at St. Germain, and keep up the appearance of a Court. She therefore fixed on Monday, December 5th, for her departure from Chaillot.

Just when the party were on the point of bidding adieu to the abbess and nuns, the queen was told that the Duke of Lauzun wished to speak with her. He came to break the intelligence that the Duke of Hamilton, who was the main pillar of her son's cause in Scotland, and on whom the chief chance of the repeal of the succession rested, had been killed in a duel. This sad intelligence cast a greater gloom upon the party. The queen was deeply affected, and the Ladies Middleton and Perth wept bitterly.¹

Nairne writes to Scot, December 14th, 1712, "to desire him to consult whether my Lord Clermont's estate would be in danger in case he came after the peace to join the king, and to send his and the best lawyer's opinion which way the estate might be best secured."

During this Christmas Lord Middleton's rivals and enemies were again at work. Once more, without any manner of proof, he was accused of having been a bribed agent of the Court of St. James ever since the late king's death, to betray the secrets of St. Germain. All the misfortunes and failures which

¹ Chaillot MSS.

had occurred were laid to his charge, and he was accused of promoting, instead of opposing, the Union. Unfortunately the Chevalier seemed half inclined to give credence to these reports. Middleton justified himself from the charges brought against him, but indignantly offered to resign his troublesome office, which his age, now about seventy-two or seventy-three, probably rendered more and more laborious. The queen was much distressed on hearing his intention, she having a great esteem for Middleton, and a particular friendship for his wife. She consulted her confessor, Abbé Innes, who thus wrote on the subject :—

“ Paris, January 9th, 1713.

“ I never was more surprised than when the queen showed me some letters the king had sent her about Mr. Massey (Lord Middleton), and the more I think of it, the more I am convinced that villany must proceed originally either from the Irish, to remove one whom they look upon as none of their friends, to make way for one of their friends, or else that it is a trick of the Whigs to ruin Jonathan (the king), by insinuating a correspondence with them to give jealousy to the other party, and by that means to deprive Jonathan of the only person capable of giving him advice.”

The queen determined to write to Middleton, to show her entire confidence in him, and to entreat him to continue with her son. Her letter may be left to show without comment the esteem and respect she felt for him :—

“ St. Germain, January 28th, 1713.

“ I have not had the heart all this while to write to you upon the dismal subject of your leaving the king, but I am sure you are just enough to believe that it has and does give to me a great deal of trouble ; and that which I see it gives the king, increases mine. You tell me in your last letter upon Mr. Hamilton's coming away, that if your opinion had been followed you had gone first, but if mine were, you should never go first nor last. But, alas ! I am grown so insignificant and useless to my friends, that all I can do is to pray for them, and God knows my poor prayers are worth but little. I own to you, that as weary as I am of the world, I am not yet so dead to it as not to feel the usage the king and I meet with. His troubles are more sensible to me than my own ; and if all fell only on me, and his affairs went well, and he were easy, I think I could be so too ; but we must take what God sends, and as He sends it submit ourselves entirely to His will, which I hope in His mercy He will give us grace

to do, and then in spite of the world all will turn to our good.

“You told me, in one of your former letters, that you were charmed with the king’s being a good son. What do you think, then, that I must be, that am the poor old doating mother of him? I do assure you, his kindness to me is all my support under God. And I am confirmed of late more than ever in my observation, that the better you are with him, the kinder he is to me; but I am also charmed with him for being a good master, and a true friend to those who deserve it of him, though I am sorry from my heart that you have not had so much cause of late to make experience of it.

“I say nothing to you of business, nor of Mr. Hamilton, for I write all I know to the king, and it is to no purpose to make repetitions. I expect, with some impatience, and a great deal of fear, Humphrey’s decision as to France.”

The meaning of this last sentence is whether Queen Anne and her ministers would allow the Chevalier to accept his relative’s, the Duke of Lorraine, offer of a residence in his dominions. Queen Anne in the end privately allowed her brother to remain there, although her ministers publicly protested against it.

The Earl of Middleton, who possessed a mild and reasonable temper, and whose resentment was easily appeased, suffered himself to be persuaded to remain on with the Chevalier. The queen says many obliging and encouraging things to him in a letter on business, written February 9th.

The Chevalier, with Middleton and the remainder of his suite, soon afterwards set out for Lorraine, in which Court they were most kindly received. The Duchess of Lorraine especially did her utmost to render her kinsman's stay at Bar-le-duc agreeable.

Queen Anne's health having lately begun to fail, Middleton writes to Berry to do his utmost to induce Harley to get the succession altered without delay :—

“ March 19th, 1713.

“ Your friend, Mr. Plessington (the king), read your letter to me of the 20th ultimo with a great deal of satisfaction, finding you persist still in your former opinion, that it is Baker's (Harley's) real interest, and consequently his inclination, to have Harper's (Hanover's) decree reversed. It's certain that if Aylmer (the Princess Anne) should break (die) before the cause be reheard, that Baker (Harley) is in as much danger of suffering in proportion as Manly (the king); and therefore it is reasonable to hope he should use all his endeavours to bring the

matter to a speedy issue as soon as possible he can, since delays are equally dangerous for both.

“I wish the late alarm he has had of Aylmer (the Princess Anne’s) breaking may quicken him a little for what was like to happen, when even Berry himself, in some of his last letters, had no apprehension of Aylmer’s (the Princess Anne’s) affairs being in any real danger—may happen hereafter, in effect, when least feared or expected; and in such a case no wise merchant, who has his all at stake, ought to lose a moment to ensure his effects, and make himself and his partner easy.

“I reckon Baker (Harley) is sure of Philip’s (peace) by this time, and Young (Princess Anne) and he may reckon upon Kemp’s (king’s) friendship. Wanly (the Whigs) is low at present, and they have it in their power to make him (them) lower. Wheatley (the English) has but one objection¹ against Manly (the king), which Arnot and all Cary’s true relations (the Church of England) know to be unreasonable, since all the reasonable security Cary himself can desire, to remove all fears of danger from Cotton’s partnership (the Roman Catholic religion), Manly (the king) is willing to grant.

“The old dying man Price (the Parliament) is tractable; Baker (Harley) has an ascendant over

¹ His religion.

him, and he cannot be sure of having the same credit with his successor, nor that Young (Princess Anne) himself will be then in being, and in a condition to support him. Edward's (England's) best relations speak well of Manly (the king) at present, and the generality of Wheatley's family (the English) are dissatisfied with Harper's (Hanover's) late behaviour ; but these gentlemen being changeable, their hearts may cool. All this considered, I confess I cannot see any prudent reason for Baker's (Harley's) dilatory proceedings ;¹ but he being the chiefest lawyer, and his own interest so much concerned, Manly (the king) must be governed by him, and comply with what he cannot help, and in the mean time have patience, and hope the best."

[Here follows a paragraph in which names occur for which there is no key in the whole correspondence.]

"Plessington (the king) is, God be thanked, in very good health, and receives all the friendship and kindness from the gentleman (Duke of Lorraine) in whose house he lodges at present ; but he hopes Aitkins will invite him to a better house before it be long."²

¹ He seems to have had no real intentions of furthering the Chevalier's succession. (Smollett.)

² Original Papers. This wish was never to be fulfilled.

CHAPTER VII.

Peace of Utrecht signed—Rejoicings at Chaillot—Lady Middleton's fears that the queen's prayers will injure her health—Endeavours of her Majesty to amuse her ladies—Middleton resigns his office, December 14th, 1713—Reports in consequence that the Chevalier is about to change his religion—Denies the truth of these in a letter to his mother—Anne's reason for not appointing her brother her successor—Middleton returns to St. Germain, and is appointed to the office of Great Chamberlain—Harley and Marlborough make public proof of their perfidy towards the exiled family—Lord Clermont made prisoner a second time during the rebellion of 1715—Released probably in 1717—Queen Mary Beatrice dies, 1718—Middleton's death in the following year—His sons die without issue some time after—Lady Middleton survives until 1745—The dates of her daughters' deaths.

To Mr. Lamb (Lesley).¹

“March 21st, 1713.

“MY Welsh uncle,² Josias Jenkins (the king), has always looked upon his nurse Hannah (Mr. Lesley) as

¹ Charles Lesley, Chancellor of Cloyne, in Ireland, and author of “A Short Method with Deists.” Although a fervent Protestant, he manifested the greatest devotion for the cause of the Stuarts, and followed the fortunes of the Pretender. In his old age, however, he obtained permission to return to his own country. Born about 1650, died 1772. (Beeton.)

² A Welsh uncle is a cousin.

the most necessary to him in his housekeeping, and, indeed, in all other concerns ; so he took time to consider where and in what station she might be most useful, and now his inclination has determined him to have her with him, and ordered me to tell her so, that she might take her measures for that purpose, and to sell out with convenient speed the shortest way.

“Pray speak to your friend Mr. Lilly, to indorse the bills in his custody, and lodge them with a trusty person for the use they are destined. In the mean time there is nothing to be said of our present affairs, for all directions must be suspended till we have Hannah’s informations.”¹

The Peace of Utrecht was signed March 30th, but not solemnly ratified until some weeks afterwards. A printed copy of the treaty was sent to Queen Mary Beatrice. She did not read it, as it was so bulky a document ; but told Lady Middleton to open it, who looked for what concerned her, but made no further search.

On May 5th the queen went again to Chaillot. A few days after her arrival, the abbess was obliged to tell her that a solemn *Te Deum* for the peace was appointed to be sung in their church on the day of

¹ Original Papers.

the Ascension. To this the queen only answered with a sigh, knowing that the abbess had no choice in the matter, and directly afterwards turned the conversation. On the evening of the 28th, she asked the nun who waited on her if she had looked at the paper on the chimney-piece. "I have not had courage to do so," was the answer. "Ah, well!" answered the queen, "then I must for you." She put on her spectacles, and began to read it aloud, but on reaching the fourth and fifth articles paused and said, with a sigh, "The King of France knows whether my son is unjustly styled king or not; I am sure he is more grieved at this than we can be; but hard necessity has no law. The King of France had no power to act otherwise, for the English would not have made peace on any other condition. God will take care of us: in Him we repose our destinies."

Her ladies, when they arrived on the following day, were full of the rejoicings in England. At this time the Chevalier and his suite thought it advisable to leave Bar-le-duc for a while, and go on a short visit to Luneville.

Lady Middleton, fearing that the life the queen led at Chaillot would injure her health, said angrily one day to the nuns, "The queen spends too much time in prayer at Chaillot; it is killing her. If the King of France knew the sort of life she leads here,

he would come himself, I am sure, and take her away." This speech offended the Sisters, who, looking upon Lady Middleton's words as an insult to the convent, repeated them to the queen. Mary Beatrice only smiled at the idea that the King of France should be supposed to take so much interest in her. "I do not think," she said, "that the King of France will trouble himself about my prayers, or that he is likely to interfere with my stay at Chaillot. My ladies, who like better to be at St. Germain, speak according to their own tastes, and are thinking more for themselves than for me, I doubt, in wishing to return. They may find pleasure in it; but for me, think you the life I lead at St. Germain can be very agreeable, when I am shut up alone in my cabinet every evening after supper till I go to bed, writing three or four hours? When I am here, I write in the morning, which is a relief to my eyes; there, all my time is spent among the miserable, for of such alone is my society composed. Here I have, at least, cheerful company after my meals; and if I have a moment of comfort in life it is here."

Perhaps in hopes of enlivening her ladies a little she took about this time several little walks and expeditions. One day she drove with Lady Middleton, Lady Sophia Bulkeley, and Madame Molza to the Bois de Boulogne. Lady Middleton and Lady

Sophia Bulkeley, who were perhaps too old for so much exertion, remained in the coach, while the queen and her other lady wandered about for three hours in the forest glades.

On another occasion, when they were walking *incognito* in the same place, the queen proposed, on reaching the ferry, that they should cross in the boat. Her ladies were afraid, however; so they went over the Pont Royal, and returned by the Faubourg de St. Germain. The queen, forgetting herself, saluted the *touriere* of the convent, who immediately recognized her. They ran a narrow chance on another evening of being locked out for the night. The queen was so pleased with the singing at a religious house at Long-champs which they visited, that she insisted on remaining for the evening service. This made them so late in returning, that the gates of St. Marie de Chaillot were closed for the night. Fortunately, the queen's confessor just then happened to pass, and admitted them.

The Princess of Condé, during a visit she paid, August 12th, told the queen "that she had sent a gentleman to Barr purposely to announce the recent marriages of her children to her Majesty's son; but Lord Middleton had warned her envoy that he must not address him by the title of Majesty, as his *incognito* was very strict, and this had disconcerted the gentleman so much, that he did not know what to say.

However, the prince had soon put him at his ease by the frankness of his reception."

The ladies persuaded the queen to accept the princess's invitation to visit her in her magnificent palace of *le Petit Luxembourg*; after which they went to the Ursuline convent, to see two young ladies of St. Germain, who had become professed nuns there. They took tea at the monastery of the English Benedictines, visited another religious house, and returned to Chaillot at eight.

Lady Middleton felt some uneasiness one evening because her royal mistress, who had gone to visit Madame de Maintenon at Marli, did not return until ten o'clock. She and the nuns waited for an hour at the gate; but the queen came back well, and in good spirits.

The queen returned to St. Germain in November, much to her ladies' satisfaction.

The following letter from J. Rogers is supposed to have been addressed to Lady Middleton:—

"November 8th, 1713.¹

"MADAM,

"It's with a great deal of pleasure I hear the queen is well recovered; I hope she will continue so. Last night I had a letter from London. I am given

¹ This letter seems to be wrongly dated. The next, from Lord Middleton, being apparently an answer to this, I have placed it afterwards.

to understand I shall for the future have some things worth her Majesty's notice, and as I receive it I shan't fail to let her know. The news part I shall send to M. de Torcy under the D. of Berwick's cover, but her Majesty will peruse them first, if she thinks fit.

"Mr. Netterville has been with my Lady Westmoreland.¹ He is well pleased, gives his humblest services to my lord and your ladyship. He says he has a great esteem for both. He does not doubt but he will see you at home soon, and the king in a flourishing condition; this he bids me tell your ladyship.

"Sir Richard Cantillon will take care of my letters. He advises me not to send them by post to St. Germain. He will send them by the messenger that comes from there every second day.

"Your ladyship will be pleased to give the enclosed as directed, and to acknowledge the receipt of these letters to," etc.

The Earl of Middleton to Rogers. An answer to his letter of the 24th.

"28th October, 1713.

"An old lady, sir, sent me a letter of yours, which gave me great satisfaction; and I accept of your

¹ Catherine, daughter and heiress of Thomas Stringer, Esq., and widow of Richard Beaumont, Esq.; married Thomas, sixth Earl of Westmoreland. (Burke.)

obliging offer of corresponding with you, as a means profitable to the factory. The consul (king) approves of it, and in order to that I shall send you an account (cipher) by which we may understand one another, and disappoint interlopers in some measure. But, as you observe very well, it is not certain; therefore I am to desire you to inquire at the Scotch College, on the *fossé* St. Victor, for l'Abbé Innes, who has lately come from hence, and *speake* to him of all our concerns, with the same freedom as if you were here: and he being to return hither in a short time you may consign to him what paper you judge necessary for the consul's perusal, by whose order I tell you this; and he bids me thank you for the good you have done, and doubts not but you will continue to do so."

This seems to be the last of Lord Middleton's letters which has been preserved. In December he resigned his office, considering probably that it would prove conducive to the Chevalier's interests to be surrounded only with members of the Church of England at this time.

Mr. Nairne writes to Berry, December 14th, 1713, "to tell him that my Lord Middleton having begged his Majesty's leave to lay down the Seals, the king had given them to Sir Thomas Higgins, and desired that Berry should hereafter correspond with him."

At the same time Nairne also relinquished his post of Under Secretary.¹

The resignation of the only Roman Catholic of the Chevalier's suite occasioned the report that that prince intended shortly to change his religion; but that this was utterly without foundation is proved by a paper preserved amongst the records of Chaillot in the queen's handwriting:—

“ Extract of a letter from the king, my son, written by him to me in English, the 30th of December, 1713.

“ I doubt not that the reports, positive and circumstantial as they are, which are in circulation, of my having changed my religion, have reached you; but you know me too well to be alarmed; and I can assure you that, with the grace of God, you will sooner see me dead than out of the Church.”

The queen adds a postscript expressing a hope that God would enable her son to persevere in his resolution.²

It seems certain that Anne would have appointed her brother as her successor at any moment, had he but consented to change his religion. “ But what would you have me do? ” she said, when warmly urged by the Duke of Buckingham. “ You know, as the law stands, a Papist cannot inherit the crown, and

¹ Original Papers.

² Chaillot MSS.

therefore any will I may make will be all to no purpose. The law gives all to Hanover; and therefore I had better do that with a good grace which I cannot help. He may thank himself for it. He knows I always loved him better than the Elector."

"You see," she remarked on another occasion, "he" (meaning her brother) "does not take the least step to oblige me. I have no reason to think he values me or my kingdom, therefore I shall give it to the Elector of Hanover."¹

Middleton returned to St. Germain, where he was appointed the queen's Great Chamberlain.²

December 13th, Queen Anne signed a warrant for paying the first and only instalment of her dower that her stepmother ever received. After this, both Mary Beatrice and Middleton felt more confidence in Harley's sincerity; but he was soon to stand confessed in his true character. If he had ever any real intentions of furthering the Chevalier's succession, he soon relinquished all idea of doing so, probably from dread of the danger he might incur by acting thus. Afterwards he seemed bent on displaying his zeal for the house of Hanover. This wavering conduct proved destructive to his own interests, for he lost the confidence of one party without gaining the good

¹ Stuart Papers.

² He is so styled in the description of the queen's funeral preserved among the archives of France.

opinion of the other. The Jacobite mob threw halters into his coach as he went to proclaim George I., and that monarch, soon after his accession, caused him to be impeached for high treason, for carrying on a secret correspondence with the Court of St. Germain.¹

Marlborough likewise made a public parade of his perfidy, by entering London in state, attended by hundreds of gentlemen on horseback, and some of the nobility in their coaches, followed by the City trained bands. His object in so doing was to intimidate the enemies of the Protestant succession. His coach broke down near Temple Bar, much to the satisfaction of the Jacobites.

Louis XIV.'s death, September 1st, 1715, occurred at a very inauspicious moment for the Chevalier—just after he had entered into serious engagements to aid him in possessing himself of the throne of Great Britain.² Lord Clermont was taken prisoner in Flanders by Colonel Stern's regiment, which was quartered at Ghent; and he and a Mr. Murray, who, under the name of Gordon, had lately been with the Earl of Mar, were brought to London about November 29th. Lord Clermont was committed to the Tower, and Mr. Murray to Newgate.³

In 1717 an Act of Indemnity was passed in favour

¹ Lord Mahon.

² Lemontey's *Histoire de la Régence*; Duc de Berwick.

³ Rapin; Thoyras; *History of England*, by W. Tindal.

of the prisoners implicated in the late rebellion, from which a few persons were excepted. As Lord Clermont's name does not appear amongst these, it is probable that he was released at this time, and returned to France.¹

Queen Mary Beatrice was attacked with her last illness in April, 1718. Her chamber was crowded with representatives of the many different nations of which the inhabitants of St. Germain's were composed, whom she had always assisted to the utmost of her power, and who truly mourned her loss. Lady Middleton and her other ladies seemed nearly inconsolable. The queen's last breath was spent in serving them. She sent an earnest petition to the Regent Orleans, entreating that pensions for her attendants might be provided out of the fund which had been set apart for her maintenance by the Court of France. As they had no other home but St. Germain's, having relinquished everything for their sovereign's sake, she asked that they might be allowed to retain the apartments they now occupied. The regent, being neither devoid of good-nature nor generosity, granted her request. The queen died between seven and eight in the morning of May 7th, in the 60th year of her age.²

¹ Smollett.

² Chaillot Records; Stuart Papers in the archives of France.

As she had bequeathed her heart to the convent of Chaillot, the Governor of St. Germain, by order of the Regent, caused it to be delivered to the Superior and her *religieuses* by the late queen's almoner, the Abbé Ingleton,¹ in the presence of her ladies of honour, Lord Middleton,² etc.

Middleton only survived his royal mistress until the following year,³ when he died at about the age of seventy-nine. His wife, however, lived six and twenty years longer, until 1745. "She lived long enough to exult," says Miss Strickland, in a note to her biography of Mary Beatrice of Modena, "in her ninety-seventh year, in the news of the triumphant entrance of the grandson of James II. and Mary Beatrice, Charles Edward Stuart, into Edinburgh, in 1745, and died in the fond delusion that a new restoration of the Stuarts was about to take place in England." Douglas says, however, that she died at St. Germain, 11th March, 1743, in her ninety-fifth year.

"Lord Middleton's two sons," says Grainger in his "Biographical History," "died some time after their father, without issue." The direct male line thus be-

¹ Father Innes had been dismissed from his office, because he had translated wrongly some parts of a letter of the Chevalier's, in hopes of benefiting his Church.

² Official Certificate of the Governor of St. Germain; Attestation of Father Ingleton in the archives of France.

³ Grainger

came extinct ; but the titles, which had been granted to all male heirs whatsoever, bearing the surname and arms of Middleton, would have passed, had they not been forfeited, to Dr. George Middleton, Principal of King's College, Aberdeen, eldest son of Dr. Alexander Middleton, brother of the first Earl—or, should his decease have preceded those of the earl's sons, to his eldest surviving son, Brigadier-General John Middleton, of Seaton.

Lady Elizabeth, eldest daughter of the Earl and Countess of Middleton, who married Edward Drummond, third son of James Duke of Perth, was styled after the death of her husband's two elder brothers, Duchess of Perth. She died in Paris at an advanced age, after 1773. Leaving no issue, the Dukedom of Perth became extinct.

Of Lady Mary or Catherine Gifford there seems to be no further record.

The Countess de la Roches, or Rothe, probably (*la belle* Middleton), died in Paris, 10th January, 1763, aged seventy-eight.¹

The descendants of many members of Mary Beatrice's household continued to inhabit the Chateau of St. Germain's until the French Revolution, when they were driven from their shelter. All that time the room in which the queen died was kept in exactly

¹ Douglas ; Burke.

the same state as it had been during her life. "Her toilet table, with its costly plate and ornaments, the gift of Louis XIV., was set out daily, as if for her use, with the four wax candles in the gilt candlesticks ready to light, just as if her return had been expected."

An old lady, who had visited St. Germain in her youth, gave Miss Strickland these particulars concerning the castle and its inhabitants:—"I was a very young girl when I saw the Castle of St. Germain: there were apartments there still occupied by the descendants of King James's household. . . . The state-rooms were kept up, and I remember being struck with the splendour of the silver ornaments on the toilet of the queen. At the French Revolution all was plundered and destroyed."¹

It is impossible to read the Earl of Middleton's letters without giving him credit for many wise and estimable qualities. The worst charge brought against him—that, having been abridged of his pension by the French Court, on account of his declaring against restoring the king by a foreign power, he abandoned "the religion which had till then been the cause of his misfortunes," to obtain a sorry subsistence of £100 a year—cannot be said to be proved.²

¹ Miss Strickland's *Life of Mary Beatrice of Modena*.

² Oldmixon.

However much we may deplore his entering the Church of Rome, we will rather believe Nairne and Marlborough, that James's dying exhortations made a serious impression upon his mind, and induced him to adopt the faith held by those persons whom he had most reason to regard with reverence.

THE DESCENDANTS OF
ALEXANDER MIDDLETON, D.D.,
PRINCIPAL OF KING'S COLLEGE, ABERDEEN,
AND BROTHER OF
JOHN, FIRST EARL OF MIDDLETON.

THE DESCENDANTS OF
ALEXANDER MIDDLETON, D.D.

GEORGE MIDDLETON, eldest son of Alexander Middleton, D.D., Principal of King's College, Aberdeen, was baptized, as has already been said, February 25th, 1645. He married about 1669, at the age of twenty-four, Janet, daughter of James Gordon, of Seaton, in the county of Aberdeen, who could have been then only seventeen, as the register of her baptism bears date 28th March, 1652. George Middleton, who adopted his father's profession, was appointed minister of Glamis in 1670, which living was in the gift of the Earl of Strathmore, the husband of his cousin, Lady Helen Middleton. He was made Regent of King's College in 1674, afterwards Sub-Principal; and on his father's resignation, in 1681, he succeeded him as Principal. "He was a man of singular life and conversation, of great learning, and qualified to be a principal in any university in the kingdom." He

held his office until 1717, when he was removed by a royal visitation.

His death occurred in his eighty-second year. The date of his burial is 28th May, 1726.

Janet, his wife, survived him twenty-six years. She was interred in the burial place of the family of Seaton, January 17th, 1753, at which time she must have reached the age of 101. Dr. George Middleton's portrait is likewise preserved in the University of Aberdeen.

His issue are thus entered in the register of Aberdeen—

1. Patrick, baptized 22nd November, 1670.
2. James, 31st January, 1674.
3. Margaret, 3rd June, 1675.
4. Thomas, 21st June, 1677.
5. John, 27th September, 1678.
6. Patrick, 14th March, 1680.
7. Charles, 10th December, 1681.
8. George, 25th June, 1683.
9. Elizabeth, 20th September, 1685.
10. William, 10th June, 1687.
11. Janet, 31st January, 1690.
12. Robert, 16th February, 1693.
13. Thomas, 26th November, 1695.

The first four children probably died young, as there seems no further record concerning them.

John, fourth son, and fifth child, baptized 27th September, 1678, became an officer in the army. He married, about 1712, Miss Elizabeth Cunningham, by whom he had issue—

1. John, baptised 25th March, 1713, who died before his father.

2. George, baptized 11th July, 1714.

3. Janet, baptized 31st July, 1717.

John Middleton was chosen Member of Parliament for the borough of Aberdeen at the general election of 1713, and sat until his death, twenty-six years afterwards.¹ August 1st, 1714, he signed the proclamation of his Majesty George I., at St. James's.² In 1715 he purchased the lands of Seyton, or Seaton, in the shire of Aberdeen, which had belonged to his maternal grandfather, Gordon of Seaton, from Mr. James Fife, who bought them from Mr. Gordon.³ On October 15th of this year, Colonel Middleton is especially mentioned as accompanying the Duke of Argyle, then Commander-in-chief, with other officers and gentlemen unnamed, to the camp of Stirling, with the intention of frustrating the supposed intention of the Earl of Mar to cross the Forth at the bridge.⁴

¹ Macpherson ; Search in the Records.

² Peter Rae's History of the Rebellion.

³ Search in the Records.

⁴ Peter Rae's History of the Rebellion.

A royal charter, dated February 13th, 1721, granted the lands of Seaton to Colonel John Middleton, his heirs and assigns. He was appointed to the command of the 25th Regiment of Foot, 17th June, 1725; and to the 13th Regiment of Foot, 29th May, 1732. On 21st March, 1733, he had another charter of the estate before mentioned, and other lands, which were erected into the Barony of Seaton in favour of himself, in life-rent; and after his decease, to George Middleton, his son, and his heirs, whom failing, to the nearest heirs of the said Colonel John Middleton whatsoever. After this he was styled Middleton of Seaton. Colonel Middleton lost his wife in 1734. She was buried in Aberdeen, April 17th. The rank of Brigadier-General was bestowed on him in 1735. He was also Governor of Holy Island.

July 26th, 1738, another charter under the Great Seal was taken out by Brigadier-General Middleton of Seytoun to himself in life-rent, and Mr. George Middleton, advocate, his son, in fee of the lands of Fettercairn¹ and a variety of other lands. The titles narrated and confirmed in this charter show that the lands therein contained originally belonged to the first Earl of Middleton, and after his death were adjudged by several creditors. It appears that the

¹ Jervoise says that he changed the name of the estates from Middleton to Fettercairn. (Memorials of Angus and Mearns.)

Earl of Strathmore purchased these debts, and afterwards conveyed them to General Middleton, who then took out this charter to the whole lands. It is probable that he had some hopes of succeeding to the earldom. General Middleton of Seaton died 1739, at the age of sixty-one.

George Middleton of Seaton and Fettercairn, his only surviving child, was admitted a member of the Faculty of Advocates in 1734. He married, September, 1736, Lady Diana Gray, daughter of Harry, third Earl of Stamford; and had by her a son George, who died in infancy, and was buried at Aberdeen, 30th January, 1746. George Middleton conveyed to his wife the lands of Seaton and some other lands. He died 11th August, 1772, in his fifty-ninth year, leaving no surviving issue.

Lady Diana Middleton, on the 10th December, 1776, took out a charter of the lands conveyed to her by her late husband, in favour of herself and her heirs and assigns whatsoever. She died 14th January, 1780.

The estates were after her death sold by her heirs, and those of her late husband's.¹ Fettercairn House was purchased by Sir John Stuart, Bart.² His only

¹ Thomas Gordon's letters to Sir C. Middleton in Appendix.

² Statistical Account of Scotland, in the British Museum.

child and heiress, Williamina, married 19th January, 1797, Sir William Forbes, seventh baronet, of Pitsligo, co. Aberdeen. The lands are now held by Lord Clinton (who married the only daughter of the late Sir John Stuart Forbes), in trust for his son. The original part of the building bears the date 1666, and the initials of John, Earl of Middleton.¹ It is said in the "Statistical Account of Scotland," that the estates of Fettercairn House and Balbegno Castle seem formerly to have been called Middleton, and were possessed by a person of that name in the twenty-fourth year of the reign of Alexander III. These were, therefore, probably the original Middleton estates, from which the surname was derived.²

Patrick, sixth child and fifth son, or as stated by his son, Major-General Patrick Middleton, the seventh son of Dr. George Middleton, was born at Old Aberdeen, March 8th, 1680, and christened by Patrick Sibbald, Professor of Divinity in the Mareschal College (Patrick, Bishop of Aberdeen, being his godfather). He left Scotland June 21st, 1693, to go to Poland, where he married Susannah Moer, July 29th, 1706, and had fifteen children, of whom only

¹ Burke; Jervoise.

² Jervoise says that it is stated, in a charter dated 1519, that Gilbert Middleton and Agnes Lauder, his wife, held the Temple Lands of Middleton, Fettercairn, and Benholm.

three were living in 1779. Patrick Middleton died at Cracow, in 1771, aged ninety-one.

His children who survived infancy seem to have been—

1. Patrick, who gave this account of his family in Warsaw, October 6th, 1779.
2. Anna, married to M. Zeleuski.
3. Susannah, married to M. Meszkouski (they had several children); and two unmarried daughters—
4. Sophia.
5. Elizabeth.

Patrick Middleton, the son, was born November 12th, 1712, and became major-general in the Polish service. He married in Silesia, July 6th, 1755, Janet de Seher. Three of his children were living in 1779:—

1. Patrick Middleton, born 26th November, 1758.
2. Alexander George Middleton, born September, 1762.
3. Susannah, born 11th February, 1764.¹

There seems to be no further record of the five following children of Dr. George Middleton, Principal of King's College.

Robert Middleton, the ninth son and twelfth child,

¹ Major-General Patrick Middleton's account of his family, October 6th, 1779.

baptized 16th February, 1693, commanded for some time one of the king's revenue yachts. In July, 1731, he received the appointment of Collector of the Customs at Inverness. In February, 1734, he filled the same post at Dundee, and afterwards at Borrow-touness. He married Helen, daughter of Captain Charles Dundas, youngest son of Sir James Dundas of Armiston. The wife of Captain Charles Dundas (mother to Mrs. Robert Middleton) was Helen, only daughter of George Dundas, youngest son of Dundas of Kincavel, and grandson of Sir Walter Dundas of Dundas.

Robert Middleton and Helen his wife had two sons and two daughters:—

1. George.
2. Charles, afterwards Lord Barham.
3. Helen, married to Captain Wight.
4. Janet, died unmarried.

George Middleton, the eldest son, served for some time as a captain in the Scots Brigade in the service of Holland, after which he succeeded his maternal uncle, Dr. James Dundas (a physician in Edinburgh, of remarkable talent and worth), in the estate of Mosshall, in West Lothian. He died Comptroller of the Customs at Leith, in 1794.

By his wife, Elizabeth Wilson, daughter of George

Wilson, Esq., of Stottencleugh, he had the following issue who survived infancy :—

1. Robert Gambier.

2. Charles, a lieutenant in the Royal Navy, died unmarried in India.

3. Helen, married Roderick Macleod, D.D., rector of Weeley, Essex, and afterwards for many years of St. Anne's, Westminster, who had a numerous issue.

4. Janet, married to John Tomson, Esq., his Majesty's Naval Storekeeper at Leith, had issue one daughter.

5. Wilhelmina, died unmarried.

Robert Gambier Middleton, eldest son, was born at Leith, in November, 1774. He was adopted by his uncle, Lord Barham, and entered the navy at the age of twelve. He served as lieutenant on board the *Victory*, and under Lord Howe. Became a post-captain 11th August, 1794. On 3rd January, 1799, the *Flora*, Captain Middleton, and *Caroline*, Captain Pierrepont, chased and captured *L'Argus*, a privateer of Bordeaux, off Cape Finisterre. In 1804, he married Susannah Maria, daughter of John Martin Leake, Esq., of Thorpe Hall, Essex, Comptroller of Army Accounts, and sister of Colonel William Martin Leake, F.R.S.A., by whom (who died in 1830) he had a numerous issue.

In 1805 Captain Middleton received the appointment of Commissioner of the Navy at Gibraltar from Lord Barham, then First Lord of the Admiralty, which office he held for three years. In 1808 he was made Commissioner of the Navy Board at Somerset House; and in 1830, Storekeeper-General of the Navy. Retired on attaining the rank of Rear-Admiral, 9th June, 1832. Died at Moor House, Limpsfield, Surrey, August 21st, 1837.

His issue were—

1. George } died in infancy.
2. Robert }
3. Charles John.
4. Diana, married Rev. Edward Reed Davies, Rector of Cathedine, Brecknockshire; has issue one daughter.
5. Robert, died in infancy.
6. William, colonel in 17th Madras Native Infantry, married Harriet Theophila, daughter of W. Stirling, Esq., of the Indian Civil Service, and has surviving issue one son and four daughters; one son and one daughter died in infancy.
7. Alexander, twin with the foregoing, a clerk in the Admiralty, married Elizabeth, daughter of Richard Neave, Esq., Secretary to the Royal Hospital, Chelsea. Died 1846, leaving issue two sons and one daughter; one son died in childhood.

8. Mary Susannah, married Rev. Frederick Biscoe, Vicar of Turkdean, near Northleach, Gloucestershire. Has surviving issue two sons and four daughters; three daughters deceased.

9. John George, L.L.D.

10. Robert, died in infancy.

11. Helen, died in infancy.

12. George, in her Majesty's Court of Probate, married Mary Woolston, daughter of Rear-Admiral Sir John Marshall, K.C.B.; has issue one son and one daughter.

Charles John Middleton, Esq., eldest son, formerly a proctor in Doctors Commons, now Principal Registrar of her Majesty's Court of Probate, married Catherine Anne, daughter of the Rev. Clement Strong, Rector of Gedney, Lincolnshire, and has issue—

1. Clement Alexander.

2. Oswald Robert, captain in 4th (King's Own), 1st Battalion.

3. Emily Augusta.

Gerard William Noel and a daughter died in infancy.

Clement Alexander Middleton, Esq., eldest son, formerly judge in the Indian Civil Service, now barrister-at-law, married, firstly, Edith, daughter of

Rev. Canon Melvill, Rector of Barnes, Surrey, who died without issue ; and, secondly, Helen, daughter of Noel Harris, Esq. Issue in 1875, by second marriage :—

1. Edith.
2. Gambier.
3. Leila.
4. Noel.

Charles, younger son of Robert Middleton, grandson of Principal George Middleton, and brother to George Middleton of Mosshall, was born at Leith, in 1726. He was appointed lieutenant in his Majesty's navy in 1745 ; and after having commanded *The Speaker* and *Barbadoes*, sloops of war, was raised to the rank of post-captain, 22nd May, 1758, and appointed to the *Arundel*. In 1751 he commanded the *Emerald* on the West Indian station, where he distinguished himself so much, by his unwearied activity in the destruction of the enemy's cruisers and the protection of the trade of those colonies, that the Assembly of Barbadoes voted him a gold-hilted sword, as a token of their esteem and gratitude.

In December of this year he married Margaret, daughter of James Gambier, Esq., counsellor-at-law, and one of the counsel to the city of London, the grandson of Nicholas Gambier, Esq., who fled from

France on the revocation of the Edict of Nantes ; which James Gambier was the grandfather of Samuel Gambier, Esq., one of the Commissioners of the Navy, and of Admiral Lord Gambier.

In the long peace which succeeded, Captain Middleton had the command of the *Ardent* guard-ship at Chatham.

In 1778, on the breaking out of the French war, he was removed from the *Ardent* into the *Prince George*, and from thence into the *Royal Oak*, and was about to be employed in active service in the *Jupiter* (the first two-decked ship that had been coppered), when Captain Suckling, the uncle of Lord Nelson, dying, he was appointed to succeed him as Comptroller of the Navy. The duties of this important situation he discharged for twelve years with credit to himself and advantage to the nation. "As a proof thereof, on the day when the preliminaries of peace were signed in Paris, in January, 1783, there were on the stocks, or in the progress of building, no less than forty-two ships of the line—a number unparalleled in any former period."

October 23rd, 1781, he was created a baronet, and in 1784 was returned Member of Parliament for the city of Rochester. In 1786 he was appointed first Commissioner of the Board for inquiring into the state of the woods, forests, and land revenues of the

Crown, which commission published their seventeenth and last report in 1793. In 1787 Sir Charles Middleton was raised 'to the rank of Rear Admiral, but continued Comptroller of the Navy until 1790, when he voluntarily resigned.

In 1794 he was again called into active life, and appointed one of the Lords of the Admiralty, which situation he resigned in October, 1795, in disappointment at the rejection of some favourite plans of his. On the appointment of Mr. Pitt to office in 1804, Sir Charles Middleton was consulted both by that minister and by Lord Melville, then first Lord of the Admiralty (to whom he was related through his mother, Helen Dundas), on various matters connected with the naval service; and in January, 1805, he was appointed first Commissioner of the Board instituted for revising and digesting the civil affairs of the navy.

On the resignation of Lord Melville, in 1805, Mr. Pitt gave a further proof of his confidence in the tried integrity and talents of Sir Charles, by recommending him to the king as his successor. He was accordingly, soon afterwards (3rd May, 1805), appointed to that office, sworn of his Majesty's Most Honourable Privy Council, and raised to the peerage by the title of Baron Barham of Barham Court and Teston, in the county of Kent.

In this exalted situation, Lord Barham was enabled both to realize his own plans, and to carry out the judicious arrangements begun by his predecessor. The period during which he remained in office, although of short duration—the administration being dissolved nine months afterwards, by the death of Mr. Pitt—was more brilliant than any other in the annals of Great Britain, being distinguished by the victories obtained by Sir Robert Calder, Lord Nelson, Sir Richard Strachan, and Sir John Duckworth, during which the enemy were deprived of thirty-one sail of the line, five frigates, and five corvettes. On account of the meritorious and active measures of Lord Barham, Lord Nelson was provided with more vessels than he had demanded as necessary. To the reliance of the latter, on receiving the succours promised, the glorious battle of Trafalgar may, indeed, in great measure be attributed. It was owing to this confidence that he sent part of his fleet to Tetuan Bay, which circumstance encouraged the combined fleets to venture out to sea.

Mr. Pitt, during the last hours of his life, was heard to express great satisfaction with this period of the administration, which had afforded him the greatest consolation under the disastrous events to which the fatal battle of Austerlitz gave rise.

Lord Barham died at his seat near Maidstone

upon the evening of Thursday, 17th of June, 1813, at the advanced age of eighty-seven, in the full possession of all his faculties, and having retained his usual good health until within a few days of his death.¹

His only child, Diana, succeeded her father as Baroness Barham in her own right. She married, in 1780, Gerard Noel Edwards, Esq., who assumed on the death of his maternal uncle, Henry, last Earl of Gainsborough, the name and arms of Noel only. On him the baronetcy granted to Lord Barham in 1781 devolved. Lady Barham had issue ten sons and five daughters. Among the Middleton papers is a pedigree showing the descent of her issue, on their father's side, from Edward III., King of England.

Lady Barham died 12th April, 1823, and was succeeded in the title by her eldest son, Charles Noel, who was created 16th August, 1841, Baron Noel, Viscount Campden, and Earl of Gainsborough.

His lordship dying 10th June, 1866, was succeeded by his eldest son, Charles George, the present Earl of Gainsborough, Viscount Campden, Baron Barham, Baron Noel, and a Baronet of Great Britain.²

¹ Search in the Records.

² Burke's Peerage.

APPENDIX.

THIS further account of the pillar at Fettercairn is taken from the "Statistical Account of Scotland" in the British Museum.

The pillar is octagonal in form, and bears the date 1670. It rises about seven feet "above a mass of building composed of six concentric circles or circular steps." "An iron rivet is still seen on one side, to which the 'jugs,' the old instruments of torture in Scotland, appear from the marks on the stone to have been suspended." The initials, coronet, and coat of arms of John, Earl of Middleton, appear on the capitol. The pillar is supposed to have been the cross of the old town of Kincardine, the remains of which can still be traced on the Fettercairn estate.

The two following letters are from Thomas Gordon, who seems to have filled some office at King's College, Aberdeen, to Lord Barham (then Sir Charles Middleton):—

“King’s Coll., Dec^r 12th, 1781.

“MY DEAR SIR,

“It is with sincerest pleasure that I congratulate with you, on occasion of the honour his Majesty has been pleased to confer upon you,¹ and of your having become a Grandfather as well as myself. I wish and pray from the heart that you may be long preserved in the ‘sweets of domestic felicity’ and the enjoyment of the reward of your useful services. Not chusing to break in unnecessarily upon one so much engaged in important business, I have not wrote you concerning Lady D.’s² matters since sending you a state of them, as drawn up by the Trustees, when I went to Edinburgh last summer. Soon after the house in Nicolson St. was sold at the reduced price of £1000. Upon my telling the Trustees that you declined purchasing Holy Island, it was offered to Mr. Archibald Scott, who also declined. Then the Trustees applied to Mr. R. Fall, of Dunbar, who has the lease now: an agreement has been made for one thousand guineas. I persuade myself fondly that it will meet with your approbation, as it has done with that of the other residuary Legatees.

“We are preparing matters for the sale of Fettercairn. The tachs agreed to in Lady Di’s lifetime, but not granted before her death, are now subscribed by the Trustees, so that the Estate is on the Eve of being sold. I shall take care that it (Fettercairn) be advertized in the English Newspapers, and remain y^r obed^t Servant,

“THOMAS GORDON.”

¹ He was created a baronet October 23rd, 1781.

² Lady Diana Middleton, the widow of Sir C. Middleton’s cousin, George Middleton, advocate.

Second letter from Thomas Gordon to Sir C. Middleton.

“ King’s Coll., Augth 18th, 1789.

“ DEAR SIR,

“ Mr. Scott Usan has been here. We visited the burying ground together, and are of opinion that it does not admit of division. This is no parochial church, and was not built by the Heritors of the Ground, nor ever cost them a sixpence for repairs. It is the Cathedral Church built by our venerable Bishops, partly from their own revenues and from the contributions of sovereigns and nobility at home and abroad. The Church Yard is wholly occupied by the burying places of the Bishops and Dignitaries of the Cathedral, the Principals and Professors of the College, and the inhabitants of Old Aberdeen, who were the Vassals and dependants of the Bishops. By Act of Parliament the Principal was, in the times of Episcopacy, Dean of the Cathedral, and therefore it was peculiarly proper that your Venerable Grandfather and Great Grandfather¹ should have their place of Sepulture there.

“ Your brother, the Comptroller, has been here some days, on a visit to his daughter and son-in-law, and their pleasant young family. I carried him to see the burying ground, and he approved your idea of a plain piece of marble—your Father’s name, with the date of his birth, and burial.

“ Mr. Scott proposes to club with you a third, for your cousin Mr. Middleton,² in whose fortune he shares equal with you.

¹ Dr. Alexander Middleton was buried in the church, at the east side of the pulpit.

² George Middleton, advocate

“Allow me to mention my regard and good opinion of Mr. McLeod, your niece’s husband. He supports the character of a clergyman with the strictest propriety, and is most acceptable to his congregation. Mrs. McLeod and he live most happily together.

“You are pleased to express your approbation of my notes of family history. I have now put into your brother’s hands a fuller and more distinct memorandum of the families of the two worthy Principals. I am making out what you will esteem as a more excellent memorial of your Grandfather, Dr. George Middleton—I mean a memorial of his piety and fervent devotion. I have in my hands a small MS. in his own handwriting, 126 pages of small octavo. I can read it, but I doubt if others not accustomed to the writing of our ancestors c^d do it without mistake. Our Schoolmaster, who writes a distinct hand, shall make a copy for you under my own Eye. When I am in Edin^h I shall see to some plain memorial over Lady Diana’s grave.

“Y^r aff. humble servant,

“THO^s GORDON.”

October, 1875.

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