



FOREIGN OFFICE

NÉGOCIATIONS  
DE  
M. LE COMTE D'AVAUX  
EN IRLANDE  
(1689-90)

SUPPLEMENTARY VOLUME

EDITED BY  
JAMES HOGAN

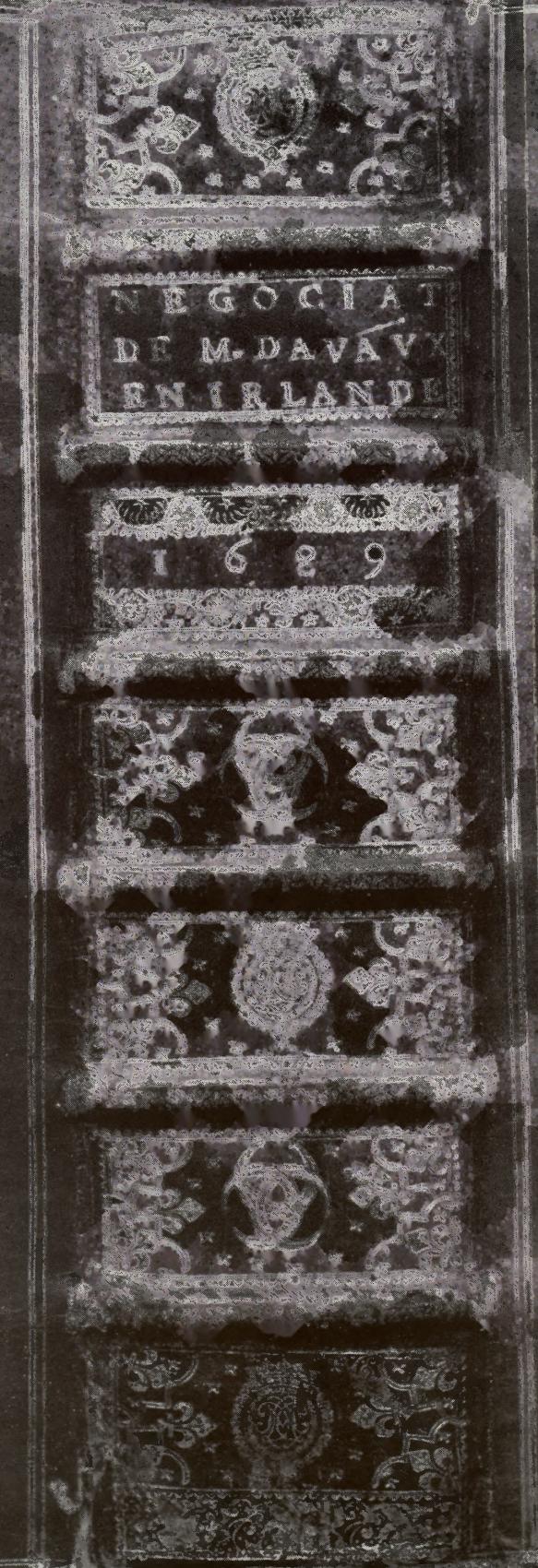
WITH INDEXES BY  
LILIAN TATE



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FOR THE  
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1958



FOREIGN OFFICE



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## PLATE

Binding of F.O. 95/575. Reproduced by kind permission of the Deputy Keeper of the Public Records, Public Record Office, London



## INTRODUCTION

### I

The present supplementary volume consists mainly of an Index to the reflex facsimile reproduction of the *Négociations de M. le Comte d'Avaux en Irlande*, 1689-90, published by the Irish Manuscripts Commission in 1934. Preceding the Index is printed supplementary correspondence in two parts. Part A consists of thirty letters or reports emanating from the Comte d'Avaux in the course of his mission in Ireland as Ambassador and paymaster to James II; and part B of six letters addressed to the Count during the same period. None of these documents are included in the published *Négociations*, though some are addenda to documents printed there. The Indexes are mainly the work of Miss Lilian Tate, M.A., who has also transcribed the letters from photostats and microfilms, and prepared them for press. The spelling has been left unchanged.

Reference should be made here to six letters from d'Avaux to the Earl of Tyrconnel, published by the Marquis MacSwiney from the Tyrconnel Papers in the National Library of Ireland<sup>1</sup>; and also to a letter from Tyrconnel to d'Avaux published in *Analecta Hibernica*<sup>2</sup>.

With the addition of the thirty-six documents in the present supplement, the publication of the d'Avaux Irish correspondence is likely to be nearly complete. It has been thought convenient to number these documents in Roman characters, and to prefix a list of contents, indicating the provenance of each. All but four are published for the first time. These letters, dated the 6th and 7th of March and the 17th April, 1689, are printed in *Les Derniers Stuarts à Saint-Germain en Laye*,<sup>3</sup> a work in two tomes, now very scarce, which was published by the Marquise Campana de Cavelli in Paris in 1871. The two letters of the 6th and the letter of the 7th March are now printed<sup>4</sup> from the texts in the French archives. As it has not been found possible to trace the original

<sup>1</sup> MacSwiney, Marquis, *Some Unpublished Letters of the Count d'Avaux in the National Library of Ireland*, Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy, 1931-32, Vol. XL. Section C.V.

<sup>2</sup> Tate, Lilian, *Letter-Book of Richard Talbot, Earl of Tyrconnell*, Analecta Hibernica, No. 4 [1932], pp. 124-5.

<sup>3</sup> Campana de Cavelli, Marquise, *Les Derniers Stuarts à Saint-Germain en Laye*, t. ii. pp. 561-562, 567, 585-586.

<sup>4</sup> See I, II, IV.

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of the letter of the 17th April, addressed to the King, it is reprinted<sup>1</sup> from *Les Derniers Stuarts à Saint-Germain en Laye*.

We cannot be sure of the addresses of fourteen of the letters, seven from the archives of the *Ministère des Affaires Étrangères*, and seven from the archives of the *Ministère de la Guerre* (the latter now deposited in the *Archives Nationales*), since they bear no address other than the preliminary Monsieur occurring in the text. According to the practice followed in the original correspondence of d'Avaux and other French officials, the writer's signature appears at the foot of the letter, usually with the place and date of writing, though occasionally the latter details appear at the top. In clerks' copies the procedure is not uniform. The signature, place, and date of writing may be reproduced as they are in the originals, or transferred to the margins, or partly omitted, as in the case of a letter or entry book having a table of contents and addresses. In both originals and copies, although the addressee's name is usually given, his place of address is usually absent. We take it that the address was written in full on the sealed packet in which the letter, or bundle of letters, was dispatched.

An enquiry to the keeper of the *Archives des Affaires Étrangères* has elicited that in none of the seven letters in question do the names of d'Avaux's correspondents appear anywhere. Nor are they to be found in any list or table of contents. We are not, however, without some indication as to whom they were written. In the 1870's Armand Baschet, one of the most distinguished archivists of his time, and the author of *Histoire du Dépot des Archives des Affaires Étrangères* (Paris, 1875), made a collection of transcripts of diplomatic documents from these archives for the Public Record Office, London.<sup>2</sup> They include a number of transcripts of the Irish letters of d'Avaux, ten of which are not printed in the *Négociations*. From this it was evident that the *Négociations* did not comprise the whole of his Irish correspondence, and that we could expect to find some further unpublished letters in the *Dépot*.

These ten letters are printed here from the originals in the *Dépot* from which M. Baschet made his transcripts. There is no difficulty as regards three of them. These are addressed to the King, beginning with *Sire* and referring to *Vostre Majesté*. In the transcripts of the remaining seven in the Record Office, M. Baschet gives the name of the addressee in each case as

<sup>1</sup> XVI.

<sup>2</sup> Deputy Keeper's 39th Report, pp. 770-771.

M. de Croissy, but within square brackets, from which it is clear that the originals did not contain addresses. M. Baschet must have had some reason for the ascription, and in view of his unrivalled knowledge of the archives in the *Dépot*, we may accept his identification of M. de Croissy as d'Avaux's correspondent. The Marquis de Croissy, as secretary of state for foreign affairs, dealt with the King's correspondence, but under his immediate supervision. Many of the letters in the *Négociations* between M. d'Avaux and M. de Croissy contain but a few lines of formal greetings, accompanying the full letters of the same dates to or from the King.

We are more at a loss as regards the seven letters from the *Ministère de la Guerre*, but their preservation there suggests that they were intended for the Minister of War, M. de Louvois to whom so considerable a part of the correspondence of the *Négociations* is addressed. In the circumstances we have adopted the names of M. de Croissy and M. de Louvois as d'Avaux's correspondents in the fourteen unaddressed letters.

In the Introduction to the facsimile of the *Négociations*, published for the Irish Manuscripts Commission in 1934, the present writer mistakenly attributed the documents of the d'Avaux correspondence, printed in the *Négociations*, to the archives of the *Ministère des Affaires Étrangères* at the Quai d'Orsay; and it is his first duty to correct this mistake. The fact is that the correspondence was printed from volume F.O. 95/575 of the large collection of d'Avaux papers which was transferred early in the present century from the Foreign Office to the Public Record Office<sup>1</sup>.

## II

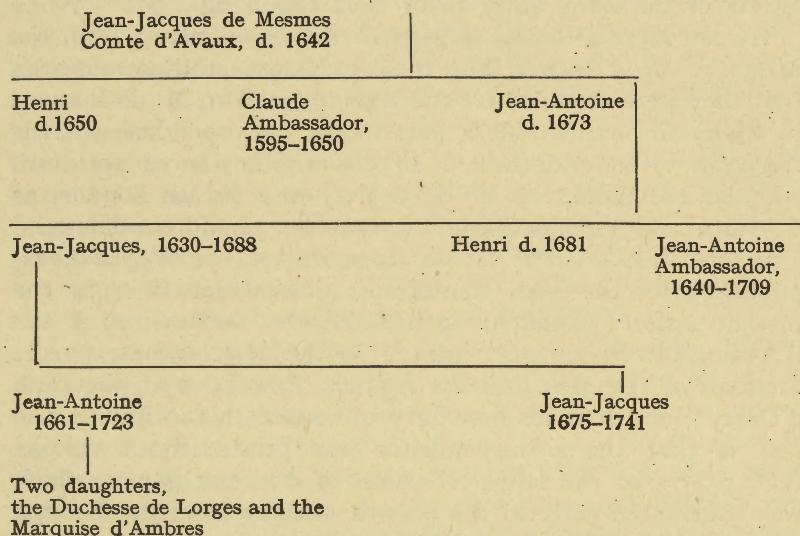
Jean-Antoine de Mesmes, Comte d'Avaux, Marquis de Givry, was a younger son of Jean Antoine de Mesmes, Comte d'Avaux, and himself nephew of another distinguished diplomatist, Claude de Mesmes, 1595–1650. He was born in 1640, and served between 1672 and 1701 on diplomatic missions, usually with ambassadorial status, in Venice, Holland, Ireland, Sweden, and again in Holland. Early in his career he participated as a plenipotentiary in the joint mission appointed in connection with the Peace of Nymegen (1679). He died unmarried on

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<sup>1</sup>See Record Office copy of Lists and Indexes No. LII published 1929. List of Foreign Office Records to 1878. F.O. 95, Series 1, Miscellanea.

## INTRODUCTION

the 11th February, 1709<sup>1</sup>. In connection with the armorial bindings of the volumes of d'Avaux papers in the Record Office, it is to be noted as a point of some importance that d'Avaux belonged to the orders of Saint Michel and of the Saint Esprit from 1684<sup>2</sup>. On the death of his elder brother, Jean Jacques, he succeeded to the title, but not at the same time to the headship of the house. Seniority lay in the line of his elder brother, whose son Jean-Antoine was to succeed him in 1709, and also, as it appears, became his heir. The family pedigree, as far as it concerns us, is as follows.



The correspondence accumulated by d'Avaux during his long career as one of France's leading ambassadors is to be found in three principal collections. The largest, and inclusive of most of the original documents, is in the archives of the *Ministère des Affaires Étrangères*. Next in size is the collection in the Public Record Office. Not as large, though richer in original documents, is the collection which was preserved

<sup>1</sup> Olivier, Hermal, Roton : *Reliures Armoriées Francaises* 12-13 Pl. 1326. Colleville et Saint-Christo, *Les Ordres du Roi*, p. 57. Saint-Simon, *Mémoires*, VII, 73, 78, 79.

<sup>2</sup>Anselme, *Histoire Généalogique*, Tome IX, p. 316. "Antoine de Mesmes, Chevalier, seigneur d'Irvil & de Roissy depuis qualifié Comte d'Avaux, conseiller au Parlement en 1661, Maitre des Requêtes en 1667, ambassadeur à Venise, en Suede & en Hollande, gouverneur de Fismes, conseiller d'état, Prevôt & Maitre des Cérémonies des Ordres du Roi sur la démission du President de Mesmes son frere, le 17 Fevrier 1684, mourut à Paris sans avoir été marié le 11 Fevrier 1709 âgé de 69, & y est enterré aux Grands-Augustins." See also *Négociations*, p. 455.

at the *Ministère de la Guerre*, but which is now in the main deposited in the *Archives Nationales*<sup>1</sup>.

We may further mention two collections of transcripts, both taken from the correspondence in the *Dépot*. Reference has already been made to that of Armand Baschet preserved in the Record Office<sup>2</sup>. The other collection is contained in the Mackintosh papers in the British Museum, and presumably owes its origin to the visit Sir James Mackintosh paid to the French archives in 1815. In all there are sixty-five letters in the three volumes<sup>3</sup> concerning Irish affairs, 1689-1690; and of these sixty are letters to or from d'Avaux during his Irish mission. To this number one more may be added. A letter entitled *Lettre du Chevalier Clerck au Roy*.

le 19 et 23 janvier, 1690, Londres.

can be identified, though under a different name and date, with a letter in the *Négociations*, where it is printed, with the exception of the first paragraph, but addressed from

*M. d'Avaux au Roy.*

le 25 janvier, 1690, à Dublin.

Of these sixty-one Mackintosh letters, all but one are duplicated in the *Négociations*, though in some cases with different dates, and, in a few more, with the omission of a paragraph or passage. The one new letter<sup>4</sup> yielded by the collection bears the address

*M. d'Avaux à M. de Croissy*

6 décembre, 1689, à Dublin.

The Mackintosh letters, copies though they are of the official d'Avaux correspondence in the *Dépot*, show many signs of careless transcription. This is one of a number of reasons for preferring the text of the *Négociations* where there are discrepancies of date and address between the two texts. A significant point is the omission, in some cases, from the text of the *Négociations* of a paragraph or passage present in the Mackintosh transcript. When we take into account that the

<sup>1</sup> At present in the Hotel Soubise, 60 rue des Francs-Bourgeois, Paris.

<sup>2</sup> Deputy Keeper's 39th Report, p. 770-771.

<sup>3</sup> In Additional MSS. 34,488, 34,489, 34,490 are transcripts of d'Avaux papers in general. Altogether there are 13 volumes of transcripts covered by this heading of which volumes II, III and IV are concerning Irish affairs. Vol. II is contained under Add. MS. 34,488 and Vols. III and IV under Add. MS. 34,489; 34,490.

<sup>4</sup> See XXX.

Irish volume belongs to the body of d'Avaux correspondence in the Record Office, the implication is that the whole of this correspondence formed from the first a collection distinct from that in the *Dépot*.

### III

The d'Avaux correspondence in the possession of the Record Office extends from 1672 to 1701 and is contained in 36 large volumes (F.O.95/543 to 95/578). Volume 575 contains the letter-book relating to Ireland, 1689-1690. In 1844 the entire contents of this volume were printed for George, fourth Earl of Aberdeen, then secretary of state for foreign affairs, ostensibly under the editorship of his son, the Hon. Arthur Charles Hamilton-Gordon, afterwards the first Lord Stanmore. The book was not published, but was issued, probably in 1845, in a private edition of twelve copies with the title *Négociations de M. Le Comte d'Avaux en Irlande, 1689-90.* The name of the printer is as usual at the bottom of the last page: "London : Printed by J. Harrison and Son."

The printed copies appear to have been in the nature of final proofs, like the printed collection of Aberdeen correspondence subsequently edited by Lord Stanmore. It was from the Foreign Office copy that the Irish MSS. Commission published the reflex facsimile of 1934.<sup>1</sup>

The Irish MS. book 575 is a composite volume of 1,221 pages, which has been paginated continuously throughout in pencil, at some time subsequently to the composition of the volume. It falls into three distinct parts. Part I, pp. 1-40, contains four original documents. Part II, pp. 41-1198, forms an entry or letter book into which d'Avaux or his clerks copied letters received or sent as they were dealt with in the course of business. The dates and names of correspondents are in the margin, and formal valedictions are omitted. Part III, pp. 1199-1218, contains five more original documents. These

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<sup>1</sup> See for descriptive detail of the MS. volume and the circumstances of its printing in 1844-1845 a communication to the *Times Literary Supplement* of 22 August, 1935, from A. E. Stamp, then Deputy-Keeper of Records.

The MS. was in the hands of the printer in 1844, as can be seen from a pencilled instruction, partly erased, at the top of p. 41, addressed to the printer by Lewis Hertslet, the Foreign Office Librarian. "Proofs to be sent (with MS.) to the Honble. Arthur Gordon at Argyll House, L. H. 19 (-) 1844." Through the volume are pencilled instructions to the printer, partly rubbed out. Since Arthur Gordon was in 1844 but a boy of sixteen, it is understandable that he should have had the assistance of the Foreign Office Librarian in editing the work.

documents interpolated at both ends, appear in the volume both as originals and as copies entered in their appropriate places in the body of the letter book. There can be no doubt that as the volume now stands the original documents were bound together with the letter book at the end of the seventeenth century or early in the eighteenth century, and this binding has not since been disturbed.

The following table shows the relation of the interpolated documents to the letter book and the printed volume<sup>1</sup>.

Originals		
Interpolated at the beginning	Entry in letter book	Printed
MS pp. 1-12	MS pp. 41-49	pp. 1-6
MS pp. 17-18	MS pp. 815-16	p. 491 (enclos)
MS pp. 21-34	MS pp. 49-61	pp. 6-14
MS pp. 37-38	MS pp. 62-63	p. 15
Interpolated at the end		
MS pp. 1199-1202	MS p. 1140	p. 732
MS pp. 1203-1206	MS p. 1141	p. 732-733
MS pp. 1207-1210	MS pp. 1142-1143	p. 734
MS pp. 1211-1214	MS pp. 1152-1153	p. 740-741
MS pp. 1215-1218	MS p. 1143	p. 734-735

It may be presumed that d'Avaux brought the letter book with him on his return to France in April, 1690.<sup>2</sup> At any rate the documents in the letter book are copies. The originals of the outgoing letters would have gone to the Count's correspondents in France; those reaching him he got copied into the letter book, doubtless retaining the originals along with his official papers. The fact that some of these originals found their way to the State archives, principally to the *Dépot* where they are at present, is not easy to explain. We know, however, that the French state archives had been recently organised. By a royal letter of 1671 ministers were forbidden to treat their official papers as personal heritable property, as long afterwards continued to be the custom in other countries. This may be part of the explanation. As regards the occasional discrepancies between the versions of the letters received and copied into the letter book and those in the ministerial archives, we have to take into account that such letters need not have been identical in terms with the drafts retained at the Ministry, or these in turn with the minutes. To ensure the safe receipt

<sup>1</sup> The letter, signed with the initials E. T., which appears on pp. 741-742 in the Addenda of the printed volume, namely, *Lettre d'un Religieux, sans signature, à Monsieur d'Avaux Le 22 Septembre, 1689*, is not, as might be expected, one of the interpolated originals, but belongs to the letter book.

<sup>2</sup> For estimates of d'Avaux and his Irish mission, see pp. 1-14 of the Introduction to the facsimile of *Négociations* (1934). MacSwiney, Marquis, *op. cit.*, pp. 296-299, 304-307.

## INTRODUCTION

of official letters, particularly those dispatched overseas, several copies of the one letter might be sent; and many of them were in cipher.

The Irish letter book, as it is printed in the *Négociations*, gives the misleading impression of consisting of original documents. Reference to the manuscript volume also shows that the editor or editors transferred the marginal dates and names to the body of the correspondence, as they appear in the printed book. This was ordinary editorial procedure. What is strange is that they should have inserted at the end of letters from the king the signature "Louis"<sup>1</sup> and the counter-signature "Colbert," as though the letters were in the nature of warrants. The Colbert in question was of course not the great Colbert, who died in 1683, but his younger brother Charles Colbert, Marquis de Croissy, a principal correspondent of d'Avaux while he was in Ireland. We have not sufficient evidence to judge the accuracy of the text of the whole of the Irish letter book, because the originals of many of the letters therein are not now available in the French archives; but where they are available the text of the correspondence in the letter book is found to be accurate and generally complete.

## IV

Here it seems appropriate to consider, in some detail, a remarkable feature of the correspondence. The originals of four letters sent by d'Avaux to France, three to M. de Louvois,<sup>2</sup> one to the King,<sup>3</sup> contain a number of passages which are missing from the copies of the same letters in the letter book; and in these omitted passages d'Avaux is found to refer in extremely critical, indeed hostile, terms to the celebrated brothers, Richard and Anthony Hamilton. Moreover, there are in the present supplement two short letters, of the 10 July and 30 October, concerning almost wholly the Hamiltons, which look like excerpts from the originals of letters of the same dates in the *Négociations*, addressed by d'Avaux to

<sup>1</sup> P.R.O. F O/83/205. (F O Library MS.). Writing, presumably, to the Foreign Office librarian, Louis Hertslet, Arthur Gordon asks in this connection: "Dear Sir,

As I am not certain of the ('usual' crossed out) termination of the King's letters to D'Avaux would you kindly shew Mr. Harrison one of the originals in the Dutch book that he may know how to print them in the Irish book.

Yours truly in haste,  
A. Gordon."

<sup>2</sup> 14 August, 18 August, 20 September, 1689.

<sup>3</sup> 24 November, 1689.

Louvois.<sup>1</sup> These omissions from several letters in the letter book, otherwise identical with their versions in the French archives, have all the appearance of being deliberate. The peculiarity of their omission acquires added interest from the circumstance that Arthur Hamilton-Gordon, the youthful editor of the *Négociations*, was related, though in a very roundabout way, to the Scoto-Irish family of Hamilton, which took a foremost part in the Jacobite war.

Of the six sons of Sir George Hamilton and Mary, sister of the Marquis of Ormonde, Anthony, Richard, and John served in Ireland. They were probably born on the family estate in Tipperary. In 1651 Sir George Hamilton followed his brother-in-law, the Marquis of Ormonde to Caen with his wife and family, returning from exile with the Restoration in 1660. The three brothers served with distinction in the French army until the Peace of Nymegen in 1679. Anthony probably accompanied his elder brother George to France in 1667, and Richard served in the Regiment of Royal Roussillon from 1673. He was the last of the Hamiltons to return home from the French service. George commanded a troop of horse who were enrolled in the bodyguard of Louis XIV, and was killed at the battle of Saverne. His widow, Frances Jennings, sister of Sarah, Duchess of Marlborough, married Richard Talbot, Earl of Tyrconnel in 1679.

Grandsons of the first Earl of Abercorn, the brothers were cousins of Claude, Earl of Abercorn, who commanded a cavalry regiment at Derry and Aughrim. John Hamilton, the youngest of the six brothers, who died of wounds received at Aughrim, was held in high esteem in the Irish Army. Anthony Hamilton, who was amongst the most accomplished courtiers and versatile writers of the great nobility of the age, is best remembered as the author of a minor classic of French literature, the *Mémoires de Grammont*, his sister, Elizabeth, having married the Comte de Grammont in 1663. Richard was the most conspicuous of King James' Anglo-Irish officers. In February, 1689, he was promoted to the rank of Lieutenant-General, and subsequently appointed, with Field Marshal de Rosen, to the command of the forces sent to reduce the centres of Williamite resistance in the North of Ireland, especially at Derry.

There is abundant evidence of the strong attachment of the

<sup>1</sup> Supplement, pp. 24-25, 32.

Earl of Tyrconnel to the three Hamilton brothers, and, apparently, they could also count on the favour of King James. At the same time a certain suspicion attached to the character of Richard Hamilton. Having been sent over to England by Tyrconnel with the troops despatched on the rumour of the Dutch invasion, he had made his peace with William; and had returned to Ireland in January 1689, entrusted with the special mission of winning over Tyrconnel, pledging himself to return within three weeks if unsuccessful. But on arrival in Dublin, he had broken his promise and gone over to the Jacobite cause to which Tyrconnel had now openly committed himself.

The connection of the Aberdeen family with the Abercorn Hamiltons dates from George Gordon, fourth Earl of Aberdeen, who was doubly related to the Hamilton family by marriage. He first married Lady Catherine Elizabeth Hamilton, daughter of John James, ninth earl and first marquis of Abercorn; and three years after her death, secondly married in 1815 the widow of James viscount Hamilton, who became the mother of Arthur Gordon, the editor of the *Négociations*. She was the mother, by her first marriage, of James, afterwards first Duke of Abercorn, and for some years the Earl of Aberdeen acted as his guardian. In 1818 he assumed the surname of Hamilton immediately before that of Gordon, 'as a last memorial of his respect for the memory of his late father-in-law, John James, marquis of Abercorn.'

George Hamilton-Gordon, as he was henceforth styled, besides being a statesman and agriculturalist of note, was a classical scholar of distinction, the President of the Society of Antiquaries from 1812 to 1846; and in his early manhood the author of historical essays, including the preface and notes to a 'Historical Survey of the Ecclesiastical Antiquities of France.' His historical interests together with his intimate association with the Hamilton family may have influenced him in choosing as a literary exercise for his son the editing of the volume of d'Avaux's Irish correspondence in the Foreign Office library.

During the Northern campaign the correspondence in the *Négociations* refers with increasing frequency and severity to the military incompetence of Richard Hamilton. At first the emphasis is mainly on his lack of enterprise and unfitness for so great a task as the command of the forces besieging

Derry<sup>1</sup>. Louvois deplores that an officer without any experience in siege warfare should have been appointed to the Derry command.<sup>2</sup> By d'Avaux and de Rosen he was blamed as mainly responsible for the failure of the siege.<sup>3</sup> According to d'Avaux his incapacity was so great 'as to arouse suspicion of his loyalty'.<sup>4</sup>

As to Anthony Hamilton, d'Avaux singles him out for opprobrium because of his part in the debacle at Newtown-Butler which precipitated the collapse of the Northern campaign. On the morning of 31 July the thirteen companies of dragoons, under his command, were defeated at Lisnaskea by the Williamite forces from Enniskillen, and driven back in disorder on the main force under General MacCarthy, Viscount Mountcashel. Hamilton himself was wounded early in the morning. In the battle which ensued in the evening at Newtown-Butler, the cavalry of Hamilton's command retired from the field, without having engaged the enemy, with the result that the army was seized with panic and in the main destroyed. Mountcashel who stood his ground with one battalion was wounded and taken prisoner.

D'Avaux goes out of his way to represent Hamilton's conduct in the two actions in the worst possible light, although it appears that the panic was due to one of his officers, Captain Lavallin, having mistaken orders. He threw the whole line of battle into confusion by ordering his men right about and leading them off the field. D'Avaux makes no mention of Hamilton being wounded, nor does he refer to the court-martial, held three weeks later, before which Brigadier Hamilton and Captain Lavallin were brought to trial. Hamilton was found blameless and acquitted, but the Captain was sentenced to death.

Some months previous, d'Avaux was accusing Richard Hamilton not only of incapacity, but also of disaffection, especially towards the French. In a letter to Louvois of 18 May, 1689, he describes him as "fomenting in the army,

<sup>1</sup> *Négociations*, pp. 76 [14 Avril], 116 [6 May], 186 [27 May], 221 [26 Juin].

<sup>2</sup> *Négociations*, p. 280. M. de Louvois à M. d'Avaux, le 13 juin, 1689. "C'est en vérité une grande pitié que le Roy d'Angleterre confie des attaques de places à un homme comme M. d'Hamilton, qui n'a nulle expérience sur cela, car si c'est celui qui est sorty de France le dernier, qui s'appelloit Richard, il n'y a jamais veu de siège, ayant tousjours servi en Roussillon."

<sup>3</sup> *Supplement*, p. 38. M. Roze à M. d'Avaux, 28 juillet, 1689. "... ruinée par sa faute."

<sup>4</sup> *Négociations*, p. 295. M. d'Avaux à M. de Louvois. 10 Juillet, 1689. "... l'incapacité de ce général est si grande qu'elle a fait soupçonner sa fidélité."

together with a few of his intimates, a kind of cabal against the French".<sup>1</sup> In another letter to Louvois, of 10 July, printed in the present supplement,<sup>2</sup> he reports Richard Hamilton as having said to one of the most important personages in the country that he would be revenged for the ill-treatment he had suffered in France.

As regards the Irish regiments which were being prepared to be sent to France in exchange for French reinforcements, Louvois insists that on no account are they to be accompanied by any of the Hamiltons who had served in France. D'Avaux is instructed to make known to James the French King's particular reason for objecting to them; but only if their employment cannot otherwise be avoided. The repeated warnings<sup>3</sup> of Louvois, on this score, are conclusive of a rooted objection on the part of Louis XIV to the Hamiltons, the personal nature of which he did not wish to be disclosed even to King James, except in the last resort and then only in the strictest confidence<sup>4</sup>. It would appear that d'Avaux did not confide in James, partly because neither James, Tyrconnel, nor the Hamiltons themselves thought of their appointment to the Irish regiments to be sent to France, but also because d'Avaux doubted that James could any longer be trusted to keep a secret.<sup>5</sup>

The explanation can be traced to an affair in which Richard Hamilton was involved, during his sojourn in France, and which had led to his banishment from the French court. Through the influence of his sister, the Comtesse de Grammont, he had been admitted to the innermost royal circle. He had

<sup>1</sup> *Négociations*, p. 159.

<sup>2</sup> *Supplement*, p. 24-25.

<sup>3</sup> *Négociations*, pp. 287, 300, 515. A Marly, le 17 Septembre, 1689. ". . . le Roy ne veut aucun des Hamiltons." *Négociations*, p. 584. A Versailles, le 11 Novembre, 1689. ". . . surtout, Sa Majesté ne veut point aucun Hamilton à la teste de ces régiments, ce que vous ne devez déclarer que quand vous ne pourrez pas l'empêcher autrement."

<sup>4</sup> *Négociations*, p. 287. M. de Louvois à M. d'Avaux. A Versailles, le 12 Juin, 1689.

"Je dois vous faire observer par ce mot particulier, que Sa Majesté ne veut point pour commandant des troupes Irlandoises qui viendront à son service, pas même pour un des colonels, des Srs. d'Hamilton qui ont servy en France, dont le dernier qui est party d'icy estoit colonel d'un régiment d'infanterie. Sa Majesté aura bien agreable que vous ne nous expliquiez de cela que le plus tard que vous pourrez, et en cas qu'il fut absolument nécessaire de le faire, vous le disiez en particulier au Roy d'Angleterre, et le suppliez de n'en parler à personne."

<sup>5</sup> *Supplement*, p. 32. M. d'Avaux à M. de Louvois. A Ardee le 30 d'Octobre, 1689. "j'ay cru devoir vous en informer et vous avertir en mesme temps que s'il y a quelque chose que je doive dire en secret au Roy d'Angleterre, j'espere qu'il le gardera, mais je ne vous en reponds pas car quoy qu'on die qu'il avoit autrefois la bonne qualite d'estre secret il m'a paru qu'il ne l'avoit plus."

provoked the wrath of Louis XIV in 1685 by presuming to pay his attentions to one of his daughters, the Princesse de Conti,<sup>1</sup> on whose account he had fought a duel with Alincourt; and apparently, four years later, his presumption had neither been forgiven nor forgotten by the King.

In explanation of the suppression of the more derogatory references to the Hamiltons from the correspondence in the letter book, we should first take into account the undisguised personal prejudice which inspired them. Where the record of the Hamiltons is concerned, d'Avaux ceases to be a reliable witness. His habitual impartiality has deserted him. The really damning charges he brings against them, those of treachery and cowardice, were wholly at variance with the reputation they possessed as brave and honourable men. Such charges could not stand the light of day, and would give rise to deep resentment if they should come to the notice of their powerful friends and protectors, amongst whom Tyrconnel was first of all to be included<sup>2</sup>. The suspicion that they were the victims of the French King's animosity was by all means to be avoided, because of the personal motives which prompted it.

If there was no need for d'Avaux to write with discretion about them in letters intended only for the eyes of Louis XIV, Louvois, or Colbert de Croissy, it was otherwise as regards the copies of these letters which were being kept for use in Ireland. We may suppose that a diplomatist of the experience of d'Avaux would be likely to take the precaution of telling his secretary not to include the more compromising references. Since the omissions were certainly deliberate, no more plausible explanation suggests itself.

The omissions in question are here restored from the versions of the letters in the *Dépot de la Guerre* and the *Dépot des Archives des Affaires Etrangères*. We reproduce them, in italics, and where necessary for the sense, in the context from which they are missing in the *Négociations*. The first three refer to Anthony Hamilton, and belong to the long letter of 14 August, 1689, in which d'Avaux reports to Louvois on the disastrous events at Lisnaskea and Newtown-Butler.

<sup>1</sup> *Mémoires de la Cour de France*, par Madame de la Fayette. "On l'avoit chassé de la cour parce qu'il s'etoit rendu amoureux de la princesse de Conti, fille du Roi, et qu'il paroisoit qu'elle aimoit bien mieux lui parler qu'à un autre."

*Mémoires de Saint Simon* (Ed. by A. de Boislisle. Paris, 1903), Tome xvi, p. 416. T.xiv. Appendice ix, p. 562.

<sup>2</sup> *Historical MSS Commission*, 8th Report, pp. 493-497. *Analecta No. 4*, p. 117-118.

(1)

Comme Mylord Monkassel... vouloit se mettre à couvert des courses de ceux d'Enniskiling, il dit à Antoine Hamilton (*qui est un tres brave homme, mais qui ne merite pas d'estre nommé officier, et que l'on n'a fait marechal de camp que pour complaire à M. Tirconnel*) d'aller avec treize compagnies de dragons [etc.].<sup>1</sup>

(2)

ces mesmes dragons qui avoient fuy le matin lascherent le pied avec tout le reste de la cavalerie, sans tirer un coup de pistolet, *Hamilton s'en alla avec eux*,<sup>2</sup> et ils s'enfuirent tous [etc.].

(3)

*Antoine Hamilton gagna une petite ville nommée Cavan, mais il ne s'y arresta pas et vint jusques à Navan*.<sup>3</sup>

The fourth reference is to Richard Hamilton, and is omitted from a letter of 18 August, 1689:

(4)

en effet, Monsieur, *on est si fort prevenu contre Richard Hamilton qu'on dit publiquement que c'est un traistre*.<sup>4</sup>

The fifth reference is again to Richard Hamilton, and belongs to the letter of 20 September to Louvois :

(5)

nous avons peu d'officiers generaux sur qui l'on puisse compter, *Hamilton qui commande la premiere Ligne d'infanterie comme premier Lieutenant General est hay et meprisé des troupes, et leur est suspect au dela de ce que je vous puis dire. Mylord Tirconnel n'en croit rien, et c'est Mylord seul qui le soustienne*.<sup>5</sup>

Two more omissions occur in successive paragraphs in the letter, of 24 November, from d'Avaux to Louis XIV.<sup>6</sup> One describes a dramatic encounter, in the presence of King James and d'Avaux, between Richard Hamilton and an Irish Catholic,

<sup>1</sup> Archives Nationales : De La Guerre, AI 893. The passage, in parenthesis, is left out from the *Négociations*, p. 384, second last line.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, AI 893. *Négociations*, p. 385.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, AI 893. *Négociations*, p. 385, line 25, omitted before Mylord Monkassel.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, *Négociations*, 395, line 1.

<sup>5</sup> La Guerre, AI 1082. *Négociations*, p. 470. See for a similar comment *Supplement*, p. 32. A Ardee le 30 d'Octobre, 1689. M. d'Avaux à M. de Louvois.

<sup>6</sup> Archives des Affaires Etrangères, Vol. 169, f. 254.

recently come over from the Williamite army. The Irishman informs James that, in the Williamite army, they are counting on Hamilton's friendship, and expect him to desert any day to Schomberg. The other passage belittles the men of Enniskillen, in view of their répulse at Sligo ; their only claim to glory is declared to be their defeat of Anthony Hamilton and his cavalry on the 31 July.

(6)

*Je ne puis, Sire, m'empescher de rapporter icy a V. Me. ce qu'un Irlandois catholique, qui s'etoit enroulé en Angleterre dans l'armée de M. de Schomberg pour se venir rendre au Roy, dit a S.Me.Be. au camp d'Atherdée. Comme le Roy d'Angleterre entre plusieurs questions, qu'il luy fit, luy demanda ce qu'on disoit de son armée et de ses generaux, il repondit qu'on parloit beaucoup d'un Richard Hamilton qui estoit fort de leurs amis, et que l'on attendoit tous les jours dans l'armée de M. de Schomberg. Richard Hamilton, qui estoit appuyé contre une fenetre 4 ou 5 pas derriere le Roy, se releva et dit tout haut à cet homme : coquin, me voila, prends garde à ce que tu diras. Le Roy passa par dessus cela, et Richard Hamilton n'a pas cherché a se justifier, et n'a pas demandé qu'on chatiat cet homme. J'y etois présent. Le Roy m'interpretoit tout ce que disoit cet homme à la reserve de cet endroit là, qu'un Irlandois m'expliqua.<sup>1</sup>*

(7)

*ceux d'Iniskilling . . . n'ayant jamais tenu teste aux troupes du Roy, excepté quand Antoine Hamilton s'enfuit avec toute la cavalerie, et qu'il abandonna Makarty qui resta seul avec son battalion.<sup>2</sup>*

## V

According to the Director of the archives of the *Ministère des Affaires Etrangères* the originals of the d'Avaux diplomatic correspondence are mainly preserved there in forty registers and twenty-three volumes. A comparison shows that this correspondence contains the originals of thirty of the thirty-six

<sup>1</sup>. *Négociations*, p. 550. Omitted after the first paragraph.

<sup>2</sup> *Négociations*, p. 550. Omitted at end of second paragraph.

volumes of d'Avaux documents in the Record Office<sup>1</sup>. Of the remaining six volumes (F.O. 95/550, 560, 561, 562, 563, 575), the contents of volumes 550 and 575 are partly represented in the documents in the *Dépot*. The position as regards volume 575, which contains the Irish letter book, concerns us most. Under the heading *Irlande 1689-1690 : Correspondance Politique Angleterre*, there are many originals of the d'Avaux Irish correspondence, all but a few of which are to be found copied in his letter book. They represent, however, a relatively small proportion of the total correspondence in the letter book. The only part of the correspondence in respect of which the Record Office collection appears to enjoy a monopoly are the three volumes 561, 562, 563. These are the letter books of the correspondence kept by d'Avaux during the joint mission, 1675-1679, in connection with the Peace of Nymegen, in which he was associated with the Marquis de Croissy and the Maréchal

<sup>1</sup> The following comparative table shows, in summary form, the relations between the two collections.

#### *Hollande 1679-1688*

##### Archives Ministère des Affaires Étrangères : Correspondance

Politique Hollande, 118-157 ..	..	..	..	(40 registres)
Public Record Office, 544-549 ..	..	..	..	(6 volumes)
551-554 ..	..	..	..	(4 volumes)
564-574 ..	..	..	..	(11 volumes)

#### *Hollande février-août 1701*

##### Archives Ministère des Affaires Étrangères : Correspondance

Politique Hollande, 193-194 ..	..	..	..	(2 volumes)
Record Office, 559 ..	..	..	..	(1 volume)

#### *Venise 1672-1674*

##### Archives Ministère des Affaires Étrangères : Correspondance

Politique Venise, 93-95 ..	..	..	..	(3 volumes)
Record Office, 543 ..	..	..	..	(1 volume)

#### *Irlande 1689-1690*

##### Archives Ministère des Affaires Étrangères : Correspondance

Politique Angleterre, 168-170-172 ..	..	..	..	(4 volumes)
Record Office, 575 (partie) ..	..	..	..	(1 volume)

#### *Suède 1692-1699*

##### Archives Ministère des Affaires Étrangères : Correspondance

Politique, 73-76 ; 78-87 ..	..	..	..	(14 volumes)
Record Office, 554 (partie) 558 ; 576-578 ..	..	..	..	(8 volumes)

d'Estrades. We know that the original documents of the mission, including those of d'Avaux, amounted to thirteen volumes, and they are listed in a catalogue of 1687 as in the *Archives des Affaires Étrangères*<sup>1</sup>.

From these particulars it is evident that the d'Avaux documents in the Record Office are to be regarded as in general copies or drafts. This is obviously so as regards volumes 560 to 578, which are in the form of entry or letter books. As in the Irish letter book, there are some original documents interpolated at the beginning or end of a number of volumes relating to the Dutch and Swedish missions<sup>2</sup>.

We have no information as to when or in what circumstances the d'Avaux volumes came into the possession of the Foreign Office. Enquiries made through the instrumentality of the Administrator General of the Bibliothèque Nationale have been as fruitless of information as those made in the Foreign Office and Public Record Office. Their history has, apparently, been long since forgotten, though it appears that there was at some time a vague tradition at the Foreign Office to the effect that they were originally captured in an iron bound chest at the Battle of the Boyne, July 1st, 1690. The chest is one of the curious possessions of the Record Office, but apart from the fact that it is too small to hold the thirty-six volumes, there is the conclusive objection that d'Avaux had returned to France three months before the Battle of the Boyne, and that, moreover, the volumes of the correspondence continue on to 1701, ten years later still.

By reference to the armorial bearings on the bindings of the volumes, we can establish whose property they were when they were first bound. We can say that the arms shown on them are those of our Count, and not, as has been sometimes

<sup>1</sup> The importance of the negotiations for the Peace of Nymegen, and the international controversy in connection with them produced a considerable literature. Early in the field was the secretary of the Comte d'Avaux, le Sr De Saint-Didier (Alexandre Toussaint de Limojon) with his *Histoire de la négociation de la paix de Nimègue, depuis l'an 1676 jusqu'en 1679* (Paris, 1680, 2 vols.). In 1710 was published much of the correspondence from the Dépot, in *Lettres et Négociations de Messieurs les Marechal d'Estrades, Colbert de Croissy, et d'Avaux*.

<sup>2</sup> See Record Office volumes F.O. 95/ 550, 555, 556, 576. Volume 563, the third volume of the Nymegen mission, has original correspondence and papers of 1675-1678, interpolated at the end.

supposed, those of his nephew and heir, Jean-Antoine de Mesmes<sup>1</sup>

All the indications are that the thirty-six volumes were for some time after the Count's death in 1709 in the family library, as represented by his nephew, Jean-Antoine de Mesmes. Apart from his rank as Comte d'Avaux and Marquis de Saint-Etienne, he was a chief personage during the closing years of the reign and the early years of the regency. From 1712 to his death in 1723 he was the *Premier Président du Parlement de Paris*. It is relevant to our enquiry that his contemporaries remark on his lavish expenditure. Barbier, in his *Journal*, says of him not without a note of irony "qu'il laisse de quoi payer ses dettes, qui est tout ce qu'on peut demander à la magnificence dont il a toujours vécu, ayant eu chez lui toute sa famille."<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Mr. Gerard Slevin, Chief Herald, Irish Genealogical Office, has examined photographs of the armorial bindings of selected volumes. We are indebted to him for clarifying the position, beyond any further doubt, in the following comment.

"The immediate presumption is that the arms shown on these bindings are those of the Comte d'Avaux himself. I understand, however, that they have been ascribed to his nephew, Jean-Antoine de Mesmes, Marquis de Saint-Etienne, etc., into whose hands the volumes came on the death of his uncle the Comte d'Avaux in 1709. Having studied the arms shown and the genealogy of the family as given in authoritative sources (cf. the *Grand Armorial de France*, Paris, 1948) I am of the opinion that this ascription of the arms to the Count's nephew is incorrect."

"The Marquis de Saint-Etienne was made a chevalier of the Order of the St. Esprit in 1709. From that time on it would have been quite correct for him to show the collar of the Order with his arms, as indeed he does in the heraldic bindings assigned to him by Olivier, Hermal and Roton in their *Reliures Armoriées Françaises*. But his father, Jean-Jacques, died in 1688. As head of his house the Marquis de Saint-Etienne would not have borne a mark of cadency such as the label which appears in the arms in the d'Avaux bindings. It would appear that there was no period during which he could have displayed both the collar of the Order and a mark of cadency. Both appear in the arms on the d'Avaux bindings. Again, Olivier, Hermal and Roton show two armorial achievements used by him (Pl. 1327). One of these may have been used in 1709 or shortly after (that on a book published in 1707), the other was certainly used in the last year of his life (that on an Almanach of 1723). It would seem extraordinary that he should also have used—within a period of fourteen years—yet a third with the inexplicable addition of a label. We may safely conclude that the arms on the bindings are not those of the Marquis de Saint-Etienne."

"It is necessary to enquire whether they could properly appertain to any other member of the family. On the genealogical information available they might have appertained to Jean-Jacques de Mesmes, the elder brother of the Comte d'Avaux, between the years 1671 and 1673, if we regard the label as a difference borne by an eldest son during the life-time of his father. But it is very difficult to understand how arms which might have been used by Jean-Jacques between 1671 and 1673 could appear on the bindings of papers, of a much later date, which belonged to his younger brother."

"In Anselme's *Histoire Généalogique de la Maison Royale de France* arms identical with those on the bindings are recorded as those of the Comte d'Avaux. I think there can be no doubt but that the achievement shown on the bindings is in fact his."

<sup>2</sup> Baschet, p. 210.

The accumulation of state papers in the family library goes back to the Ambassador Claude de Mesmes, who died in 1650. Enriched by the collections of our Count, the library came by inheritance to the President de Mesmes. Presumably on account of financial embarrassments, already in 1706 he had disposed of an important part of the library. If we may accept the account of the transaction, given in Olivier, Hermal, and Roton, *Reliures Armoriées Françaises*<sup>1</sup>, he brought himself into ridicule on that occasion by having the family arms cut out of the leather bindings of the volumes for sale so as to efface the evidence of their origin. We learn, moreover, from the same source that in 1731, eight years after his death, his daughters sold the remainder of the family books and manuscripts. The printed books were disposed of in the open market, the manuscripts sold to the Bibliothèque du Roi or Royale, later the Bibliothèque Nationale.

Although the particulars given in Olivier, Hermal and Roton are correct so far as they go, and bring to light the fact that the d'Avaux manuscripts had passed from the possession of the family by 1731, we are left as much in the dark as ever concerning when and how they found their way to the Foreign Office. There is, however, a considerable fund of information on the circumstances of their disposal between 1725 and 1731 in Baschet's history of the *Dépot*. While the establishment of the *Dépot* at the Old Louvre dates from 1710, the decision which made possible this important event in the organisation of France's state archives goes back to 1671, when the King made an order prohibiting the dispersal of the diplomatic documents in the secretariat of state for foreign affairs. The effective founder of the *Dépot* was Charles Colbert, Marquis de Croissy, who, on his appointment in 1679 as secretary of state for foreign affairs, came into possession of the state papers of his predecessors, MM. de Lyonne and de Pomponne. Thanks to his initiative, the archives of the ministry were well organised by the year 1688<sup>2</sup>. On his death in 1696, he was succeeded by his son Jean-Baptiste Colbert, Marquis de Torcy, who held office until 1715. It was under his supervision that the historical papers of the secretariat were transferred in 1710 from Versailles to a repository in the Old Louvre and the *Dépot* formally established. The *Dépot* remained there until 1763 when it

<sup>1</sup> 12-13 (1928), Pl. 1327.

<sup>2</sup> Baschet, pp. 59, 60, 73-82.

was transferred to Versailles. In 1796, by a decree of the revolutionary government, it was brought back to Paris; and after finding several temporary locations came to be at last established in 1853 in the Hotel of the Ministry at the Quai d'Orsay.

Between 1729 and 1733, when the *Dépot* was at the Old Louvre, it received its largest accessions of state papers, amongst the most valuable being those from the Library of the President de Mesmes. Many of these acquisitions were due to the joint exertions of M. Germain de Chauvelin, secretary of state for foreign affairs, and M. de Maurepas, minister of the royal household, in whose charge was the Bibliothèque du Roi.

It may be mentioned as a matter of interest, in view of the considerable correspondence between M. d'Avaux and M. de Louvois, that concurrently with the formation of the *Dépot*, M. de Louvois created the *Dépot de la Guerre* by assembling at the Hotel Louvois all the papers he could find connected with the ministry of war. The official title of *Dépot de la Guerre* was given to the offices at the *Hotel des Invalides*, where they were deposited in 1701.

The President de Mesmes had left as his heirs two daughters, one married to the Duc de Lorges, the other to the Marquis d'Ambres; from whom she was separated and, as it seems, financially embarrassed. It was she who persuaded her sister to consent to the dispersal of the family library. In 1725 the manuscript volumes were displayed in one of the halls of the convent of the Grands-Augustins, and negotiations were begun for their sale to the Bibliothèque du Roi. M. l'Abbé de Targny, after an examination of the manuscripts, reported in a memoir of the 24 April, 1725, that they included all the negotiations of the two d'Avaux ambassadors. "... l'on y voit toutes les négociations de Messieurs d'Avaux. Les héritiers de M. le premier Président retiennent celles, depuis l'année 1672 jusque 1701, qui consistent en plus de quarante volumes *in-folio* dont trois regardent la paix de Nimègue. Pour les négociations et les dépesches anciennes de M. d'Avaux le père, depuis l'année 1628 jusque l'année 1637, à Venize, à Rome et en Suède, et qui sont contenues en huit volumes, elles sont laissées avec tout le recueil . . ." <sup>1</sup>

From this description there can be little doubt that the

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<sup>1</sup> Baschet, p. 216.

de Mesmes manuscripts included in 1725 the collection in the Record Office. It is true that the number of volumes is reported to be more than forty, at least four more than there are in the Record Office. Otherwise the description closely fits that collection. Circumstantial evidence to this effect is the reference to the three volumes of correspondence relating to the Peace of Nymegen.

For some unstated reason arrangements for the sale were not completed until 1730 when M. de Maurepas commissioned the Abbé Sallier and the Abbé Savin to make a further inspection of the manuscripts with a view to their acquisition and distribution between the Bibliothèque du Roi and the *Dépot des Archives des Affaires Etrangères*. The Abbé Sallier reported the existence of between 630 and 640 bound volumes of manuscripts (the exact number was later found to be 642), 230 of which were large volumes of diplomatic papers, some of them original documents. The result was that the entire collection was purchased for the sum of 12,000 livres. From the catalogue made by the Abbé Sallier, M. de Chauvelin made a selection of 229 volumes which were transferred from the Bibliothèque du Roi to the *Dépot* in February, 1731. Sixteen, stamped with the arms of the President de Mesmes, were returned to the *Bibliothèque* in 1733<sup>1</sup>.

We should note at this point a striking discrepancy between the earlier report of 1725 and the report made by the Abbé Sallier in 1730, immediately prior to the sale. It raises a doubt whether in fact the d'Avaux volumes were included in the sale. The Abbé Sallier refers in connection with *des ambassades, des négociations*, to those of Claude de Mesmes, but makes no mention of those of our Count. Moreover, the inventory of the 229 volumes assigned to the *Dépot* lists only 26 volumes of his papers. One volume is entitled *Relation de l'Ambassade de M. d'Avaux en Suède, en 1693*<sup>2</sup>. No indications are given of the contents of the other 25 volumes, which are merely listed under the heading *Négociations de M. d'Avaux*. One wonders what has happened the other 15 volumes or more, required to make the total of about 40 volumes reported to be among the de Mesmes collections in 1725. M. Baschet nevertheless concludes, apparently on the strength of this earlier report, that the acquisition of 1731 included all the diplomatic corres-

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 194, 210–218.

<sup>2</sup> Corresponding in date to F.O. 95/576 P.R.O.

pondence of the two d'Avaux ambassadors<sup>1</sup>. His authority carries great weight. However, in view of the unexplained discrepancy between the two reports, one cannot wholly exclude the possibility that the forty volumes or more in question were sold between 1726 and 1730 to some dealer, possibly English. There were English dealers in evidence about this time. For example, M. de Maurepas had purchased in 1720 from English dealers part of the library of M. de Lomenie de Brienne, Bishop of Coutances, who had inherited the state papers of his family, distinguished in the diplomatic service from the time of Henry IV. This acquisition was presented by the secretary of state, M. de Chauvelin, to the *Dépot* in 1732.

## VI

What emerges as practically certain is that all the d'Avaux volumes were originally in the de Mesmes library. The weight of the evidence supports the suggestion of their acquisition for the Bibliothèque du Roi, and their transfer to the *Dépot*. The alternative suggestion that they were sold privately between 1725 and 1730 would entail that they lay unused and ignored in private or public possession, French or English, for the following hundred years or so. For they can hardly have come into the custody of the Foreign Office before 1815. If deposited there it is hardly credible that they would have passed unnoticed by English historians, who were so actively in search of the French documentary material for the period of the revolution.

If, on the other hand, they were acquired for the *Dépot*, how did they come to pass from its possession? The custodians of national archives, not least those of France, were then as now constitutionally disposed to hold fast to the historical deposits within their care. They would not have parted with any of them except on ministerial instructions. The deep interest of the ministers for foreign affairs in the *Dépot* has been sufficiently noted. It had become part of the tradition of the secretariat of state for foreign affairs to go on developing the historical archives of the ministry.

This being so, an exchange of collections between the English

<sup>1</sup> "Il faudrait conclure, d'après ce nouvel inventaire, que toutes les négociations des d'Avaux, tant les anciennes que les récentes, furent comprises dans la vente faite en 1730."

and French authorities suggests itself as a possible explanation. The French, having the bulk of the original documents, and much more of the d'Avaux correspondence, would have lost little in parting with the volumes of duplicates. The alternative explanation would be that the volumes were lost or stolen, or at any rate got in some underhand manner by dealers in the revolutionary conditions of 1789 to 1801, or in 1815, during the allied occupation of Paris.

The first suggestion is worth considering. As it happens conditions were unusually favourable to some such exchange from about the middle of the century to 1775. Beginning with Thomas Carte, the indefatigable collector of manuscripts, who visited the French archives in 1748, there developed increasingly close contacts between English and French historians and archivists. They originated, on the French side, in negotiations for the acquisition of historical documents of French interest which were to be found in English archives. According to Baschet negotiations were initiated in 1743 but abandoned on account of the outbreak of war in that year. The fact that Thomas Carte was in Paris about 1748 may mean that he was on some official or semi-official mission. His younger contemporary, Sir John Dalrymple tells us that Carte had permission from 'the Stuart family' to consult the memoirs of James II and the other Jacobite state papers in the Scotch College at Paris. Negotiations were resumed from the French side notably with the diplomatist and Keeper of the *Dépot*, François-Michel Durand, who was twice in the course of his career *chargé d'affaires* in London. From 1762 to 1768 he was the prime mover in various attempts to procure authenticated copies of French historical documents in English archives, particularly the medieval deeds and other memorials dating from the English occupation of France's western provinces. His enquiries in English sources bore fruit in the two official missions to England, undertaken by M. Félix de Bréquigny between 1764 and 1766 in search of *les titres concernant l'Histoire de France*, as a result of which M. de Bréquigny returned from London in October, 1766, with 90 portfolios of documents which were distributed between the *Dépot* and the Bibliothèque du Roi.

Three years or so later there arrived in France Sir John Dalrymple whose researches in diplomatic records in French as well as English sources were to make him somewhat of a

pioneer in the history of the antecedents and course of the 'glorious revolution.' While engaged in the preparation of his *Memoirs of Great Britain and Ireland . . . [1681-1692]*, he twice visited the *Dépot*, "a place," he tells us, "to which no British subject except myself was ever admitted." As students of the period know, the second volume of the first edition of the *Memoirs*<sup>1</sup> consists of an appendix of documents, which Sir John Dalrymple selected mainly (a) from the dispatches of French ambassadors, principally those of M. Barillon, in the *Dépot*, and (b) from the domestic state papers, now in the Record Office.

From the prefaces written by Sir John Dalrymple in 1771, 1773, and 1787 for the two editions of his *Memoirs*, supplemented by what we learn from Baschet of the state of affairs at the *Dépot*, we can infer with some assurance that Dalrymple paid two visits to the *Dépot*, the first in 1769 or 1770 and the second certainly in the summer of 1772. The Duc de Choiseul had given instructions that Dalrymple should have copies of the documents he required. It was on the instructions of the Duc d'Aiguillon, his successor in the ministry for foreign affairs, that M. Durand, late in 1772, supplied Dalrymple with copies of the French dispatches which he published in the following year in the second volume of the *Memoirs*. There is, however, no evidence that Dalrymple made any use of the d'Avaux correspondence in the *Dépot*, nor even that he was aware of its existence.

The conjecture that the d'Avaux volumes were acquired in the course of these transactions in the sixties and seventies of the century need not be completely dismissed, but it becomes the less likely the more closely it is considered. If they came to England in what may be called the ordinary way, such as by gift or by orthodox purchase, they might be expected to find their way to the State Papers Office, the normal repository for such documents. It does not appear that there is any record to this effect. A more conclusive objection—and one equally applicable to official and unofficial acquisition—is the

<sup>1</sup> Sir John Dalrymple, *Memoirs of Great Britain and Ireland . . . [1681-1692]* 2 Vols. London and Edinburgh, 1771 and 1773. Later edition 3 Vols. London 1790. The second edition, which was completed in 1787, contains a continuation [Part III vol. III pp. 1-380] of the *Memoirs*, bringing the history from the naval battle of La Hogue [1692] down to the naval battle at Vigo [1702]. The original documents, published separately in vol. II of the first edition, appear in appendices, in their proper places, in vols. I, II, III of the extended later work.

apparently complete absence of any reference to their existence by English historians or archivists during the eighteenth century. Indeed, the printing of the Irish volume in 1844-1845 appears to have been the first public indication of the possession by the Foreign Office of such a collection.

The researches of Sir John Dalrymple had the effect of turning the attention of historians to the wealth of material in the *Dépot* for the reigns of the last two Stuart Kings. One noteworthy result was that twelve years after the publication of the second edition of the *Memoirs*, and following the Peace of Amiens in 1802, Charles James Fox, accompanied by his private secretary and some friends paid a three months visit to Paris. He "passed a great part of every morning" working at the *Dépot* where rooms were placed at the disposal of the party. Copies were taken of the numerous Barillon dispatches that had been passed over by Sir John Dalrymple, and the extensive Dutch correspondence of the Comte d'Avaux, from 1684 to 1688, was copied in its entirety<sup>1</sup>. The absence of any reference to the Count's Irish correspondence is again to be noted.

In the following years there were two more notable visitors to the *Dépot*, Sir James Mackintosh in 1815<sup>2</sup> and Lord John Russell in 1819 and again in 1829. While it appears that Lord Russell was interested in the Stuart correspondence in the *Dépot*,<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Baschet, pp. 428-432 : C. J. Fox, *A History of the early part of the reign of James II*, Ed. by V. Fox, Lord Holland, 1 vol. 1808, London. J. B. Trotter, *Memoirs of the latter years of R. H. C. James Fox*, 1 vol. London, 1811. *Memorials and Correspondence of Charles James Fox*. Edited by Lord John Russell and published in London in vols. I, II, III [1853-54], vol. IV [1857]. The correspondence contains but one incidental reference to Fox's researches in the *Dépot*. Writing from Paris, October 27th, 1802 he remarks. "My work is finished, and we stay now only in expectation of my brother, who writes word that he will be here on the 2nd of November."

<sup>2</sup> During Talleyrand's brief term as Minister of Foreign Affairs, following the battle of Waterloo, he granted Sir James Mackintosh access to the *Dépot des Archives des Affaires Étrangères*, overruling the Keeper of the *Dépot*, M. d'Hauterive, who had refused Mackintosh this permission.

Baschet, pp. 449-452 "Quant au travail accompli par Sir James Mackintosh, M. d'Hauterive, après avoir pu en arrêter par-devers lui les résultats, dut soumettre son exigence devant l'esprit plus libéral de son chef et ministre. M. de Talleyrand jugea en dernier lieu, et l'historien triompha de la jalouse et véritablement excessive de l'archiviste."

<sup>3</sup> Baschet, p. 460. See also Spencer Walpole, *Life of Lord John Russell*. Vol. 1, pp. 102-103, 113-114, 163-164. *Memoirs, Journal and Correspondence of Thomas Moore*. Edited by Lord John Russell. Vol. III (*Diary*, 7th September, 1819), p. 6. "Lord John [Russell] talks of staying a fortnight at Paris, having to consult Barillon's papers for a second edition of his 'Life of Lord Russell'. Hauterive, who has the care of these papers, was very uncivil to him on a former occasion when he applied for a sight of them. The same person refused to let Mackintosh see some papers for his history, and afterwards boasted to the Duke of Wellington of his having done so."

the main object of his later visit was to procure the French text of the letters between Fox and Talleyrand relating to the negotiations of 1806. Part of the correspondence is printed in the fourth volume (pp. 145-173) of the *Memorials and Correspondence of Charles James Fox* which Lord Russell published in 1857.

Sir James Mackintosh whose fame as an author goes back to the publication of the *Vindiciae Gallicae* in 1791, paid his first visit to the *Dépot* in 1815 in connection with his studies in the history of the Stuarts, part of which was published in 1834, two years after his death, in the *History of the Revolution in England in 1688*. Presumably it was during this visit that he came to know of the existence in the *Dépot* of the Irish correspondence of the Comte d'Avaux.

What are we to make of the silence of Charles James Fox and Sir James Mackintosh regarding the massive collection of d'Avaux correspondence in the Foreign Office, if it was really there in their time. Both were in a position to have known of its existence, if it were there; and containing, as it did, much of the correspondence in search of which they visited the *Dépot*, it is scarcely credible that they would not have consulted it or at least made some mention of it. The obvious inference is that the collection was not in the Foreign Office until after 1815. As to the manner of its acquisition, the absence of any record is significant though not probative that it was in the first instance an unofficial and private transaction, such as a bookseller's sale. Large numbers of MSS from France found their way to England during the Revolution and the Napoleonic wars. Thus in 1836 Thomas Thorpe, the London bookseller, was offering over 1,400 MSS., mostly, if not entirely, French, for public sale.

It goes without saying that an ounce of fact would be worth a ton of conjecture, and it is to be hoped that some record will be yet forthcoming to establish the facts. They may not be of much historical importance but they are of interest as is anything bearing on Irish affairs in 1689-1690, the years in which Ireland was the pivot of the crisis in European history.

In conclusion, I wish to record my grateful acknowledgments to the Library officials and staffs who facilitated our searches in the Jacobite records in their keeping, and for permission to publish the D'Avaux documents included in the present supplement; to M. Amédée Outrey, Director of the Archives of

the *Ministère Des Affaires Étrangères*; to Mr. David L. Evans, Deputy-Keeper of the Public Record Office, London, for permission to reproduce as frontispiece the photograph of the D'Avaux Irish volume, and in particular to Mr. R. H. Ellis for a most helpful communication on the armorial bindings of the D'Avaux volumes in the Record Office; to Dr. Richard Hayes, Director of the National Library of Ireland, who gave much assistance and made available microfilms of Franco-Irish correspondence in the *Archives Nationales*. A special debt of gratitude is due to Rev. Urban Flanagan, O.P., for several reports on the Irish volume in the Record Office, and on the D'Avaux documents in the Mackintosh Collection in the British Museum. My thanks are also due to Dr. Kathleen O'Flaherty and Dr. Delaporte of University College, Cork, and to Miss E. Brereton, secretary of the Manuscripts Commission. All statements of facts and opinions expressed in the introduction are, of course, the editor's sole responsibility.

JAMES HOGAN.



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## [ A ]

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le 6<sup>e</sup> mars, 1689, à Brest.  
(Archives Nationales, Paris. Ministère de la Guerre. A1, 892).
- II. M. le Comte d'Avaux au Roi.  
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le 24<sup>e</sup> mars, 1689, à Brest.  
(Ministère des Affaires Etrangères. Angleterre 168. ff. 36, 37).
- XI. M. le Comte d'Avaux à M. de Croissy.  
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(Ministère des Affaires Etrangères. Angleterre 168. f. 60).

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(Ministère des Affaires Etrangères. Angleterre 168. f. 59).
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- XIV. M. le Comte d'Avaux au Roi.  
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- XV. M. le Comte d'Avaux à M. de Croissy.  
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- XVI. M. le Comte d'Avaux au Roi.  
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- XXII. Estat des officiers d'artillerie que le Roy veut entretenir en Irlande, envoyé par M<sup>r</sup> le Comte d'Avaux avec sa lettre du 6<sup>e</sup> juin, 1689, à Dublin.  
(Archives Nationales, Paris. Ministère de la Guerre. A1. 892).

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- XXIII. Estat des officiers françois qui vont à Dery et de ceux qui demeurent à Dublin et restent à Corck, envoyé par M<sup>r</sup> le Comte d'Avaux avec sa lettre du 6<sup>e</sup> juin, 1689, à Dublin.  
(Archives Nationales, Paris. Ministère de la Guerre. A1. 892).
- XXIV. M. le Comte d'Avaux à M. de Louvois le 10<sup>e</sup> juillet, 1689, à Dublin.  
(Archives Nationales, Paris. Ministère de la Guerre. A1. 893).
- XXV. Proclamation du Roy d'Angleterre pour l'augmentation des monnoyes, envoyée par M<sup>r</sup> le Comte d'Avaux avec sa lettre du 10<sup>e</sup> juillet, 1689, à Dublin.  
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le 26 juillet, 1689, à Dublin.  
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- XXVII. Extrait des reveues faites des troupes campées près Dublin, envoyé par M<sup>r</sup> le Comte d'Avaux avec sa lettre du 30<sup>e</sup> aoust 1689.  
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le 30<sup>e</sup> octobre, 1689, à Ardee.  
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- XXX. M. le Comte d'Avaux à M. de Croissy.  
le 6 decembre, 1689, à Dublin.  
(British Museum. Add. MS. 34, 490. Mackintosh Collection).

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[ B ]

*Letters to M. le Comte d'Avaux. From Archives Nationales. Paris.  
Dépôt de la Guerre. AI. 893.*

- I. M. Roze à M. le Comte d'Avaux                    8/18 juillet, 1689.
- II. M. Roze à M. le Comte d'Avaux  
(No date to letter—sent with M. d'Avaux's of 26 juillet 1689).
- III. M. Roze à M. le Comte d'Avaux                    20 juillet, 1689.
- IV. M. Roze à M. le Comte d'Avaux                    28 juillet, 1689.
- V. M. le Marquis de Lery à M. le Comte d'Avaux                    8 aoust, 1689.
- VI. M. Fumeron à M. le Comte d'Avaux                    29 juillet/8 aoust, 1689.

NEGOCIATIONS DE M. LE COMTE D'AVAUX  
EN IRLANDE

SUPPLEMENTARY CORRESPONDENCE

[A]

I. *M. Le Comte d'Avaux à M. de Louvois*  
*du 6<sup>e</sup> mars 1689 à Brest.\**

Monsieur,

Les mauvais chemins et les chevaux qu'on avoit retenu presque partout pour le Roy d'Angleterre, n'ont pas empesché que nous ne soyons arrivez, M<sup>r</sup> Roze et moy hier à cinq heures du soir à Brest trois heures avant le Roy d'Angleterre, j'ay donné la lettre dont vous m'avez chargé à M<sup>r</sup> de Cintré, et j'ay parlé aux Commis de l'Extraordinaire de la guerre, ils n'ont pu encore avoir que 48000 ecus en argent blanc, et n'esperent pas en pouvoir trouver encore plus de 7 ou 8000. Nous verrons cependant eux et moy si nous ne pourrons rien faire de mieux. Ils m'ont dit qu'on les a rançonnez à Morlais et que les particuliers de la ville leur donnant de l'argent assez aisément, des banquiers ont fait courir le bruit qu'on alloit remettre les louis d'or à onze francs, que cela a fait fermer les bourses, et que ces Banquiers ont voulu apres celà trois sols pour chaque louis, et qu'ils se sont accommodez à un, il me paroist que nous vivrons en bonne intelligence M<sup>r</sup> Roze et moy, nous le devons pour le bien du service et nous y sommes assez portez de nous mesmes, nous ne serions pas encore ici si nous avions trouvé partout des gens aussy negatifs et durs que M<sup>r</sup> de Morvaux qui me manda qu'il n'y avoit pas de chevaux, j'allay le voir, et apres avoir perdu huit heures de temps, il nous en fit donner de si meschans que nous les changeâmes à la porte de la ville ou nous en trouvames plus que nous n'en avions à faire. Cette lettre, Monsieur, vous sera rendue par un courier de M<sup>r</sup> de Seignelay qui est ici et que le Roy d'Angleterre va despêcher, j'ay cru que vous aymeriez mieux que je me servisse de cette voye que d'attendre à demain au soir à me donner l'honneur de vous escrire par la poste, je vous demande toujours, Monsieur, la continuation de l'honneur de votre protection, et je vous suplie de me croire, etc.

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\* Published by M. Campana de Cavelli, *Les Derniers Stuarts à Saint-Germain-en-Laye*, t. ii, p. 561-62.

## NEGOCIATIONS DE M. LE COMTE D'AVAUX EN IRLANDE

II.

*M. d'Avaux au Roi*

*le 6 de Mars 1689 à Brest\**

Sire,

Je ne me donne l'honneur d'escrire à Vostre Majesté que pour luy rendre compte de mon arrivée en cette ville. Je m'y rendis hier à cinq heures du soir trois heures avant le Roy d'Angleterre. Nous avons eu des peines tres grandes Mr Rose et moy car nous sommes venus de compagnie à trouver des chevaux et des voitures, mais enfin nous voila arrivez avec un grand desir de nous bien acquitter de l'employ dont vostre majesté nous a honorez. Comme le yent n'est pas propre le Roy d'Angleterre ne s'embarquera pas aujourd'huy, mais des que le vent changera on ne perdra pas un moment de temps à mettre à la voile. Je supplie tres humblement votre Majesté d'estre persuadée que comme je n'ay point consideré ny mes interests particuliers ny mes affaires domestiques qui ont beaucoup souffert par mon depart, je continueray à n'avoir dans cette occasion ou dans tout le reste de ma vie d'autre but que le bien du service de vostre majesté, ce que j'espere luy faire encore mieux connaître par mes actions, que par tout ce que je pourrais luy dire.

Je suis avec un tres profond respect

Sire

de Vostre Majesté

Le tres humble tres obeissant

et tres fidele serviteur et sujet

D'AVAUX

III.

*M. d'Avaux à M. de Croissy*

*le 6<sup>e</sup> Mars 1689 à Brest.*

Je viens d'apprendre, Monsieur, que l'on va depescher un courrier de Monsieur de Seignelay qui est ici, c'est ce qui m'a obligé d'escrire au Roy par cette voie car j'ay cru que vous aymeriez mieux que je m'en servisse que d'attendre à demain au soir à vous rendre compte de mon arrivée en cette ville. J'ay été une partie du chemin à cheval, j'ay marché à pied

\* Campana de Cavelli, *op. cit.*, t. ii, p. 561.

## SUPPLEMENTARY CORRESPONDENCE

et je suis arrivé avec un seul laquais, M<sup>r</sup> de St. Disdier estant venu par eau apres moy depuis Orleans ou il s'est trouve mal, et mon valet de chambre estant tombé fort malade en chemin. Je vous suplie que je vous dise pour vous seul seulement que tout le monde trouve l'equipage des vaisseaux fort faible, il n'y a que trois cens trente hommes sur celuy que monte le Roy d'Angleterre, et s'il falloit combattre on ne seroit pas servi, autrefois on en mettoit plus de cinq cens. Mr. le Mareschal d'Estrees m'a dit qu'il l'avoit mandé à Monsieur de Seignelay qui ne l'avoit pas trouvé bon, et comme ce n'est pas mon affaire, je me contente de vous en informer. J'ay rendu votre lettre, Monsieur, à M. de Cintre à qui j'adresseray les miennes quand je seray en irlande. Je vous suplie tres humblement de me conserver toujours l'honneur de votre protection et d'estre persuadé de mon entier attachement et du profond respect avec lequel je suis.

Mes secretaires, mon cuisinier et mon officier ne sont pas encore arrivez et je me trouve seul sans equipage et sans domestiques, Il n'y a que M. de St. Disdier d'arrivé cette nuit.

Vostre tres humble

et tres obeissant serviteur

D'AVAUX

IV.

*M. d'Avaux au Roi\**

*à Brest ce lundy septieme à cinq heures apres midy.*

Sire,

Le vent estant devenu un peu favorable, le Roy d'Angleterre a resolu d'aller à bord, il y va dans ce moment ce lundy à cinq heures apres midy, et il espere de pouvoir mettre à la voile demain à quatre heures du matin.

Je suis avec un tres profond respect

Je m'embarque sur le mesme vaisseau sur lequel est le Roy d'Angleterre.

Sire

de Vostre Majesté

Le tres humble tres obeissant  
et tres fidelle serviteur

D'AVAUX

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\* Campana de Cavelli, *op cit*, t. ii, p. 567.

NEGOCIATIONS DE M. LE COMTE D'AVAUX EN IRLANDE

V.

*M. d'Avaux à M. de Croissy*

*A Brest le 7 de mars.*

Nous allons Monsieur nous embarquer, et ce qui me chagrine extremement c'est que mes gens qui ne pourraient tous venir par le poste, ne sont pas encore arrivez, me voila sans secretaire car pour mon cuisinier et mon officier, je m'en passeray plus commodelement. J'espere neantmoins qu'ils passeront avec les premiers vaisseaux. Je suis avec un entier attachement et un profond respect, vostre tres humble et tres obeissant serviteur.

D'AVAUX

VI.

*M. d'Avaux à M. de Louvois*

*du 7<sup>e</sup> mars 1689 à Brest.*

Monsieur

Vous avez marqué dans les instructions de M. de Maumont, que le Roy payeroit les officiers et les soldats jusqu'au jour du debarquement, comme nous allons nous mettre à bord aujourd'huy avec le Roy d'Angleterre, je croy que vous donnerez les ordres necessaires icy pour le payement de ces troupes. Milord Melfort me demande la subsistance de quelques officiers anglois qui sont desja arrivez, et qui s'embarquent avec le Roy d'Angleterre. On les payera depuis le jour qu'ils sont arrivez à Brest jusques à aujourd'huy, mais on le prendre sur le fond des Commis de l'extraordinaire de la guerre ; ces deux commis seront sur le vaisseau du Roy d'Angleterre avec tout l'argent. Je suis, etc.

VII.

*M. d'Avaux à M. de Croissy*

*A la rade de Brest 11 de Mars.*

J'ay receu la lettre, Monsieur, que vous m'avez fait l'honneur de m'escrire. je me donne l'honneur de vous en envoyer une du Roy d'Angleterre pour la Reine.

Comme je fermais mes lettres Milord Milfort est venu à bord sur le vaisseau ou est sa majesté britanique et m'a demandé si la poste partait ce soir, et sur ce que je luy ai dit qu'elle alloit partir, il a demandé une plume et de l'encre et s'est mis à escrire

## SUPPLEMENTARY CORRESPONDENCE

une lettre sur le bout de la table pour estre imprimée et envoyée en Escosse. C'est travailler avec bien de la facilité mais ce n'est pas le moyen de faire de bonnes choses, il me semble qu'il y faut un peu plus rever d'oresnavant, je le prieray que nous concertions ces choses là ensembles. Je me chargeray de vous envoyer celle qu'il vient de faire et qui à peine pourra estre finie pour l'heure de la poste. Il va sur son vaisseau pour y mettre le sceau, je suis avec entier attachement et

un profond respect Monsieur  
vostre tres humble et tres obeissant  
serviteur

D'AVAUX

VIII.

*M. d'Avaux à M. de Louvois*

*du 14<sup>e</sup> mars 1689 à la rade de Brest.*

Monsieur

Depuis la dernière lettre que j'ay eu l'honneur de vous escrire le reste des balots est arrivé, il fait un vent si violent aujourd' huy qu'on ne peut les charger sur les vaisseaux, ce sera pour demain, comme on donne une fregatte de plus, et que celle qui a porté Milord Dungan en Irlande vient de revenir, tous les ballots pourront estre embarquez, je suis, etc.

IX.

*Adition [To letter of 23 mars 1689]\**

Je ne vous mande rien Monsieur de l'estat de cette place, je laisse à ceux du mestier à vous en rendre compte.

Je me donne l'honneur Monsieur de vous envoyer le receu de 270 balots, les autres sont dans les fregates qu'on envoie à Cork ou elles porteront ces balots dont je prendray un receu.

Copie du receu que M<sup>r</sup> le Comte d'Avaux envoie avec sa lettre du 23<sup>e</sup> mars 1689 à Kinsale.

Je reconnois avoir receu 270 ballots d'armes que M. le Comte d'Avaux m'a fait remettre dans le fort de Kinsale, et que j'ay consigné par ordre du Roy de la grande Bretagne mon maistre dans le magazin dudit fort. Fait à Kinsale le 24 Mars 1689.

R. Tempest.

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\* Note: The letter, but not the Adition, is printed in the *Négociations de M. le Comte d'Avaux en Irlande*, p. 26.

NEGOCIATIONS DE M. LE COMTE D'AVAUX EN IRLANDE  
X. *M. d'Avaux à M. de Croissy*

*A la rade de Brest le 24[?]\* de Mars.*

On arresta hier, Monsieur, un maistre de navire anglais qui avait laissé sa barque à quatre lieues d'icy. il est parti il y a un mois d'Angleterre, ainsy, il n'y a pas d'apparence qu'il vint faire icy l'espion; on croit qu'il vouloit frauder les droits, ou emmener les protestans, comme il en a desja fait sortir quelques uns hors du Royaume. Comme tout cela est incertain, en que cet homme est entre les mains de M. de Bersy je ne me donne pas l'honneur d'en escrire au Roy. Toutes les armes que le Roy donne au Roy d'Angleterre sont embarquez. Je suis avec un entier attachement et un profond respect, Monsieur, vostre tres humble et tres obeissant serviteur.

D'AVAUX.

Je prends la liberté de mettre dans vostre paquet une lettre du Roy d'Angleterre pour la Reine.

On aura de la peine à tenir les choses bien secrètes avec le Roy d'Angleterre, car il parle de tout devant tout le monde, ici il a interrogé cet homme qu'on a soupconné d'estre espion en presence de tout l'équipage du vaisseau où nous sommes, il en a fait de mesme au capitaine qui revient d'irlande. J'ay pris la liberté de lui dire mon sentiment la dessus, il a trouvé que j'avois raison, mais il faudra estre attentif à chaque occasion pour empescher qu'il ne se communique si aisement.

XI. *M. d'Avaux à M. de Croissy*

*A Kork le 26 de mars à midi.*

Je recois dans ce moment, monsieur, par un courrier la lettre dont le Roy m'a honoré le 12 de ce mois, et comme ce courrier est chargé d'un paquet important pour M. de Gabaret, il ne me donne le loisir que de vous accuser le reception de cette lettre. J'y feray response par le retour de ce courrier. Je suis avec un profond respect Monsieur votre tres humble, etc.

D'AVAUX.

XII. *M. d'Avaux à M. de Croissy*

*A Kork le 29 de mars.*

Je ne doute pas, Monsieur, qu'on ne songe à envoyer des bastimens pour porter les lettres en Irlande. J'ay oy dire

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\* Probably the correct date is *le 14 de Mars*, since d'Avaux was at Brest on that date, and at Kinsale on 24 March [N.S.].

## SUPPLEMENTARY CORRESPONDENCE

que les corvettes de dunkerque sont admirables pour cela. Sans ce secours on aurait peine à informer le Roy de ce qui se passe en ce pays. Je suis avec un entier attachement et un profond respect, Monsieur, vostre tres humble et tres obeissant serviteur.

D'AVAUX.

### XIII. *M. d'Avaux à M. de Louvois*

*du 30 mars 1689 au chateau de Lismore à 20 miles de Corck.*  
Monsieur,

Je n'ay le temps que de vous dire que Milord Tirconnel s'est mis dans un carosse avec moy de Corck icy, et qu'il m'a entretenu de plusieurs choses dont j'auray l'honneur de vous rendre compte au premier jour, mais, Monsieur, je ne veux pas differer jusques la à vous dire qu'il m'a fort prié de vous asseurer de ses respects, et qu'il me l'a dit d'un maniere que je voys bien que tout ce que j'auray à lui respondre de vostre part lui sera un sensible plaisir. Je suis, etc.

### XIV. *M. d'Avaux au Roi*

*30 mars 1689 au chateau de lismour.*

Sire,

A l'arrivée du Roy d'Angleterre dans ce chateau à cinq heures du soir, il a receu des nouvelles d'Escosse et du nord d'Irlande par le retour d'un expres qu'il avait envoyé de St. Germain en Escosse. Cet homme a rapporté que M<sup>r</sup> le Duc de Gourdon tient le chateau d'Edimbourg et qu'il en est absolument le maistre, et que quelques montagnards ont desja pris les armes pour le Roy d'Angleterre. C'est, sire, ce qui a fait resoudre sa majesté Britanique à envoyer quelques gentilshommes du nord d'Escosse qu'elle a avec elle pour soustenir ces montagnards et y en faire joindre d'autres dont ils sont les maistres.

Ce memme expres qui est venu par le nord d'Irlande a dit à Sa Majesté Britanique que le 24 de ce mois M. Amilton avait joint les rebelles qui faisoient pres de trois mille hommes, que ces rebelles l'avoient attendu presque à la portée du mousquet, mais que se voyant prests à estre enveloppez par la

NEGOCIATIONS DE M. LE COMTE D'AVAUX EN IRLANDE  
cavalerie ils avoient lasché pied, qu'on en avoit tué 60 ou 80,  
et que le reste s'en estoit enfui, que du costé du Roy il n'y a  
eu qu'un homme tué.

Je suis avec un tres profond respect  
de Vostre Majesté  
le tres humble tres obeissant  
et tres fidelle sujet et serviteur.

D'AVAUX.

au chasteau de lismore  
30 mars à six heures du soir.

XV. *M. d'Avaux à M. de Croissy*  
*Au chasteau de lismore à vingt mille de Cork ce 30 mars à six*  
*heures du soir.*

Le Roy d'Angleterre, Monsieur, ayant apris de bonnes nouvelles en arrivant en ce chasteau je n'ay pas voulu perdre l'occasion d'un expres qu'il envoye apres le courier qui est parti ce matin pour en donner part à sa majesté. Je suis avec un entier attachement et un profond respect Monsieur vostre tres humble et tres obeissant serviteur.

D'AVAUX.

XVI. *Le Comte d'Avaux au Roi.*  
*Dublin, 17 avril 1689\*.*

Sire,

Comme on n'a pas trouvé d'occasion pour envoyer des lettres en France je n'ay pu faire partir celle cy que j'avaisachevée il y a deux jours; ainsy j'auray l'honneur de rendre compte aujourd' hui à Vostre Majesté de ma première audience que j'eus hier du Roy d'Angleterre.

Sa Majesté Britannique m'avoit dit la veille qu'il me prioit d'excuser si on ne faisoit pas toutes les cérémonies accoustumées, il adjouta en mesme temps que si on m'en faisoit trop ou trop peu, cela ne seroit pas tiré à conséquence, je luy repondis que je pouvois l'asseurer que si on me faisoit plus qu'à l'ordinaire, les ambassadeurs de Votre Majesté n'en tireroient point advantage et que si l'on en faisoit moins, Vostre Majesté ne le trouveroit pas mauvais dans la conjoncture présente. Cependant je fus reçu presque aussy bien que j'aurois esté à Londres et beaucoup mieux que je n'aurois cru en ce pays-cy.

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\* Printed from text in Campana de Cavelli, *op cit.* t. ii, p. 585-86.

## SUPPLEMENTARY CORRESPONDENCE

J'allais dans une maison de cette ville qui est dans un beau quartier où le Duc Tyrconnel vint me trouver avec trois de ses carrosses à six chevaux qui sont à présent ceux du Roy ; nous étions suivis de près de vingt carrosses à six chevaux et de quelques-unes à quatre et à deux. Le Régiment que le Maire de cette ville a levé à ses dépens estoit en haye depuis la maison où j'étais allé jusques au Château ; le peuple fut fort aise de voir une cérémonie qui n'avoit jamais été faite en ce pays-cy. Le Duc de Powis comme grand Chambellan, vint me recevoir hors de la salle où estoit le Roy à qui j'eus l'honneur de rendre la lettre de Vostre Majesté, apres lui avoir fait un discours que j'ay l'honneur d'envoyer à Vostre Majesté. J'ay tasché de n'y rien mettre que ce qui convenoit naturellement au sujet.

Le Roy d'Angleterre m'en parust fort content; il m'ordonna de dire à Vostre Majesté qu'il auroit toute la reconnaissance possible des secours qu'il en recevoit et que s'il estoit rétabli dans ses Estats, il auroit pour Vostre Majesté une amitié inviolable et vivroit dans une étroite alliance. Il me pria d'asseurer Vostre Majesté que rien ne pourroit le détacher de ses intérêts et qu'il en auroit reconnaissance non pas de Roy mais de gentilhomme. Il finit par quelque honnesteté qui me regardoit, etc.

### XVII.

Estat des officiers françois qui sont en Irlande et des emplois qu'ils y ont, envoyé par M<sup>r</sup> le C. d'Avaux avec sa lettre du 6 juin 1689\* à Dublin.

	Capitaines.
lieute. colonel ..	Lamothe d'Arquez .. de Brie
	de Beaupré .. de Tournesis
	Cleronnay .. dans l'isle de France
	Belnoc .. de Dauphiné
	d'Auger .. de la Reyné
	Panhuet .. de la marine
	Daumay .. d'Anjou
faits majors	Senneville .. de Picardie
	Fressieu .. de Beaugelois
	Millot .. de Champagne
	Marigny .. de Champagne
	Bucez .. de Bassigny
	des Bordes .. de Picardie

This letter, but not the "Estat," is printed in the *Négociations* under June 7th, p. 206 f.

## NEGOCIATIONS DE M. LE COMTE D'AVAUX EN IRLANDE

### Capitaines.

faits majors	La Montade	.. de Champagne
	Coulange	.. de la Reyne
	Montgouge	.. de Bresse
	Lapanousse	.. de Lorraine
	du Bousquet	.. du Dauphiné
	Clinchamp	.. de la Marche
	de Vimenay	.. Reformé de Cavallerie
	de Fleury	.. Reformé de dragons
ils ont commissions de Majors	de Roussillon	.. Reformé d'infanterie

### Lieutenants.

ils ont commissions de Majors	Du Fay	.. .. de Beausse
	Desfossez	.. .. de Nivernois
	D'arpentigny	.. .. des fusiliers
	Morel	.. .. de la Reyne
	de Nociere	.. .. de Beaugeolois
	Quayla	.. .. de Picardie
	S <sup>e</sup> Marie	.. .. de Picardie

### Lieutenants.

Ils ont des commissions de capitaines	de Jarnac	.. .. de Normandie
	du Cerf	.. .. de Champagne
	de Neuville	.. .. de Picardie
	d'Attentot	.. .. de Bassigny
	de la Cour	.. .. de Castres
	de Magnac	.. .. d'Aunis
	deschamps	.. .. de Perigord
	Bassabat	.. .. de la Marche
	La sabliere	.. .. de Bresse
	S <sup>t</sup> pierre	.. .. de Soissonnois
	de portail	.. .. du Dauphiné
	Boischapelle	.. .. de Luxembourg
	La Barre	.. .. de Lorraine
	La Brouë	.. .. de Forest

## SUPPLEMENTARY CORRESPONDENCE

### Officiers des gentils hommes.

il demande { La Bastide .. sous lieutenant des gentils  
d'estre major } hommes de Cambray avec  
commission de Capitaine.

ils ont commissions de capitaines { Condomy .. de Cambray } officiers des gentils-  
Dassy .. de Tournay hommes marquez  
Legoutail .. de Cambray tels sur l'estat  
Belligny .. de Cambray envoyé de la cour.  
Cauvin .. de Cambray }

### Pretendus officiers des gentilshommes.

ils sont allez à Dery sans commission rien n'ayant encore été décidé à leur esgard { Demonts .. de Longwy  
Moleinier .. de Longwy  
du Fay .. de Tournay  
Coulouvray .. de Tournay  
Mezaria .. de Tournay  
du peloux .. de Longwy  
du Mont .. de Longwy  
Jobert .. de Longwy  
de Rocher .. de Longwy  
Charmont .. de Tournay  
Joux .. de Tournay  
Vignaux .. de Tournay }

ceux cy n'estoient pas marquez sur l'estat envoyé de la cour comme officiers, mais ils en ont des certificats.

### Simples Cadets de Charlemont.

ils ont commissions de Lieutenans { Labardonniere  
La Martiniere  
Rouville  
du Pont  
la Porte  
de Bruez  
Neuville  
Pouray, Meres, Torel }

## NEGOCIATIONS DE M. LE COMTE D'AVAUX EN IRLANDE

### Simples Cadets de Tournay.

Ils ont des  
commissions de  
Lieutenans

Bellemare	Simples Cadets de Cambray
Boucault	
Fontenelle	
	Simples Cadets de Longwy
Cassan	
Riché	
Cavelier	
St. Bleumont	
Dombliere	
St. Phale	
Cossy	
du Teil	
Serrazin	
Eyrault	

### XVIII.

Destail du payement que le Roy d'Angleterre veut estre fait à ses troupes, tant d'Infanterie que de Cavallerie et dragons, qui sont en Irlande, envoyé par M<sup>r</sup> le Comte d'Avaux avec sa lettre du 6 juin 1689 à Dublin.

#### Premierement

#### Infanterie

à chacun Capitaine soit	..	par jour	par mois
de grenadiers ou autre	..	6 schel <sup>s</sup>	.. 180 schel <sup>s</sup>
à chacun Lieutenant	..	2 ..	.. 60 ..
à chacun Enseigne	..	1 .. 6 penins	.. 45 ..
à chacun Sergent	..	.. 8	.. 20 ..
à chacun Caporal	..	.. 6	.. 15 ..
à chacun tambour et soldat	..	4	.. 10 ..

SUPPLEMENTARY CORRESPONDENCE

Estat major	par jour	par mois
à chacun colonel	4 schel.	.. 120 sch.
à chacun lieutenant-colonel	2 "	.. 60 "
à chacun major ..	6 "	.. 180 "
à chacun ayde major ..	3 "	.. 90 "
à chacun Mareschal des logis	1 .. 8 penins	.. 50 "
à chacun aumonier ..	1 .. 3 "	.. 37 6 penin
à chacun chirurgien major ..	1 .. 3 "	.. 37 6 "

Dragons

à chacun Capitaine ..	7 "	.. 210 "
à chacun Lieutenant ..	4 "	.. 120 "
à chacun cornette ..	3 "	.. 90 "
à chacun Marechal des logis	1 .. 8 "	.. 50 "
à chacun caporal ou Brigadier ..	10	.. 25 "
à chacun tambour et dragon ..	5    1 fardin	13 1p 2f.

Estat major	par jour	par mois
à chacun Colonel ..	4 sch.	.. 120 sch.
à chacun lieut. Colonel ..	3 "	.. 90 "
à chacun major ..	7 "	.. 210 "
à chacun ayde major ..	4 "	.. 120 "
à chacun aumonier ..	1 .. 3 pe.	.. 37 , 6p.
à chacun chirurgien major ..	1 .. 3	.. 37 , 6

Outre le payment cy dessus fait à chacun Brigadier, tambour, et Dragon sa Majesté leur fera fournir pour le subsistance de leurs chevaux, une ration de fourrage composée de 15 ff de foin, 5<sup>f</sup> de paille, et d'un pecq d'avoine, et lorsque Sa Majesté ne leur fera pas deslivrer de fourrage, elle leur fera païer 6 penins, deux fardins de plus que leur solde par jour pour leur donner moyen de s'en pourvoir, et quand lesdites Troupes seront campées, ou qu' elles pourront faire paître leur chevaux dans les prairies ou communes des lieux voisins de leurs garnisons, Sa Majesté fera payer aux proprietaires et Communautez ce qui conviendra pour la pasture desdits chevaux suivant l'estimation qui en sera faite.

## NEGOCIATIONS DE M. LE COMTE D'AVAUX EN IRLANDE

	Cavalerie			
	par jour		par mois	
à chacun Capitaine	.. 9 sch.		.. 270 sch.	
à chacun Lieutenant	.. 4	4 pe.	.. 130	
à chacun Cornette	.. 3	4	.. 100	
à chacun Mareschal des Logis	2	6	.. 75	
à chacun caporal	.. 1		.. 30	
ou Brigadier				
à chacun cavalier				
Trompette et timbalier ..		6 <sup>p</sup> 2 <sup>f</sup>	.. 16	3 p.

### Estat Major

à chacun Mestre de Camp ..	4 sch.		.. 120	
à chacun Lieutenant Colonel	3		.. 90	
à chacun major ..	.. 9		.. 270	
à chacun ayde major ..	4	4 p.	.. 130	
à chacun aumosnier ..	1	3	.. 37	6 p.
à chacun chirurgien Major ..	1	3	.. 37	6

Outre lequel payement sa Majesté fera fournir pour la subsistance des chevaux de chaque Brigadier, cavalier, trompette et timbalier une ration de fourrage composée comme il est expliqué cy devant pour les chevaux des troupes de Dragons, et lorsque sa Majesté ne leur en fera pas deslivrer, elle leur fera aussy payer 6 penins, deux fardins pour chacune ration par jour, et fera pourveoir lorqu' ils camperont ou envoyeront leurs chevaux paistre dans les prairies et Communes, au remboursement des propriétaires et des communautez.

### Compagnie de grenadiers à cheval.

	par jour		par mois	
Au capitaine ..	9 sch		270 sch.	
au premier Lieutenant ..	4 ..	4 p.	130 ..	
au second lieutenant ..	4 ..	4 ..	130 ..	
à chacun des deux Sergents	2 ..	6 ..	75 ..	
à chacun des trois Caporaux	1 ..		30 ..	
à chacun tambour, hautbois, et grenadier ..		6 p. 2f.	.. 16	3p.

## SUPPLEMENTARY CORRESPONDENCE

Outre lequel payement il sera fourny aux caporaux, tambours, hautbois et grenadiers de ladite Compagnie pour le subsistance de leurs chevaux une ration de fourrage composée comme il a esté dit cy devant, sinon Sa Majesté les en fera payer à raison de 6 penins et deux fardins par chacune ration lorsqu' ils se fourniront de fourrage, et qu' ils ne feront pas paistre leur chevaux dans des prairies ou Communes auquel cas sa Majesté se reserve d'en satisfaire les proprietaires ou communautez.

Et lorsque sa Majesté fera fournir du pain auxdites troupes, tant d'infanterie que de Cavalerie et Dragons, sa Majesté veut et entend que le prix dudit pain leur soit retenu sur leur soldé sur le pied de ce qu' elle en payera au munitionnaire, ou de ce qui luy en coustera si elle fait faire ledit pain par regie, ordonne sa Majesté à son Tresorier general de tenir la main à ce que cette deduction soit exactement faite auxdites Troupes l'ors de leurs payements qu' elle desire qui soyent faits par chacun mois à l'esgard des officiers, et par semaine à l'esgard des soldats cavaliers et dragons aux presens et effectifs seulement desdites troupes sur les reveües des Commissaires des guerres pour ce ordonnez et departis.

Defend tres expressement sa Majesté audit Tresorier general, à ses Commis ou preposez de retenir sur lesdits payemens plus que trois deniers pour livre dont il tiendra compte, Sa Majesté en destinant le produit pour la subsistance des Cavaliers, Dragons et Soldats estropiez de ses Troupes ou qui seront hors d'estat de luy continuer leurs services, lesquels elle a resolu de faire entretenir pendant leur vie dans l'hospital de Dublin.

Et Sa Majesté desirant traitter favorablement les officiers de ses Troupes d'Angleterre qui l'ont suivie dans ce Royaume, et ceux de celles de france qui y ont esté envoyez, ou qui y sont venus volontairement auxquels elle ne peut accorder presentement des Compagnies ny des Lieutenances en pied dans ses Troupes parcequ' elles ont toutes esté remplies avant leur arrivée, Sa Majesté veut qu'elles soyent entretenues à la suite des Regimens de ses dites Troupes en qualité de capitaines et de Lieutenants reformez, pour estre pourveus des premieres Compagnies et Lieutenances en pied qui vaqueront preferablement à tous autres, et qu'il soit payé à chacun Capitaine reformé de Cavallerie par mois 180 schelins, à chacun Lieutenant aussy de Cavalerie 90 schelins, à chacun Capitaine reformé de Dragons 130 schelins, à chacun Lieutenant reformé de Dragons

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75 schelins, à chacun capitaine reformé d'Infanterie cent schelins et à chacun Lieutenant aussy d'infanterie 40 schelins. Et d'autant que sa Majesté fait estat que ses troupes soyent bien entretenues son intention est qu'il soit retenu sur la solde de chaque soldat de ses troupes d'infanterie trois fardins par jour, dont un fardin sera deslivré au Capitaine pour pouvoir subvenir à les entretenir de chausseures et autres necessitez, les deux autres fardins resteront en mains du Tresorier pour en faire une Masse que sa Majesté destine pour l'habillement desdites soldats et dont ledit Tresorier ne pourra deslivrer un sol à qui que ce soit que par ordre de sa Majesté à peine d'en respondre, quant aux dragons Sa Majesté veut pareillement qu'il soit retenu sur la paye de chacun Dragon cinq fardins par jour pour la remonte et entretien d'iceluy dont il en sera deslivré deux fardins au Capitaine par chacun Dragon de sa Compagnie pour les employer à leur entretien, et les trois autres fardins seront receus comme de coutume par les Colonels pour prendre soin qu'ils soyent employez à l'achapt des chevaux de leur regiment, de l'habillement des Dragons, et de leur Esquipage, à l'egard de la Cavallerie sa Majesté ordonne qu'il sera retenu sur la solde de chaque cavalier et sur celle d'un grenadier à cheval 6 fardins aussy par jour par cavalier et grenadier, dont deux fardins seront remis au capitaine, et les 4 autres aux Mestres de Camp desdits Reginems de cavallerie, pour en estre chargez et prendre soin que l'employ en soit fait de mesme qu'il est expliqué cy devant pour les dragons.

Moyennant quoy sa Majesté entend que lesdits Capitaines tant d'infanterie et Dragons que de la Cavallerie et des grenadiers à cheval entretienne en bon estat et de la mesme couleur d'habit et Livrée affectée à chaque Regiment, leur soldats, cavaliers, dragons et grenadiers, qu'ils seront toujours bien montez, et que leurs Compagnies seront toujours complettes, et en cas que quelques uns desdits Capitaines passent en reveue plus de deux fois consecutives sans que leurs Compagnies soyent complettes, et qu'ils se soyent mis en estat de faire des recrues, sa Majesté ordonne aux commissaires des guerres qui en feront les montres et reveues de l'en informer pour y estre pourveu.

Defend aussy sa Majesté auxdits officiers de retenir sous quelque pretepte qui ce soit aucune chose à leurs soldats, cavaliers, Dragons, et grenadiers, au dela de ce qui leur est accordé par le present Reglement à peine d'estre cassez et privez de leurs charges, fait aussy deffense sa Majesté auxdits

## SUPPLEMENTARY CORRESPONDENCE

officiers soubz les mesmes peines de presenter dans les reveues qui seront faites de leur Troupes, aucune autre personne que des soldats, cavaliers et dragons faisant actuellement le service, et auxdits passevolans d'estre emprisonnez et chastiez severement.

Mande et ordonne Sa Majesté à tous ses officiers generaux, gouverneurs et autres officiers de ses Troupes, comme aussy au Commissaire general des guerres, et aux commissaires particuliers ordonnez à la police et aux Reveues des dites Troupes, de tenir la main à l'exacte observation du present reglement, lequel sa Majesté veut estre leu et publié à la teste de ses Troupes, et par tout ou besoin sera afin que personne n'en ignore et ny contrevienne, fait au Conseil d'Estat du Roy tenu.

### XIX.

Estat des Troupes qui doivent composer le Camp de Dery, envoyé par M. le Comte d'Avaux avec sa lettre du 6<sup>e</sup> juin 1689.

#### Infanterie qui est desja devant la place

Un bataillon des gardes .. ..	..	..	300 hommes
Regiment d'hamilton .. ..	..	..	180 "
Regiment de Neugent .. ..	..	..	400 "
Regiment de Ramsey .. ..	..	..	
Regiment de Gordon Oneil .. ..	..	..	
Regiment de Gormerston .. ..	..	..	
destachement de Slaine .. ..	..	..	
destachement de Butler .. ..	..	..	
destachement de Grace .. ..	..	..	
deux Regiment de Belleu et de Louth .. ..	..	600	"
Regiment de Cavenagh .. ..	..	600	"
grenadiers de Dungan .. ..	..	80	"
grenadiers de Milord Maire .. ..	..	30	"
 Total ..		3790	"

#### Infanterie qui marche pour Dery

Regiment de Cormack Oneil .. ..	..	835	hommes
Regiment de Toole .. ..	..	835	"
Regiment de Maurice Eustache .. ..	..	1300	"
Regiment de Richard Butler .. ..	..	835	"

NEGOCIATIONS DE M. LE COMTE D'AVAUX EN IRLANDE

Regiment de John Bourk Lord Bophin ..	..	835	hommes
Regiment d'henry Dillon ..	..	835	"
destachement de Slaine ..	..	400	"
destachement de Butler ..	..	500	"
destachement de Grace ..	..	600	"
<hr/>			
Total ..	..	6975	"
Total de tout l'infanterie		10765	"

Cavalerie

6 Compagnies du Regiment de Galmoy.  
3 Compagnies du Regiment de Sarsfield

Dragons

8 compagnies du Regiment de Dungan

XX.

Estat des troupes qui composent la garnison de Dublin,  
envoyé par M. le Comte d'Avaux avec sa lettre du 6 Juin 1689.

Infanterie

Un bataillon du regiment des gardes		810	hommes
		25	"
Regiment du S <sup>r</sup> Creagh, maire de Dublin	..	835	"
Regiment d'Oxbury ..	..	835	"
Regiment de Clankarty ..	..	835	"
Regiment de Valentin Brown ..	..	835	"
Regiment des deux Makarty ..	..	835	"
Regiment de Barret ..	..	835	"
Regiment de Cleere ..	..	835	"
Regiment de Fitzgerald ..	..	835	"
Regiment d'udley Bagnel ..	..	835	"
Regiment de Gallouay ..	..	835	"
Regiment de Bryan Makmahon ..	..	835	"
Regiment du Lord Yveagh ..	..	835	"
<hr/>			
		10855	"

SUPPLEMENTARY CORRESPONDENCE

Cavalerie

Regiment de Sunderland	..	..	6 Compagnies
Regiment de Lutteril	..	..	5 "
regiment d'Abercorne	..	..	4 "
			—
		15	—

Les compagnies de Cavalerie sont de 50 maistres.

Dragons

Regiment d'Obryan  
regiment de Cotter

XXI.

Estat des troupes qui sont dans les garnisons des places d'Irlande, envoyé par M<sup>r</sup> le Comte d'Avaux avec sa lettre du 6<sup>e</sup> juin 1689.

à Dublin.

La Compagnie des gardes du corps de 200 maistres.

à Corck.

une compagnie de galmoyn	..	..	cavallerie
3 Compagnies de Sarsfield	..	..	cavellerie
Le regiment de Makarty	..	..	infanterie
à Vuaterfort.			
une partie du regiment de Tirone	..	..	infanterie
une compagnie de galmoyn	..	..	cavallerie
une compagnie d'Oneil	..	..	dragons
ce Dunganon est sur la / à Dunganon	le reste du regiment		
riviere de Waterfort	{ et au Passage } de Tirone	..	infanterie
à Dungarvan			
une compagnie du regiment d'Oneil	..	..	dragons
à Athlone.			
8 compagnies du Regiment de Dodonavan	..	..	infanterie
trois compagnies du regiment d'Oneil	..	..	dragons
à Kilkenny.			
5 compagnies du Regiment de d'odonavan	..	..	
à Limerick.			
Le regiment de Parker	..	..	cavallerie
à Gallouay.			
Le Regiment de Klanricart	..	..	infanterie

NEGOCIATIONS DE M. LE COMTE D'AVAUX EN IRLANDE

à Slego			
Le regiment de Farrel	..	..	infanterie
3 compagnies du regiment de Sarsfield..	..	..	cavallerie
prés de Slego.			
une compagnie du regiment de Clifort ..	..	..	dragons
dans le Comté de Downe.			
2 Compagnies de Clifford ..	..	..	..
pres de Gournan.			
une compagnie de Cliffort			
à Belturbot.			
Le regiment de Purcell ..	..	..	dragons
à Carigfergus.			
Le regiment d'Antrim ..	..	..	infanterie
à Antrim.			
3 compagnies d'Oneil ..	..	..	dragons
à Charlemont ..			
et à Dunganon au Nord.			
} Makmahon ..			infanterie
à Colraine.			
Le regiment de Mour ..	..	..	infanterie
au Nord			
Le regiment de Lutterel ..	..	..	dragons
à Liffort. neuf compagnies du			
Regiment de Tirconnel ..	..	..	cavallerie
qui estoient devant Dery et qu'on a envoyé audit			
Liffort en quartier de rafraichissement ..			
à Dublin.			
80 Maistres du mesme Regiment.			
a Neuton stuart une Compagnie de dragons de Dungan			
qu'on y envoie en quartier de rafraichissement.			
à Kinsale.			
Le Regiment de Nicolas			
Broun.			

XXII.

L'estat des officiers d'Artillerie que le Roy veut entretenir en irlande, envoyé par M<sup>r</sup> le Comte d'Avaux avec sa Lettre du 6 juin 1689.

Le grand Maistre de l'Ordonnance ..	..	..	500 Hommes
Le lieutenant de l'ordonnance ..	..	..	300
le secretaire de l'Ordonnance ..	..	..	100
Le controleur de l'ordonnance ..	..	..	200
Le garde magazin general ..	..	..	100

SUPPLEMENTARY CORRESPONDENCE

4 Commissaires provinciaux, à chacun ..	100	Hommes
un Tresorier .. .. ..	100	
autant de garde magazins qu'il peut y avoir de magazins et recevront chacun ..	25	

1425 H.

Le premier ingenieur .. ..	200	Hommes
un Maistre canonier .. ..	50	
environ 12 maistres canoniers, à chacun ..	25	
Des canoniers à proportion de l'Esquipage d'artillerie, et leur donner à chacun ..	15	

290 H.

Les commissaires devant estre à la suite des convoys, il ne sera pas nécessaire d'establir des Capitaines de charois, que quand le Roy aura des chevaux d'Esquipage pour en prendre soin, et en cas que l'on ne convienne pas avec un Entrepreneur de l'entretien desdits Capitaines de charois et en ce cas il leur faut donner à chacun .. ..

Un armurier .. .. ..	25	Hommes
un artificier .. .. ..	30	
un maistre mineur .. .. ..	30	
4 autres Mineurs .. .. ..	20	
un maistre charon .. .. ..	25	
2 garçons, à chacun .. .. ..	15	
un mareschal et un forgeron, à chacun .. ..	25	
2 garçons .. .. ..	15	
un Maistre charpentier .. .. ..	25	
2 garçons .. .. ..	15	

225 H.

un Maistre Bourelier .. ..	25	Hommes
un tonnelier .. ..	25	

50 H.

Somme totalle	1990	H.
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NEGOCIATIONS DE M. LE COMTE D'AVAUX EN IRLANDE  
XXIII.

Estat des officiers françois qui vont à Dery et de ceux qui demeurent à Dublin et restent à Corck, envoyé par M. le Comte d'Avaux avec sa lettre du 6<sup>e</sup> juin 1689.

Officiers françois qui vont à Dery.

Capitaines avec commissions de Majors.

Les sieurs

Belnoc  
d'Auger  
des Bordes  
Bucet  
Mongouge  
clinchamp  
claironnay  
Fresieux  
la Montade  
Coulange

Lieutenants avec commissions de Capitaines

Les sieurs

Du Faÿ  
du fossé  
Nociere  
quayla  
Nainville  
Dattentot  
de la Cour  
Deschamps  
La Sabliere  
Portail

Cadets avec Commissions de Lieutenants.

Les Sieurs

du Pont  
Neuville  
Pouzay  
Moriez  
Torelle  
du Teil  
Cassan  
Riché

## SUPPLEMENTARY CORRESPONDENCE

St Blimont  
Corby

Officiers françois qui demeurent à Dublin.

### Capitaines

Les Sieurs				
de Vimeney	..	..	..	de cavalerie
fleury	..	..	..	de dragons
Marigny				
Senneville				
Daumas				
Roussillon				

### Lieutenants

Les sieurs Morel			
Jarnac			
Bassabat			
la Broue			
La Barre			

### Cadets

#### Les Sieurs

La Bastide	..	..	..	Souslieutenant
Belligny	..	..	..	Brigadier
Dassy	..	..	..	Sergent
Condomy	..	..	..	Sergent
Moleinier	..	..	..	Brigadier
Cauvin	..	..	..	Brigadier
de Mons	..	..	..	Brigadier
du fay	..	..	..	Brigadier
Legoutail	..	..	..	Brigadier ancien
de Rocher	..	..	..	Caporal
Sarrazin	..	..	..	Caporal
Cavelier				
Dombliere				
St. Phale				
Coulouvray	..	..	..	Brigadier
Mezeira	..	..	..	Brigadier
fontenelle				

NEGOCIATIONS DE M. LE COMTE D'AVAUX EN IRLANDE

Officiers françois restez à Cork.

Capitaines

Les Sieurs

ces 4 capitaines viennent d'arriver de Cork, M <sup>r</sup> de Boisseleau n'ayant gardé que le S <sup>r</sup> de Beaupré	Panhouet Milet Panhause du Bousquet Beaupré
--	---

Lieutenans

Les Sieurs

D'Arpentigny  
S<sup>t</sup> Marie  
du Cerf  
de Magnac  
S<sup>t</sup> Pierre  
Boischapelle

Cadets

Les Sieurs

la Bardouciere  
la Martiniere  
Rouville  
la Porte  
de Bruez  
Charmont .. .. ..  
Joux .. .. ..  
Vignaux .. .. ..  
Boucault .. .. ..  
du Peloux .. .. ..  
du Mont .. .. ..  
Jobert .. .. ..  
Eyrault .. .. ..

Brigadier  
Brigadier  
Brigadier  
Brigadier  
caporal  
caporal  
caporal

XXIV. *M. Le Comte d'Avaux à M. de Louvois*

*Dublin, 10<sup>e</sup> juillet 1689.*

Monsieur,

Je ne croy pas que j'aye besoin de m'expliquer avec le Roy d'Angleterre touchant MSS d'hamilton, car il n'est pas apparent qu'on refuse d'envoyer M<sup>r</sup> de Makarty, et je scay qu'il ne songe

## SUPPLEMENTARY CORRESPONDENCE

pas amener aucun de Mss d'hamilton avec luy, Richard hamilton a dit à une des plus considerables personnes de ce pays, qu'il avoit esté mal traitté en france, et qu'il s'en vengeroit, et il s'est si fort decrié au siege de Londondery qu'il est indigne par toutes sortes d'endroits de servir sa Majesté, mais Monsieur comme vous voulez estre informé de toutes choses, je ne puis m'empescher de vous dire quoy que M<sup>r</sup> de Makarty soit de mes amis qu'il est un peu paresseux, et il est si fort rebuté d'avoir à travailler pour la charge de grand Maistre de l'artillerie de ce pays cy, que je m'aperçois bien souvent qu'il voudroit ne l'avoir pas eue. Je suis, etc.

### Adition à la Lettre cy-devant.\*

Depuis cette lettre escritte, Monsieur, j'ay descouvert que le Roy d'Angleterre n'est point du tout disposé à envoyer M<sup>r</sup> de Makarty, Milord Tirconnel luy est aussy fort contraire.

### XXV.

*Proclamation du Roy d'Angleterre pour l'augmentation des monnoyes, envoyée par M. le Comte d'Avaux avec sa lettre cydessus du 10<sup>e</sup> Juillet 1689.†*

De par le Roy.

Jacques R.

D'autant que nous avous jugé à propos par avis de nostre conseil privé d'augmenter la monnoye de nostre Royaume d'Irlande à un plus haut prix qu'elle n'est, nous publions et declarons par les presentes suivant l'avis susmentionné, que toutes sortes de monnoyes qui ont presentement cours dans ce Royaume, soit monnoye estrangere ou d'Angleterre passeront parmy tous nos sujets dans ce Royaume, et dans tous les payements qui seront faits à nous ou par nous conformement au Tarif suivant, c'est à scavoir.

### Especes d'Or.

La piece nommée communement "Golden Rider"

peuant six deniers et douze grains passera  
pour 24 schelins qui font de france .. . . . f14 8 0

La piece nommée communement demy Golden Rider

peuant trois deniers six grains passera pour  
douze Schelins .. . . . . f7 4 0

\*The *Addition*, but not the letter, is printed in the *Négociations*, p. 300.

† The letter, but not the *Proclamation*, is printed in the *Négociations*, p. 288 f.

NEGOCIATIONS DE M. LE COMTE D'AVAUX EN IRLANDE

La piece nommée communement quadruple d'Espagne ou de france d'or pezant dix sept deniers et quatre grains passera pour trois livres sterlins et seize schelins .. . . . .	£45 12 0
La piece nommée communement double pistolle d'Espagne ou double louis d'or de france, pezant huit deniers et quatorze grains passera pour une livre sterlin et dix huit schelins .. . . . .	£22 16 0
La piece nommée communement pistolle d'Espagne ou Louis d'or de france, pezant quatre deniers et 7 grains passera pour dix neuf schelins .. . . . .	£11 8 0
La piece nommée communement demy pistolle d'Espagne, ou demy Louis d'or de france pezant deux deniers et trois grains et demy, passera pour neuf schelins six sols .. . . . .	£5 14 0
La piece nommée communement double ducat d'or, pezant quatre deniers, et douze grains, passera pour une livre sterlin .. . . . .	£12 0 0
La piece nommée communement ducat d'or pezant deux deniers six grains passera pour dix schelins	£6 0 0
La piece nommée communement suffrance d'or d'Espagne, pezant sept deniers deux grains passera pour une livre sterlin et onze schelins	£18 12 0
La piece nommée communement demy suffrance d'Espagne d'or, pezant trois deniers 13 grains passera pour 15 schelins six sols .. . . . .	£9 6 0
La piece nommée communement guinée passera pour une livre sterlin et quatre schelins .. . . . .	£14 8 0
La piece nommée communement demy guinée passera pour 12 schelins .. . . . .	£7 4 0

Especes d'argent

La piece nommée communement ducaton pezant une once et 16 grains pour six schelins et trois sols	£3 15 0
La piece nommée communement demy ducaton pezant 10 deniers et huit grains passera pour trois schelins un sol et demy .. . . . .	£1 17 6
La piece nommée communement un quart de ducaton pour cinq deniers 4 grains passera pour un schelin sept sols .. . . . .	£0 19 0

## SUPPLEMENTARY CORRESPONDENCE

La piece nommée communement piece de huit, soit de Mexique ou de Seville, celle de Mexique estant ordinairement appellée pillar piece, la Richedale la Crosdale et l'escu de france pezant dix sept deniers passera pour 5 schelins .. ..	£3 0 0
La piece nommée communement demy piece de huit de Mexique ou de Seville, pillar piece Richedale Crossdale et demy escu de france pezant 8 deniers et 12 grains passera pour deux schelins six sols ..	£1 10 0
La piece nommée communement un quart de piece de huit de Mexique ou de Seville, pillar piece Richedale Crossdale et d'escu de france pezant 4 deniers six grains passera pour un schelin trois sols .. .. .. ..	£ 15 0
La piece nommée communement demy quart de piece de huit de Mexique ou de Seville, de pillar piece Richedale, Crosdale, et d'escu de france pezant deux deniers trois grains passera pour sept sols et demy .. .. .. ..	£0 7 6
La piece nommée communement la douziesme partie d'un escu de france pezant un denier douze grains passera pour cinq sols .. .. ..	£0 5 0
La piece de huit nommée communement le vieux Perou pezant 17 deniers passera pour quatre schelins neuf sols .. .. ..	£2 17 0
La piece nommée communement demy piece de huit du vieux perou pezant huit deniers et douze grains passera pour deux schelins quatre sols et demy .. .. .. ..	£1 8 6
La piece nommée communement quart de piece de huit du Vieux perou pezant 4 deniers trois grains passera pour un schelin deux sols et un fardin ..	£0 14 3
La piece nommée communement demy quart de piastre du vieux perou pezant deux deniers trois grains passera pour sept sols .. .. ..	£0 7 0
La piece nommée communement Portugal Royal pezant 14 deniers passera pour trois schelins dix sols .. .. .. ..	£2 6 0
La piece nommée communement demy portugal Royal pezant sept deniers passera pour un schelin onze sols .. .. .. ..	£1 3 0

## NEGOCIATIONS DE M. LE COMTE D'AVAUX EN IRLANDE

La piece nommée communement le quart de Portugal Royal pezant trois deniers et douze grains passera pour un Schelin .. ..	£0 12 0
La piece nommée communement l'escu d'Angleterre passera pour cinq schelins et cinq sols .. ..	£3 5 0
La piece nommée communement demy escu d'Angleterre passera pour deux schelins huit sols et demy .. ..	£1 12 6
La piece nommée communement schelin d'Angleterre passera pour un schelin et un sol .. ..	£0 13 0
La piece nommée communement six sols d'Angleterre passera pour six sols et demy .. ..	£0 6 6

Et en cas que quelqu' une desdites pieces d'or ou d'argent qui sont d'un coin estranger se trouvent manquer au poids dont on les a respectivement chargees, il faudra adjouter deux sols pour chaque grain qui manquera à quelques pieces des especes d'or susdites, et trois sols pour chaque denier qui manquera à quelque piece des especes d'argent susdites, et ainsy à proportion du plus ou du moins qu'il manquera au poids desdites pieces et ce defaut de poids estant reparé de la maniere cy-dessus dite, en ce cas toute piece defectueuse de poids doit estre allouée et passer dans tous les payemens tant ceux qui seront faits à nous, ou par nous qu'autrement, de mesme que la monnoye courante dans celluy notre Royaume, et aussy pleinement et librement que si c'estoit de la monnoye sterling ou d'Angleterre. Et nous declarons par les presentes que toutes les susdites especes de monnoyes d'un coin estranger, qui se trouveront de poids doivent passer, estre distribuées et receues suivant le tarif cy-dessus mentionné, et que quoy que quelques unes desdites especes ne puissent faire tomber la balance quand on les payera, il n'y aura neantmoins aucun sujet de les refuser suivant le Tarif sus mentionné. Et que toute personne qui recevra quelque espece desdites monnoyes pourra les faire pezer du costé qu'il voudra s'il se sert des balances de celuy qui paye, et si le Receveur se sert de ses propres balances, il aura a les pezer du costé que le payeur le jugera à propos.

Et afin qu'il n'y ait point d'incertitude au poids de la monnoye, nous publions et declarons par les presentes, que la mesme Methode sera observée au poids d'icelle, ainsy qu'il est réglé par la Proclamation emanée dans ce Royaume le 6<sup>e</sup> jour de juin 1683 du temps du gouvernement de Richard comte d'Aran

SUPPLEMENTARY CORRESPONDENCE

viceroy d'Irlande. Donné à nostre cour au chasteau de Dublin  
le 25 Mars 1689 dans la cinquiesme année de nostre Regne.  
Dieu garde le Roy.

Extrait du Tarif pour le rehaussement des monnoyes.

	Especes d'or	de France
	H sterl.	H s.
Le quadruple d'Espagne ..	3 16 schel.	£45 12 0
La double pistolle ou louis d'or ..	1 18 "	£22 16 0
La pistolle ou louis d'or ..	0 19 "	11 8 0
La Guisnée .. ..	1 4 "	14 8 0
La demy Guisnée .. ..	0 12 "	7 4 0
	Especes d'Argent	
Le ducaton pezant 1 once 16 grains o 6 3		£3 15 0
Le demy ducaton .. o 3 1½		1 17 6
L'escu de france piece de huit		
Richedale etc. pezant 17 deniers 5 0		3 0 0
Le demy escu etc. comme dessus 2 6		1 10 0
La piece de huit, argent du perou		
pezant 17 deniers ne vaut que .. 4 9		2 17 0
La demy piece de huit du perou .. 2 4½		1 8 6
L'escu d'Angleterre .. .. 5 5		3 5 0
Le demy Escu .. .. 2 8½		1 12 6
Le schelin .. .. 1 1		0 13 0

XXVI.           *M. d'Avaux à M<sup>r</sup> Lozieres Astier*  
                  *à Dublin le 26 juillet 1689.*

Vous m'avez fait plaisir Monsieur de m'informer de l'estat du siege de Dery, je suis bien faché qu'il ayt sy mal reussy mais il n'est pas possible de prendre les places sans avoir les choses necessaires pour cela. J'attends au premier jour le plan que vous m'avez promis et cependant je suis bien aise d'apprendre que tout le monde soit satisfait de votre application et de vostre vigilance. Je vous prie de continuer lorsque les occasions se presenteront. Je seray ravy que monsieur de Louvois vouleust vous accorder la commanderie que vous luy demandez, il ne tiendra pas au bon compte que je luy rendray de vostre conduite.

D'Avaux.

NEGOCIATIONS DE M. LE COMTE D'AVAUX EN IRLANDE

XXVII. *Extrait des reveues faites des Troupes campées près  
Dublin, envoyé par M<sup>r</sup>. le C. d'Avaux avec sa  
lettre du 30<sup>e</sup> aoust 1689.\**

Regimens	Compagnies	Capitaines presents	Lieutenants presents
Bagnel	.. 13	10	10
Milord Antrim	.. 13	8	11
Cher. Eustace	.. 19	15	13
Edouard Butler	.. 14	9	11
Creagh	.. 14	12	16
Hamilton	.. 11	10	8
Richard Butler	.. 13	10	8
Fitz Gerald	.. 13	8	7
Boisseleau	{ 1 <sup>er</sup> bataillon 13 2 bataillon 13	13 13	11 13
		136	108

Regimens	Enseignes presents	Sergens presents	Nombre d'hommes effectifs
Bagnel	.. 7	21	454
Milord Antrim	.. 10	24	534
Cher. Eustace	.. 7	29	454
Edouard Butler	.. 9	27	368
Creagh	.. 10	24	547
Hamilton	.. 6	15	247
Richard Butler	.. 5	18	321
Fitzgerald	.. 6	20	193
Boisseleau	{ 1 <sup>er</sup> bataillon 7 2 bataillon 8	25 21	586 582
		75	4286

parmi lesquels il y en a beaucoup de convalescents qui sont encore infirmes.

\* The letter, but not the *Extrait*, is printed in the *Négociations*, p. 441 f.

SUPPLEMENTARY CORRESPONDENCE

Regimens	ceux qui ont de bons mousquets	ceux qui en ont dont on ne peut se servir	ceux qui en manquent
Bagnel ..	91	246	35
Milord Antrim ..	254	95	32
Cher. Eustace ..	297	121	36
Edouard butler ..	134	135	99
Creag ..	308	141	8
hamilton ..	112	67	38
Richard butler ..	98	86	101
fitzgerald ..	95	170	15
Boisseleau { 1 bataillon	865	ces deux Battaillons sont bien armez de bons mousquets, de piques et d'Epées, et ce sont les seuls battaillons qui se trouvent en cet estat, parceque les armes venues de france ayant esté voiturées par Cork ou estoit M <sup>r</sup> de Boisseleau, il en à pris ce qu'il a voulu et les meilleures pour son Regimen.	
	{ 2 bataillon		

2254            1061            364

Regimens	Ceux qui sont sans ban- douliers	Ceux qui sont sans espées	Ceux qui sont sans ceinturons
Bagnel ..	135	153	27
Mild <sup>a</sup> Antrim ..	84	535	150
Cher. Eustace ..	344	197	272
Edouard Butler ..	82	185	57
Creagh ..	91	91	57
hamilton ..	210	215	225
Richard Butler ..	57	26	3

1003            1402            791

NEGOCIATIONS DE M. LE COMTE D'AVAUX EN IRLANDE

XXVIII.      *M. d'Avaux à M. de Louvois*

*Le Lundy cinq<sup>e</sup> Septembre 1689.*

Le Roy d'Angleterre est party ce matin pour aller à Dragheda à vingt miles d'icy, je suis demeuré aujourd'hui pour regler quelques affaires pour les munitions et pour le payement de l'armée, je seray demain matin à son lever, on m'a dit qu'il a eu des nouvelles en chemin que la Cavallerie de M<sup>r</sup> de Schomberg estoit arrivée proche de Carigfergus, qu'elle conciste en 3000 hommes ou environ, puis qu'il avoit a recevoir ce renfort, je n'ay pas esté fasché d'apprendre qu'il soit arrivé du mesme costé car j'aprehendois extremement une seconde descente du costé du Sud, et je ne scay ce que nous aurions pu faire si cela estoit arrivé.

Je suis.

XXIX.      *M. d'Avaux à M. de Louvois*

*A Ardee le 30 d'Octobre 1689.*

Monsieur,

Il y a quelques jours que milord Tirconnel me parlant au sujet des hamiltons qui sont fort hays en ce pays me dit que Richard hamilton estoit une espèce de Philosophe qui ne songeoit que se retirer, que l'air d'Irlande ne luy estoit pas bon et qu'il avoit la poitrine fort attaquée, qu'on ne croyoit pas mesme qu'il y pust passer cet hyver, et qu'il songeoit à aller vers Monpellier ou en quelque autre lieu des pays chauds de france pour s'y restablir. Il m'a dit depuis la mesme chose dans un autre entretien que nous avons eu ensemble. Il est vray Monsieur qu' hamilton peut estre incommodé de la poitrine et qu'il a esté indisposé à son retour de Dery. Je puis mesme vous assurer que M<sup>r</sup> Tirconnel m'a tenu ce discours sans aucun dessein et qu'il m'a dit les choses comme il les pense, peut estre mesme que Richard hamilton ne songe pas serieusement à passer en France, néantmoins j'ay cru devoir vous en informer et vous avertir en mesme temps que s'il y a quelque chose que je doive dire en secret au Roy d'Angleterre, j'espere qu'il le gardera, mais je ne vous en reponds pas car quoy qu'on die qu'il avoit autrefois la bonne qualité d'estre secret il m'a paru qu'il ne l'avoit plus. Je suis, etc.

SUPPLEMENTARY CORRESPONDENCE

XXX.

*M. d'Avaux à M. de Croissy*

*Ce 6 decembre 1689 à Dublin.*

Je n'ay pas sceu encore par vous, Monsieur, quelle est ma destinée, ny quelle la cause d'un changement si subit et si inopiné. La dernière lettre que j'ay receu de vous estant du troisième de novembre et celle de la Reine au Roy d'Angleterre du quinzième, je ne peux vous dire qu'elle a esté ma surprise et mon chagrin, car, Monsieur, permettez moy d'en avoir, d'estre rappellé d'un employ dans le temps qu'on y envoie un nouveau secours et que les choses commencent à prendre un bon train, apres avoir déffriché les affaires et passé de bien meschantes heures ; le public ne pourra croire autre chose sinon que je n'ay pas esté capable de cet employ. J'ose dire cependant que je n'ay rien à me reprocher ; que le Roy d'Angleterre ne peut dire un mauvais conseil que je luy aye donné, et j'en puis alleguer beaucoup de salutaires dont il a bien profité : on ne peut dire non plus que j'aye mandé un iota au dela de la verité, il est vray que je l'ay mandée, et je le dois. J'ay aprehendé M. de Lauzun, il est vray, et j'ay du vous faire scavoir les raisons que j'en avois. Je suis cependant demeuré en repos sur la reponse que le Roy m'a faite et je me preparois à bien vivre avec luy. Si c'est luy qu'on a cru n'estre pas bien disposé à bien vivre avec moy, n'est-il pas bien facheux, monsieur, que ce soit moy qui en patisse. Je vous suplie tres humblement de considerer toutes ces choses et d'avoir la bonté de les faire considerer au Roy. M. de St. Disdier aura aussi l'honneur de vous en parler. Je vous demande, Monsieur, dans une occasion qui m'est si sensible et qui va me deshonorer apres vingt ans de service, l'honneur de vostre protection, et je vous suplie de me croire avec un entier attachement et un profond respect

Vostre tres humble et tres obeissant serviteur

D'AVAUX

## NEGOCIATIONS DE M. LE COMTE D'AVAUX EN IRLANDE

[ B ]

I.

*Monsieur de Roze à Monsieur le Comte d'Avaux*

*le 8/18 juillet<sup>1</sup>*

J'ay receu, Monsieur, la lettre que vous m' avez fait l'honneur de m'escrire le 15 de ce mois. Vous avez raison de croire que toutes les démarches que font ceux de Londondery ne sont que pour gagner du temps et pour attendre un nouveau secours, en amusant Monsieur d'Hamilton, duquel ils se mocquent impunement, scachant fort bien qu'il n'est pas assez fort pour les prendre ; à moins qu'ils ne se rendent par famine, à quoy je ne vois aucune aparence, et je croy que ces gens là ont encore des vivres pour plus longtemps que l'on ne s'est flatté.

Vous aurez veu par mes precedentes mes sentimens sur l'extrait de la lettre de Monsieur de Louvois que vous m'avez envoyé. Il seroit tres important qu'on eust desja pris un party sur l'execution du projet du Roy nostre Maistre, car les affaires vont tous les jours plus mal. Je suis dans un chagrin que je ne puis assez vous l'exprimer, voyant que nous allons insensiblement nous trouver avec des troupes sans armes ; celles qui estoient icy avec Monsieur d'Hamilton n'en avoient presque point du tout, et les autres, qui sont venues avec moy, laissent deperir le peu qu'elles en avoient ; tout cela provient tant par la negligence des officiers qui ne se donnent aucun soins, que parcequ'il n'y a pas d'aparence [dans] l'armée un seul armurier pour les racommoder, et la moindre chose qui manque sont autant des armes perdues ; d'ailleurs celles qui sont arrivées en dernier lieu sont si mauvaises qu'elles crevent en les tirant et coupent les bras et les mains aux soldats qui restent estropiez. Je puis vous assurer, Monsieur, avec verité, qu'il n'y a pas dans chaque regiment plus de 30 armes en estat de servir. Je ne comprehends pas comme quoy on a pu en envoyer de si mauvaises de France, et le Sieur Titon, qui les a fournies, meriteroit d'estre pendu.

Il se destache tous les jours des vaisseaux de la flotte qui vont porter des armes et des munitions à ceux d'Eniskilling et autres endroits, qui arment tout ce qu'ils peuvent attraper,

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<sup>1</sup> Envoyée avec sa [M<sup>r</sup>. d'Avaux's] lettre du 26 dudit mois 1689, à Dublin.

## SUPPLEMENTARY CORRESPONDENCE

et sans difficulté ils seront bien-tost en estat de nous passer sur le corps. Je souhaite que le Duc de Barwick aye un bon succez du siege de Balishannon. Toutes les garnisons viennent à moy crier misericorde, n'ayant ny argent ny pain pour subsister, et à la fin elles se lasseront et abandonneront entierement le service. Vous verrez par la copie cy-jointe de la lettre du gouverneur de Charlemont le mauvais estat de cette place. Je l'ay envoyée au Roy, afin qu'il donne ses ordres pour y faire travailler incessamment. La copie de la lettre que je luy écris vous apprendra la nécessité à laquelle le Regiment de Dragons du Chevalier Donill a esté reduit à l'egard des armes.

Enfin, Monsieur, je vous prie de bien considerer toutes choses, et ce que je puis souffrir de me voir à la teste des troupes en si meschant estat et de si mauvaise volonté. C'est un poste qui ne se peut pas soutenir avec honneur, n'y ayant pas de jour que je ne risque mille fois de le perdre, que je ne sois tenté de tout abandonner, et de me retirer dans un coin où je ne puisse estre veu de personne. Ma satisfaction ne seroit-elle pas plus grande et il seroit, ce me semble, bien plus glorieux pour moy, de n'avoir jamais eu la pensée de porter les armes que de me voir exposé tous les moments de ma vie de perdre l'honneur et la reputation que j'ay acquise au service du Roy nostre Maistre. Je vous parle sincерement, et vous me ferez un fort grand plaisir d'envoyer ma lettre à la cour qui sera assez persuadée que je me serois tenu pour trop recompensé de 39 années de service si j'avois pu les y continuer dans tel caractere qui luy auroit plu; car en un mot apres avoir consommé toute sa vie dans le service du plus grand Roy du monde, il est impossible d'en pouvoir gouster aucun autre. Croyez moy toujours, s'il vous plaist, Monsieur, plus parfaitement qu'homme du monde, vostre tres humble et très obeissant serviteur.

*Du 9<sup>e</sup>/19 juillet.*

Dans ce moment il est venu de Londonderry un jeune homme se rendre qui a de l'esprit et du sens. Il assure que c'est un françois qui a conduit les affaires depuis le commencement; que sans luy les rebelles n'auroient pas pensé à se retrancher sur la hauteur du moulin, ny vis à vis de nos tranchées, que luy mesme a fait mettre des pilotis devant la porte pour empêcher qu'elle ne fust détruite par nostre canon, en cas que l'on en

NEGOCIATIONS DE M. LE COMTE D'AVAUX EN IRLANDE  
eust mis pour les incommoder, et qu'il paye les travailleurs de son argent propre. Tout cela m'a esté rapporté par Monsieur de Scheldon. Plusieurs officiers assurent que la nuit que l'on a donné l'attaque à ce retranchement ils ont entendu nommer dans la place un officier du nom de Cambon. Si c'est luy qui a été ingénieur à Cazal et à Perpignan, il est assez capable d'avoir fait ce que ce rendu vient de dire.

## II.

*Monsieur de Roze à Monsieur le Comte d'Avaux.<sup>1</sup>*

Je n'ay que ce moment, Monsieur, pour vous dire que les gens de Londonderry continuent à se moquer comme ils ont fait depuis le premier jour. Ils ont envoyé 4 lignes, signées par les deux gouverneurs, au lieu de venir achever le traité, lesquels disent qu'ils ne veulent pas rabattre un jour à rendre la place que le 26 du courant, vieux style ; que la chose doit faire avec participation et consentement de Monsieur de Kerk, et que les otages doivent passer à son bord pour estre envoyés ensuite en Angleterre. Cependant, ils se sont pourvus pendant la journée d'hyer et d'aujourd'hui de l'eau fraîche pour huit jours. Enfin, Monsieur, je n'ay plus rien à vous dire dans cette occasion, sinon que je souhaite que ce siège-cy ne vous attire pas la perte générale de toutes les affaires.

Je suis, etc.

## III.

*Monsieur Roze à Monsieur le Comte d'Avaux.*

*du 20<sup>e</sup> juillet 1689 au camp devant Dery.*

J'ay prié Monsieur de Lery de tenir la plume pour faire réponse aux deux lettres que vous m'avez fait l'honneur de m'écrire et qui m'ont été rendues par le secrétaire de Monsieur Fumeron à cause de la continuation de mon incommodité. Je n'ay rien à y ajouter sinon que vous savez bien que j'ay toujours soutenu au Roy que l'affaire de Dery, étant conduite et ayant été entreprise comme on a fait, entraînerait la perte de l'Irlande. Toute la différence que je trouve à cela présentement est que je prévois bien que la chose arrivera encore plustost que je ne l'avois pensé, et comme je n'ay aucune

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<sup>1</sup>Copie de la lettre de Mr de Roze à Mr d'Avaux, envoyée avec sa [Mr d'Avaux's] lettre en date du 26 Juillet 1689, à Dublin.

## SUPPLEMENTARY CORRESPONDENCE

part au projet de ce siege je ne veux rien dire de la nécessité qu'il y a de le lever. Je croys que vous m'entendiez bien et si on prend ce party je vous suplie de faire que les ordres soyent adressez à Monsieur d'Hamilton, car, tout compté et rabattu, Monsieur de Vauban et tout ce qu'il y a d'habiles ingenieurs en France ne pourroient pas prendre cette place avec ce qu'il y a icy dans les conjonctures presentes.

### IV.

*Monsieur Roze à Monsieur le Comte d'Avaux<sup>1</sup>*

*du 28<sup>e</sup> juillet 1689.*

J'ay receu la lettre que vous m'avez fait l'honneur de m'escrire le 25 de ce mois. Je me resjouis de ceque vous estes quitte de vostre incommodité. Pour moy, je retombe toujours, et mon chagrin du mauvais estat de toutes choses ne finissant point, tant par le peu de soin qu'on prend d'y remedier de la part de la cour, que parceque l'on n'adjoute aucune foy à ceque je puis dire. Il n'est pas possible que je me restablisse jamais, à moins que l'on ne me retire d'icy, et que je soit en lieu de ne plus voir toutes les miseres qui y sont, toutes les troupes perissant, non seulement par les maladies, mais aussy par l'indolence des officiers et soldats qui ne pensent aucunement à leur devoir : les uns rompent et perdent leurs armes, et les autres les vendent à ceux des habitans du pays qui veulent lesachepter. Jugez, Monsieur, s'il en passe entre les mains des Protestans. Le regiment Fitzgerald, que j'avois pris à Trim pour l'amener avec moy, apres qu'on luy a eu fourny des armes pour le nombre d'hommes complet dont il estoit composé, n'en a presentement que le quart en estat de servir, comme vous verrez par le memoire cy-joint que je vous envoye. D'ailleurs je ne trouve icy aucun medicament pour me soulager. J'ay une fluxion sur la gorge qui m'oste l'usage de la parolle et de pouvoir prendre quelques alimens. Cependant, j'ay la teste rompue jour et nuit pour les moindres choses, tout le monde venant à moy ; la pluspart des autres officiers sont aussy sur la littiere, et y seront longtemps, car aussy bien que moy ils manquent de tout cequi leur est necessaire pour sortir d'affaire. Je suis surpris qu'en mandant tous ces destails à la cour on ne veuille pas me croire, et qu'on exige encore de

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<sup>1</sup> Envoyée avec sa [M<sup>r</sup>. d'Avaux's] lettre du 9 aoust 1689.

NEGOCIATIONS DE M. LE COMTE D'AVAUX EN IRLANDE  
moy d'aller à Eniskilling pour l'emporter d'emblée avec des troupes qui ne sont aucunement en estat de rien entreprendre et qui n'ont besoin que de repos, et cela pendant que Milord Moncassel, et d'autres generaux, en sont à portée, avec des troupes toutes nouvelles en campagne, plus nombreuses que les nostres, et qui feront facilement cette expedition, puisque ce lieu paroist à la cour aussy aisément à insulter que l'on me le mande et qu'on vous l'a dit. A mon esgard, je n'en connois point le terrain, de plus je ne scaurois agir que je ne me sois restably. Aussy je vous suplie, Monsieur, de vouloir bien dire au Roy d'addresser ses ordres à Monsieur d'Hamilton pour tout ce que Sa Majesté voudra ordonner touchant l'armée de Londondery, ruinée par sa faute. Je resteray, neanmoins, si je le puis, ici, jusques à la levée du siège, mais apres cela je me retireray en quelque lieu où je pourray avoir de quoy me guerir.

J'oublie de vous dire, Monsieur, que dans tout ce qu'il y a ici de compagnies du régiment de cavallerie de Tirconel, il ne reste plus qu'environ 10 cavaliers par compagnie en estat de servir, le surplus étant malade. C'est la même chose dans le régiment de Galmoys.

Je suis.

V.

*Monsieur le Marquis de Lery à Monsieur le Comte d'Avaux*

*du 8 aoust 1689.*

C'est avec bien de la douleur que je suis obligé, Monsieur, de vous escrire que la maladie de Monsieur le Mareschal de Roze est devenue si considerable que sa vie est en peril et que ne pouvant plus agir de sa personne, ny entendre parler d'aucune affaire, il va se faire transporter en quelque lieu où la medecine luy puisse donner une partie du secours dont il a besoin. Ainsi, Monsieur, il a remis à Monsieur d'Hamilton les derniers ordres qu'il a receu du Roy, et vous suplie d'avertir Sa Majesté de l'estat où il est, afin qu'Elle adresse à l'avenir ses ordres à Monsieur d'Hamilton, ou à qui elle jugera apropos.

Enfin, Monsieur, le vent s'estant trouvé favorable pour les vaisseaux avec la marée hyer sur les 7 heures du soir, il y en eut trois qui mirent à la voile. Ils essuyerent le canon de Colmor, et se faisant remorquer avec leurs chaloupes, à cause

## SUPPLEMENTARY CORRESPONDENCE

de la faiblesse du vent, il y en eut deux qui passerent la chaisne, laquelle ne resista point du tout, et arriverent enfin toujours remorquez par leur chaloupes, sur les dix heures au quay de Dery. Je ne scay, Monsieur, si le troisieme vaisseau est entré ou s'il s'est retiré cette nuit au Gisant. Nostre infanterie fit beau feu des deux costez de la riviere au passage de l'estacade, mais les chaloupes estant armées contre la mousqueterie, et les vaisseaux n'ayant point de monde sur leurs ponts, ny sur leurs manoeuvres, toutes ces descharges n'eurent aucun effet : un seul boulet des canons de l'estacade donna dans le corps d'un des deux vaisseaux ; Monsieur d'Hamilton faisant tirer son canon le long de l'estrant à force d'hommes le fit toujours tirer sur les vaisseaux, mais enfin ils entrerent et toute la deffense fut inutile à la veille d'avoir la ville, comme vous verrez, Monsieur, par les lettres du Sieur d'Hamilton au Roy. Je n'aurois cependant pas voulu en estre garant, les assiegez s'estans toujours moquez de nous dans toutes leurs negociations.

On commence aujourd' huy à vuider les hospitaux de Lifort et de Strabane. Tous les chevaux de l'artillerie avoient esté envoyez à Charlemont pour la conduite du gros mortier et des deux petits. Ils revinrent heureusement hyer au soir, mais fort fatiguez quoy qu' ils ayent esté 10 jours à aller et venir. On doibt mener aujourd'huy les deux grosses pieces de canon à Strabane. Il y aura encore deux autres voitures à faire, et si les chevaux peuvent marcher tous les jours, il en faut trente pour conduire nostre petite artillerie à Charlemont. En verité cela fait pitié qu'on veuille faire marcher du canon sans esquipage.

Je ne croy pas, Monsieur, que l'on retire de devant Dery tant des troupes que Monsieur le Mareschal y a menées ; que de celles de Monsieur d'Hamilton 3000 hommes portant les armes, la maladie a tout ruiné et chaque soldat malade jette son mousquet au diable : les officiers n'entrent dans aucun destail et n'ont n'y vigilance n'y application, le pluspart mesme se sont retirez chez eux.

Le corps de Milord Duc de Barwick est en meilleur estat, ayant souvent changé d'air, et n'ayant point eu d'occasion qui ait degousté et fatigué les troupes.

C'est presentement, Monsieur, qu'on peut prendre des mesures justes pour chasser les rebelles de Dunagal, Kilebec, Balichanon et Eniskilling, mettre le feu dans tous ces lieux et

NEGOCIATIONS DE M. LE COMTE D'AVAUX EN IRLANDE  
garder seulement le chasteau de Crum, pour le poste avancé.

J'apris hier, Monsieur, que Monsieur le Duc de Barwick avoit receu sa commission de lieutenant general. Je suis le seul de la premiere flotte qui n'a pas fait un pas pour son avancement. Je croy, Monsieur, qu'ils attendent l'arrivée du Comte de Gacé qui doibt, suivant les intentions du Roy notre Maistre, remplacer Monsieur de Maumont et par consequent marcher devant moy, mais le Roy d'Angleterre pourroit luy faire expedier presentement sa commission et m'honorer d'une autre dattée d'une semaine plus tard. Mon sort, Monsieur, est entre vos mains ; c'est assez pour estre heureux.

Monsieur le Mareschal n'estant plus icy, la subordination de messieurs les generaux d'Irlande ne me sert pas d'un grand agrément, outre, Monsieur, que ma santé n'est pas encore fort asseurée. Je vous suplie, Monsieur, de continuer vos soins pour me faire avoir le commandement des troupes que l'on fera camper aupres de Corck : je pourrois, en passant à la cour, recevoir les effets de l'honneur de vostre protection.

J'ay dit à Monsieur d'Hamilton qu'il falloit ruiner tous les moulins de ce pays-cy, et des lieux qu'on veut ruiner. Il le fera s'il le trouve apropos.

Je viens d'apprendre que le troisieme vaisseau s'est retiré de la riviere et est retourné mouiller dans le lac. J'ay bien de l'impatience, Monsieur, de vous aller presenter mes respects et vous asseurer que j'ay l'honneur d'estre.

## VI.

*Monsieur Fumeron à Monsieur le Comte d'Avaux.*

du 29 juillet/8. aoust 1689.<sup>1</sup>

Monseigneur,

Le courier qui rendra cette lettre à Vostre Excellence allant monter à cheval dans le moment que l'on m'aprend son depart, je n'ay que le temps de faire ce mot à Vostre Excellence pour l'informer que Londondery fut secouru hyer de vivres par deux bastiments qui entrerent dans la riviere et qui passerent jusques à la ville sans qu'on pust les en empescher, l'estacade ayant rompu et le canon qu'on tira sur eux et les descharges de mousqueterie n'ayant rien fait. Un peu avant que ces

<sup>1</sup> Envoyée avec la lettre de mondit Sr. d'Avaux du 9 aoust '89.

#### SUPPLEMENTARY CORRESPONDENCE

vaisseaux entrassent dans la riviere, cinq sergents des troupes rebelles de Londondery estoient sortis pour capituler en leur noms et de la part des soldats, promettant de livrer le Gouverneur parce qu'il s'opiniastroit à ne pas rendre ; mais l'arrivée de ces vaisseaux les a fait changer de sentiment. Ainsy, Monseigneur, voila une affaire perdue, et Monsieur Roze est toujours fort malade.

Nous manquons d'argent : je suplie Vostre Excellence d'y donner ordre, et que l'on nous envoie incessamment au moins 100,000 livres ; toutes les troupes se joignant bientost nous ferons plus de consommation. Je suis, etc.



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M. LE COMTE D'AVAUX EN IRLANDE  
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INDEXES**



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