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THE

LIFE

Of the Famous

Cardinal-Duke

De RICHLIEU,

Principal Minister of State

TO

LEWIS XIII. King of *France* and *Navarr.*

VOL. II.

LONDON,
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THE HISTORY

Of the FAMOUS Cardinal *de RICHLIEU.*

VOL. II. BOOK IV.

Containing the most Remarkable Occurrences of his Life, from the flight of the Queen Mother in 1631, *to the Year* 1634.

BEFORE the Queen-Mother went out of *France*, as I have already obſerv'd in the preceding Book, the King ſent to the Parliament of *Paris* the ſame Declaration which he had caus'd to be Confirm'd in that of *Dijon*, wherein he Declar'd all the Adherents of the Duke of *Orleans* to be guilty of High-Treaſon. But the Parliament of *Paris* made ſome difficulty to confirm it without any foregoing Deliberation, as the King deſir'd them; and this they grounded upon the following Reaſons. 1631.

1631. *Firſt*, This Declaration againſt all uſual Forms had been laid before another Parliament beſides that of *Paris*, which alone is the Court of Peers, and the firſt Parliament of the Kingdom. *Secondly*, It, by Name, declared a Preſident to be guilty, who, by this means, would be condemned by the Court without being heard. *Thirdly*, This Declaration might reach even the Perſon of the Duke of *Orleans*, whoſe Intereſt had been always dear to the Parliament. They came * therefore to a Deliberation, and the Company divided, inſtead of Voting the Confirmation which the King demanded.

* *The 25 of Ap.* Aubery's *Life of the Card. Lib.* iv. c. 17. *Siri Mem. Rec.* T. 7. P. 358.

Our Miniſter not able to endure that they ſhould ſhow the leaſt conſideration for his Enemies, perſwaded the King to go quickly to † *Paris*, to have his Declaration Confirmed, and to give ſome Mortification to the Parliament. The King being arriv'd at the *Louvre*, ſent Orders to the Parliament to come thither in a Body on foot. The Parliament obeyed, and were conducted to the Gallery which joyns the Tuilleries with the *Louvre*, where they found the King under a Canopy raiſed up for that purpoſe. The Lord Keeper Spoke firſt; and after the firſt Ceremonies were over, told the Parliament, That their Power extended onely to the Affairs of private Men, and not to matters of State, the cogniſance of which belonged to the Supreme Governour: That where a Prince, or Duke, or any Officer of the Crown, receives his Trial for any Miſdemeanour in the Adminiſtration of the Treaſury, or of State-Affairs, his Majeſty is obliged, either to direct a particular Commiſſion to the Parliament, to enable them to Act in ſuch a caſe; or elſe to be preſent himſelf Perſonally, to Authorize theſe extraordinary Proceedings: That it is true indeed, that to Judge by a Commiſſion required a previous knowledge of the Cauſe, but that in the caſe of Ratifying a Declaration, which always allows a certain time to thoſe that are Guilty to return to their Duty, there was no need of farther Deliberation. This was as much as to ſay, That the King was willing to make uſe of the Parliamentary Authority, to deſtroy with more formality thoſe who favoured his Brother; but would not allow the Parliament the Power of Clearing them if they were innocent.

† *The 12th of May.*

Chateauneuf's

Chateauneuf's Diſcourſe being ended, the King Commanded the Regiſter of the Parliament to be brought to him, and the Leafe to be ſhewed where the Vote of Separation was Written, and ſo tore it himſelf to pieces, to have the Decree of the Council inſerted in its place, which Prohibited the Court of Parliament to Deliberate any more upon the Declarations, concerning State-Affairs, upon pain of Interdiction to the Counſellors, and of ſomething worſe, as the King ſhould think fit. 'Twas likewiſe Ordered, That for a Puniſhment of the Fault committed by the Parliament, the Declaration ſent to them ſhould be drawn back, and they Prohibited to take any knowledge of the Contents thereof. For a Token of his Indignation, the King Suſpended from their Office, and Exiled two Preſidents of the Court of Inqueſt, and a Counſellor, who were nevertheleſs immediately after re-eſtabliſhed. The ſame day the Council paſs'd another Sentence againſt the Duke of *Orleans*'s Attorney, who Preſented the before-mentioned Petition; and the King upon that iſſued out * another Declaration upon the ſame Subject, a few days after.

1631.

* *The 26th of May.*

Theſe Proceedings againſt the Duke of *Orleans*'s Petition were the cauſe that the Queen's Requeſt, which was ſent to the ſame Parliament, Packed up with ſome other Papers, was not onely broke open, but the Pacquet it ſelf was carried to the King. So that the Complaints which this Princeſs, and Monſieur made againſt the Cardinal, onely ended in a few Printed Pamphlets, which they took care to have thrown about the Streets, or under-hand diſtributed; but there was no Tribunal where they might make their Addreſs; for as to the King's Council, which depended more upon the Miniſter than himſelf, it was to no purpoſe to make their Application to it. The King himſelf was beſet with People devoted to the Cardinal, whoſe continual buſineſs it was to entertain him in an Ill Humour againſt his neareſt Friends and Relations; and as he beheld nothing but by the Eyes of other People, both his Mother and Brother appeared as Guilty before him, as it pleaſed the Cardinal to repreſent them.

1631.

Sometime * after the withdrawing of the Queen-Mother, the King iſſued out another Declaration, in which he Defamed this Princeſs and the Duke of *Orleans*; and, on the contrary, beſtowed large Commendations on the Cardinal. He ſaid, amongſt other things, That the Evil Counſellours of his Brother had moved him, contrary to the Duty of his Birth, and to that Reſpect he owed him to Write him Letters full of Calumnies, and Seditious Lyes againſt the Government; That againſt all Truth and Reaſon he had Accuſed *his moſt Dear and Well-beloved Couſin the Cardinal of Richlieu*, of Infidelity, and of harbouring Ill Deſigns againſt his Sacred Perſon, that of the Queen, and his own, and againſt the State; That the Queen-Mother had been wrought upon long ago by Ill Counſels, and took more part in the Duke of *Orleans*'s Deſigns than ſhe ought, being, in all probability, induced to it by the Ill Reports which ſome Perſons profeſſing Curious and Evil Sciences had ſpread abroad, to give them ſome hopes of a ſudden Revolution: That having deſired the Queen-Mother to aſſiſt him with her Advice, as ſhe had done before; ſhe had Anſwered him, She was weary of meddling with Affairs, and would have no more to do with them; whereby ſhe gave him ſufficiently to underſtand, that ſhe was deeply ingag'd in the Duke's Deſigns: That thereupon he had taken a Reſolution to Separate himſelf from her for ſome time (*After this manner did the Cardinal ſpeak of the Impriſonment of the Queen-Mother, which he called a Separation,*) and ſo deſired her to go to *Moulins*, which ſhe refuſed to do; and that ſhe onely offered to go to *Nevers*, while Monſieur was at *Orleans*, to be nearer to his Perſon, but had refuſed to do it, when ſhe heard that he was gone from thence: That after her departure from *Compeigne*, ſhe had ſent a Requeſt to the Parliament of *Paris*, full of falſe and injurious Invectives againſt Cardinal *Richlieu*, and Written a Letter to His Majeſty, containing ſeveral Studied Pretences to Colour her withdrawing, and many Complaints againſt the Cardinal, which had no other foundation, but thoſe Calumnies and Falſhoods which were ſuggeſted by the Ill-Counſellours of Monſieur: That both the one and the other aimed,

* *The 12th of Auguſt, See Aubery's Life of the Card.* Lib. 4. c. 18.

1631.

aimed, by the ſame means, to endeavour the Subverſion of the Royal Authority, and of the Kingdom; That not being yet ſatisfied with the firſt Calumnies ſhe had Written to His Majeſty, ſhe was * beſides wrought upon to Write to the Parliament, and to the Proveſt of the Merchants of *Paris*, to perſwade them to Revolt, and to give an Ill Example to others. That as he Confirmed all the preceding Declarations, ſo he declared all thoſe to be guilty of High-Treaſon, and Diſturbers of the Publick Peace, who ſhould be found to have any ſhare in ſuch Pernicious and Damnable Deſigns, as to withdraw the Queen-Mother and the Duke of *Orleans* from their Allegiance, and to induce them to go out of the Kingdom, and likewiſe all thoſe who had followed them, and were with them: That his Royal Pleaſure and Will was, that they ſhould be proceeded againſt, and that he ſtrictly prohibited all Perſons to keep any Correſpondence either with the Queen-Mother, or the Duke, upon any pretence whatſoever; and if any of their Letters ſhould fall into the hands of his Subjects, they ſhould ſend them immediately to the Royal Judges of the Provinces, or to the Keeper of the Seals; That all the Mannors which they held of the Crown ſhould be ſeized upon, and re-united to the King's Demeſne; themſelves deprived of their Dignities and Offices, and all their Eſtates forfeited to the King.

This laſt Article involved the Queen-Mother and Monſieur, as well as thoſe that followed them, the Queen's Dowry, and all the Revenues of the Duke being ſtopt and ſeized. While the King diſhonoured both his Mother and Brother, with ſo rigorous a procedure, and took from them all manner of Subſiſtance, becauſe they had been ſo daring as to deſire that the Cardinal of *Richlieu* might be turned out, he heaped new Honours and Favours upon this happy Miniſter. His † Land of *Richlieu* was erected into a Dukedom and Peerdom, and there was afterwards a Contention amongſt the Courts of Parliament, which of them ſhould receive this Prelate in the Quality of a Duke and Peer. But at laſt it was agreed, That the Great Chamber, that of the *Edict*, and that of the *Tournelle*, being Aſſembled together,

* *See theſe Letters in the Collection of Aubery's Memoirs*, T. 1. P. 374.

† *By Letters given at Monceaux, in the Month of Auguſt.*

1631. gether, ſhould receive him, † and he went to take the uſual Oath, and to ſit in the Parliament, attended by the Prince of *Conde*, by the Dukes of *Montmorency*, of *Chevreuſe*, of *Montbazon*, of *Rets*, of *Ventadour* and of *Crequi*; by the Mareſchals, *Vitry*, *Etrees*, and *Effiat*, and by many other Perſons of Quality. From that time he was call'd *The Cardinal-Duke*, as *Olivarez*, Chief Miniſter to the King of *Spain*, was ſtiled the *Count-Duke*. The King gave him beſides the Government of *Britany*, lately vacant by the death of the Mareſchal *de Themines*. This Government could not fall to any one more advantageouſly than to the Cardinal, who being Superintendant both of Navigation and Trade, could ſcarce exerciſe his Office without being Maſter of the Ports of *Britany*. This was at the ſame time an aſſured Refuge, in caſe the King ſhould ever change his Affection towards him. Thus, what was a Capital Crime in the *Huguenots*, who made a conſiderable part of the State, and what would have driven out of the Kingdom the moſt conſiderable Perſons next to the King (unleſs they had choſen rather to be confined to a Priſon) was eſteemed a juſt recompence for the great Services of Cardinal *Richlieu*. The Prince of *Conde*, who was ſent from one Province to another, to pacifie the Spirits of thoſe who might be ſurpriſed at the exceſſive greatneſs of a Miniſter, who cauſed him formerly to be put in Priſon, went baſely publiſhing his Praiſes all over the Kingdom, and yet was not able to get into the Favour of this Man, who could bear with nothing that gave him any Jealouſie. * He had made already, in the Year 1628, a *Panegyrick* upon this Miniſter before the States of *Languedoc*, with Expreſſions onely fit to come from a wretch that wanted Bread, and had no other ways to ſubſiſt: but this was nothing in compariſon of what he ſaid in the Aſſembly of the States of *Britany*. I ſhall relate his very words, that thereby the *Reader* may judge both of the mean Condeſcenſions of the Prince, or of the Miniſter's great Authority.

† The 4th of September.

* See Aubery, Lib. 11. Cap. 17.

† "Amongſt thoſe infinite Obligations you have to the "King (ſaith he) either for having preſerved your "Privileges, or for the great Advantages favourably "granted to your Province of *Britany*, even almoſt "to

† See Aubery, *Ibid.* Lib. 4. Cap. 19.

"to an impoſſibility in regard of the other Provinces of 1631.
"his Realm, you have contracted a new one, which is
"the greateſt of all; for His Majeſty has given to you
"Monſieur the Cardinal of *Richlieu* for your Gover-
"nour, whoſe Learning and Piety preferr'd him in his
"younger years to a Biſhoprick, his Deſerts to a Cardi-
"nal's Cap, his Services and Capacity to the Miniſtry of
"State Affairs, his Valour to the Generalſhip of ſeve-
"ral Armies; his Fidelity and Love for the King's Per-
"ſon to the Cordial Affection of His Majeſty; and as
"a Token thereof, and of his Truſt to the High Places
"and Governments, which he poſſeſſeth and holds from
"him. All which things, though very conſiderable and
"great, yet we may ſay nevertheleſs of them, that they
"onely make up the leaſt part of thoſe recompences
"which he juſtly deſerves; for having in his firſt Dig-
"nity confounded Hereſie, in the ſecond maintained the
"Church, in his Employments ſtrengthened the State
"by his Counſels, by his Valour pull'd down and de-
"feated Rebellion, and extended the Limits of *France* in-
"to *Italy*, *Lorraine*, and *Germany*, and by his Fidelity,
"with a continual care, watched for the King's Preſer-
"vation; under whoſe Command he hath always acted
"as a ſecond Cauſe, in thoſe great Affairs, which His
"Majeſty had, and hath yet, to reſtore the Kingdom to
"its firſt Splendour. The Prince had better have ſaid,
As a firſt cauſe; ſince the King did nothing elſe but blind-
ly follow the Motions of his Miniſter, and then he had
ſaid at leaſt one true thing in his Speech, which was wor-
thy of none but ſome Poor Hungry Prieſt, and not of a
Prince who aſpired formerly to the Crown. For indeed,
What could the King have done more in favour of this
Cardinal, but to Aſſociate him to the Crown by a Pub-
lick Declaration, or rather to yield it wholly to him, con-
ſidering *he had received but the leaſt part of that Recom-
pence which he deſerved?* After this, there is no reaſon
to wonder, that private perſons flattered the Cardinal,
ſince the Princes of the Blood offered him their Incenſe
in ſo ſhameful a manner. Therefore from this time may we
almoſt date the univerſal Extinction of that generous
love for Truth, which formerly, if we may ſo expreſs
our ſelves, made Martyrs amongſt the very Pagans. No-

1631. thing having been fashionable in *France*, ever since the excessive Authority of the Cardinal, but fulsome extravagant Flatteries, and Stories made on purpose to advance ones Fortune at the Expence of Truth and Sincerity.

* *Siri Mem. Rec.* T. 7. P. 360.

The same Prince * whose Words I have related, was sent by the King into *Provence*, under pretence to assemble the States; but in effect to sound their Inclinations, to observe the Conduct of the Duke of *Guise*, whom the Cardinal hated, and to lessen the Authority of the Governour of that Province, both by the Dignity of his Person, and the Power he had received from the King. The Cardinal had caused the Marquis of *Saint Chamond* to be made Lieutenant for the King in *Provence*, with a Design to cross the Duke of *Guise* in any thing which he might undertake against the Authority of the Ministry. The Prince of *Conde* wrote to the Duke of *Guise*, to desire him to come to *Avignon*, and confer together concerning some Affairs relating to the Crown, not telling him what they were. The Duke being offended at this Proceeding, sent word back again, he could not go to wait upon the Prince beyond the Confines of *Provence*, and complained to the Cardinal of the haughty manner he had been dealt with. The King had been informed that he kept a secret Intelligence with the *Spaniards*, and had Intentions to invite some of their Troops into *Provence*. Nay, it was reported, that the Duke of *Feria* had received Orders to send two thousand *Italians*, and five hundred *Spaniards* to *Barcelona*, to embark 'em there for *Provence*. Whether it was really so, that the Duke of *Guise* had invited a foreign Power to his Assistance against the Minister, or it was only an Artifice of his Enemies, to render him suspicious to the King, the Cardinal advised his Majesty to send an Order to the Duke of *Guise* to come to Court. He refused at first to obey, fearing, with reason, to be sent to the *Bastile*, or to *Bois de Vincennes*; and he obtained, at last, the King's Leave to make a Journey to our Lady of *Loretto*; from whence he retir'd to *Florence*, under the Protection of the Great Duke of *Tuscany*.

† *Siri ibid.* P. 444.

This Prince became suspected to the Cardinal, † because it was thought that he sent Money secretly to the Queen-

Queen-Mother, and that he favoured the *Spaniards*. It was for this Reason that *Gondi*, who had been at *Florence* for some time about his own private Affairs, at his Return to *France*, in the Month of *November*, received Orders immediately to be gone, and had much ado to obtain Permission to stay. Once as he had Audience of the Cardinal, this Minister gave him a long Narrative of the Discontents of the Queen-Mother, and of all that had pass'd between them ever since the Beginning. "He "assured him, that he had never given her any Occasion "to be angry with him, but that she had fallen into a "Passion upon Trifles; and that by suffering her self to "be too much influenced by some People who desired "nothing so much as to cause Disturbances at Court, in or-"der to cultivate their own particular Interest, she had "forsaken the King to embrace the Party of the youngest "of her Sons; that he (the Cardinal) was willing to "withdraw himself, to take away all occasion of Divi-"sion in the Royal Family; but that the King would "not permit him to do it, not believing himself to be safe "without him, and not thinking fit he should have so "much Condescension for those who had dealt with him "so unworthily: so that having been thus forc'd to re-"main at Court, he was willing, both as a Christian, "and as one that had infinite Obligations to Their Maje-"sties, to reconcile them together, that he might avoid "thereby the Necessity of serving the King against his "Mother; that not being conscious to himself of having "ever offended this Princess, he had desired of her, that "she would be pleased to tell him what Reasons she had "to complain of him, and even to suppose, if she would, "any Wrong, which he had never done her, to support "what she had said against him, because he would not "contradict her, and if condemned, he was ready to "make her any publick Satisfaction for it; but that she "answered nothing before the King, but only that she "would never be reconciled to him; that the Wrong "which she complained to have been done to her, was "that which she said the Cardinal had done both to the "King and State: That he had served her, during four-"teen Years, with all possible Fidelity and Zeal; but that "being fallen out with him, she would not hearken to

"any

1631. "any Accommodation, and sought every day an Oppor-
"tunity to have him murther'd; which obliged him to
"take care for the Preservation both of his Life and For-
"tune; and therefore he had not rejected the King's most
"gracious Offers made to him to change those Ministers
"who did not please him: That the Queen was never a
"Prisoner, and that to satisfie her that she was free, they
"had removed the Soldiers that were about her: That
"she was to be blamed for retiring into *Spain*, and that
"Animosities were now grown to such a degree, that the
"King could not be reconciled with safety.

This Discourse made *Gondi* believe the same thing, which several Persons had already suspected; *viz.* that the Cardinal knew that the Queen had a mind to retire, and therefore was glad to leave her the means to effect it, that so he might have an Occasion to accuse her of keeping an Intelligence with the *Spaniards*, and to hinder the People from being offended at her Banishment. The Party of this Princess, which was linked with that of *Monsieur*, was extremely weak, as wanting both Friends and Money. The Severities used against their Followers kept back a great many others who would have otherwise joyned with them; nor cou'd the Queen-Mother borrow any Money upon her Jewels, because People feared that the King wou'd demand them again, as belonging to the Crown. The King on his side was so incensed against his Mother, that there was no likelihood he would trust her again, as well by reason of her Correspondence with the *Spaniards*, as because she had declared her self for the Duke of *Orleans*, who she believed would infallibly succeed to the Throne after the King's Death, which, according to the Predictions, was to happen very soon. To confirm the King in this ill Humour against his Mother, an exact Enquiry was made after those Persons whom the Queen had consulted to Calculate his Majesty's Nativity, and *Senel*, Physician to the King, and *Du Val*, were condemned to the Galleys, for having examined it, and made sinister Predictions against the Life of his Majesty.

The Duke of *Orleans*, who had always entertained a great Correspondence with the Duke of *Lorrain*, endeavoured to engage him into his Party; and this Prince raised some Troops, with an Intention either to take some Advan-

Advantage of the present Disturbances, or to put himself 1631.
in a Condition of Defence against the *Swedes*, who
threatned to invade his Dominions. The Cardinal, who
was no Friend to the *House of Lorrain*, and who feared
it would support the Party of *Monsieur*, took this Occa-
sion to cause a Declaration of War to be published against
it. The King sent the Mareschals *La Force* and *Schomberg*
into *Lorrain*, with an Army, and order'd them to take
divers Places depending upon the Bishopricks of *Mets*,
Toul, and of *Verdun*, which they said had been usurped
by the Duke of *Lorrain*; but above all, to attack *Moy-
envic*, which the Emperour had possessed himself of by
the Counsel, Advice, and Assistance of this Prince.

Both the King and the Cardinal designed to go perso-
nally thither, but before they went, they resolved to see
the Declarations against those that espoused the Party of
the Queen-Mother, put in Execution. The Court fear-
ed that if they should remit it to the Parliament, this Exe-
cution would go but heavily on, because the Parliament
acted only against their Wills, and the usual Formalities
ought to be observed. Besides the Injustice of proceeding
otherwise, it was dangerous too violently to countenance
the Passions of the Minister against *Monsieur*, who because
the King was then without Issue, was look'd upon as the
next Heir to the Crown. So the Cardinal, who never
loved the ancient Proceedings but when they were fa-
vourable to him, so managed matters, that the King re-
solved to constitute a Chamber of Justice to proceed with
Rigour against those who favoured his Mother and Bro-
ther, and especially against such as had retired with them
out of the Kingdom.

The Parliament refused to own the Declaration con-
cerning the establishing of this new Chamber, unless the
Members that should compose it were all taken out of
their Body. The King sent to them thereupon a special
Command, to oblige them to let fall this Opposition; and
the Parliament were contented to ask that the *Substitute*
and the *Register* of that Chamber should be taken out of
their Company. But the Minister, being not willing that
any one should be enabled either to clear or to delay the
Condemnation of those whom he had a mind to destroy,
engaged the King to establish, by his Letters Patent, this
Chamber

1631. Chamber in the Arſenal *, and to admit none into it that were of the Parliament, but only two Counſellors of State, ſix Maſters of the Requeſts, and as many Counſellors of the Grand Council. The King afterwards eſtabliſhed another Chamber of Demeſne, to follow the Court, and to put his Orders in execution.

* *The 23th of* September 1631.

In the mean time the Parliament ſeeing their Authority would fall at laſt to nothing, and that no body's Innocence would be ſecure from the exceſſive Power of the Miniſter, if once it was grown a Cuſtom to act by extraordinary Proceedings; ſummon'd an Aſſembly of all the Chambers †, in which it was concluded, that a Remonſtrance ſhould be made to the King concerning extraordinary Commiſſions; and in the mean while a Prohibition directed to the Commiſſioners to act by vertue of theſe Commiſſions, and an Order ſhould be ſent to the Chevalier *Du Guet*, to put the Judgment of the Parliament in execution. They aſſembled themſelves again on the 10th and 12th of *December*, and publiſh'd a Decree purſuant to this Reſolution. The King being informed of it, cauſed this Decree to be diſannull'd by his Council the 16th of *December*, and commanded the Preſidents *Believre* and *Seguier*, who were preſent at this Deliberation, and the Counſellors who ſigned the Decree, and likewiſe the oldeſt Preſidents of the ſecond, third, fourth, and fifth Chambers of Inqueſts, with the moſt ancient Counſellors of each of theſe Chambers, to appear a Fortnight after, and attend the Court.

† *The 28th of* Novemb.

The King's Army had in the mean while ſeized all the Places in *Lorrain* to which he had any Pretenſions, *Moyenvic* only excepted, which was inveſted in the name of the Biſhop of *Mets*, the King being not willing to declare openly againſt the Emperour. This Place being ill provided, ſurrender'd on the 27th of *December*; and the Duke of *Lorrain*, who was not in a Condition to oppoſe the Royal Army, thought only how to put a ſtop to its Progreſs, and make the beſt Bargain he could. Therefore he came to *Mets*, where the King and the Cardinal were arrived, who received him very kindly in outward Appearance.

Though the Count of *Soiſſons* had reconciled himſelf to the Cardinal ſome time before, yet this Miniſter gave him

1631. him no marks of his Confidence, till after the Counteſs of *Soiſſons* had propoſed the Marriage † of her Son with Madam *de Combalet*; which gave an Occaſion to the Queen-Mother to tell the King that the Cardinal had a Mind to advance this Prince to the Crown. The King, to ſhew how little regard he had for the Advice of his Mother, and what an entire confidence he repoſed in the Cardinal, at his going into *Lorrain*, left the Count of *Soiſſons*, to be in his Abſence, his Lieutenant General at *Paris*, and in the neighbouring Provinces.

† Aubery's *Life of the Card.* Book 4. Cap. 23.

To return now to the Affairs of *Italy*, upon which the Cardinal had likewiſe a watchful eye, the Duke of *Mantua* came to an Agreement with the Duke of *Guaſtalla*, by the Interpoſition of the Pope's Nuncio *Pancirolo*, and of the Embaſſadors of the Emperour and of the French King. The moſt difficult Treaty was that of *Queraſque*, which was manag'd by *Matthias Galas* for the Emperour, and by the Mareſchal *de Thoiras* and *Servien* for the King of *France*. The Nuncio interpoſed as Mediator, and the Duke of *Savoy* was there preſent in perſon. After a long Negotiation, ſeveral Things were agreed upon; the chief of which I ſhall only relate.

The Duke of *Mantua* * did agree with the Emperour and the Duke of *Savoy* upon theſe Conditions, whereby both *Spain* and *Savoy* were likewiſe reconciled to the French: I. That the Revenue of ten thouſand Crowns which the Duke of *Savoy* was to have in *Montferrat*, together with the Town of *Trin*, ſhould be reduced to fifteen thouſand, each Crown to be valued at two and twenty Florins: II. That the Duke of *Savoy* ſhould ſuffer ten thouſand Sacks of Corn, and other Proviſions to be yearly bought in *Piedmont* for the uſe of *Caſal*, without paying any Duty or Impoſition: III. That all the Goods they had poſſeſſed themſelves of on all ſides, ſhould be reſtored in the Condition they were in: IV. That the Duke of *Mantua* ſhould be put in poſſeſſion of the Dukedoms of *Mantua* and of *Montferrat*, immediately after the Concluſion of the Treaty; excepting what Places were to be reſigned to the Duke of *Savoy*, who ſhould have poſſeſſion of them aſſoon as the Emperour's Inveſtiture for the Duke of *Mantua* was received: V. That the Baron *Galas* ſhould begin to conduct back again, in good order, towards

* *The 6th of* April. *See Siri Mem. Rec.* T. 7. Pag. 363. *and the Hiſt. of the Mareſchal* de Thoiras, Lib. 3. Cap. 2. *and ſeq.*

1631. wards *Germany*, the Imperial Troops, out of the States of *Mantua* and of *Montferrat*. VI. That the Troops which were in the Venetian Territories should return likewise. VII. That on the 8th of *April* they should begin to withdraw, and continue so to do, without delay and disorder, till the whole Army was retired, except the Garrisons of *Mantua*, of *Porto*, and of *Canetto*: VIII. That on the same day *Thoiras* and *Servien* should begin to cause the Troops of his Gallick Majesty to march out of *Italy*, through *Savoy*, without causing any Damage or Disturbance; but that they should leave Garrisons at *Pignerol*, *Briqueras*, *Susa*, and *Avilliana*, the Ways however remaining free, without any quartering of Soldiers: IX. That on the same day the Duke of *Savoy* should evacuate *Montecalvo*, and the other Places which he possessed in *Montferrat*, except those which were consigned to him by this Treaty; so that on the 20th of *April* all the Places taken by the Arms of the Emperour, the King of *France*, and the Duke of *Savoy* in the Dutchy of *Mantua*, the State of the *Venetians*, *Montferrat*, *Piedmont*, and *Savoy*, should be restored to their own respective Masters, except *Mantua*, *Porto*, *Canetto*, *Pignerol*, *Briqueras*, *Susa*, and *Avilliana*; and on the 8th of *May*, at the farthest, the whole Imperial Army should be actually in *Germany*: X. That *Galas* should with all speed, by an Express, acquaint the Emperour with this Treaty; which being received, his Imperial Majesty should give the Duke of *Mantua* the Investiture of the two Dukedoms of *Mantua*, and of *Montferrat*, with all Territories belonging to them, except those which were assigned to the Duke of *Savoy*, and those that might appertain to the Duke of *Guastalla*; and that this Investiture should be brought into *Italy* in a Fortnight after the Date of this Treaty: XI. That after this, they should begin to demolish the Fortifications for the space of fifteen days; and that in case it was not over by that time, the Places notwithstanding should be surrender'd: XII. That the Fortnight being expired on the 23d of *May*, the Baron *Galas* should draw off the Garrison of *Mantua*; and on the same Day the Mareschal *de Thoiras* should restore to the Duke of *Savoy*, *Pignerol*, *Briqueras*, *Susa*, and *Avilliana*: XIII. That at the same time the Baron *Galas* should

should retire with all his Troops, out of the States, Forts, and Passes, which he kept in the Country of the *Swisses*, and in the *Valteline*; all which Places should remain in the free Disposal of the *Grisons* as before: XIV. That for a Security of the Restitution of the Places, Hostages should be given on both sides in the time of the Fortnight granted for demolishing; to wit, on the Emperour's part, the Colonels *Chiesa*, *Picolomini*, and *Visleben*, and on the side of the French King, the Marquis of *Tabanes*, *Neresian*, and *Aiguebone*; and that these Hostages should be consigned into the hands of his Holiness, who should promise to keep them safely, and oblige himself to restore them to that Party which had observed the Treaty, and to deliver up to them those of the other side which had not kept it. 1631.

These are the principal Articles of the Treaty of *Queraſque*; for I don't mention those which are not material to this History. But besides this Treaty which was publish'd, there was a secret Article, by which it was provided, that for a greater Security than that of the Hostages, the Cittadels of *Susa* and *Avilliana* should be put into the hands of the *Swissers*, equally Friends to the King of *France* and to the Duke of *Savoy*; and that they should take an Oath to restore them to the Duke of *Savoy* assoon as they were certain of the Evacuation of the Forts by the *Grisons*; but in case this Restitution should not be made at the prefixed time, they should put again these Places into the hands of the Mareschal *de Thoiras*, or of any other whom the King would be pleased to appoint.

There were yet two other Treaties for the Duke of *Savoy*, in one of which were * specified the Lands which the Duke of *Savoy* was to possess in *Montferrat*; and the other † was concerning the Restitution of *Savoy*, and of the Places in *Piedmont*. Some Difficulties arose afterwards in the Execution of the general Treaty, but were accommodated ‡ some time after; so that at last the Peace of *Italy* was concluded, and the Treaty put in Execution in the Month of *September*; at least in outward appearance.

The *Swissers* * entred the Places remitted to them, and the Pope received the Hostages, who were kept under a strong Guard in the Cittadel of *Ferrara*. The Emperour's

* *See it in Siri Mem. Rec.* T. 7. Pag. 374.
† *Signed the* 30*th of* May, Ibid. Pag. 383.
‡ *The* 19*th of* June, Ibid. Pag. 387.
* *Siri Mem. Rec.* T. 7. Pag. 413.

1631. rour's Inveſtiture for the Duke of *Nevers* was remitted to the Biſhop of *Mantua*, and the Duke of *Guaſtalla* ſent to the Emperour an Act, by which he deſiſted from the oppoſition he had made againſt it. The time ſpecified in the laſt Treaty being at hand, *Savoy* and *Briqueras* were reſtored to the Duke of *Savoy*, and the Paſſes of the *Valteline* quitted by the *Imperialiſts*. All the State of *Mantua*, except *Porto* and *Canetto*, was ſurrendred to the Duke of *Mantua*, and the *French* withdrew from *Piedmont*, from *Montferrat*, and from *Savoy*, while the *Spaniards* left the State of *Venice*, of *Mantua*, and of *Montferrat*. On the 15th of *September Suſa* and *Avilliana* were reſtored to the Duke of *Savoy*, *Porto* and *Canetto* to the Duke of *Mantua*. On the 23d the *Germans* departed out of *Mantua*, and the *French* out of *Pignerol*, at leaſt it was thought ſo. After which the Pope releaſed the Hoſtages.

All things were ſeemingly in a perfect Peace, when it appeared that on all ſides they onely thought how to deceive one another. *Victor Amadeo* had a long while ago deſign'd to make his Peace with *France*, which had got already a conſiderable part of his State; and *Mazarine*, who was aware of it, gave him to underſtand, that if he deſired to engage wholly this Crown in his Intereſt, and to remove all Suſpicions on his part, he ought to give to His Majeſty an aſſured Pledge of his Good Will, ſuch as *Pignerol*, and that the King would not be wanting to Recompence him another way.

The Cardinal of *Richlieu* was ſo ſtrongly of opinion, that this Place was neceſſary to the Crown, that he could not reſolve to have it reſtored to the Duke of *Savoy*, whatſoever inconveniences might ariſe from the contrary. Moſt part of the *Italian* Princes confirmed him in theſe Sentiments, by the ſecret Sollicitations of their Miniſters to that purpoſe. They were glad that *France* ſhould have a Door open to enter *Italy*, when occaſion ſhould require, to have a Foreign Army to Counter-ballance the exceſſive Power of the *Spaniards*. By complying thus with their deſires, *France* would recover their Friendſhip, loſt by the Peace of *Lions* (in 1601.) by which they quitted to the Duke of *Savoy* the Marquiſate of *Saluces*, and conſequently gave up the Paſſes of the *Alpes*; and the *French* King's Authority grew ſo much the greater, as the

the Power of the *Spaniards* was more leſſen'd. Beſides, 1631.
the Cardinal could not leave behind him a more Illuſtrious Monument of his good Conduct, than a place of this Importance, which was formerly quitted by *Henry* the III. to the Dukes of *Savoy*.

The Difficulty was how to find a way to keep it, without breaking the Peace of *Italy*, but it could not be done againſt the Duke of *Savoy*'s Conſent. Therefore the Cardinal, who had already a great Eſteem for *Mazarine*, and knew that he was likewiſe well-accepted by the Duke of *Savoy*, charged him with this Negotiation, which he perform'd to his Satisfaction. The Duke of *Savoy* having conſented to leave *Pignerol* in the hands of *France*, they got him (beſides what was promiſed to him) the Poſſeſſion of *Canaves*, which was diſmembred from *Montferrat*, by the Treaty of *Queraſque*, to the prejudice of the Duke of *Mantua*.

Both the *Spaniards* and the *Imperialiſts*, who knew nothing of the Negotiation concerning *Pignerol*, which was kept ſecret, were ſurpriſed, that *France* ſhould ſpoil the Duke of *Mantua* their Ally, to ſerve the Duke of *Savoy*, who had taken Arms againſt them; but time diſcovered the Myſtery. No noiſe was to be made about it, before *Mantua* was Reſtored; the Paſſages of the Country of the *Griſons* remitted to their Ancient Maſters, and the Hoſtages releaſed; for the *Spaniards* who had a viſible Intereſt in keeping the *French* on the other ſide of the Mountains, would certainly have broken the Treaty, rather than permitted *Pignerol* to remain in their hands.

It was therefore neceſſary ſo to order Affairs, that if the *French* quitted the Place, in Compliance to the Treaty, they ſhould be ſecure of returning into it again. The Duke of *Savoy* promiſed to do it after the Execution of the Treaty; and, for a Pledge of his Word, ſent the Cardinal of *Savoy*, and Prince *Thomas*, his Brothers, into *France*, under pretence that they were to paſs into *Flanders*. But the Cardinal feared, leaſt this Prince, to whom this Place was, at leaſt, as Important as it was to *France*, would not be as good as his Word, ſince the *Spaniards* would infallibly be ready to aſſiſt him, in this occaſion, with all their Forces. Therefore they labour'd to find

1631. out some Stratagem or other to secure themselves of continuing still in the Possession of *Pignerol*, though at the same time they made a shew of quitting it, so that no body should perceive it: This difficult business was committed to the Marquess of *Villeroy*, who carried it on in such a manner, that he deceived not onely the *Spaniards*, and the *Piedmontois*, but the *French* themselves.

He pick'd out Three hundred Men, whom he pretended to trust with a Secret Order he had lately received from the King, which was, to send them with all speed to the Cittadel of *Casal*, and commanded them to send away their Baggage with the rest of the Garrison, who were disposing themselves to clear the Place at the time prefixt, being about Three thousand Men in number, and to take their way to *Dauphine*. In the mean time he caused them to hide themselves in several secret holes of the Castle, and particularly in an old Garret, where was a long time ago a Door Wall'd up, adjoyning to the Dungeon. *Villeroy* caused this Garret to be divided by a Partition of Boards, and at one side Corn to be laid up; and, on the other side, where the Wall'd-door was, lay part of his Men. But because this would have met with very much difficulty in the Execution, if many *Piedmontois* had been in the Place; he caused a Report to be spread abroad, That the Plague was at *Pignerol*, and particularly in the Cittadel; which put a stop to the curiosity of the People from flocking thither, and also to the speedy Levies which the Duke of *Savoy* intended to make there for the Garrison. The Count of *Verrue*, sent by the Duke to Receive the Place, was acquainted with the Secret, but the *Imperial* and *Spanish* Commissioners had not the least suspicion of it. As soon as they were arriv'd, they saw the *French* Troops go out in a File towards *Dauphine*, and *Villeroy* took care himself to Conduct them to all the Magazines, affecting in this an extraordinary Punctuality, to tire them, and get time, which succeeded so much the easier, because the Commissioners were unwilling to enter any place that had not been before purifi'd with Fire and Sweet Odours, for fear of catching the Plague. Being entred the Cittadel, where the Three hundred Souldiers were hid, the Marquess deliver'd up the Gate to the Count of *Verrue*, who

who committed it to Fifty or Threescore Souldiers, under the Command of an Officer; after which he drew the Garrison out, and led the Commissioners to every part of it. The Count had with him a Colonel of the Duke of *Savoy*, named *Porporati*, who knowing nothing of the Secret, looked into every Corner with a great deal of Care; so that *Villeroy*, fearing least he should discover the place where most part of his Men were hid, gave a Jog to the Count, and turning himself to the Commissioners, told them, That it being already pretty late, they would do well to send some body to visit the Fort of St. *Bridget*, and this Commission was given to *Porporati*. 1631.

The Cardinal was so entirely resolv'd not to abandon the Cittadel of *Pignerol*, that *Villeroy* had Orders to Imprison the Commissioners, in case they should discover the Cheat; and, for this effect, he had along with him Ten or Twelve of the most strong and resolute Fellows, to put his Orders in Execution at the first sign.

This Resolution which could not be put in execution, without a Scandalous Violation of the Treaty of *Queresque*, and even of the Law of Nations, sufficiently shewed how willing the Cardinal was to keep this Place. By good hap the Commissioners were not aware of the Cheat, and *Villeroy* got the very same day an Attestation from them, by which they acknowledg'd, That *Pignerol* was faithfully deliver'd again into the hands of the *Savoyards*. He sent it Post to *Ferrara* to have the Hostages released.

Not above four or five Persons were in the Cittadel to look after the Magazines, and the *Piedmontois*, who were at the Gate, had an Order to let no body in, except one Page of the Count of *Verrue*, to entertain them in the opinion that there was no body in the Cittadel: This business lasted Two and thirty days, during which the hidden Souldiers did not want Provisions, for they were abundantly provided before.

Now it was necessary to draw these Souldiers out of their holes, and to perswade the World, That they were got in again in spight of the Duke of *Savoy*.

Therefore they onely look'd for a Pretence, which would not have been so easie a thing to find, if the Duke

1631. of *Feria*, Governour of *Milan*, had been more quick in executing the Treaty of *Querasque*, who, fearing least the *French* would not answer his honest and fair Dealing, retained Two *German* Regiments in the State of *Milan*, and some *Neapolitan* Cavalry, whom he had Promised to dismiss. The *French* being informed of it, begun immediately to complain highly of it, and to say, That Count *Merode* threatned again to invade the Passes of the *Valteline*.

The Great Sums of Money which *Spain* was accused to furnish the Queen-Mother with, did not help a little to heighten these Complaints, and they were carried to the Duke of *Feria* by Cardinal *Mazarine*, in very high words, purposely to exasperate the *Spaniards* to some Infraction or other, which might give occasion to the *French* to say, That they were constrained by the Duke's Contraventions, to Possess themselves again of *Pignerol*.

On his side *Feria* begun likewise to complain of the *French*, because the Garrisons of *Mantua* and of *Casal* were full of Souldiers of their Nation, and the *Grisons* Fortified the Passage of *Steich*, against the Treaty of *Monzon*. He Publish'd a Writing, in which he expos'd at length the Infractions which he thought the *French* had made against that of *Querasque*, and said, *That they might be followed with greater Inconveniencies.* The Ministers of *France* who sought after a Quarrel, took up these words, as if the Duke of *Feria* had meant, That as soon as the *French* Troops were gone out of *Italy*, he would Revenge himself of those Infractions he imputed to them. Furthermore, they had notice, that the Emperour, at the Instance of *Spain*, had declared void the Investiture sent to the Duke of *Mantua*, unless the Treaty of *Ratisbon* should be exactly observed; and thereupon the *French* gave out, That the *Spaniards* had a Design to Invade a-new the States of the Duke of *Mantua*.

Upon this they dispersed a Manifesto, with the Consent of the Duke of *Savoy*, though they complained of him in publick, in which, after great Complaints against the Unfair Dealings of the *Spaniards* and their Allies, and especially of the Duke of *Savoy*, to carry on their Trick more

more secretly, they declared, that the King was resolved 1631. to secure the Peace of *Italy*, and to protect his Allies there. For this purpose, *Servien* ask'd the Duke of *Savoy*, to deliver back several Places in *Piedmont*, and, amongst others, *Pignerol*, for the Reception of the *French* Army which was to pass thither again. The Ministers of *France* protested before God and Men, that it was not out of any Ambitious Motive, or to disturb the Peace of *Italy*, that the King their Master demanded these Places; but on the contrary, to make it more firm, and to give the Allies that Peace, which they desired so earnestly to enjoy.

The Duke of *Savoy* so carried himself, as if he thought this Demand very strange, and told *Servien* the Reasons he had to deny it; but *Servien* replied, That if he would not grant, of his own free accord, what the King desired, the Army which was in *Dauphine*, and in *Provence*, should repass the Mountains by force, for the Security of his Allies. He allowed the Duke Three Days to consider of it, after which he threatned him, in case of Denial, with the Invasion both of *Piedmont* and *Savoy*. In the mean while this Prince sent to acquaint the Duke of *Feria* with the Pretensions of the *French*, and to Ask Succours of him to oppose this Intended Invasion. The Governour of *Milan* offered him all the Assistance which was in his Power. When they came to the Particulars, this Prince Ask'd for the Defence of *Savoy* Ten thousand Foot, and a Thousand Horse, and half that number for *Piedmont*, besides his own Troops. He thought this would suffice for the present, since Winter was so near. He desired also that *Spain* should immediately Pay him off all the Arrears due to him, which His Catholick Majesty had Promised him, after which, they might at leasure Discourse of what was Necessary to be done for the future. The Duke of *Savoy* knew that it was impossible for the Governour of *Milan* to satisfie his Demands, and he made them on purpose, that they should not think it strange if he delivered *Pignerol* to the *French*, seeing they were not in a condition to Protect him against them. The Governour of *Milan* Answered, That he would immediately supply him with what Help he could, and that as soon as the New

1631. Levies were made in the State of *Milan*, he would send them with all speed to him. In the mean while the *Spaniards* offered to enter into Negotiation with the *French* upon this matter, but *Servien* would not hearken to it before the Duke of *Savoy* had Answered his Demands.

Lastly, To deceive the *Spaniards* effectually, the Duke Assembled * his Council, in which it was Concluded, That since he could not hope to receive from them the Succours he wanted, to defend himself against the *French*, it was better to come to an Agreement, and, of two Evils, to choose the least. The Dutchess of *Savoy* feigned likewise to interpose with her Brother for the Moderation of the Demands which *Servien* had made. They agreed afterwards upon these Articles; That the Duke of *Savoy* should neither directly nor indirectly help those who would endeavour to cause any Disturbance in *France* during the Absence of the Queen-Mother, and of the Duke of *Orleans*: That he should grant free Passage to the *French* Troops, in case there should be a necessity to send them again into *Montferrat*, or the Peace came to be disturbed on the side of the *Grisons*, or of *Mantua*: That to give a Pledge to the *French* King that he would keep his Word, he should depositе the Town and Cittadel of *Pignerol*, with the Three Forts of *Perusa*, in the hands of the *Swisses*, who were intrusted before with *Susa*: That the same *Swisses* should take an Oath, That they would faithfully keep these Three Places during Six Months; at the end of which they should restore them to the Duke of *Savoy*; unless the Prince should think fit, in case the same Conjunctures happened, to have their Trust further prolonged: Nevertheless, that His Majesty might put a Governour into the Place, who should take the same Oath. Afterwards, with the consent of the Duke, a *French* Garrison was exchang'd with that of the *Swisses*, and the Three hundred Souldiers came out of the places where they had hid themselves.

* The 19th of October.

The Duke of *Savoy* gave notice to Duke *Feria* of the Articles he had Agreed upon with the *French*. The Governour of *Milan* durst not disapprove wholly the Duke of *Savoy*'s Conduct, though he thought it would be

be highly prejudicial to *Italy*. Thus the *French* appeared to re-enter into the Possession of *Pignerol*, which they had not quitted; and they afterwards engag'd the Duke of *Savoy* to yield it up wholly to them, the *Spaniards* not perceiving (at first) the Trick which was put upon them. As the *Spanish* Ministers in *Italy* were blamed for their want of Conduct, so it was thought very strange, that the Duke of *Savoy*, for some Lands in *Montferrat*, which *France* caused to be given him, by the Treaty of *Queraſque*, should voluntarily tie up his own hands by parting with *Pignerol*. 1631.

The Duke of *Mantua* was reduc'd by this War to such Extremities, that he depended wholly upon *France*, and durst not contradict them in the least. So that at the same time that the *French* were busie to secure *Pignerol* for themselves, he was oblig'd to permit them to send a strong Garrison to the Cittadel of *Casal*, for fear the *Spaniards*, seeing the *French* in *Pignerol*, should endeavour to make themselves Masters of it. This business was likewise carried on with so much secrecy, that they knew nothing of it in *Italy*, till after Two *French* Regiments had got into *Casal*. As soon as the *Italian* Princes, who were jealous of the Power of *Spain*, knew that the *French* were in Possession of these two Places, notwithstanding the Treaty of *Queraſque*, they shewed in all parts how well they were pleased with it, and especially the *Venetians*, who were not in favour with the House of *Austria*, and feared its Resentments. The onely thing which remained for *France* to do, for the perfect security of that Republick on that side, was to seize on the Passes of the *Valteline*, and indeed they made it their business to effect it soon after.

Towards the end of the same year, the * Duke of *Savoy* reconciled himself wholly with the Republick of *Genoua*; by Restoring reciprocally what was taken from one side and the other during the Truce. *Zuccarello*, which was the occasion, or the pretence of the War, as I observed in another place, remained to the *Genoueſe*, upon condition that they should give One hundred and threescore Crowns of Gold to the Duke of *Savoy*, who was to renounce all his Pretensions to this Marquisate.

* The 27th of Novemb. 1631. See Siri Mem. Rec. T. 7. P. 436.

1632. The King being at *Metz*, the Duke of *Lorrain* came there, and after some Negotiations he concluded his Treaty with *France*, * which was Sign'd at *Vic* on the 6th of *January*.

* *See* Aubery's *Life of the Card.* Lib. 4. Cap. 23.

The Duke Promised to disengage himself from any Intelligence, League and Association, which he had made with any Prince or State whatsoever, to the Prejudice of the King, his Dominions, and Countries under his Obedience, or Protection; and to the Detriment of the Alliance made by His Majesty with the King of *Sweden*, and the Duke of *Bavaria*, for the Defence of the *German*-Liberty, and of the Catholick-League. He oblig'd himself likewise, to turn out of his Dominions all the King's Enemies, and all his Subjects, who had left the Kingdom without his Leave, and to deny them for the future any Passage or Retreat.

A little while after, the Deputies of the Parliament of *Paris* came to *Metz*, where the King was. † After they had stay'd there a Fortnight, he gave them Audience, and told them, That for this time he forgave them, but they ought to take care least they fell into the same Faults again, for a Relapse would prove fatal to them: That he loved his People better than they did; that he took more care for the Glory and Greatness of the State, and would maintain it better than they: That he forbad them to busie themselves about any thing else but the Administration of Justice. They Answered, They had been brought up in a very good School, where they had learned Obedience and Fidelity to His Majesty; and the King Reply'd, They had then soon forgot what they were Taught. The Keeper of the Seals made them afterwards a long Remonstrance, in which he Reproached them that they design'd to divide the Royal Authority with the King. He told them nevertheless that His Majesty sent them back to the Exercise of their Offices, except Five who were Suspended from their Places, and ordered to follow the Court, to serve for an Example. Nevertheless as soon as the King was returned to St. *Germain*, they were restor'd to their Employments.

† Siri Mem. Rec. Tom. 7. Pag. 359.

Monsieur,

Monsieur, who was then at *Nancy*, was oblig'd to withdraw, and to retire to the Low-Countries; and the French Army advanc'd to the Frontiers of *Germany*, as if they would have favour'd *Gustavus Adolphus*; though at the bottom, *France* began to grow jealous of his Victories, and to fear least the Emperour and the Catholick League should wholly sink under the power of his Arms. * The King of *Sweden* desired extreamly to have a Conference with *Lewis* XIII. being used to manage his Negotiations himself; and the King of *France* shew'd on his side a great Inclination to see *Gustavus*, for fear of offending him. But this Prince had quite other things in his Thoughts, and durst not expose himself to an Interview, which had turned wholly to the Honour of the King of *Sweden*, to whom he was not to be compar'd for the Qualities either of Body or Mind.

1632.

* Siri Mem. Rec. T. 7. Pag. 475.

So a little time after, the King of *Sweden* was acquainted that the French King being indispos'd, was not in a condition to come to an Interview; therefore it was propos'd to him, that he would be pleased to meet Cardinal *Richlieu*, who was more fit to treat with *Gustavus* than *Lewis* XIII, who referr'd every thing to his Minister. *Gustavus*, who was of a hasty Temper, answered, he would send one of his Servants to confer with the Cardinal; that he esteemed himself not inferiour to the French King, and did not understand why he should decline to meet him; that the *Swedish* Kings never truckled to those of *France*; and that all Crowns were equal.

These Expressions of *Gustavus*, besides that he was suspected of aspiring to no less than an Universal Monarchy, cooled very much the Design which the French had to assist him, and hinder'd the King, at that time, from declaring openly against the House of *Austria*. Besides, the Cardinal had some particular Reasons which kept him back from engaging himself in great Enterprises, in which *France* might perhaps not always get the better. The extreme Aversion of the Queen-Mother, and of Monsieur towards him; the hatred even of almost the whole Kingdom, not to mention the Foreign Powers whom he had mightily offended, and the little Certainty he had that the King, upon whose Affection his Fortune was built, would live long; all this made him very often think of his own Security,

1632. curity, in case any sinister Accident should befall him.

To shelter himself against all Misfortunes, he design'd at this time to marry his Niece *Combalet* with the Count of *Soissons*, to whom he made very advantageous Offers. He pretended to put him in a Condition not only of being able to be a Support to the Relations of his Lady, but also almost of giving Laws to the King himself. The Count consented to it, but was desirous that the King should declare in Writing, that he promoted this Marriage as being advantageous both for his Service and the Good of the State; and that for this Reason he commanded him to marry the Cardinal's Niece. The Minister, whom the King humoured in all things, thought he might easily obtain this Favour, and demanded it, though without the return of any positive Answer. He continued then to treat of this Business himself, and had his Propositions carried to the Count of *Soissons* by his Creatures; but at last he perceived that this Marriage displeased the King, because he had very good reason to believe that it would make the Count of *Soissons* too powerful; that the Prince of *Conde*, who was an Enemy to the Count, would joyn with the Disaffected; and that consequently the King would find himself alone with the Count, and draw upon him all the Enemies of the Cardinal.

This Prelate coming to understand the Sentiments of his Majesty upon this Affair, shewed an entire Submission to his Will, and gave out that his Niece was going to retire into a Nunnery, though nothing was so far from her Thoughts. It was secretly whisper'd to the King, that this Marriage would render the Count of *Soissons* too great; and that it would utterly disoblige the Queen-Mother and the Duke of *Orleans*, whom, neither in Conscience, nor even in good Politicks, he could always keep out of the Kingdom. In the mean while the Cardinal, who was used to Refusals, feared lest the King's Affection towards him should change, and he was observed to be very sad for some days.

The Prince of *Conde*, weary of publishing his Praises without any Advantage to himself, and angry at the Marriage which was proposed, instead of going to assemble the Estates of *Burgundy*, retired to *Bruges*. In order to hinder him from having any Communication with the Governours

vernours of *Burgundy* and *Berry*, it was thought necessary 1632. to cause some Forces to advance to the River *Loire* to guard the Passes. But there was no Necessity for this Precaution, as a little time made it appear.

The Duke * of *Lorrain* offered his Mediation to reconcile the King with Monsieur, and received this Answer, that if that Prince would return into *France*, a general Pardon should be granted to all those who had followed his Party; and that they should be re-establish'd in their Estates and Dignities, except only in the Governments which they possessed before. But these, who far from being willing to come and surrender themselves to the Cardinal, intended not to go home, unless they could be considerable Gainers by the Bargain, perswaded Monsieur to reject these Offers; and the D. of *Lorrain* who saw very well that their Return upon these Conditions would only encrease the Authority of the Cardinal, a professed Enemy to his House, was the first who advised Monsieur to recover his Right by force of Arms, and begun himself to make new Levies again, for fear of being surprised as he was before; and soon after, Monsieur, who was retired to *Flanders*, returned into *Lorrain* with some Forces, which he joyned with those of the Duke.

* Aubery's *Life of the Card.* Lib. 4. Cap. 24.

Both the King and the Cardinal were gone into *Picardy* to oppose the Enterprises of the disaffected Persons, who kept private Correspondences there. The Governour of *Calais*, one of those who declared for Monsieur, was reduced to his Duty by the King's Arrival, who returned afterwards to *Saint Germain*. The Cardinal in this Journey was seized with a small Fit of an Ague, which detained him two days at *Corbie*, though it never hinder'd him from taking care of the Publick Affairs, and soon after he follow'd the King. As soon as his Majesty received the News of Monsieur's Return into *Lorrain*, he sent the Mareschal *d' Effiat* thither to Command the Army with Mareschal *La Force*, and gave him Orders to enter again into the Duke of *Lorrain*'s Territories, and to oppose the March of Monsieur, in case they could not oblige the Duke of *Lorrain* by way of Negotiation, to observe the Treaty of *Vic*.

All the Promises and Threatnings made use of to win that Prince, were ineffectual, till he saw an Army, and the

1632. the King present in Person. They took * immediately *Pont a Mousson*, and entirely defeated a Regiment of *Lorrain* Horse, which they surprised.

* *In the Month of* June, Aub. *ibid.* Cap. 25.

The Duke not being in a condition to make farther Resistance, was glad to come to an Accommodation, and the Treaty was concluded on the 26th of *June* by his Deputies and Cardinal *Richlieu*, who was desirous to return into *France* with all speed, to oppose and frustrate Monsieur's Designs. The Duke of *Lorrain* engag'd himself to deliver up the Towns of *Stenay*, *Tamets*, and *Clermont*, to the King, and even to sell him the latter, to which the Crown of *France* had some Pretensions.

While the Cardinal was in *Lorrain* and in *Picardy*, he took care that an end should be made of the Tryal of the Marescha l *de Marillac*, † who having been arrested in *Piedmont*, as we said before, was brought Prisoner to the Castle of *Saint Menehoud*, and from thence to the Cittadel of *Verdun*, as soon as *Biscaras* had surrender'd it. Afterwards, according to the Cardinal's custom, the King appointed a Chamber of Justice at *Verdun* to judge of this Affair. It was composed of four Masters of Requests, of two Presidents, and twelve Counsellors of the Parliament of *Burgundy*, and their Commission was dispatch'd on the 13th of *May* 1631. The Marescha l *de Marillac* was accused of embezzling the King's Treasury; and some Witnesses who were brought against him since his Detension, accus'd him of having converted to his own use part of the Moneys which the King had sent him to fortifie *Verdun*. He was examined before the Court, and the Witnesses confronted him, with several other Proceedings at his Sollicitation, and at the Instance of the King's Attorney; but at last they agreed in a Decree, whereby he was allowed to make his Defence. The Cardinal, who was in good hopes that the Court would have sentenced him to death, caused the Commission to be recalled, and the Judges to be discharged. The Marescha l was some time after removed from *Verdun* to the Castle of *Pontoise*, and from thence to the Village of *Ruel*. The King established there a Chamber of Justice by another Commission of the 11th of *March* 1632. They were in part the same Judges, and some others who were put in the room of those that were rejected, and they were four and twenty in number. The

† *A true Relation of the Trial of Marescha l* Marillac *in the Journal of* Richlieu, Tom. 2. Pag. 1. *and Siri Mem. Rec.* T. 7. P. 495. *and foll.*

The Marescha l excepted against the whole Chamber in general, and against several Judges in particular, for very strong Reasons; but the Council judged his Protestation void, and for all his Endeavours he could except but against one. In order to oblige the Judges to condemn him to death, the King's Attorney cited a Statute which condemned those who were found guilty of defrauding the Publick Treasury, to have both *their Estates and Bodies confiscated*: but the rest maintained, that in this case, those Expressions imported no more than the Forfeiture of their Estates, and Imprisonment. Finally, * the Chamber, without any Examination of most part of the Heads of Accusation which were produced against him, came to pass Sentence. Ten of his Judges voted for Life, and thirteen for Death: so that according to the form of Criminal Judgments, he was condemned but by one Vote. Most part of them were excepted against, for very weighty Reasons; as particularly, for publick and long professed Enmity. Whereas in Criminal Matters, it is usual to gather the Votes three times one after another, to give them time in case they should happen to change Opinion, hardly were they once collected, but their *Chateauneuf*, President of the Chamber, pronounced the Sentence of Death, and sent to give notice of it to the King.

1632.

* *The 8th of* May.

No sooner were the Marescha l's Relations informed that Sentence had passed upon him, but they went Post to *Saint Germain*, to beg his Life of the King. They thought they must address themselves first to the Cardinal, to try if he would not have the Generosity to intercede for him after he had sollicited his Condemnation. Having made their Complements to him, the Cardinal, as if he had been wholly surprized at it, assured them that they told him of a thing which he knew nothing of; that he was heartily sorry that the Marescha l *de Marillac* had brought himself to that condition by his own Fault; to which he added, *See the King, he is merciful.* The Relations of the Marescha l having ask'd him again, if he would not do them the Favour to speak of it to the King, and to intercede for him, the Cardinal reply'd, *I told ye that ye should see the King.* When they threw themselves at his Majesty's feet, and sollicited for his

Pardon,

1632. Pardon, the King answered he would consider of it, and order'd them to withdraw. They immediately retired, and went again the next day to wait upon the Cardinal, and were scarcely got into the Anti-Chamber, when the Prelate going by, while they were bowing to him, asked them, *Well Gentlemen, have you seen the King?* one of them reported to him the King's Answer; to which the Cardinal replied, *I would advise you to obey the King.* Upon this another began to supplicate him, that he would be pleased to intercede for them, during their Absence, with the King: but the Minister, not being able to contain his Passion any longer, returned them this bitter and sharp Answer; *I did advise you to withdraw, since the King charged you to do so: but now I command you, in the King's name, to depart.* This Answer made them understand that the Death of the Mareschal was fully resolved upon, and he was accordingly executed at the *Greve*, the 10th of *March*, protesting his Innocence. 'Twas not usual in *France* to punish Publick Embezzling with Death: and indeed, this was not the Crime for which he was brought to the Scaffold.

* *Siri Mem. Rec. T. 7. Pag. 499.*

He had the Boldness * to advise the Queen-Mother at *Lions*, when the King was sick, to have the Cardinal apprehended in case his Majesty had dy'd. Which Crime, this good Prelate could never forgive him. As for his Brother, the Keeper of the Seals, he was conducted to *Pontoise*, where he dyed soon after: And so the Cardinal saw himself delivered from two Enemies, whom he might have feared if they had been alive.

They say that the Cardinal went himself to sollicit all the Judges, one after another, the day before they condemned the Mareschal to die: and yet 'tis also reported, that when they went to visit him, in hopes of receiving Thanks for it, the Cardinal told them, in a jeering way, "I must confess that God does inspire Judges after ano-"ther manner than he does the other Men, since they "could find sufficient Matter to condemn Mareschal *Marillac*. It was however publish'd after his Death, that the Queen-Mother had corrupted him to favour the *Spaniards* in *Italy* and in *Germany*; but that no mention was made of it at his Tryal in respect to her.

For

For a total humiliation of the Grandees of the King- 1632.
dom, the Cardinal not being satisfi'd with having oblig'd the Duke of *Guise* to leave *France*, caused his Government of *Provence* to be given to the Mareschal *de Vitry*, and appropriated to himself his Office of Admiral of the *Levant* Seas. It was pretended, that the *Spaniards* had a Design to make a Descent into the Islands of *Hieres*, and to Fortifie themselves there, at the Instigation of the Duke of *Guise*. This Prince made all his endeavours to justifie himself, and to obtain the permission to return into *France*; but as he desired some security, he had for an Answer, That nothing but his Innocence would be a safety to him; so that he durst not expose himself to the King's Justice, who look'd upon all such to be guilty who had the misfortune to displease the Cardinal.

During the same time, the *French* endeavoured to maintain themselves in the Possession of *Pignerol*, and the Duke of *Savoy*, who saw that he could not refuse them the Place, was onely thinking how to make the best Bargain that he could for it. He made use in this occasion of the Ministry of Cardinal *Mazarine*, who went to *Paris*, under a pretence to Treat with the King in the Pope's Name, about the Extirpation of Heresie in the City of *Geneva*, and of the Agreement of the Duke of *Savoy* with the Republick of *Genoua*, which was not yet Ratified by *France*. He offered to the King to quit *Pignerol* wholly to him, if he would take the City of *Geneva*, and put him in Possession of it. *Mazarine* countenanced this Demand in the Pope's Name; but because *Geneva* had been a long time under the King's Protection, and in an Alliance with the *Swisses*; besides, that it was not the Interest of the Crown, that this Place should fall into the hands of the Duke of *Savoy*, it was entirely deny'd, and he was oblig'd to content himself with a Sum of Money, which the King Promised to pay for him to the Duke of *Mantua*, to whom he owed the same by an Article of the Treaty of *Queraſque*: Thus *Pignerol*, which from the Month of *October*, 1631, was onely deposited in the hands of the *French*, was quitted to them by a Treaty Signed the 5th of *May*, 1632.

To

1632. To return to the Duke of *Orleans*, * who was the moſt dangerous Enemy the Cardinal had, as ſoon as it was known that he intended to enter into *France*, with ſome Troops that he had gathered from ſeveral parts; the Cardinal ſignifi'd to the *Spaniards*, That if they gave Aſſiſtance to Monſieur in any thing, it would be taken for an Infraction of the Peace of *Vervins*. Nevertheleſs leaſt they ſhould take this buſineſs in hand, not caring to break openly, the Cardinal Promiſed to the *States-General* of the *United-Provinces*, what they Ask'd of him, upon condition that they ſhould make neither Peace nor Truce with *Spain*, to keep them employ'd on that ſide. Monſieur † entred into *France* by the way of *Baſſigny*, with two Thouſand, or Fifteen hundred Horſe, and fell upon *Burgundy*. He Publiſhed at the ſame time a Declaration, wherein he call'd the Cardinal a Tyrant, an Uſurper, an Enemy to the King and to the Royal Family; ſaying, He had taken up Arms for no other intent but to open the eyes of His Majeſty, and to ſhew him plainly how his Miniſter deceiv'd him. Monſieur took upon himſelf the Title of *Lieutenant-General for the King*, to Redreſs the Abuſes, and to Repreſs the Violences of the Cardinal. He paſs'd with his Troops hard by *Dijon*, which Place having refuſed to Furniſh his Army with Proviſions, ſaw, for this Reaſon, one of their Suburbs reduc'd into Aſhes. From thence he paſs'd to *Auvergne*, where he Raiſed Three thouſand Foot, not making there any Devaſtation, becauſe *Noailles*, Lieutenant for the King in that Province, was there in Perſon.

* *Siri Mem. Rec.* T. 7. Pag. 551. *Aubery*, Lib. 4. cap. 27.

† *The 8th of June, Siri Mem. Rec.* Tom. 7. p. 551 *Aubery*, Lib. 4. cap. 27.

In the mean while the King thought it convenient to go to *Paris*, in order to be Preſent at the Parliament, and make them Confirm his Declaration againſt the Male-contents. * He went thither with the Cardinal, and the Keeper of the Seals made an Apology for this Miniſter, which he concluded with ſaying, That Seditious Men never ceaſed to Diſcredit thoſe Perſons that were concerned in the Government. Afterwards a Declaration † of the King was Regiſtred, wherein His Majeſty gave a Compendious Account of what the Duke of *Orleans* had done, tending to the Deſtruction of the State. *Although by his Libel of the 13th of June*, (as

* *The 11th of Auguſt.*

† *See it in Aubery, Ubi ſupra.*

(as 'twas ſaid in the Declaration) *he Declares, That what he did was for the ſafety and welfare of* France, *which he repreſented in a Deplorable Condition, in Terms extreamly prejudicial to the honour of his Majeſty, laying the fault of all upon the Cardinal* Richlieu; *though it might be juſtly ſaid, that the Kingdom was never ſo powerful nor in ſo great reputation before, and that the Cardinal's Fidelity and Zeal and the Merits of his Services were ſo well known to all the World, that none but thoſe who were envious both of the Glory of his Majeſty and of his Proſperity, would offer to ſay any thing to the contrary.* Laſtly, the King declared afreſh, thoſe who ſhould joyn with Monſieur, or abett him in any manner whatſoever, Rebels, and guilty of High Treaſon; and commanded they ſhould be proceeded againſt with all the Severity of the Laws. As for the Duke of *Orleans* himſelf, he gave him ſix Weeks time to return to his Allegiance. 1632.

In the mean while an Army was ſent againſt Monſieur, in two Bodies; one of which was commanded by the Mareſchal *de la Force*, and the other by Mareſchal *Schomberg*. They advanced two different ways, to endeavour to get between them the Troops of Monſieur, who were not in a condition to make any great reſiſtance. * Though they had obeyed the King, yet it was with very much reluctance that they accepted the Command upon this Occaſion; and eſpecially the Mareſchal *de la Force* did what lay in his power to be excuſed. It ſeemed to him, that it was too great a Boldneſs in a Subject to go and attack the King's only Brother, and preſumptive Heir to the Crown, his Majeſty being not preſent. It might happen that in the heat of Battel the Duke of *Orleans* might be kill'd, and the Fault then would be laid on the Mareſchal, which would be enough to ruin him under another Adminiſtration. And therefore that he might act with greater Safety, he deſired that the King would give him preciſe Orders what he was to do; and the King declared that as to his Brother's Perſon, he would not have him come by any harm, and that they ought to treat him with reſpect. Upon this the Mareſchal obſerved that in a Fight it would not be poſſible perhaps to diſtinguiſh him; and ſince this Inconvenience could not well be avoided, and would cauſe the Armies to act but

* *Siri Mem. Rec.* T. 7. Pag. 553.

1632. weakly against Monsieur in the King's Absence, his Majesty resolved at last to go personally with them.

Monsieur found none of the Provinces in his March disposed to declare for him, because the Governour who knew his Temper, knew likewise that he had neither Conduct, nor Experience, nor Constancy enough to protect those that should declare for him. Only the Duke of *Montmorency* promised to favour him, to revenge the Wrong which he thought the Cardinal had done him. He had formerly surrender'd his Office of Admiral, at his Sollicitation, who instead of suppressing it, as he had pretended before, appropriated it to himself, under another Title. 'Twas said that he gave the Duke of *Montmorency* great hope of having the Office of High Constable, which was more considerable, and had been possessed by his Father and Grandfather; but he caused both the Title and the Donations of that great Post to be abolish'd, so that the Duke having ask'd for the Office of *Mareschal General of the King's Armies*, which was the same Thing under another Name, he met with an absolute Denial. Yet notwithstanding these and other Occasions of Dissatisfaction, he still remained in the Interests of the Cardinal till the time of the King's Sickness at *Lions*. But whether he grew weary to live under the Authority of a Minister who would not have Friends but Slaves; or that *Marie Felice des Ursins*, his Lady, who was related to the Queen-Mother, had drawn him to the Party of this Princess, he engaged his Word to Monsieur, since this Prince's Departure from Court.

At first he looked for some Pretence or other to make Levies, without giving suspicion to the Court; but at last having * declared himself, he brought things to that pass, that the States of *Languedoc*, by their Deliberation on the 22d of *July*, called in the Duke of *Orleans* to protect them, promising him Money for his Troops, and protesting they would stand by him with their Lives and Fortunes. † The Duke of *Montmorency* was to have six thousand Men and a Supply of Money from *Spain*; but the Sum which he received from them did not amount to above fifty thousand Crowns, and it was late enough before it was remitted to him. As for their Succours of Men, they came not at all. So that when Monsieur

* *Pontis Mem.* T. 2. P. 34.

† *Siri Mem. Rec.* T. 7. P. 552.

Monsieur entred into *Languedoc*, he was not in a condition to oppose the King's Forces. Nevertheless there was a necessity to receive him, and he entred into *Lunel* on the 13th of *July*, after having secured some few Places to himself. He had a considerable sum of Money at his Palace in *Paris*, which he expected to receive in a short time; but the Court having had notice of his Designs, stopped it, so that Monsieur's Party was in a manner destitute of every thing; and when the King begun his March, to go and joyn Mareschal *Schomberg*, who followed the Duke of *Orleans*, he was not in a condition to make a long resistance, if the Royal Armies had been once joyned together. Monsieur had then Two thousand Foot, and Three thousand Horse, with abundance of Voluntiers, and Three Pieces of Canon. And Mareschal *Schomberg* had not yet above a Thousand Foot, and Twelve hundred Horse, without Artillery. The Mareschal being advanced near to *Castelnaudarry*, drew up his Troops in Battel on the First of *September*, the Enemy being not far from him. Whether the Duke of *Montmorency* was desirous to open the Campagne with some Action that might give reputation to his Party, or whether he judged it expedient to fight the Royal Army, while they were inferiour to him in number; he took upon himself the Command of the Van of the Army, and Monsieur that of the Main Body. * Having put himself at the head of the Counts of *Moret*, of *Rieux*, and of *Feuillade*, he resolved to go and support the first Files, who were ordered to possess themselves of an Advantageous Post.

* *Siri Mem.* Rec. Tom. 7. p. 555. *Aubery*, Lib. 4. c. 31. *Pontis Memoirs*, p. 2. p. 26.

The Count *de Moret* was the first who fell upon the King's Horse, and put them into disorder; and *Montmorency* perceiving it, pour'd in full speed with very few Men, and forgetting to discharge the part of a General, he exposed himself to all the dangers of a Private Souldier, and fought with extraordinary bravery. Upon this, some Foot, who were laid in an Ambush in the Ditches, suddenly got up, and made their Discharge so fortunately, that the Counts of *Moret*, of *Rieux*, of *Feuillade*, and several Officers were killed, and the Duke of *Montmorency* wounded in several parts of his Body. He might have withdrawn himself, if at the same time,

1632. his Horse being wounded, had not dropt down under him, so that a little while after he was made Prisoner, and carried to *Lectoure*. The rest of Monsieur's Army seeing themselves deprived of a considerable number of the Principal Officers, in stead of being animated to a revenge of their death, or going to free them from the hands of their Enemies, retired without fighting. Not long after the Foot were wholly dispersed, and Monsieur retired with his Horse to *Beziers*, while some Towns that had declared for him, returned to their former Allegiance and Duty.

The Duke of *Orleans* now begun to give great marks of Repentance for having engaged himself so far in an affair, out of which he could not disengage himself with Honour; and *Bullion*, who, after some Negotiations, to no purpose, went to see him from the King, obliged him, in a few days, to Sign an Accommodation, against the Mind of the greatest part of his Domesticks. The chiefest difficulty which lay in the way, was, concerning the Duke of *Montmorency*, whom Monsieur would absolutely have restored to the enjoyment of his Liberty, Honours and Estate. * *Bullion* told this Prince, That the best and onely way he had to obtain what he requested, was to submit himself wholly to the King's Will; that to desire an assurance of it, would be a Provocation to him, and an offence to that Trust he ought to have in his Clemency; That this being a Pardon which was wholly to redound to the King's Glory, he wrong'd the Duke of *Montmorency*, in not leaving it at His Majesty's Disposition; that the blind obedience he show'd the King upon this occasion, ought to put him out of fear, and give him hopes as certain as he could desire. These Discourses of *Bullion* perswaded the Duke, That he had Orders from the King, to speak to him in this manner, and hindred *Gaston* from drawing any positive word for the liberty of the Duke of *Montmorency*. Whether *Puilaurens*, and the rest, whose Advice Monsieur required in every thing, were not sorry to see the Duke of *Montmorency* sacrificed, or whether they did not perceive the Artifice of *Bullion*; certain it is, that they committed in this occasion a prodigious fault, which discredited their Party for good and

* *See Gaston's Letter to the King, dated from Montereau the 13th of Nov. 1632. in the Hist. of Lewis XIII. by Ch. Bernard, Lib. 16.*

and all. Thus did it appear evidently by Monsieur's Conduct, that those who Govern'd him, were not able to deceive any body but himself. They could easily bring him to shew his Dissatisfaction against the Court, but knew not to re-establish his Affairs upon a solid foundation, nor to put themselves into a condition, to improve, to their advantage, that exceeding power they had over his Inclinations. 1632.

The Treaty of Accommodation * was to this effect, That Monsieur should acknowledge his Fault in Writing, and desire the King to Pardon him: That he should give all reasonable and possible assurances not to commit any such transgression for the future: That in order to this, he should Promise to leave all sorts of Cabals, in, and out of the Kingdom; and, under no pretence, and in no manner whatsoever to Maintain any Intelligence with the *Spaniards*, *Lorrainers*, or other Princes; nor with the Queen-Mother, while she continued in her present Circumstances; nor with any body in the Kingdom, against His Majesty's good pleasure; and to remain where His Majesty should be pleased to appoint him, and to live there as a true Brother and Subject: That he should not concern himself for those who had joyned with him in these occasions, to promote their own Affairs at his Cost, and the prejudice of the Nation, and should not pretend to have occasion of complaint given him, if the King at any time should punish them as they deserved; out of which number were excepted his Domesticks, who were then with him: That he should not demand any particular Pardon for those Strangers who Accompanied him; but that the King, out of his meer bounty and goodness, should grant them six days to withdraw into *Roussillon*: That he should fill the vacant Offices of his House, and, among the rest, namely that of Chancellour, with Persons nominated by the King; and if His Majesty was displeased with any of them, he should remove them immediately of His own accord: That the King being not ignorant how those bad Counsels which Monsieur had followed, were suggested to him by *Puilaurens*, this latter should sincerely give notice of all secret transactions that might be prejudicial to the State, to the King's Interest, and of those wh

* *Hist. of Lewis XIII. by Ch. Bernard, Lib. 16.*

1632. who had the honour to serve him faithfully; and should declare, that he would be held as guilty, as he was before he received the King's most Gracious Pardon, if he acted contrary to his Promise. In a particular Article, the Duke promised to cherish all those who served His Majesty, and particularly Cardinal *Richelieu*, whom he ever had esteemed, as was said in this Act, for his fidelity to His Person, and to the Interest both of King and State.

The King, on his side, granted His Pardon to Monsieur, and to his Domesticks, and moreover to the Duke of *Elbeuf*, whom he restored to his Estate, and permitted to reside in one of his Houses, that should be appointed by His Majesty. Monsieur signed this Agreement at *Besiers*, on the 29th of *September*, and the King ratifi'd it by Letters Patents dated at *Montpellier* on the first of *October*.

* *Siri Mem.* Rec. T. 7. p. 519.

After this, Monsieur's Troops retir'd into *Rousillon*, and he * Wrote a Letter to the King, and another to the Cardinal, full of Complements, wherein he disapproved the Declaration publish'd at his coming into the Kingdom against this Prelate, as having been publish'd without his knowledge, and having never seen it. Lastly, he desired the Cardinal to forget what was past, and promis'd him his Friendship. *Putilaurens* sent also an Act to the King, written with his own hand, in which he promis'd to perform whatever was desired of him.

* *On the 4th of Octob.*

* After this Monsieur and his Domesticks took their way to *Tours*, where the King thought fit he should retire.

He wrote another Letter to the King, wherein he earnestly desired him to forgive the Duke of *Montmorency*, but to no purpose. As soon as he was taken, it was debated in a secret Council what to do with him, and 'tis confidently reported, that care was taken already to incense the King against him, by telling him, That they had found about his Arm a Locket of Gold, to which was tied the Picture of a certain Lady in Miniature, for whom His Majesty had a great Kindness. *Pompone de Bilievre* Intendant in Marechal *Schomberg*'s Army took it dexterously from him at his Examination, and took the Picture from it; but as this was done in presence of several persons, notice was given to

to the Cardinal of it, to exasperate the King against him. So when the question was put, If the King should use the Duke of *Montmorency* severely, or forgive him, it was no hard matter to incline him to a rigorous usage. 1632.

Nevertheless, the Cardinal being willing to affect an appearance at least of Equity towards a Man, to whom he was very much oblig'd, he begun to deliver his Opinion,* by saying, 'That His Majesty might be moved 'for several Reasons, to Pardon the Duke of *Montmoren-* 'cy: That Monsieur had offered to leave off all Cor- 'respondences that were displeasing to His Majesty, and 'to return to his Duty, upon condition that this Noble 'Lord should receive his Pardon, otherwise the Duke of 'Orleans could never with Honour renew His Obedi- 'ence to His Majesty: for all his Domesticks advised 'him to hazard all things to save the Duke of *Montmo-* 'rency: That if Monsieur retired into *Spain*, he would 'induce the *Spaniards* to be very mischievous to *France*: 'That if Monsieur was brought into Despair, those who 'serv'd the King would not be in safety, because those 'of the contrary Party would not think themselves safe 'till they had brought them to ruine; That if Monsieur 'came once to leave off all Cabals and Practises con- 'trary to the good of the State, any thing might be after- 'wards undertaken against the *Spaniards*, whereas while 'he was discontented, they could not make use of any 'occasion, though never so favourable.

* *Siri Mem.* Rec. Tom. 7. p. 561.

After he had thus produc'd his Reasons in favour of the Duke of *Montmorency*, the Cardinal turned the Tables, and said, 'That on the other side, if they consi- 'der'd that the King was without Children, and Mon- 'sieur look'd upon as Presumptive Heir to the Crown, 'they would find, that if those who followed his 'Party, were not rigorously punish'd; the first time 'the King fell Sick, how inconsiderable soever his Sick- 'ness should be, so many People would declare for the 'Duke of *Orleans*, that the King would not be able to 'Master them: That on the contrary, if the Duke of 'Montmorency was brought to Deserved Punishment, no 'body would dare to engage in such Attempts any 'more; That not a few Kings, whom he named, had

1632. 'maintained themselves in the declension of their Age, 'only by Severity; he cited some Examples, and conti-'nued, saying, That if the Nobility and Commons 'should once know, that the consideration which the 'King had for Monsieur was capable to hinder Seditious 'Persons from being punished with Death, there would 'be still great Numbers of Persons, who, thinking 'their Lives in safety, would venture their Estates and 'Fortunes for him, in hopes of being gainers at the Ex-'pence of the Kingdom: That turning Men out of 'their Offices in such an occasion, signified nothing, 'without taking their Lives away, because Monsieur be-'ing consider'd as next Heir to the Crown, those who 'should lose their Offices for taking up Arms for him, 'would hope to recover them with usury, as soon as 'this Prince ascended the Throne: That *Montmoren-'cy's* Crime was not a Simple Rebellion, in which 'Monsieur had engaged him, but that he had Incited 'the Duke of *Orleans* to enter into *France* with Arms, 'and raised up the Province, by Summoning an Assem-'bly of the States, a thing that was never practised be-'fore: That it would be very difficult and dangerous 'to keep him in Prison: That in stead of extinguish-'ing that Party, it would be revived, and gather more 'strength than before. That Monsieur submitted him-'self to the King out of Necessity, and not out of In-'clination: That the *Spaniards* would prove always 'the same, and the Queen-Mother would still persist 'in her Anger: That *Puilaurens* would have no less 'credit with Monsieur than before, and that his Ambi-'tion, and Intreaguing with the *Lorrainers*, would al-'ways continue: So that the danger being over, the 'Duke of *Orleans* would hearken to bad Counsels a-'gain: That if they thought fit to forsake the *Hollan-'ders*, and the *Swedes*, the Rage of the *Spaniards* might per-'haps cease; and if they would Sacrifice to the Queen-'Mother all those whom she hated, and put the King 'in a total Dependance upon her, her Animosity might 'likewise be at an end; but if none of these things 'cou'd be done, as really the King could do neither 'of them without undoing himself, 'twas certain that 'the more Monsieur's Party subsisted in the Heads of 'it,

'it, the greater the danger wou'd be, by reason of their 1632.
'continual Cabals, and because the danger, when it
'was once over, was reckon'd for nothing: That
'the Duke of *Montmorency* being Punished, his Party
'would fall in *Languedoc*, and that of Monsieur all o-
'ver *France*; whereas if he was kept a Prisoner, though
'never so many besides were Executed, he would have
'always secret Friends, and so much the more true to
'him, that they should have no other hopes but in his
're-establishment, which consequently they would en-
'deavour to procure by all ways whatsoever.

Afterwards the Cardinal begun to Confute the Rea-sons he had at first proposed, to favour the Pardon which Monsieur demanded for the Duke of *Montmo-rency*. He said, 'That the Promises which Monsieur
'made to obtain what he desired, wou'd be indeed
'considerable, had he not broken his word three times,
'though he had been very kindly used by the King, and
'seen all his Houshold rewarded with extraordinary
'Favours; but after this it would be imprudently
'done to trust him: That if Monsieur could not save
'the Duke of *Montmorency*'s Life, he would find fewer
'People ready to serve him than if he saved him; and
'that this Reason alone was sufficient for to have him
'Punished: That Monsieur being not able to procure
'his Pardon, would not mine himself, because of his
'Death, and that the necessity of leaving him to the
'Severity of his Sentence, wou'd secure his Reputati-
'on, since it is better at last to have an Arm cut off,
'than to lose ones Life: That suppose Monsieur should
'pass into *Spain*, uppon the Duke of *Montmorency*'s be-
'ing Punished, yet his Power would be so much Clipp'd,
'that he would never be able to set up another Party:
'That indeed, the Ministers who declar'd for Severity
'in this occasion, expos'd themselves very much; but
'when the Service of King and State were called in
'question, they ought not to have any regard to their
'particular Interest. Lastly, The Cardinal concluded,
'That to grant the Duke of *Montmorency*'s Life to Mon-
'sieur's Request, would strengthen his Party, and wea-
'ken that of the King: nevertheless, the King might
'Grant it out of His meer Bounty, and not being ob-

1632. ‘lig'd to it by a Treaty; but there was more danger in ‘the doing, than in not doing of it.

The whole Council yielded to the Cardinal's Advice, which no body ever contradicted Unpunished, in Affairs of any moment. The King, who naturally was inclined to Severity, and to whom Generosity was almost an unknown Vertue, embraced, in this occasion, as in all others, the most Rigorous Party. † After this Council, the King presided Personally at the States of *Languedoc*, whom he Assembled at *Beziers*, and the Cardinal was there present. It was onely done with a design to lay a Censure upon the States, for suffering themselves to be seduced by the Duke of *Montmorency*, and to give order for the punishing of some Bishops and Gentlemen, who had declared for him.

† Aubery's *Life of Cardinal* Rich. Lib. 4. Cap. 34.

From thence the Court repaired to *Toulouse*, where the Parliament took in hand the Trial of the Duke of *Montmorency*, though it belonged, by Right, to that of *Paris*. The Cardinal, who did not love delays, especially when the Ruine of his Enemies was to be effected, moved the King to nominate this Parliament to be the Judges in this Cause. *Chateauneuf*, formerly Page to Constable *Montmorency*, Father to the Prisoner, and Six Masters of the Requests came thither to Preside at this Judgment; and forasmuch as the Duke of *Montmorency* was taken in Arms against His Majesty, and declared Guilty of High-Treason, after Examination, and a free Confession on his part, he was Condemned to * Death. During these Proceedings, and even after Sentence given, all the Duke's Friends, who were very numerous, Interceeded for him in vain. † *Francis* of *Tussac*, Lord of *Saint Breuil*, Captain of the Guards, who took him Prisoner, went to Beg his Life of the King in presence of the Cardinal, which was thought very absurd, there being so many other Persons of greater Quality that could have interceeded for him, without his Interposing; therefore the King Laughed at him for it, and the Cardinal Reprimanded him after his manner; *Saint Breuil, if the King would do you Justice, he would put your head where your feet are*: As if it had been a Crime for such a Man as he was to Intercede for a Criminal of State.

* *The 30th of Octob.*

† *Pontis Mem. T. 2. P. 36.*

* Never-

1632. * Nevertheless the Cardinal would sometimes feign himself Afflicted in Publick, and wou'd desire several Persons of the First Rank to apply themselves to the King for Mercy. He sent *Biche* the Nuncio, and Cardinal *de la Valette* upon this Message, but the King was too much prepossessed to hearken to them. *S. Simon* a Relation of the Duke's, endeavouring to move the King to Mercy, the Cardinal made as if he took part in his Affliction, and, in appearance, joyned with him, to incline the King to Compassion, by excusing the Criminal. But, at the same time, he own'd, that His Majesty, after he had overcome the *Huguenots*, and extinguish'd a Dangerous Faction in His Dominions, found himself oblig'd to make an Example of the Duke of *Montmorency*, to keep the Grandees in their Duty and Allegiance.

* *Siri Mem. Rec. T. 7. p. 565.*

The Princess of *Conde*, Sister to this Lord, went, and cast her self, all in Tears, at the Cardinal's feet, Conjuring him to Intercede for her Brother; but the Artificious Prelate, in stead of lifting her up, fell himself upon his knees before her, and begun to Act the Afflicted Man, for not being able to Appease the King. The Duke of *Espernon*, Governour of *Guienna*, † who had been suspected of favouring Monsieur's Party, but had always kept firm to his Duty, though he was a particular Friend to the Duke of *Montmorency*, went immediately to *Toulouse*, and took upon himself to go and speak to the King, in the Name of all the Relations and Friends of the Duke of *Montmorency*. He kneeled down before him, and the King having bid him rise up, the Duke of *Espernon*, after having Acknowledg'd the Criminal's Fault, told him, amongst other things, That he was so much the more emboldened to beg His Majesty's most Gracious Pardon, that himself having received the like Favour from his Bounty, in an occasion almost like this, he esteemed himself very happy, that he had given no occasion to His Majesty to Repent of it: That he was not the onely Man amongst His Subjects that lay under the same obligations: That Cardinal *Richlieu* had as great a share in it as himself, that both of them had sided with the Queen-Mother, at a time when the King's Name was contrary to them, though

† *Hist. of the Duke of Espernon in the year 1632. p. 473.*

1622. though they had no other intention than to serve him; and that if he had then abandoned them to the severity of the Laws, and of Justice, he would have deprived himself, both of the most profitable Services of the one, and of the grateful Acknowledgments of the other: That the Duke of *Montmorency*'s youth ought to be no less an excuse to him, than their honest Intentions had been to them: That his Person being in the hands of His Majesty, he was not able to do him the least Injury, but his Conservation wou'd be an eternal Monument to His Glory. He desired the King to consider, that in this young Duke's Person alone remained the Great and Illustrious Name of *Montmorency*: That the high Merits of his Ancestours, whose long Series spread as far as the beginning of the *French* Monarchy, did call more loudly for His Grace, than his rashness did for the Severity of the King's Justice: That if he was so happy as to obtain a Second Life for his Friend, he would be his Security, that it should be wholly employed in the Service of His Majesty; and that his blood should onely serve to blot out both the Blackness and the Memory of his Crime.

The King heard the Duke of *Espernon* without interrupting him; and having cast his looks towards the ground, from the very beginning of his Speech, he continued in the same posture, and answered him not one word. The Duke perceived very well by this obstinate Silence, that the Cardinal had so deeply perswaded the King that *Montmorency* ought to die, that it was impossible to save him. However he reassumed his Speech again, and told the King, That since there was no Pardon to hope for the Duke, he desired him to give him leave to retire. The King answered, He might do it, and that himself would not make a long stay at *Toulouse*.

The Duke of *Montmorency* was so universally beloved by every body, and the Cardinal so universally hated, that a General appearance of Sorrow * was to be seen at Court, and in the Faces of the People. One day the People of *Toulouse* fell a Crying about the House where the King lodged, and once when he was in the Hall, in Company of many Persons, Cried aloud, *Mercy*, *Mercy*;

* *Pontis, Mem. T. 2. P. 37.*

Mercy; *Pardon*, *Pardon*. The King asked what it was? and they told him, That if His Majesty would look out of the Window, he would pity that poor People: but the King answered fiercely, That if he followed the Inclinations of the People, he should not act as a King. 1632.

As soon as his Sentence was Read to him, the King sent to him to deliver back the Order of the Holy Ghost, and his Mareschal's Staff, which the Duke sent him back by *De Launai* * Lieutenant of the Life-Guards, who guarded him. He charged him to assure the King, That he Repented extreamly for having offended him, and that he would die His very humble Subject and Servant. *Launai* found the King in His Closet Playing at *Chess* with *Liancourt*; and after he had deliver'd the Duke's Compliment to the King, he fell at His feet all in Tears, and begged His Royal Pardon. All those who were in the Closet did the same; and the King had the displeasure to see every body weep about Him; no body but the Cardinal and his Creatures being able to digest the inflexibility he shewed upon this occasion. He answered, That there was no Pardon, and that he must die; that no body ought to be sorry to see a Man put to death, who had so much deserved it; and that he onely ought to be lamented for falling into so great a misfortune. The onely Favour which the King granted him, was, That the Hangman should not Tie him; that his Estate should not be Confiscated; and that he should be Executed in the Court of the Town-Hall. His Head was Cut off the same day that his Sentence was pronounced to him; after which the King prepared to take his Journey to *Paris*. 'Twas wondred at, that this Prince, who always yielded to the first Accusation which the Cardinal made against any whom he desired to ruine, had they done never so great Services to the State, should remain inflexible to all the Sollicitations of the whole Court, and of all *France*, in an occasion, when by saving the last off-spring of the most Illustrious Race of His Kingdom, this single act of Clemency would have infinitely more turned to His Honour, than Severity. But, besides that, the Cardinal had put it into His Head, that Monsieur and his Followers

* *Puiségur, Mem. P. 105.*

1632. lowers had no other design but to Invade the Throne, though they feigned onely to be offended at the Minister: the fatal Miniature that was found about the Duke of *Montmorency*, did Incense the King so much against him, that nothing was able to save him.

While the King was at *Toulouse*, they begun to proceed likewise against the Bishops of *Alby*, of *Uzes*, of *Nismes*, of *Lodeve*, of *S. Pons*, and *Alers*; all of them Favourers of *Montmorency*. The Pope nominated some Prelates that were upon the place to manage the Trial against them: The Bishops of *Alby* and *Nismes* were deprived of the Temporalities, not onely of their Bishopricks, but their other Benefices; and the Bishop of *Uzes* had suffered the same Punishment, if he had not died before his Trial. As for the rest, they were sent back to their respective Dioceses. Those of the Nobility who had declared for Monsieur, had their Houses and Woods beaten down; and thus the whole Province was intirely restored to its former Tranquility.

The Mareschal *d' Effiat*, Superintendant of the Finances, dying soon after in *Germany*, *Bullion* succeeded him in that place, and the Marquis *de Breze*, Brother-in-Law to the Cardinal, was made a Mareschal of *France*, after the Battel of *Castelnaudarry*. The Mareschal *de Schomberg* was rewarded with the Government of *Languedoc*, which the Duke of *Montmorency* had before him, but he enjoy'd it not long, dying soon after.

The Cardinal proposed to the Duke of *Espernon* at *Toulouse*, that if he would, in Complaisance to him, lay down the Government of *Metz*, the Survivership of which Place belonged to his Son, and resign it up to him, he won'd obtain of His Majesty the Survivership of that of *Guienne*: But the Duke of *Espernon*, who had no kindness for the Cardinal, and besides, was not a Man to be manag'd after such a rate, refused the Motion. 'Twas believed that this Prelate had a design to possess himself of the Bishoprick of *Metz*, and of some rich Abbeys in that City, and to set off this with the Title of the Governour of the City and Country about *Metz*, as well as the Cities and Citadels of *Thoul* and *Verdun*, in order to secure himself of a secure retreat on that side, in case of necessity.

After

After the Death of the Duke of *Montmorency*, the King returned to *Paris*, and came to his Castle of *Versails* in a few days. The Cardinal was desirous to carry him with the whole Court to his Government of *Brouage*, and to *Rochel*, designing to bring him back to *Paris* by the way of *Richlieu*, where he intended to regale him; but though the King would not go thither himself, yet he gave his Consent that all the Court should follow the Cardinal. Some People were of opinion, that this Prelate, since he could not prevail with his Majesty to go along with him, was resolved so to manage Affairs that no body should talk with him in his Absence, the Queen herself not excepted. Thus this Princess was forced upon this Journey contrary to her Inclinations, as all the World imagined, because she had no reason to be a Friend of the Cardinal, who not long before had proposed to the King to repudiate her for being barren, besides that she was too much concerned for the House of *Austria*, not to hate the Man that was a professed Enemy to it. For this reason she was sad and melancholy all this Journey, notwithstanding the great Honour and Respect which the Cardinal caus'd to be paid her wherever she went. 1632. *Siri Mem. Rec.* T. 7. Pag. 570.

She had a mind to * go and see the House of the Duke of *Espernon* at *Cadillac*; in order to which she must pass the *Garonne*. The Duke got his Coaches ready to receive her as she came out of the Boat, and gave Orders for one to stay behind to take up the Cardinal if he happened to come after her. As soon as her Majesty arrived, the Duke received her, and waited on her to her Apartment, thinking there was a Coach left for the Cardinal; but it seems his Orders were ill executed, and indeed there were but Coaches just enough for the Queen's Retinue. In the mean time the Cardinal passed the River, and finding ne'er a Coach there to receive him, walk'd a foot towards the Duke's House, and was got half the way thither, when the Duke, after he paid his first Devoirs to the Queen at his own House, ran to meet him. He made him a thousand Excuses, assuring him he had given Orders for a Coach to be left for him at the River-side, but that his Commands had not been observed. The Cardinal pretended to be well satisfied with this Excuse, but 'tis certain he was inwardly displeased with the Duke, since

* *Life of the D. of* Espernon.

1632. since he refused to go into a Coach that was offer'd him, and walked the rest of the way on foot, although it incommoded him.

† The Queen, after she had stayed two days at *Cadillac*, returned to *Bourdeaux*, and the Cardinal came thither likewise. Here he fell sick of a Stoppage of Urine, which put him in danger of his Life. 'Twas generally believed he would never recover, and all People were glad at the News, hoping now shortly to see Peace in the Royal Family, Justice administred according to the Laws, and the King's Favours distributed with more equality to those that deserved them. † While his Sickness continued, there were several Balls at *Bourdeaux*, and other Rejoycings, which sufficiently discovered the Peoples Hatred of this Minister, who favour'd none but such as were willing to live and die his Slaves. *Chateauneuf*, who otherwise seemed to be very submissive to him, danced in one of these Balls, at a time when the Cardinal pretended all the World should be at their Prayers for his Recovery: and this, in the opinion of some Persons, did not a little contribute to his Ruine.

† Siri Mem. Rec. Tom. 7. Pag. 594.

The Queen not thinking her self obliged to make a longer stay at *Bourdeaux*, although the Cardinal was in a desperate Condition, took the Road to *Rochel*, with a design to return from thence to *Paris*. † All the while her Majesty continued at *Bourdeaux*, the Duke of *Espernon* ordered his Guards, whom he kept in Quality of Governour of the Province, to leave off their Liveries and Musquets, and laid aside all the Functions and Marks of his Office; but as soon as the Queen was gone, he thought there lay no Obligation upon him to shew the Cardinal that respect which was only due to a Soveraign. Thus going to make this Minister a Visit, who was now on the mending hand, he came, accompanied as far as the Gate of his Lodgings by his Guards, with their Coats and Musquets. The Cardinal's People, who were used to make others tremble, run to their Arms, while the Duke enter'd, and without taking the least notice of the Disorder he saw, was got to his Anti-Chamber, where he enquired after his Health. The Cardinal sent him Word that he was still so indisposed, that he begg'd his Excuse if he could not see him. After this the Duke still observed

† *Life of the D. of Espernon, P. 478.*

observed this Custom; and when the Cardinal parted for *Brouage*, he went to accompany him to his Boat, attended by his Guards, and several of the Nobility of that Province, as it were to shew him the greater Honour. However, the Cardinal was afterwards made to believe, that the Duke had some Design upon his Person, and 'tis credibly reported, that ever since that time, this Minister was not thought to be safe enough at *Bourdeaux*. But if the Duke had design'd any thing of that nature, he might easily have accomplish'd it, being much stronger, and infinitely better beloved at *Bourdeaux* than the Cardinal was; and besides, the Cardinal *de la Valette*, who was the Duke's Son, never quitted this Minister, during the whole time of his Illness. 1632.

While the Cardinal was in the height of his Distemper, he ordered the Commandeur *de la Porte* his Unkle, and the Marquis *de la Meilleraye* his Cousin to accompany the Queen; who gave her a Magnificent Entertainment at the Castle of *Richlieu* in *Poictou*, which the Cardinal had lately built, and had made a very pleasant place. He was not fully recovered, when he caused himself to be carried to *Blaye*, and from thence to *Brouage*, where he was intirely restored to his health. After this, he returned without farther delay to *Paris*, and the King went as far as *Rochefort* to meet him, which stands within Ten Leagues of that City.

While the Court was in *Languedoc*, * Ten Men were apprehended at *Paris*, who were accused to have come thither by the Queen-Mother's Order, to steal away Madam *de Combalet*, who stay'd all the time at *Paris*, and to carry her into *Flanders*. One of these Ten Men was a Nephew of Father *Chanteloube*, a Favourite of the Queen, and one of her *Valets de Chambre*: It was discours'd that this Princess was desirous to get the Cardinal's Niece into her hands, either to facilitate her own Return into *France*, or else to hinder this Lady from Marrying the Count *de Soissons*, or *Monsieur*, as the Report ran. The King being informed that they were in Prison, sent Orders to have them immediately Tryed, and Writ a very obliging Letter to Madam *de Combalet*, wherein he told her, That he cou'd never have believed, that since he had given Peace to His Kingdom, by the

* *Siri Mem. Rec. T. 7. p. 175.*

1632. the Force of his Arms, and brought the Rebels to due Punishment, there had been any so bold and adventurous as to attempt such an Enterprize; But that since some disaffected Persons still sought new occasions to embroil the Nation, he wou'd immediately come to *Paris* to set all things in order. He also Congratulated her good Fortune, that she had so happily escaped the Snare that was laid for her; and added, That if she had been taken, he wou'd have gone in Person with an Army of Fifty thousand Men into *Flanders*, to set her at Liberty again.

This Lady had lived, till the above-mention'd Affair came to be discover'd, in an Hôtel which joyned to *Luxemburg*-House, and which the Queen-Mother had bestowed upon the Cardinal when he was in her Favour, upon condition that she might take it into her own hands again whenever she pleas'd, paying down the Sum of Thirty thousand Livres. When she came to fall out with this Prelate, she demanded to have this Hôtel surrender'd to her; and having sent for the Contract, she found, that instead of so many *Livres*, it was *Crowns*; and that instead of *whenever she pleased*, it was, *when the King commanded it*. The Queen protested, That she never meant to make any such Articles as these, and charged the Cardinal with Forgery. She Addressed her self to the King, to oblige him to deliver it up; but His Majesty, the more to Mortifie her, wou'd have the Cardinal still keep in Possession. This ill usage vexed this Princess extreamly: but she had farther occasion to complain, when being out of *France* she was inform'd, that *Combalet* lived there, and daily receiv'd Visits from Persons of the First Quality, who made their Court to her Unkle by going to see her. Besides this, she made several new alterations in the House for her own Convenience; and, for this purpose, without any more adoe, caused part of the Wall belonging to the Palace of *Luxemburg* to be beaten down. 'Tis believ'd that it was partly occasion'd by this, that the Queen fell upon the design, to have *Combalet* stollen away, although there is no question, but that she made these Alterations by her Unkle's Orders, not being naturally of so haughty a humour, as to disoblige the Queen-Mother in so high

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a point as this was, of her own head. However, when this Design was discover'd, she thought her self no longer safe in this House, and went to live at her Unkle's Palace, where she seldom stirr'd out of doors. 1632.

Monsieur having receiv'd the News of the Duke of *Montmorency*'s Death, whose Life he perswaded himself they wou'd have sav'd, thought that he should be everlastingly Disgrac'd, and that no body for the future wou'd expose themselves to the Minister's Indignation for his sake, if he did not express some resentment for so notorious an Affront. It was confidently reported, that part of his Domesticks wou'd be removed, and that some of them should be declar'd not to be of that number, in order to punish them, as being excluded out of the Treaty which had been concluded with him. This made him interpret the Beheading of the Duke of *Montmorency* to be an Infraction of this Treaty, which he said, He Sign'd onely out of a supposition that they wou'd give that Nobleman his Life. So he parted secretly from *Tours* on the 6th of *November*, and on the 12th Writ a † Letter to the King from *Montreau Faut-Yonne*, wherein he vehemently complains of this Violation; and tells him, That to obtain the Life of that Illustrious Lord, his Cousin, he had Sacrificed all his own Interests, and those of his Followers; stifled the justest Resentments, dissembled his dearest Affections, and even renounced, for a time, that very duty to which Nature oblig'd him. He farther added, That he had been given to understand from the Part of the King, That if he made the least movement towards *Roussillon*, it should cost the Duke of *Montmorency* his Life; and that he had inferr'd from this Discourse, that he might hope for a quite contrary Treatment, if he obey'd His Majesty: but that after he had made the most Humble Submissions to the King, which he cou'd expect from the meanest Subject he had, no regard was made of his Honour. Towards the close, he begg'd His Majesty not to be displeas'd at the Resolution he had taken, of endeavouring to find a safe Retreat for his Person among Foreigners, since he had just reason to apprehend the consequences of that extraordinary contempt which they had shewn to all his Submissions. The King answer'd

† *See it in the Hist. of Lewis XIII. by Ch. Bernard, Lib. 16.*

1632. this Letter on the 25th of the same Month, by accusing the Duke of *Montmorency*, whom no body excused, and by saying, That down-right necessity had constrain'd Monsieur to submit himself; however, 'tis certain, that nothing cou'd have hindred him from making the best of his way to *Roussillon*, if he had had the courage to attempt it.

* *Siri Mem. Rec.* T. 7. P. 580.

Thus, by the way of * *Champagne*, he retired into the Low-Countries, and was extreamly well received by the Infanta at *Brussels*, although the Ministers of *Spain* did not build much upon his Discontent, being perswaded that the Cardinal cou'd make him return into *France* when he pleased, by offering him some Advantageous Terms. As for the Queen-Mother, under a pretence of changing the Air, she went to *Malines* the day before his arrival, being displeased with him, because in the Treaty of *Besiers* he was so far from supporting her interest, that he did not so much as make any mention of her. The Duke of *Orleans* followed her, but cou'd not prevail with her to return to *Brussels*, nor disswade her from the Design she had taken up to go and reside at *Ghent*. He strove to justifie himself by the necessity he lay under, to give way to the time, that so he might find a way to escape out of the Cardinal's hands, till he cou'd do it with more security, and come to re-joyn her in the Low-Countries. 'Tis indeed certain that *Gaston*, who was of a timorous disposition, and besides was none of the most able Men in the World, cou'd not have done otherwise; and the Queen, without doubt, had pardon'd him this Omission, if Father *Chanteloube* had not inspired her with a coldness for her Son. The reason of which was, that this good Father cou'd not endure that *Puilaurens*, who had an absolute Ascendant over Monsieur, shou'd equal him, and he, for his part, was not of an humour to truckle to any one, and had, in his time, refused to be over-ruled by some People that were infinitely more considerable than Father *Chanteloube*. This inflexible temper on both sides brought them to an open defiance of one another, and this caused them to sow that disaffection between the Mother and the Son, which gave the Cardinal an opportunity to ruine all their Designs with much more ease, than if they had been better united.

Monsieur

Monsieur sent advice of his departure out of *France* to the Emperour, and to the Kings of *England* and *Spain*, and desired their Assistance to enable him to make his way into *France* again. The King had, before this, sent *Bautru* into *Spain*, to complain of the † Succours which the Infanta and the Ministers of the Catholick King had given Monsieur; and, at the same time, to justifie those which *France* gave the King of *Sweden*, against the House of *Austria*. Soon after the News arrived of the death of *Gustavus Adolphus*, who was slain on the 6th of *November*, in the Battel of *Lutzen*, where his Army got the Victory after he was kill'd. From that time it was concluded in *France*, That if they did not more vigorously Assist the *Swedes* in *Germany*, the House of *Austria* would soon Triumph over their Party; so several Persons were dispatched thither to support it, and to engage the Protestants to favour it more than ever.

† *Siri*, Ibid. P. 582.

1632.

1633. On the first day of the year 1633, the King held a Council upon the Affairs of *Germany*, where the Cardinal represented to them, 'That the first thing they 'were to do, was, to raise a good Sum of Money, at 'what price soever, and to manage matters so, that the 'War might continue in *Germany* and the *Low-Coun-* 'tries, and yet not declare formally against the House 'of *Austria*; upon condition that those whom they 'furnished with Money, shou'd neither make a Peace 'or Truce without the Consent of *France*: That howe- 'ver, in case they found they were not able to carry on 'the War, then they must come to such an Accommoda- 'tion as they cou'd obtain: That they ought to consi- 'der, whether the King was not obliged, in point of 'Interest, rather to break openly with the House of 'Austria, and to joyn himself with the Protestants of 'Germany, and the *States-General* of the *United-Provin-* 'ces, than to run the hazard of seeing a Truce conclu- 'ded, which wou'd put a stop to the War, in which 'he was not Included: That if a Peace were made in 'Germany, and a Truce in the *Low-Countries*, or one of 'these onely, then *France* wou'd be left alone by it self to 'support a Defensive War, which might be carried into 'the Bowels of it, and in which the Party of Monsieur 'and of the Queen-Mother, wou'd become as powerful

1633. 'as they were now contemptible. That on the other 'side, if they began the War, all the World wou'd be- 'lieve, they did it voluntarily, and of their own mo- 'tion, although they were really drawn into it by mere 'necessity: That the zealous, who are generally very 'indiscreet, wou'd cry out, That this War was de- 'sign'd for the Destruction of the Catholick Religion; 'that His Majesty therefore ought maturely to delibe- 'rate what Measures He was to take in this juncture, 'before he engaged Himself too far.

The Cardinal continued his Discourse, and observed, 'That if they design'd to Unite with the Protestants of 'Germany, and to declare for them, they cou'd not do it 'but upon the following Conditions; That they should 'maintain the Catholick Religion in those places where it 'was already setled, that they should deliver up to the 'King all that they held on this side the *Rhine*, the Prin- 'cipal Towns of the *Palatinate*, with what they posses- 'sed in *Alsatia*, and in the Bishoprick of *Strasburg*; 'that they should help him to take *Philipsburg* and *Bri- 'sac*, and that they should be obliged to enter into no 'Peace or Truce without the King's Consent; that they 'must obtain a Promise of the *States-General* of the *U- 'nited Provinces* to preserve the Catholick Religion in 'those Conquests they shou'd happen to make; that 'they must likewise, in conjunction, attack the Mari- 'time Towns, upon condition, that whatever they took 'shou'd belong to the King; that the Protestants shou'd 'demand nothing more of *France* than onely to break 'with the House of *Austria*, either in *Germany* or *Flan- 'ders*, or in *Italy*, and to keep an Army in *Alsatia*, ready 'to assist them in time of need; that this being supposed, 'the Advantages that wou'd arise from this War, wou'd 'be very considerable, and the danger but small, since 'the King might extend the limits of His Dominions as 'far as the *Rhine*, without drawing his Sword; that 'having such considerable Pledges in his hands, he wou'd 'be the Arbitrator of War and Peace, neither of which 'cou'd be concluded without him; that this Surreadry 'won'd give him an open entrance into the Territories 'of *Strasburg*, the *Franche Comte*, the Dutchy of *Luxem- 'burg*, and that it wou'd bridle the Duke of *Lorrain* so

'effectu-

'effectually, that he cou'd attempt nothing of any con- 1633. 'sequence; that they shou'd run no manner of hazard, 'since as they made War in Conjunction with the *Ger- 'mans* and the *Hollanders*, it wou'd be impossible for 'the House of *Austria* to carry it into *France*; that they 'needed but a few more Troops to effect all this; and 'that the Queen-Mother's Dowry, and the Appanage 'of the Duke of *Orleans*, wou'd bear the Expence; that 'otherwise *France* wou'd find it self alone to deal with 'the House of *Austria*; that in all probability a Peace 'might be concluded in *Germany*, and a Truce in *Holland*, 'by the Intervention of His Majesty, which wou'd con- 'tribute mightily to the setling of a General Peace, 'which perhaps wou'd be the effect onely of the Uni- 'on between *France* and the Protestant-Princes of *Ger- 'many*.

After he had reason'd a long while upon these Heads, the Cardinal concluded, and the Council after him, to set all Wheels a-going to continue the War in *Germany*, and the *Low-Countries*, against the House of *Austria*, although the King was not to declare Himself openly; and for this end it was resolved to send at the same time Ambassadours Extraordinary to the Emperour, to all the Electors Catholick and Protestant, and to the States of the *United Provinces*, to exhort the one to continue the War with vigour, and to Promise them Assist- ance against their enemies, while they assured the latter, that they wou'd live in Peace with them. This Resolution was accordingly put in execution, and all endeavours were used to oblige the Generals *Baudissen* and *Horn* to deliver up into the hands of *France* all the Places which they possessed in the Electorates of *Colen* and *Mentz*, and in *Alsatia*. Above all they desired to have *Mentz*, that they might more easily make themselves Masters of *Strasburg*, and all the Country which lies on this side the *Rhine*; By that means the King wou'd be in a ca- pacity, either to enlarge the Frontiers of his State, or else wou'd have enough in his hands to make an Ad- vantageous Treaty; or lastly, if he must sit down con- tent with the bare Honour of the thing, he might dis- possess the Protestants of those Places which they had taken from the Catholicks, and pretend, that he had ne-

1633. ver any other Design, and that this was the end of that Alliance which he had made with the late King of *Sweden*.

* *Siri Mem. Rec.* Tom. 7. p. 588.

† *The* 23*d of* Jan.

The Cardinal being arrived at *Paris*, * sent one day for † *Gondi* the Resident of *Florence*, and after he had entertain'd him about several other matters, began at last to discourse about the Queen-Mother's Affairs. He enquired of *Gondi* what he thought of the Queen-Mother's Design (for so it was reported) of going into *Italy*; and when *Gondi* had assured him, That he never heard the least word that the Queen had any inclinations to quit the *Low-Countries*, the Cardinal continuing the Discourse, told him, 'That the Imprudence and fury of Father *Chanteloube* having oblig'd 'the King to demand him of the Infanta, this Man was 'in so great a Consternation, that he had perswaded the 'Queen to leave the *Low-Countries*, where he did not 'think himself safe enough; that upon this suggestion 'the Queen-Mother had sent to the King of *England*, 'to know if he wou'd be pleased to receive her, 'but that he had refused to do it at the instance of the 'King her Son; that afterwards she had desired the 'above-mention'd King, that he wou'd give her leave 'to come to *Plimouth*, and lend her some Ships to 'Transport her to *Spain*: That this Prince, who believed, that if ever she set foot in *England*, she wou'd 'never be brought to leave it, had made Answer, 'That he wou'd willingly provide her with Ships, if 'he was assured of her Reception in *Spain*, and that '*France* wou'd not take it ill: That *Spain* had declar'd she was ready to receive her, but that the King 'cou'd not tell what to resolve upon, by reason of the 'great compassion he had for her; and that *England* 'wou'd not receive her but upon condition, that she 'wou'd not make any long stay there: That this *poor Woman* (for so the Cardinal thought fit to call her) 'had drawn these Misfortunes upon her self, by following the Ill Advice of other People, and by her own 'obstinacy, which was so incurable, that she still protested, That she did not now, and never wou'd, repent 'of what she had done.

At

1633. At last, after he had pretended to have a mighty Commiseration for her, he added, 'That *England* perhaps might be induced to furnish her with Ships, in 'case she wou'd retire to some place, where His Majesties Clemency, and *Filial Amity*, might grant her 'some acts of Favour, without prejudicing the welfare 'of the State, and where the Cardinal might be able 'to procure them for her, as he passionately desired: 'That he cou'd scarce believe she design'd to tarry in '*Spain*; and since she was deny'd Admission into *England*, he cou'd not tell but that she might have some 'thoughts to pass into *Florence*, in case the Grand-Duke 'wou'd give her a Kind Reception. Upon this he Asked *Gondi*, Whether he cou'd give him any Light as to this Affair? And the Resident Answer'd, That he was wholly ignorant what the Queen's Intentions were, but that he durst venture to Assure him, that the Grand-Duke was wholly unacquainted with them: and that as there was not the least reason to doubt, but that the King Lov'd His Mother, no body had any occasion to be in any pain about her. The Cardinal Reply'd, 'That if the Queen was minded to return to her Native Country for a short time, till she had fully reconcil'd her Self to the King, it wou'd not be taken amiss 'of the Grand-Duke to receive her; and that the 'Queen's Conduct wou'd not be disapproved, since she 'wou'd be in a place where she then cou'd not abuse 'the kindnesses His Majesty show'd Her.

The Cardinal added, That nevertheless, if the Queen once set foot in *England*, she wou'd not easily leave it. He wou'd not explain himself any farther, thinking it sufficient, that he had made an Overture which the Grand-Duke might make the best use of in time of necessity. He was resolved to come to no manner of Accommodation with her, till he had effectually humbled her, and constrain'd her to do what he pleas'd. At present the onely trial of Skill was, to oblige her to depart out of the Dominions of *Spain*, and to endeavour to make her go to *Florence*, that so she might not prove an obstacle to any Treaty that they might make with *Spain*, according as an occasion should present it self. While she and Monsieur were in their Territories,

1633. ries, it would be impossible to make a Treaty without comprehending them in it; and the Cardinal pretended that they should leave all to His Majesty's good pleasure, and give their consent for him to Punish those that had followed them. Thus all endeavours were used to make them quit the *Spanish* Territories.

In the mean time the Prince of *Conde* was come back from *Bruges*, and the King sent him into *Burgundy*, to oblige the Parliament of *Dijon* to hasten the Trials of the Duke of *Elbeuf*, *Puilaurens*, *Coudray Montpensier*, and the other Domesticks of the Duke. They were Condemned to Die as Rebels, they were Executed in Effigie, and their Goods were Confiscated.

† The 25th of Febr. *Siri Mem.* Rec. T. 7. p. 594.

Not long after, † the King being at St. *Germans*, took away the Seals from *Chateauneuf*, who nevertheless had been a faithful drudge to the Cardinal, and had exercised several Arbitrary Acts of Violence to please him. As the causes of his Disgrace were not positively known, people fell upon several things which might contribute to ruine him. Some said, That he was in Love with the Dutchess of *Chevreuse*, and that he was Loved by her; that this made the Cardinal jealous, who was exceedingly offended at *Chateauneuf*, when he saw some Letters of his to that Dutchess, wherein * he Ridicul'd the Cardinal in very outrageous terms. They add farther, That the Cardinal came to know, that he had Danced in a Ball at *Bourdeaux*, when he lay so dangerously ill there. 'Tis also pretended, that this Prelate being told, That he flatter'd himself with the hopes of arriving to be Chief Minister in a short time, and that he had formed certain Cabals for that end, he would never pardon him this Ambition. † However it was, the Seals were given to *Peter Seguier*, President of the Parliament, with a certain Promise to be made Chancellour, so soon as *d' Aligre* was dead. *Chateauneuf* was sent to the Castle of *Angouleme*, being accused of a Design to raise Disorders at Court.

* *Lo Mordevano*, says Siri, *di cuto fragido, à causa delle sue malattie hemorroidale.*

† Aubery's *Life of the Cardinal*, lib. 4. c. 36.

At the same * time they sent some of his Friends to the *Bastile*, and among others, the *Chevalier du Jars*, who, as it was alledged against him, perswaded Monsieur and the Queen-Mother to retire into *England*. As they had no Proof of it, the Cardinal bethought himself of an

* *Siri*, Ibid. p. 595.

an extraordinary stratagem, to discover, whether he was concern'd in this Affair or no. He not onely caused him to be put into Prison, but he engaged the Judges to manage his Trial, and Sentence him to have his head cut off, by giving them his word, that this Sentence shou'd not be put in Execution, but that the King shou'd Pardon him, in case there were no Positive Proofs brought against him at his Trial. In pursuance of this he was Condemned, his Sentence was Read to him, and being upon the Scaffold, after he had said his Prayers, without making any Confession, and he had put himself in a posture to receive the Stroke, they cryed out, *A Pardon*. As he was ready to come down, one of the Judges perswaded him, Since he had now tryed the King's Clemency, to discover the Intrigues of *Chateauneuf*; but he courageously answer'd, That he very well saw, that some People were willing to take hold of his present circumstances, to make him say something disadvantageous to his Friend; but that he ought to know, That since the terrible Image of Death had not made him speak, nothing was capable to extort from him the Secrets of his Friends, or any thing that might do them the least Injury. He was almost the onely Person, of all those whom the Cardinal brought to the Scaffold, that showed Resolution and Courage, the greatest part of the rest making him, as it were, an Honourable amends before they were Executed, under a pretence of dying like Christians. Christianity indeed obliged them to forgive him, but by no means to approve of his Arbitrary and Unjust Conduct, which was full as contrary to the Gospel, as a Spirit of Vengeance which they were afraid to betray. But the truth is, that after they had vainly endeavour'd to live like Freemen, they left their Sentiments with their Liberty, and rather died like vile Slaves, than good Christians.

1633.

When *Chateauneuf* was sent to Prison, the Mareschal *d' Estrees*, who was one of his best Friends, having received the news of it at *Treves*, where he Commanded the King's Army, it so strangely affrighted him, that he * quitted the Army without saying a word, and retired to *Vandervange*. The example of the Mareschal *de Marillac* came into his Mind, when he heard of the Disgrace

* The 15th of March. *Siri Mem.* Rec. T. 7. p. 595.

1633. grace of his Friend, and saw a Courier bring Letters to the other Officers, and never a one to himself. He imagin'd that *Saludie* and *Busse-Lamet*, to whom the Pacquet was directed, had Orders to Apprehend him. But discovering at last that his fear had been in vain, he sent a Gentleman four days after to the King and Cardinal, to beg their Pardon for going away so abruptly, and ingenuously to confess, how he had been imposed upon by his Fear. This set the whole Court a Laughing, and he received Orders to return to *Treves*. At the same time the Dutchess of *Chevreuse* left the Court, by the King's Order, which made the World believe, that the Cardinal's Jealousie was in great measure the cause of the disgrace of *Chateauneuf*.

The King came to *Paris* on the 11th of *April*, and went next morning to the Parliament, to suppress the Office of President which *Coigneux* had, and that of Counsellour, enjoy'd by *Payen*, Chief Secretary to the Queen-Mother, whom he afterwards restor'd in Compliment to the Two Masters of Accounts, whom the Cardinal favour'd exceedingly. Nevertheless the Law concerning Five years, which are allowed to those that were Condemned for Contumacy, was suffer'd to stay in full force, in respect of others, because it wou'd have given them too much trouble to make any Alterations in it. The King Censur'd the Company very severely for presuming to send their Deputies a few days before to *S. Germans*, to desire him to re-call the President *de Memes*, whom the Cardinal had Banished. The King told them, That he wou'd take care to Chastise those that refused to obey him, and that if the Parliament wou'd not suffer the Magistrates that were subordinate to it to be remiss in the execution of its Orders, it was not just that a Soveraign should bear the disobedience of His Subjects: He added, That he wou'd be obey'd that very instant; and that for the future when he came to the Parliament, he expected the Four Presidents should come and receive him upon their knees without the door of the Chamber, as the Custom had been formerly. As for the President *de Memes*, instead of being set at liberty, and called home, he was Imprison'd in the Cittadel of *Angers*.

Thus

Thus the King hindred them from making any Remonstrances to him, upon any occasion whatever, and striving to Reign more Absolutely than any of His Predecessors, he resigned himself entirely to all the Passions of his Minister, though they were never so unjust; so that it was not possible to open his eyes, and undeceive him. 1633.

Soon after, the King * held a General Chapter of the Knights of the Holy Ghost, and gave the Ribbon to the Cardinals of *Richlieu*, and *La Valette*. They received the *Blew Ribbon* standing, whereas the other Commandeurs, even Bishops, used to receive it kneeling. The King did the Cardinal a particular Favour, and asked him, Whether he desired to be Promoted before or after *Vespers*? and the next day when His Majesty made the New Knights, he sent him two or three Dishes from his own Table at every Service; and, towards the end a Rock of Sweet-meats, out of which sprung an Artificial Fountain of Water.

* *The 14th of May, Aubery's Life of the Card. Lib. 4. c. 36.*

While these things happened within the Kingdom, the Cardinal used his endeavours to keep the House of *Austria* so well employ'd without, that it cou'd make no advantage of the Broils of the Queen-Mother, and Monsieur. The Marquis *de Feuquiers* renew'd with Chancellour † *Oxenstiern* at *Hailbron* the League which the Crown of *France* had made with the King of *Sweden*, and promis'd that his Daughter *Christina* should receive the yearly sum of a Million of Livres, to continue the War in *Germany*. The two Crowns oblig'd themselves to make no Treaty but with Common Consent, and to support all their Allies. I shall not stop at the particulars of this League, nor at the other Negotiations which the Ministers of *France* managed in *Germany* to Embaras the Emperour, and at the same time to lay hold of any fair opportunity to extend the Frontiers of *France* on that side.

† *By a Treaty sign'd the 9th of* April. *Siri Mem. Rec. Tom. 7. p. 67.*

At the same time the Cardinal set his Engines at work to break off the * Negotiation that was on foot at the *Hague*, between the *States-General* of the *United-Provinces*, and the Envoys of the *Spanish-Netherlands*, concerning a second Truce between the King of *Spain* and the *States-General*. As there were abundance of great difficulties in the thing it self, it seem'd an easie matter

* *Siri*, Ibid. p. 655.

1633. matter so to order Affairs, that the War might continue. Besides this, some of the Nobility of the *Spanish Low-Countries*, who were discontented at the Government, offer'd to deliver up to the King, *Bouchain*, *Quesnoi*, *Avenes*, and *Landreci*, places of great importance upon the Frontiers of *Artois*, and to make a general Insurrection in the Country. The Malecontents represented to the King, that if he lost so fair an opportunity, he might perhaps be never able to recover it; and that those persons that were now disposed to throw themselves under his Protection, cou'd not be supposed to be able to live in a perpetual inquietude, and danger of being discover'd.

The Cardinal told the King in Council, 'That *Henry* the 4th wou'd never have let slip such an occasion, 'but that regard must be had to the time: That the 'King was without Children, and that Monsieur the 'Presumptive Heir of the Crown, was in *Flanders* with 'the Queen-Mother: That the King's Constitution 'was not strong enough to engage him in a War, which 'wou'd exceedingly fatigue both his Body and Mind: 'That, upon this occasion, the Court must of necessity 'be at a great distance from *Paris*: That the King's 'Exchequer was exhausted: That the zealous Catholicks wou'd exclaim more than ever, that this War was 'carried on to favour the Hereticks: That they wou'd 'be obliged at the same time to keep up Considerable 'Armies in *Champagne* and *Italy*, because there was good 'reason to distrust the Dukes of *Savoy* and *Lorrain*: 'That it was the Genius of the *French* Nation to be equally weary of War and Peace: That if the King 'was once engaged in a War, the Governours of the 'Provinces wou'd more easily declare for the Duke of 'Orleans: That the least ill success, as the loss of a 'Town, or a Battel, wou'd be enough to cause terrible 'Convulsions in the State: That in case His Majesty 'happen'd to fall sick, his Servants wou'd be lost to all 'intents; and therefore though it was probable that 'some Advantages were to be got by a Rupture with '*Spain*, yet it wou'd be better to live in Peace, and be 'content with assisting their Enemies, that so they 'might not have them upon their hands: That the 'Money

'Money which the *Hollanders* demanded, to continue 1633.
'the War against the *Spaniards*, was ready, so that now 'nothing remain'd to doe, but onely to take care 'to execute the Project they had propos'd, which was, 'that if the King wou'd send Six thousand Foot, and 'Six hundred Horse before *Dunkirk*, they wou'd send 'their Army and Fleet to Attack that place, as also to 'take *Graveline*, which they offered to deliver up to '*France*: That nevertheless great care was to be taken 'least these Troops should occasion an open Rupture, 'and for that Reason it wou'd be better to send them by 'Sea, than by Land.

The Baron *de Charnace*, Ambassadour to the *States-General*, offer'd them the Troops above-mention'd, and the Continuation of a Million of Livres for a year. The *States* made some difficulty at first to accept of these offers; but not being able to adjust Affairs with the *Spaniards*, they grew weary of so tedious and tiresome a Negotiation. They gave certain Articles in Writing, to which they demanded to have an Answer in Fifteen days; and if this were not done, they declared they wou'd hear no mention of a Truce. Upon this the Agents of *Spain* desiring a longer time, the *States* rather chose to receive two thirds of a Million in ready Money, which *Charnace* offer'd them, than to wait any longer for the uncertain Resolutions of the *Spaniards*.

Thus the *Dutch* Army took the Field, and began the War afresh by the taking of *Rimberg*, which Surrendred on the 4th of *June*. In the mean time the *Spaniards* discover'd the Conspiracy that had been agitated by some of the Nobility in *Flanders*, who kept a secret Correspondence with the *French*, and by making Examples of some, kept the rest in their Duty.

And now *France* (properly speaking) was neither in Peace, nor Open War with the House of *Austria*, and the Two Crowns were inclin'd to follow that side which carried the greatest Advantages with it. All this while the *Spaniards* and *French* crossed one anothers Designs by turns, as far as was possible; But the Count-Duke who Govern'd *Spain*, being nothing comparable in dexterity to the Cardinal-Duke, who was, as it were, the Soul of all the Counsels of *France*; the Affairs of

Spain

1633. *Spain* went every day worse and worse. To prevent a Communication between the States of the House of *Austria*, the Duke of *Rohan*, who had Resided at *Venice*, ever since the Peace was concluded with the *Huguenots*, had Orders sent him to repair to the Country of the *Grisons*, in quality of the King's Ambassadour with those People, and of Lieutenant-General of the Troops that were design'd to be raised there, in order to secure himself of all the Passes of the *Valteline*. The *Spaniards* immediately complained of this Infraction, as well as of several others, and made a Proposal to *France* to enter into a Negotiation to prevent the dangerous consequences which a Misunderstanding might produce. The Cardinal openly declar'd to the *Spanish* Ambassadour, That *France* desired to see a General Peace establish'd upon sure foundations, and to preserve that which they had at present with *Spain*. He added, That the King was extreamly glad to hear that the Ambassadour had full Power to Treat; but the Ambassadour Answer'd, That he had no Commission to Propose any thing, but upon the Foot of the Treaties of *Querasque* and *Ratisbone*. The Nuncio's vainly Interpos'd to Accommodate the Differences between the Two Crowns, and soon perceiv'd, that all these General Discourses of a Peace, and a Good Understanding, which they pretended on both sides, were onely so many Discourses in the Air, which were purposely Trumped-up to gain Time, till they saw what Resolutions were to be taken. The *Spaniards* pretended, that the *French*, in case they design'd to observe the Treaties of *Querasque* and *Ratisbone*, ought to deliver up *Pignerol*, to abandon *Casal*, and the Passes of the *Valteline*; to draw their Garrisons out of *Treves*, and other places, which they held in that Archbishoprick; to restore those which they had taken from the Duke of *Lorrain*, and to meddle no more with the Affairs of the Empire. To this the *French* Answer'd, That they were ready to recall the Troops they had in *Montferrat*, and in the Country of the *Grisons*, so soon as they were secured that the Governour of *Milan* wou'd not think any more either of seizing *Casal*, or the Passes of the *Valteline*: That as for *Pignerol*, they had immediately put the

the Treaty of *Querasque* into execution; and that 1633.
if the Duke of *Savoy* had since sold it to the Crown of *France*, they cou'd not see what exceptions cou'd fairly be made against it, since the *Spaniards* were allow'd to buy *Final* and *Monaco*, and several other places, which depended neither upon the Kingdom of *Naples*, nor the Dutchy of *Milan*: That *Pignerol* was one of the Dependencies of *Dauphine*; and that since it was now reunited to the Crown, the King wou'd never suffer it to be dismembred from it: That some of the places in *Lorrain* likewise were sold to the King, and others, by way of caution, intrusted in his hands for a certain time: That the Duke had been an enemy to himself, by designing a mischief to *France*, which cou'd not otherwise preserve her self from him: That as for what respected *Triers*, and some other places in that Arch-bishoprick, if they had not fallen into His Majesty's hands, they must of necessity have fallen into those of the *Swedes*; and that it was much better both for the Catholick Religion, as for several other Reasons, that they shou'd be in the hands of *France*: That the Elector had implored his Protection, when he saw his States upon the point of being lost, and the House of *Austria* cou'd not hinder it: That the King was very much grieved to see *Germany* in the condition it was in at present, but that it was the consequence of the Invasion which the *Spaniards* design'd to make in *Italy*; and that nevertheless the King had interposed, as a Mediator, between the *Swedes* and the House of *Austria*, if he had seen that House in a disposition to have kept the Peace elsewhere, and not to make any Attempts against *France*.

These were the Reasons which the Ministers of *France* made use of to justifie the King's Conduct in this conjuncture; and, in the mean time, they forgot nothing which might irritate the Enemies of the House of *Austria* against her. They promised the States-General of the *United-Provinces* to carry on the War; and they sent Money to the Duke of *Rohan* to distribute among the *Grisons* who complained they were not paid, and to make new Levies, in order to secure the Passes.

They complain'd in *France*, that the Duke of *Lorrain* made every day new Infractions of the Treaty of *Liver-*

1633. *dun.* It was said, That he raised Troops, and then disbanded them upon the Frontiers, that so they might pass into the Imperial or Spanish service; nay, that he gave them leave to make Levies in his Dominions. He had surprized *Molsheim*, and ravag'd the Territory about *Strasburg*, *Deuxponts*, and *Sarbruck*. He had obtained *Saverne* and *Dachstein*, for Payment (as 'twas pretended) of an old Debt of Two hundred thousand Crowns; but what offended the Cardinal the most, was, that it came to be known that ever since the preceding year, *Monsieur* had consummated his Marriage with the Princess *Margaret*, second Sister to the Duke; which had been manag'd so secretly, that not so much as his Domesticks knew any thing of the matter. * The Count *de Vaudemont*, and the Princess of *Phaltsburg* had made up this Match; and it was a long while before it came to be discover'd. Although the Duke of *Lorrain* had wholly left all Correspondences that displeased the King, and especially that which he had formerly kept with the D. of *Orleans*, yet he had all along maintain'd it in private; and the Cardinal who was resolv'd to bring *Monsieur* to such a pass, that he must intirely depend upon him, and who looked upon him as the principal support of the Queen-Mother, cou'd not pardon those that assisted him in any manner whatsoever.

† Aubery's *Life of the Card* Lib. 4. Cap. 37.

Things were in this condition, when the King sent † *Guron* to the Duke of *Lorrain*, to reproach him with his Violations of the Treaty of *Liverdun*, and to demand Satisfaction of him for it. The Duke being inform'd of his coming, conceal'd himself so well in *Nancy*, where he made his Residence, that no body cou'd tell *Guron* where he was: So that this Envoy was obliged to return to *Metz*, without delivering his Message. But soon after repenting of this unpolitick Trick, he sent *Guron* word, That he might find him such a day at *Luxeville*: however, when the Envoy of *France* came thither, he cou'd not bring him to any reasonable Terms.

* The 10th of June.

This made the King resolve to Treat him like a Rebellious Vassal, and to Confiscate his Dutchy of *Bar*, because he had not done Homage to the Crown for it. The Attorney-General, after he had Assign'd this matter to

to the Parliament of *Paris*, pursu'd this Confiscation, which he obtain'd by a Decree on the 30th of *July*. 1633

At this time the Neighbourhood of the *Swedes* furnished the Duke with a pretence, to give out Commissions to raise Eight thousand Foot, and Fifteen hundred Horse, hoping to be powerfully assisted by an Army of the Duke of *Feria*; who, crossing the Country of *Luxemburg*, had now joyn'd the Imperial Troops in *Alsatia*. Soon after, the *Swedes* intirely defeated the *Lorrain* Troops near *d'Haguenau*; and the Duke affrighted at this Accident, and the King's preparations, who Marched towards *Lorrain* at the Head of His Army, sent the Cardinal, his Brother, to meet His Majesty on the way, and appease Him.

This Prince went as far as * *Chateau-Thierry*; where, on the very Night of his arrival he waited upon the King and Queen. Next day the Cardinal-Duke made him a Visit, and gave him abundance of civil words, but very small hopes as to the Affairs of the Duke his Brother. It was to no purpose that the Cardinal of *Lorrain* represented to him, That this Prince had an intention to keep the Treaty of *Liverdun*, and as little did it signifie to excuse the Infractions they reproached him with. The Minister of *Lewis* the XIII. answer'd, 'That they were heartily sorry to find that the Effects 'did not agree with his Promises, and that the King 'being now upon a Journey, was not in a condition to 'hear any Talk of Business: That in a few days His 'Majesty wou'd arrive at *Bar*, and that the Duke of '*Lorrain* might inform him nearer at hand, which of 'the two ways, either that of Gentleness, or that of 'Force he wou'd have employ'd against him, that they 'might be secure of him for the future. The Cardinal of *Lorrain* protested, that the Duke was ready to surrender all the Places he held in *Alsatia* to the King; but this was not sufficient: and, to satisfie them that he wou'd break his Word no more with them, it was propos'd, That a *French* Garrison shou'd be left in *Nancy*, the most considerable Place in all his Dominions. Nay, the Cardinal his Brother offer'd to consent to the dissolution of the Marriage between his Sister

* The 19th of August *Mem. Rec.* T. 7. P. 663.

1633. and the Duke of *Orleans*, and begg'd pardon for it. But the Cardinal-Duke told him, 'That this Reparation did not equal the Injury that had been done to 'the King, and that His Majeſty found himſelf oblig'd 'to put the Duke of *Lorrain* out of a condition of being worſe than his Word for the future; that for 'this end it was neceſſary the King ſhou'd have *Nancy* by way of Caution, which the Duke ſhould forfeit 'for ever, that very moment he attempted any thing 'againſt *France*. The Cardinal of *Lorrain* reply'd; That this was all one as to propoſe to his Brother to loſe the remainder of his Dominions, becauſe ſuch ſort of Pawns are very rarely Deliver'd: That it wou'd be too mean-ſpirited a condeſcenſion in a Prince to ſtoop ſo low as voluntarily to ſtrip himſelf of his Territories in the way of Negotiation; that it was too ſevere a Mortification to loſe ones Honour and ones Country at the ſame time; and that let the War ſucceed never ſo ill, it was impoſſible for him to be a greater Sufferer: That *Lorrain* was the Half-way-Houſe between *France* and the States of the Houſe of *Auſtria*, and that the Dukes of *Lorrain* were conſequently obliged in point of Intereſt, to preſerve an Amity both with one and the other: That this caution which they propoſed, wou'd ſo highly provoke the Emperour, upon whom the Dukedom of *Lorrain* depended, that he wou'd confiſcate it, and put it under the Imperial Ban, which might happen at a juncture, when the King of *France* being employ'd elſewhere, wou'd not be in a condition to ſupport him.

Theſe Reaſons, however ſpecious they were, made no Impreſſion upon the Cardinal-Duke, who was reſolved to ruine the Houſe of *Lorrain*. And ſo the Cardinal of *Lorrain* went, in all haſt, the very ſame day, to carry this ill News to his Brother, and the King advanced with his Forces as he had given this Prince to underſtand. In the mean time the Cardinal-Duke adviſed the King not to loſe this Opportunity of Conquering *Lorrain*, in caſe the Duke made the leaſt difficulty to deliver up thoſe places which they demanded. The Cardinal arrived with the King at St. *Dizier* the 23d of *Auguſt*, upon the Frontiers of *Champagne*, where

where the Cardinal of *Lorrain* ſent him word, That if 1633. he wou'd give him his Niece *Combalet* in Marriage, his Brother and he wou'd conſent to leave *Nancy* in the King's hand, becauſe they ſhould be then ſecure of its Reſtitution. Whether the Cardinal of *Richlieu* thought that this was onely a pretence, or that he had ſome other reaſon not to give his Aſſent to this Propoſal; he thanked the Cardinal of *Lorrain* for the great honour he did him; and made Anſwer, 'That he ſhould be 'ſorry to have the World believe, that he had made 'the King go into *Lorrain* for his particular intereſt, as 'it wou'd be apt to believe, if he accepted the Honour 'which they did his Neice: That the Duke of *Lorrain* ought, before all things, to give the King ſatisfaction; and, after that, His Majeſty wou'd ſee whether this Marriage wou'd be advantageous for His 'Service, and take his Meaſures accordingly.

In this juncture, the Cardinal-Duke repreſented to the King, 'That if he did not ſuddenly ſurprize the 'Duke of *Lorrain*, there wou'd be no likelihood of reducing him in a long time: That *Nancy* was a conſiderable place, regularly Fortifi'd, and not to be taken 'by force this Campagne: That it wou'd take up ſeven or eight Months to reduce it by a Blockade, and 'that abundance of things might happen in that interval: That a Peace might be made in *Germany*, and 'a Truce in *Flanders*, and that if it were ſo, the *Spaniards* wou'd be in a condition to make a powerful diverſion: That, to Block up *Nancy*, it wou'd require 'Twenty thouſand Foot, and Three thouſand Horſe; 'beſides that there muſt be a ſmall Army to attend the 'King's Perſon, which wou'd demand a prodigious expence: That, on the other hand, to ſuffer tamely an 'Affront in State-matters, was the ready way to occaſion a greater: That Money was of no uſe to His 'Majeſty, if he did not employ it for his Neceſſities; 'that is to ſay, to ſupport his Reputation, or to enlarge 'his Dominions: That a Million of Gold was ſufficient to bear the extraordinary Expences of this Enterpriſe: That he cou'd never expect a fairer opportunity; and that the War, which raged in all parts of 'Germany, made it impoſſible for her to prevent the

1633. 'total ruine of the Duke of *Lorrain*, especially since in 'all appearance it seemed to be long-lived: That the 'Affairs of the *Low-Countries* were not any more inclined to a Truce: That all great Enterprises have their 'Difficulties; but that this was attended with very few, 'the Duke not being able to make head with his Forces 'against those of His Majesty; and the Allies were so 'much busied for themselves, that they cou'd not come to 'his Relief: That the Duke wou'd be always in the 'same mind he was then, that is, devoted to the House 'of *Austria*, from which no considerations cou'd disengage him, and that he onely wanted an opportunity to 'joyn with it to the detriment of *France*: That if the 'Duke was not ruin'd, the Marriage of the Duke of *Orleans* wou'd infallibly hold good, which wou'd be the 'occasion of an everlasting War. That a Man ought always to be upon his Guard, to protect himself not 'onely from open violence, but from the secret practises of others: That on the other hand, if the Duke 'was once ruin'd, the Marriage of *Monsieur* wou'd break 'of course; and that *Puilaurens* had told the Abbot of 'Elbene, That he should not be sorry to see him reduced 'to such a pass: That *Puilaurens* was too much an humble Servant to his Interest, and *Monsieur* had too little 'Resolution to stick to a Woman, by whom he should 'gain no advantage, and who besides wou'd be a charge 'to him: That by this means *Monsieur* wou'd be brought 'to a necessity to find out a way to get himself reconciled to the King, by offering to take another Wife; 'whereas so long as the Duke of *Lorrain* subsisted, *Monsieur* wou'd never think of an Accommodation. That '*Nancy* was the best Rampart which *France* cou'd oppose 'on that side to the Attempts of the House of *Austria*, 'and that she wou'd be deliver'd from all that she had reason to apprehend from the Implacable hatred of the 'Duke of *Lorrain*, by taking this place.

The King relishing the Cardinal's Reasons for the Conquest of *Lorrain*, advanced as far as *Bar*, where he left the Queen, and the other Ladies of the Court. From thence he Marched to *Pont-a-Mousson*, where he arrived on the 28th of *August*. In this Interval the *Lorrain* Regiment of *Florenville*, which wou'd have thrown it self into

to *Nancy*, was defeated by the Marquis *de S. Chamond*, whom the King sent before, with part of the Army, to Block up that place. The Cardinal of *Lorrain* also came to *Pont-a-Mousson*, where he offer'd the King to put into his hands for Security, *Saverne*, *Dachstein*, and *la Mothe*, with the Person of the Princess *Margaret*. The King accepted the latter; but, instead of the Places that were offer'd him, he still demanded *Nancy*, which was infinitely of greater importance. 1633.

At last the Cardinal of *Lorrain* told *Richlieu*, That the Duke of *Lorrain* was so unfortunate, that he cou'd not engage His Majesty to repose any confidence in him, he was resolv'd to Resign his Dominions to him the Cardinal of *Lorrain*, in case the King approved of it. *Richlieu* Answer'd, 'That he did not believe the King 'wou'd oppose this Resignation, if the Duke was fully 'resolved to put it in Execution; and, that he, for his 'part, had reason to wish it might be so, his past-conduct giving them hopes that he wou'd be better affected towards *France*; but, the Mischief on't was, that 'this remedy was uneffectual, because as the Duke was 'of a wavering and fickle temper, he might take a Fancy to reassume his Dominions, which wou'd be an easie 'matter for him to effect by recovering *Nancy*, at a juncture when the King happened to be employ'd elsewhere.

The Cardinal of *Lorrain* found by this, that it was not possible to save *Nancy*. It was some time ago since he had demanded a Passport of the King to come and go, and fetch his Domesticks and Equipage out of the City: The King had granted it him, and the Duke his Brother, and he having consider'd, that the Princess *Margaret* being the principal occasion of the War, might be in danger, if *Nancy* was taken while he was there; they resolved to contrive her escape out of the City, and afterwards out of *Lerrain*, to send her into *Flanders* to her Husband.

The Cardinal of *Lorrain* got her disguis'd in Man's Apparel, and carried her in his Coach out of the Town. At last an old Gentleman, and two Soldiers dress up like Lacqueys, conducted her through several Quarters of the Royal Army, without meeting any stop by the

1633. way; and after they had Travell'd a Dozen Leagues in the Night, they arriv'd by break of day at *Thionville*, a place belonging to the King of *Spain*. From thence she Writ to the *Infanta*, to the Queen-Mother, and to *Monsieur*, to demand a Guard, and an Equipage she had occasion for, to come to *Brussels*. The Duke of *Orleans* receeived this News with wonderful joy, and the Queen-Mother was no less pleas'd, although she lived in no very good understanding with him, because she imagin'd that having a Daughter-in-Law wholly opposite to the Cardinal's Party, she should, at last, Triumph over all his Artifices. They sent to this Princess all she demanded, and *Monsieur* went to meet her as far as *Namur*.

The King being at S. *Nicholas*, where he arrived the 24th of that Month, received Advice, That the Princess *Margaret* had made her escape into *Flanders*, in the manner as I have already related it. This News exceedingly displeased him as well as the Cardinal, whether for the consequences which might attend the flight of this Princess, or because it vexed them to be Tricked by the Cardinal of *Lorrain*, in whose Integrity they had reposed a Confidence. 'Tis true, S. *Chamond* had been ordered to examine all the Cardinal's Coaches, but that, wherein the Princess was, passed by one Morning before he was up, and was not at all Examin'd. The King being angry at this Trick that was play'd him, sent Word to the Cardinal of *Lorrain*, That since the Negotiation was broke, he design'd that the Passports he had given him shou'd be Revoked; and that if he tarried in the City, he must expect to be made a Prisoner of War. However, the King gave him leave to come to *Neufville*; where the Cardinal of *Lorrain* confessed to him, That he had contributed to his Sister's Escape; but then he assured him, That she was still in the Dominions of the Duke his Brother, and that he might dispose of her Person.

Next day they learnt the quite contrary News, and *Nancy* being Invested on all sides, they began to Work on the Lines of Circumvallation and Contravallation, because they were afraid the Siege wou'd last a long while, and that the Duke of *Feria* and *Aldringuen* wou'd come

come to relieve the place. But the Duke of *Lorrain*, who 1633. was of a light and changeable disposition, had not provided for the Defence of this City, though the preservation or loss of his Dominions absolutely depended upon it.

Thus, after some Proposals, to no purpose, the Cardinal his Brother was obliged to Sign a Treaty on the 6th of *September*, by which he promis'd to deliver *Nancy* within three days into the King's hands, to keep such a Garrison there as he shou'd think fitting, till such time as his own good Behaviour, or the Peace of *Germany* should convince His Majesty, that he had nothing to apprehend on that side. He consented besides, That the Marriage of the Princess *Margaret* should be declared null, in all the Forms, and that within Fifteen days she should be put into His Majesty's hands, who had agreed, that she shou'd tarry at *Nancy*, that he might inform himself upon the place, of all the Circumstances of her Marriage.

The Cardinal of *Lorrain* desir'd permission of the King, to goe and find out the Duke his Brother, that he might Ratifie this Treaty. In the mean time the King took *Charmes*, and the Duke retired to *Remiremont*, from which place he sent his Brother back again to the King, to endeavour to gain as much time as he cou'd. But the Succours he expected not coming, he had a mind to go and Treat in Person with the King, an Indiscretion scarce to be parallel'd in History. To this end having demanded a Passport, which was immediately granted him, he arrived at *Charmes* on the 18th of *September* with 800 Horse. There he Negotiated for the space of Three days with the Cardinals of *Richlieu* and *Bich*, who manag'd him so dexterously, that on the Third he Ratifi'd the Treaty in the form they desired. It was agreed that *Nancy* should continue in the King's hands for Four years; however, with this proviso, That if the Duke deliver'd up the Princess *Margaret* to the King in Three Months, and consented that her Marriage was Null from that very moment; and besides, if he observed the rest of the Treaty, which confirmed that of *Vic*, the King should then surrender *Nancy*, without farther delay, after he had demolish'd the

1633. the Fortifications of the place, if he should so think fit. The Duke promis'd that he wou'd do all that lay in his power to get his Sister out of *Monsieur*'s hands, and deliver her to the King.

* *Pontis Mem. Pt. 2. p. 38.*

In the mean time this short-sighted * Prince imagin'd, That after he had paid the Cardinal thus with fine words, he might retire without putting *Nancy* actually into the hands of the King. He had forbidden the Marquis *de Mauy*, who Commanded in that place for him, to open the Gates; whatever Letters he might Write to him, unless he saw a certain Mark, which they had agreed upon. Thus although he Writ to have the Gates open'd to the King's People, yet since the Mark was not in the Letter, the Governour refus'd to obey. The Cardinal who was more cunning than he, had, at first, some Suspicion of him, that he design'd to withdraw; and, under a pretence of Treating him like a Great Prince, the King set his own Guards upon the House where he Lodg'd.

The Duke was sensible of it; and they made no difficulty to tell him the Reason of it; so that having no hopes to escape, he Writ to *Nancy*, and sent the Mark in the Letter. The King's Garrison enter'd the Town on the 24th of *September*, seized all the considerable Posts, built a sort of a Fort upon the Bastions of the old City, and disarm'd the Inhabitants, who were too well-affected to the Duke. It was of the highest importance for the King to have *Nancy* in his hands, as to the Affairs of *Germany*; and the Duke of *Lorrain* was forced by this Surrendry to comply for the future with whatever *France* Proposed.

While the Cardinal-Duke stay'd at *Charmes*, he was desirous to see, whether the offer which the Cardinal of *Lorrain* had made him about Marrying his Neice, was sincere. For this end he show'd extraordinary Civilities to *Chamvallon*, who had appear'd very zealous to have the Match concluded, that so he might engage him to reassume this Negotiation. As the Prince of *Lorrain*, when he threw up his Cardinal's-Cap, wou'd be likewise oblig'd to resign all the Ecclesiastical Benefices he possess'd; so it was convenient on the other side, that he should have an Estate sufficient to support his Dignity.

The

1633. The Cardinal-Duke promis'd to give his Neice a vast Portion, and to make her his Heir of the greatest part of his Wealth; and therefore he expected that the Duke of *Lorrain* shou'd settle upon his Brother Land, to the value of a Hundred thousand Crowns a year, that so he might be enabled to bear the Title of Duke, which, together with the above-mention'd Revenue, shou'd descend to the Issue of the Cardinal of *Lorrain*, even though the Duke shou'd happen to have Children. If the Duke wou'd consent to this, the Cardinal of *Richlieu* oblig'd himself to employ all his Interest with the King, to get the Dutchy of *Bar* surrendred to him, for which he shou'd do homage, not in the Name of his Wife, as it had been pretended, but as Rightful Heir; however, with this proviso, that he shou'd immediately after surrender up this Dutchy to his Brother; that he shou'd assign him the Hundred thousand Crowns upon its Dependancies; and that in case it was not enough to make up that Sum, he shou'd annex some Neighbouring-Lands: as on the other hand, if it was more than enough, the over-plus shou'd belong to him. The Cardinal wou'd not speak to the King about this Affair himself, but he got it to be proposed by the other Ministers of State, and its probable it had succeeded, if the Duke of *Lorrain* cou'd have been prevail'd upon to cut off so considerable a part of his Dominions, as that was, which they demanded of him. But so soon as the King had made himself Master of *Nancy*, and re-taken the way to *Paris*, this Negotiation was interrupted.

It seems that ever since the Spring,* the Cardinal had some thoughts of sending the Queen-Mother into *Italy*, and that the Duke of *Florence* had expreſt himself, that he was ready to invite her to come and live with him, if the King thought it convenient: But the Cardinal observing, that the War was begun afresh in the *Low-Countries*, with as much fury as ever, changed his Mind, because from that moment he ceased to fear the *Spaniards*, and believ'd that this Princess wou'd onely perplex their Affairs, by tarrying in their Country. She continued Indispos'd all the Summer, and the King sent frequently to visit her, as well to discover their designs, as to pay

* *Siri Mem. Rec. T. 7. p. 679, &c.*

that

1633. that reſpect to her in appearance, which he cou'd not in honour omit. This gave occaſion to the Queen-Mother to Write to the King, and ſpeak of a Reconciliation; but as ſhe was ſo far from adjuſting matters with the Cardinal, that ſhe hardly ever mention'd him without Injurious Language, there were ſmall hopes that ſhe ſhould ſee her Son again.

Puilaurens alſo made ſome Propoſals of an Accommodation, to obtain the Return of *Monſieur*. He procured the Abbot of *Elbene* to demand †of the Cardinal the meaneſt of his Relations, and promiſed to do all that lay in his Power to engage *Monſieur* to return to his Duty. But the Marriage of this Prince with the Princeſs *Margaret*, put a ſtop to theſe Negotiations, and the King ſolemnly declared this Alliance to be null, as having been contracted without his conſent.

† *Siri Mem. Rec.* T. 7. p. 633

The King, at his return from *Lorrain*, made ſome * ſtay at *Metz*, and during this time the new Parliament of that City condemned one *Alfeſton* to be broke on the Wheel alive. He had confeſs'd, it ſeems, that he had a Deſign to kill Cardinal *Richlieu*, if he paſſed through ſuch a place. It was not long ſince he came from *Bruſſels*, with two more in his Company, who had belonged to the Queen-Mother's Guards; nay, the Horſe he rode upon came out of her Stables. 'Tis ſaid, That as he was going to the place of Puniſhment, he accuſed Father *Chanteloube*, and the Parliament ſummon'd him with ſome more. At the ſame time, under pretence of Reſpect to the Queen-Mother, but in effect to defame her, they ſent her the Horſe back again, and deſired her, in His Majeſties Name, not to ſuffer any ſuch wicked deſigns to be laid in her Houſe for the future; becauſe that beſides the Perſon of the Cardinal was infinitely dear to him; ſuch profligate wretches, as this was, were capable of making ſeveral attempts of the like nature. This was an effectual courſe to improve that Animoſity which was already too great, becauſe Father *Chanteloube* was the Principal Confident of the Queen-Mother. However, to ſecure the Cardinal's * Life from any ſuch Attempts, the King gave him, beſides the Guards he had already aſſign'd him, a Company of an Hundred Muſquetcers, whom he choſe out of a great number of Perſons that came to offer him their Service.

* *In the Moneth of* October.

† Aubery's *Life of the Cardinal*, lib. 4. c. 47.

It

It was believ'd that the Cardinal did not in the leaſt 1633. deſire the Queen-Mother's return to Court, ſince after what had paſs'd between them he cou'd not expect to ſtand over-ſecure, if that Princeſs came there again. On the other hand, Father *Chanteloube*, who had a mind to make his advantage of that Favour ſhe ſhowed him, adviſed her to ſtay in *Flanders*, or at leaſt ſomewhere out of *France*, till they offer'd her honourable conditions, ſuch as they had done ſome years before, by the Treaty of *Angoulême*. It was no difficult matter for him to perſwade the Queen, who paſſionately deſir'd it, that the King wou'd at laſt be conſtrain'd to come to her Terms. The Cardinal, on the contrary, who was inform'd of every thing that paſs'd, counſell'd the King to ſtick inflexibly to his Reſolutions, ſince His own Authority was ſo nearly concern'd, which wou'd ſenſibly diminiſh, if he once permitted the Queen His Mother to Capitulate with Him, or gave her leave to return on any other conditions than as ſhe entirely rely'd upon his Generoſity. But as it was Scandalous to keep this Princeſs ſo long out of the Kingdom, and the King ſometimes felt a Remorſe upon that ſcore, the Cardinal told him, That he ought not onely to remember, that he was a Son, but alſo that he was a King, and that he lay under greater obligations to procure the repoſe and tranquility of his Kingdom, than to ſatisfie the Paſſions of the Queen His Mother. By this Maxim which took it for granted, that the Wellfare of the State was incompatible with ſatisfying the demands of *Maria de Medicis*, he hindred the King from ſuffering himſelf to be touched by thoſe Sentiments which Nature implants in all Children towards their Parents.

Father † *Joſeph* diſcourſing one day with *Gondi*, told him, much about this time, That if the Queen-Mother wou'd return, ſhe muſt give Security to the King beforehand, that ſhe wou'd not attempt any thing in the Kingdom againſt His Majeſty's Service, which neceſſarily demanded, that the Cardinal ſhou'd continue in the Miniſtry. When once this Security was given, Father *Joſeph* did not queſtion but the King wou'd pay her all manner of Reſpect, and that he wou'd ſhow her the ſame Acknowledgments as he had ever done when he

† *Siri*, ibid. p. 698.

was

1623. was most in her favour. Father *Joseph* made this security to consist in the Queen's wholly abandoning her Servants, but especially Father *Chanteloube*, to the King's Justice, after which she was to leave her self to his discretion. He fansied, that His Majesty, so soon as he saw her discard those People, who had all along suggested ill Counsel to her, wou'd treat her with all the Kindness that she cou'd desire from a Respectful Son. Now it was so Infamous for a Princess, as the Queen-Mother was, to Sacrifice her most Ancient Servants after this blind manner, to the Cardinal's Revenge, and of so dangerous an example to all those that might hereafter attempt to serve her, that 'twas believ'd she wou'd never be induc'd to consent to it, and that they propos'd it to her with no other prospect, but to make her despair of a Reconciliation.

* The 3 Siri. *Ibid.* p. 699.

Towards the beginning of * *November*, she sent *Villiers S. Genes* to the King, in appearance to Congratulate him upon His happy return from *Lorrain*, but, in effect, to see if there was any way left to induce His Majesty to consent to Her return upon tolerable conditions, because she was weary of that disrespectful Treatment, which she received from Monsieur and *Puilaurens*. The Gentleman whom she sent upon this Message, had Audience of the King † immediately, and told him, He was ordered by the Queen to complain to His Majesty of *Monsieur*'s disrespectful behaviour to Her, since he daily put some affront or other upon Her: That she was certainly perswaded that he did not do this of his own proper Inclination, but onely by the Advice of *Puilaurens*: That she beseeched the King to take care of His health, not onely for the Love of the Queen, but likewise for the Love of Her; since she wou'd rather choose to die, than fall under the Tyranny of *Puilaurens*. That she desired His Majesty to believe, that she had no share in the Enterprizes of *Monsieur*, and that his last Expedition into *Languedoc* was without Her knowledge.

† The 6th of Novemb.

The King Answer'd, That he was extreamly sorry at the Ill Treatment the Queen His Mother received from the Duke of *Orleans*; but that she had never fallen into these Inconveniences if she had followed his good Advice,

Advice, and that of her most faithful Servants! That 1633. he formerly believed that she had a Kindness for him, but that since she had discover'd so much Ill-will towards him, he cou'd hardly perswade himself that she had really that Affection for him as she pretended: That he knew well enough how far she was concern'd in the Affair of *Languedoc*, since she had Pawn'd her Jewels to furnish the Rebels with Arms: That it afflicted him to see there was no Security for Him in *France*, if his Mother returned thither, since those disaffected Persons, that were about her, began to Cabal more than ever.

At last he enquired of *Villiers*, If he had any Orders to see the Cardinal? *Villiers* answer'd, No: but said, That if he met him, he wou'd not fail to pay his Respects to him, although the Queen was still incens'd against him. The King reply'd, That if it was true that this Princess loved her Eldest Son, as she said she did, she wou'd likewise love the Cardinal for the signal Services he had done the Crown since the Reduction of *Rochelle*; but that so long as she kept such People as *Chanteloube*, and Madam *du Fargis* about her, it was to no purpose to expect any Reconciliation. Upon this *Villiers* said, That the Queen knew *du Targis* for what she was valuable: and the King answer'd, That she was one of those Vipers of *Lyons*, who, together with the Duke of *Bellegarde*, *Marillac* the Keeper of the Seals, and such like blessed Instruments, had seduced the Queen-Mother into all these Inconveniences.

It was discover'd by *Villiers*'s Discourse, that the Q. Mother was really provok'd against *Puilaurens*, from which 'twas thought this advantage might be drawn as to oblige him to return to his duty, and to make more modest demands for his Master; and, at the same time, it was no less plain that she was enraged against the Cardinal. * However she sent to acquaint the King, in Answer to some Proposals she had receiv'd from *France*, That to let him see how well she loved him, and to facilitate an access for those persons whom she wou'd send to him, she was willing to forget all the ill Offices the Cardinal had done her, nay, even to have an Affection for him, in consideration of His Majesty: That nevertheless

* *Siri Mem. Rec.* T. 7. p. 699.

1633. less she wou'd not be forced to part with the meanest Servant she had, and much less with Father *Chanteloube*, who had faithfully served her in things of the greatest Importance, but that he wou'd quit her Service of his own accord, as soon as ever the King commanded him to do so: That if she might be so happy as to procure an Accommodation, she wou'd manage it by her self, without appearing in the Affairs of Monsieur; and that *Puilaurens* had told her, That she might do so if she pleas'd.

The King, before he dismiss'd *Villiers*, told him, That he was heartily sorry at the Vexations which the Queen his Mother had met in *Flanders*; but that if she impartially examin'd her self, she wou'd soon find, that she alone was the occasion of them: That if she wou'd deliver her Evil Counsellors up to him, in order to their Punishment, as they deserv'd, and love the true Servants of the Crown, as she was in duty oblig'd, then there wou'd be no room to suspect that she continued longer in the evil disposition that possessed her when she left *France*: That *Chanteloube* had Written, That she wou'd never be reconcil'd; and, in one of his Letters (which had been sent to the King) had made Merry with the Visit which he (meaning *Villiers*) had made him; and that while the Queen encourag'd such a notorious Hypocrite as he was, it cou'd not be imagin'd that her intentions were sincere. All the King's Discourses, as also those of the Cardinal's Creatures, tended to the same purpose; which was, That the Queen-Mother shou'd abandon all her Domesticks to the Indignation of the Minister, and receive others of his Nomination, before any thing was concluded: But they did not believe that this Princess, who was full as haughty and obstinate as the Cardinal, wou'd ever make such low condescensions. If the King spoke ill of Father *Chanteloube*, the Queen was not behind-hand with him in railing at the Cardinal; and by the means of the Abbot of S. *Germain* her Secretary, she publish'd every day bitter Satyrs against him, several Volumes of which are still extant.

Towards

Towards the end of the year, * the Cardinal of *Lorrain* came to *Paris* about his Brother's Affairs, and to Treat of his own Marriage with the Neice of Cardinal *Richlieu*. The Prince of *Lorrain* show'd a mighty desire to come to a speedy conclusion, because the Interest of his Family requir'd it. He obtain'd permission of the Unkle to visit his Neice, whom he found to be extreamly agreeable; So that now nothing more was left to doe than to come to Conditions on both sides. *Richlieu* positively stuck to it; That the Cardinal of *Lorrain* shou'd have a Hundred thousand Crowns *per Annum* settled upon him; and the Cardinal of *Lorrain* Articled, That in consideration of this Marriage, they shou'd restore all the Places that had been taken from his Brother, and leave every thing in the same condition as they found it. The House of *Lorrain* hoped by this Match to be able to engage the King to own the Marriage of *Monsieur* with the Princess *Margaret* as good and valid. But upon these Matters great difficulties arose on both sides. 1633.

† *Siri*, Ibid. p. 103.

The Duke of *Lorrain* had an inexpressible aversion to *France*, and to the Cardinal, which was the reason why they treated him so severely; and was not of a temper to embrace any Party, merely upon the account of its being the safest. He had likewise great Disputes about the Confines of his Country with *France*, which did her self Justice by force of Arms. The Cardinal of *Lorrain* had been Promis'd long before to a Princess of his own Family, and Sister to the Dutchess; who, if the other Match went forward, must be sent to a Monastery. On the other side, it was not very reputable for the King, after he had been at so prodigious an Expence, and had made so great a bustle, to surrender all back again to the Duke of *Lorrain*, only in consideration of making an Advantageous Marriage for the Neice of his Chief Minister. Besides, the Cardinal had reason to fear, that the World wou'd surmise that he concluded his own Affairs at the King's Expence; and that His Majesty wou'd entertain some jealous thoughts at his designing the Grandeur of his Family. The Marriage too of the Duke of *Orleans* was no small obstacle, since it was not probable, that they wou'd wholly reconcile themselves,

1633. to the House of *Lorrain*, and, at the same time continue to carry on the total destruction of it.

However, this Alliance seemed so advantageous to the Cardinal, that 'twas generally believ'd he desir'd it, although he answer'd the Prince of *Lorrain* coldly enough, That his Neice was obstinately resolv'd to embrace a Religious Life; and that it was not possible for him to alter her Inclinations. But this was only an Artifice to secure himself the more of the Princes of *Lorrain*, whom he looked upon not to be so cordial in this Affair as he desired, to endeavour, if he cou'd obtain of them, more Advantageous Conditions; but, above all, to see whether the House of *Lorrain* wou'd yield to deposite their best Places in the King's hands. The Cardinal of *Lorrain* perceiving *Richlieu*'s design, resolved to use the same Policy, and seem'd to be indifferent on his side, by pretending to go to *Lorrain*, to know his final Resolution there; though at the same time he did not discontinue to sollicit this Affair privately at Court. If they came to a conclusion, he hoped, by that means, to procure better Conditions; and if the Negotiation happen'd to be wholly broke off, the Cardinal cou'd not complain of the House of *Lorrain*, which had done him the honour to ask his Neice in Marriage. As he was ready to depart, the Cardinal-Duke sent him word, That in a Months time he shou'd receive a Positive Answer, whether Madam *de Combalet* resolved to Marry the second time or no. All the World was sensible, that if her Uncle had thought it expedient for her to Marry again, and especially one that was a Prince, she wou'd never have wanted much entreaty; but the Reasons above-mention'd stood in the way, and hindred this Marriage from being concluded so hastily. The Cardinal of *Lorrain* * parted at last without coming to any determination as to the Marriage: he onely carried to the Duke his Brother the Restitution of the Revenues of the Dutchy of *Bar*, and a Prorogation of Two Months for him to do Homage to the King for them.

* The 20th of December.

All this while the Queen-Mother lived in no great amity with the Duke of *Orleans*, through the indiscreet management of Father *Chanteloube* and *Puilaurens*, who, in stead of reconciling them, made the breach wider, and set them at a greater distance. Thus the Mother and the Son, who were incapable of finding out of themselves what was their true Interest, became the sport of their Favourites, who engaged them in all their quarrels and caprices. But it happen'd unfortunately for the Queen-Mother and *Gaston*, that the Persons that manag'd them, fell infinitely short of *Lewis*'s Minister in Politicks, although perhaps they were not inferiour to him in Malice. The Queen-Mother who had consented to the Match of the Princess *Margaret*, prevail'd with her to perswade her Husband to Discard *Puilaurens*, whom this Lady, for her part, did not love, because he had talked of getting her Marriage dissolved. But the Duke of *Orleans* wou'd not hear any mention of it, although they represented to him, That the Cardinal had half-gained him over to his Party. 'Tis certain, that Minister had promised him one of his Relations to secure him against all dangers he might apprehend, upon condition he wou'd influence *Monsieur* absolutely to throw himself upon the King's Bounty, of which they promis'd he should find very surprising effects. But they chiefly desired that he wou'd submit to His Majesty's good Pleasure, in relation to his Marriage, either by delivering his Spouse into his hands, conformable to what her Brothers had Promised, or by leaving her in *Flanders*, if she wou'd not follow him into *France*. It was likewise insisted upon, That *Puilaurens* shou'd wholly disengage him from the Interests of the Queen-Mother, as well as of the *Spaniards*.

1633.

Puilaurens had, in a great measure, brought over the Duke of *Orleans* to what was demanded of him; but, as this Prince was not able to conceal it from his Wife and his Mother, the Queen reproached him with so scandalous a Treaty, wherein *Puilaurens* onely consider'd how to obtain the Cardinal's Favour, to the great prejudice of his Master. *Puilaurens* perceiving that the Duke had changed his opinion, attributed this Alteration to Father *Chanteloube*, and the Queen-Mother, with whom he talked about it with that Insolence which was peculiar to him, but they requited his Language as he deserved.

1633. The *Spaniards* openly espoused the Party of the Princess *Margaret*, whom they received as the Wife of the Duke of *Orleans*, and for whom they had been at a great expence, as well as for him: But the Infanta happening to die at this * time, obliged them to think of other things. However it was perceived plainly enough, that *Monsieur* was weary of *Flanders*, and the Queen-Mother and Madam were afraid that this inconstant Prince wou'd abandon them at the first opportunity.

* The 1st of Decem.

The Cardinal who was fully inform'd of all, † Summon'd a Council before the King, to Advise what Measures were to be taken in this conjuncture, and whether the King ought to be reconcil'd to the Queen his Mother, or to the Duke of *Orleans*. This Minister, according to his custom, made a long Harangue to perswade His Majesty, That it was his Interest to grant no satisfaction either to one, or the other. He told him, 'That the Queen-Mother had appeared long ago ill-affected to the State: That before she left *France* the 'King had offer'd her very reasonable Terms of Reconciliation, as Places, Governments, and so forth, by 'which she might easily perceive, that he had no intention to use her with any Rigour: That nevertheless 'she had fled to the declared Enemies of the Crown, 'which she had never done, but out of a Principle of 'Revenge, and because she never design'd to come to any sort of Accommodation: That she cou'd not be 'ignorant that her joyning with the Duke of *Orleans* 'wou'd displease the King, and that all good *Frenchmen* 'must blame her for having recourse to the *Spaniards*: 'That since she had broke through all these considerations, it was a sure Indication, that she had an implacable hatred to *France*: That her Actions notoriously 'contradicted her words, in which she protested that 'she had no design against the State, but that she was 'full of Dissimulation, as visibly appear'd in the whole 'Conduct of her Life: That it wou'd be no advantage to the King to be Reconciled with her, and call 'her home; but that on the contrary, several great Inconveniences might happen upon it, because it wou'd be 'then a harder matter to perswade *Monsieur* to return: 'That her falling out with him and his Domesticks, 'was

† *Siri Mem. Rec.* T. 7. p. 720. 15th of Decem.

'was the most forcible Reason that induced *Puilaurens* 1631
'to advise his Master to avoid those places, where he 'might find the ill effects of the Mortal hatred of that 'Princess, and therefore if she came into *France*, *Puilaurens* wou'd have the less inclination to carry the Duke 'of *Orleans* thither: That, supposing *Monsieur* wou'd 'not, upon this, be unwilling to return, yet they were 'likely to gain nothing by his coming home, since it 'might easily so happen, that the Queen and he wou'd 'joyn afresh together for the better execution of their 'wicked designs: That the King wou'd find it a harder matter to Marry *Monsieur* again to whom he pleas'd, 'and principally to the Princess *Mary* of *Gonzaga*, for 'whom the Queen-Mother had an invincible aversion: 'That the Tranquillity of the Kingdom wou'd be more 'endanger'd, since those that had harbour'd any ill designs wou'd certainly go and communicate them to the 'Queen-Mother, whom they knew to be of a resolute 'and revengeful temper, whereas they durst not repose 'any confidence in the Duke of *Orleans*, who was known 'to be inconstant: That the King wou'd not have the 'same Peace of Mind, nor be in the same security as to 'his Person: That he wou'd not be obey'd so punctually, since the ill-affected wou'd hope to be supported 'by the Queen-Mother: That the Lives of His Majesty's Servants wou'd be in greater danger, because it 'wou'd be an easier matter to destroy them near at hand, 'than afar off: That though the Queen-Mother and '*Monsieur* were both of them to morrow in *France*, perfectly satisfy'd by the King, as to both their particulars, and a Misunderstanding still continu'd between them, it was certain that in three Months time they would 'be discontented, and wou'd as certainly reunite in their 'discontents; whereas if *Monsieur* was in the Kingdom, 'and the Queen out of it, it wou'd be difficult for them 'to maintain any great correspondence together.

In this Advice we find the Cardinal's Interest confounded, with that of the King and Kingdom; but we must do him the Justice to allow his Reasonings to be solid enough, if we set down the word *Cardinal* all along where he makes mention of *France*, or of the *King*. The design of it manifestly tended to keep the Queen-

1633. Mother at least out of the Kingdom: but as it wou'd have been too odious to publish to all the World, that her Son wou'd never be reconciled to her. The Council, in appearance, concluded the contrary; but, at the bottom, 'twas the same thing, because they knew well enough, that this Princess wou'd not stoop so low as to do what they resolved to demand of her. It was therefore pretended, That if the Queen-Mother wou'd convince all People, that she had no hand in the Assassinates, which some of her Servants had projected, by delivering the Authors of these Pernicious Counsels to Justice, the King wou'd give her leave to return into *France*, put her in full possession of her Jointure, and permit her to live in any of her Houses that were at a distance from the Court.

As for what related to *Monsieur*, the Cardinal observ'd, 'That this Prince's Absence was at present Advantageous to His Majesty; but that the longer he tarried among the *Spaniards*, with whom he daily contracted a greater Friendship, the more it was to be feared, that he wou'd, one day, destroy in a moment, what had been doing for several years, with no little difficulty, for the welfare of the State: That however these ills were at a distance, whereas the Mischief which he might occasion, if he lived in *France*, and was ill-affected to it, as he certainly was, wou'd be felt presently; That if *Monsieur* came back into *France*, upon those Conditions the King had offer'd him, which, as they were honourable to himself, so they were not prejudicial to *France*, his return wou'd be advantageous to the Kingdom; but that there was a great deal to fear, and but little to hope, if he came back upon those Terms, which *Puilaurens* had insisted upon the last Summer, *viz.* the Government of *Auvergne*, and *Macon*, to be the Residence of *Monsieur* and his Household; because that then this Prince wou'd be in a condition to give the *Spaniards* an entrance at any time into the Kingdom, who wou'd be glad of such an opportunity; That, if matters were so, they must lay aside all thoughts of attacking any of their Neighbours, either to enlarge the Kingdom, or to assist the Confederates of the Crown, because it was always to be fear'd, that

'that the *Spaniards* wou'd make some Irruption on that 1633.
'side; and, that though they did not break in upon 'them, yet they wou'd cause so many alarms there, that 'their hands wou'd be effectually tied up, without having any just pretence to complain of them; That the 'disaffected wou'd take fresh courage, and fall upon new designs. In fine, the Cardinal concluded, that it wou'd be better to leave *Monsieur* where he was, than to receive him upon those conditions which he demanded.

However, he at last proposed, Whether one might not, in Justice and Equity, nay, with honour and advantage to the State, Promise *Puilaurens*, that *Monsieur* and he should reside at *Macon*, in order to draw him into *France*, and afterwards send this latter to Prison, in stead of keeping their word with him. As for the equity of the thing, the Cardinal was of opinion it cou'd never be question'd, since *Puilaurens* had been engag'd in such Mischievous Designs against the State; but then he said, His Majesty's Honour wou'd receive an irreparable loss, if he broke his Word upon this occasion. He added, 'That such a procedure wou'd be so far from do-'ing them any service, or helping to counter-balance 'the detriment which the King's Reputation must neces-'sarily suffer by breaking his Word, that it wou'd draw 'after it several fatal consequences, since if *Puilaurens* 'was Imprison'd, they wou'd be oblig'd to apprehend '*Monsieur*, which was not practicable: That if this 'Prince came to leave the Kingdom afresh, he wou'd ne-'ver return, whatever Promises were made him, after 'he had been once deceiv'd: That then he wou'd reu-'nite himself more firmly than ever with the Queen-'Mother, from whom *Puilaurens* kept him at as great a 'distance as he cou'd; and that by her Inducements 'and Perswasions he wou'd become of an Irreconcilea-'ble temper: That if it was alledg'd, That upon 'the Imprisonment of *Puilaurens*, *Monsieur* must be desi-'red to keep within a certain place which shou'd be As-'sign'd him, and from which they should take care that 'it wou'd not be possible for him to stir; besides, that 'this was infinitely easier to be said than done, they 'wou'd gain no advantage by it for the present, but ran

'the

1633. 'the riſque of loſing all for the future: That at preſent
'the King deſir'd *Monſieur* to break off his Marriage
'with the Princeſs *Margaret* of *Lorrain*, and Marry the
'Princeſs of *Mantua*; yet if this Prince were apprehend-
'ed, neither one nor the other cou'd be done, ſince the
'World wou'd ſay with reaſon, That he was not free:
'That thus his Marriage with the former wou'd be con-
'firmed by it, in ſtead of being diſſolved: That for
'the future, thoſe that ſerved His Majeſty cou'd never
'hope to reconcile themſelves to *Monſieur*, from which
'no manner of good cou'd arrive to the Kingdom: That
'His Majeſty, to the great Misfortune of *France*, having
'been Married Eighteen years without any Children,
'thoſe Perſons that believed he would never have any
'Iſſue, would publickly exclaim, That the King's Ser-
'vants had a mind to deſtroy the Preſumptive Heir of
'the Crown, which might occaſion ſeveral vexatious ac-
'cidents. The Cardinal concluded to leave the Duke
of *Orleans* where he was, if he would not return upon
the Conditions the King had lately offered him, which
were, to give him a conſiderable ſum of Money to pay
his Debts, to re-eſtabliſh him in all his Appanages and
Good, to give great Gratifications to *Puilaurens*, and be-
ſtow the Government of *Auvergne* upon him, with per-
miſſion to reſide there with his Guards. If *Monſieur* re-
fuſed to come back upon theſe Conditions, the Cardi-
nal thought it would be the beſt way to let him tarry in
Flanders, ſince any other means of bringing him home
were neither honourable nor advantageous.

Theſe Conditions having been propoſed to the Queen-
Mother, and to *Monſieur*, they equally rejected them:
The Queen-Mother could never conſent to ſee her ſer-
vants treated after a worſe manner than thoſe of her
Son; and the Duke of *Orleans* imagined that they
would grant him more, if he refuſed theſe firſt offers.
But the event ſhewed, that both of them were miſtaken,
and that they had better have adjuſted matters in time,
than ſtand out againſt a Party which was infinitely
ſtronger than their own. And the Cardinal, by this means,
arrived to the deſign he propoſed to himſelf, which was,
to keep the Queen-Mother and *Monſieur*, but eſpecially
the former, out of *France*, as long as he was able.

The

The ſpace of three Months was now expired ſince 1634.
the Treaty of *Charmes*, and yet the Duke of *Lorrain*
had not delivered the Princeſs *Margaret*, his Siſter, to the
King: So that now the Court of *France* talked of no-
thing but of having the Marriage of *Monſieur* declared
void by the Parliament of *Paris*; and they founded it
upon this reaſon, that the Princes of *Lorrain* had ſtole the
Duke of *Orleans*. Thus they reſolved to cite the Duke
of *Lorrain* to appear before the Parliament of *Paris*, to
produce his Reaſons for this pretended Rape. His Bro-
ther, the Cardinal, endeavour'd to excuſe him, by ſay-
ing, He had done all that lay in his Power to get the
Princeſs *Margaret* out of the hands of the Duke of *Or-
leans*, but that this Prince would not part with her. He
deſired the Cardinal-Duke to Intercede for him with
the King, that his Citation might be Suſpended; and
declared, That if they proceeded farther, his Brother
would not make his Appearance, as being prejudicial to
the Rights of a Soveraign Prince. *Richlieu* maintained,
That as he was a Vaſſal of the Crown of *France* for the
Dukedom of *Bar*, he was obliged to come in Perſon
thither, which, if he neglected to doe, or was declared
to be an Accomplice in the Rape, they ſhould be forced
to proceed againſt him, by the ways of Fact. At the
ſame time Orders were ſent to the Parliament of *Metz*,
to Prohibit the Inhabitants of thoſe Places that had been
lately taken from the Duke of *Lorrain*, as Dependencies
upon the Biſhopricks of *Metz*, *Thoul* and *Verdun*, to own
the Duke for their Lord, but onely the Biſhops of theſe
Cities, and the King, to be as it were their Protector.
They treated him after this manner, to conſtrain him to
be ſincerely devoted to the Intereſts of *France*, and to
come himſelf to *Paris* to adjuſt theſe Differencies, or to
reduce him to ſuch a condition that he could do them no
Injury.

Thus they Mortified the Duke of *Lorrain*, and now
began to give New Vexations to the Queen-Mother, by
ſtopping, and narrowly examining upon the Frontiers
all the Carriages that came to her from *France* for her
own uſe, and that of her Servants, though a Paſsport was
allowed her. This Princeſs ſent Complaints of this U-
ſage to the King, and repreſented to him, That it was

to

1634. to no purpose that the Cardinal employed these Rigours to bring her to his own Terms, and that she would never humble her self before him.

Not long after, the Attorney-General, following the Instructions of the Court, presented a Request to the Parliament, to declare, That the Duke of *Orleans* had been Stollen out of *France* by the Princes of *Lorrain*, and consequently, that his Marriage was null and void. The Parliament demanded time to inform and deliberate upon an Affair of so great a Consequence, but a very short space was allowed them; and the King came thither in Person on the 18th of *January* with the Cardinal, to get a Declaration confirmed, by which he restored the Duke of *Orleans* to his Estate and Honour, provided, that in Three Months he acknowledged his Fault, and came to Reside in *France*. He extended the same Favours to all his Domesticks, except *Coigneux*, *Monsigot*, *Vieville*, and some others. The King also declar'd, that he could not approve of the Marriage of *Monsieur* for the Reasons specified in His Declaration; and ordered the Parliament to Judge of the Informations which had been taken against the Duke of *Lorrain*, to Justifie, that he had caused *Monsieur* to be stollen, and consequently to show that his Marriage was null.

The Cardinal likewise made a long Harangue in the Parliament, full of Rhetorical strains, which was afterwards * Printed. In it he praised the King, and exaggerated the Victories which he had obtained in his Ministry, rather in the Style of a Declaimer, than that of a Minister of State. He described, in a very Hyperbolical manner, His Majesty's kindness to the Queen-Mother, and to Monsieur, and particularly the Favours he designed to show that Prince. He promised great ease to the People, if these Perplexities, which they gave the King, were once over; and added, that for the present, besides a Reduction of the Duties, and a Revocation of a Hundred thousand Officers of new Creation, the exemption of whom was a Vexation to those that bore the Burden of the Taxes, he Remitted one Fourth of the Impost. † But this Fourth was of New Imposition, and it had been Raised for the Enterprize of *Lorrain*, besides Nine Millions of *Livres* extraordinary. The People did

* *In the Journal of* Richlieu, Part II. p. 148.

† *Siri Mem. Rec.* T. 7. P. 750.

did not rejoyce much at this small Satisfaction, because they expected the quite contrary. 1634.

The Parliament was not a little perplexed about *Monsieur*'s Marriage, by reason of the ill Consequences which the Judgment they gave might draw after it; since it concern'd the Heirs of a Prince who might one day sit upon the Throne. The Duke of *Lorrain* was generally blamed for giving his Consent to this Match, which, as it displeased the Court, so it had plunged him in very mortifying Circumstances. Otherwise this Marriage was neither too unequal, nor was it disadvantageous to the State; and indeed, nothing could be found fault in it, but that it was done without the King's Approbation, who might at last approve of it, after he had testified his Dislike of it, as in the Upshot he was obliged to do. To revenge himself for this Affront, he demanded *Zore* of the Duke of *Lorrain*, which is a Place between *Metz* and *Thionville*, to Fortifie it. The Duke immediately granted it, because he durst not do otherwise. However, the King promised to surrender it to him, not by Letters Patent, but by a private Letter of the Privy Seal, to denote the King's Superiority: He likewise demanded of the Duke, the original Contract of the Marriage of the Duke of *Orleans*, and all the Papers he had in his hands relating to that Affair. He desired to know who were the Witnesses that had assisted at the Ceremony of the Espousals, and to have the Priest, who had officiated, deliver'd up to him. On the other hand, to make the Duke sensible that in case he would submit himself he might expect a gentler Treatment, Orders were sent to the Parliament of *Metz* to defer the Prohibition which they had been commanded to issue out to the Inhabitants of the Lands depending upon the Bishopricks of *Metz*, *Thoul*, and *Verdun*, not to own the Duke of *Lorrain* any longer for their Prince; and they suffer'd him to gather his Revenues in the Dukedom of *Bar*, without pressing him to come and do Homage for it.

* Altho' this Prince was in a manner divested of his Territories, yet he was so deeply provoked against *France*, which had oppress him, that he searched all Opportunities to retaliate the Injuries he received. And there-

* *Siri*, ibid. p. 742.

1634. therefore, that he might be able to declare openly againſt her, without Danger of being deprived of the Remainder of his Dominions, he made on the 19th of *January* a Donation of his Seats to his Brother *Nicholas Francis*, Cardinal of *Lorrain*, under a pretence that the Perſon of this latter was more agreeable to the King than his own. However, the World was ſenſible that this Donation was only a Pretence, becauſe he performed ſeveral Acts of a Sovereign Prince after he had made it. When this was over, he retired with eight hundred Horſe and two thouſand Foot, and joyn'd the Imperial Army.

The new Duke diſpatched *Contriſſon* immediately to the Court of *France*, to acquaint the King and Cardinal with what had paſſed between his Brother and him, and to promiſe that he wou'd obſerve the Treaty of *Charmes*. As for his Brother, he aſſur'd them that he did not know whither he was gone: but this did not hinder the Parliament from carrying on the Proceſs they had begun againſt him. The Cardinal of *Richlieu* told *Contriſſon* when he ſhew'd him the Surrendry which the Duke had made in favour of him, 'That they had juſt Occaſion 'to complain of the Duke for two Reaſons: the firſt 'was, his Violation of the three ſeveral Treaties which 'he himſelf had concluded with the Duke; and the 'other was the Rape of the Duke, of *Orleans*, whom he 'had forced to marry his Siſter. For the firſt, the Duke's 'Dominions, in the Opinion of this Miniſter, were en'gaged to *France*, and could not be reſtored to the Car'dinal of *Lorrain* but upon the ſame Conditions by 'which his Brother held them: And as for the ſecond, 'the Duke was not excuſed from the Guilt of it by ab'ſenting himſelf. Beſides this, the Cardinal of *Lorrain* 'was his Accomplice in the Matter, for he, as Biſhop of '*Thoul*, had granted a Diſpenſation not publiſhing the 'Banns, as otherwiſe they ought to have done for the 'Marriage of *Monſieur* and the Princeſs *Margaret*, and 'had authorized a Monk to ſay Maſs upon this Occa'ſion, to the prejudice of the Curate, that this Affair 'might be kept the more ſecret. The Cardinal Duke reproached him of *Lorrain*, with having abuſed the King's Paſſport to further his Siſter's Eſcape out of *Nancy*, and to ſend her to *Bruſſels*.

Thus

Thus the Princes of *Lorrain* found themſelves engaged in very great Perplexities, and were at a Loſs how to appeaſe *France*, or how to defend themſelves againſt her. Nothing, in all appearance, but the Match propoſed to the Cardinal's Neice, could accommodate theſe Differences: but ſeveral great Difficulties aroſe in that Affair, as I have already obſerved. On the other hand, it was to be feared, that if the Cardinal-Duke ſuſpected that they had asked his Neice in Marriage only to amuſe him, he would revenge the Affront in a cruel manner. 1634.

Contriſſon was ſent back to the Cardinal of *Lorrain*, with Orders to tell him, that it was in his power to follow his Brother's Steps or not; but that if he deſired to live in peace, he muſt take different meaſures. He was demanded to explain himſelf upon this Head, and that he would diſcover by his manner of acting what were his true Sentiments. But above all, it was deſired of him that he wou'd diſapprove the Marriage of his Siſter, and deliver the Original Papers of the Contract, and the Diſpenſation for the Banns. They gave *Contriſſon* in Writing all that they required of his Maſter, and told him that they expected an Anſwer to each Article in Writing alſo.

As the King neither liked nor diſliked the Duke of *Lorrain*'s Surrendry of his Dominions to his Brother, the latter took upon him the Title of *Duke*, and put himſelf in poſſeſſion of the State belonging to his Family, with the uſual Solemnities, that ſo he might convince the World there was no Colluſion in this Matter between his Brother and him. He had not as yet reſign'd his Cardinal's Cap, and therefore ſtiled himſelf the *Cardinal-Duke of Lorrain*. Soon after, he ſent back *Contriſſon* to the Court of *France*, with an Anſwer to every Article in particular; as alſo to demand *Saverne*, which the Mareſchal *de la Force*, without alledging any Reaſon for ſo doing, had taken from the Duke his Brother, when there was no War between his Majeſty and him; and to complain that the King's Officers who commanded in thoſe Places which his Majeſty held in Truſt, hinder'd the Duke's Commiſſaries from levying upon the Inhabitants of thoſe Cities the ordinary Taxes, and to demand farther time in regard of the Homage he was to do for the Dutchy of *Bar*.

Con-

1634. *Contrisson* being arrived † at *Paris*, acquitted himself the next Day of his Orders, and went to carry his Letters of Credence to the Cardinal. When he saw in the Subscription of the Letter, *Cardinal-Duke of Lorrain*, he said that this was a pleasant sort of a Quality, by way of Contempt, as if the Title of Cardinal-Duke had only belonged to *Armand John du Plessis*, exclusively of all others. After this he fell into an extraordinary Passion against the House of *Lorrain*, and spoke of it in very despicable Terms, as he was used to speak of all those that used the same Artifices against him which he employ'd against others. *Contrisson* was so daunted, that he scarce knew what to answer; but at last he told him, that after they had examined the Houses of all the Notaries of *Nancy*, as the Count *de Brassac*, Governour in that City for the King, knew, they could not find any Minutes of the Contract of *Monsieur*'s Marriage; and that in all probability there never were any, having perhaps been written by the hand of the Duke of *Orleans* himself: neither could they find the Dispensation for the Banns, but that the Cardinal Duke of *Lorrain* offer'd to sign one, in the same manner as the other had been: That they cou'd not tell the Names of the Witnesses to the Marriage; and that the Monk who had perform'd the Ceremony of the Espousals, had left *Lorrain*. To this the Cardinal of *Richlieu* replied, in a great passion, 'That 'now it plainly appeared that the Cardinal of *Lorrain* '(for he never vouchsafed to call him Duke) would 'follow the Footsteps of his Brother: That these An'swers, full of Dissimulation, and very different from 'what he had promis'd by word of mouth, did sufficiently discover his Design, as they formerly found by 'what Spirit he acted, when after he had denyed that 'he knew any thing of his Sister's Marriage, it was now 'discovered that he had granted a Dispensation for the 'Banns: That till then they had believed the Cardinal 'of *Lorrain* was a Prince of Honour and Sincerity, 'whereas they found him at present to be the quite con'trary: That if he refused to send the Contract, it was 'a Matter of no great Importance, since they cou'd ea'sily discover after what manner it was done: That if 'they stifled the Original Papers, it would be so much 'the

† *The* 14*th of* February.

'the easier to get the Marriage annull'd: That they ve- 1634.
'ry well knew who were the Witnesses, and that as for 'them and the Monk, who had disappeared, the King 'would let them see, to their Cost, that he had long Hands. At last he concluded, That whereas he had been formerly a Friend to the Cardinal of *Lorrain*, he wou'd be his greatest Enemy if he continued to follow the Maxims of his Brother.

As for what concerned the Taking of *Saverne*, the King, according to the Cardinal, was not obliged to make any Excuses for what had been done upon very just Grounds: And he added, 'That if the Cardinal of 'Lorrain had defended it, they wou'd have taken it 'away from him by force: That they wou'd consider 'what was to be done to the Governours of those Pla'ces which his Majesty held in trust, who had hinder'd 'the Duke of *Lorrain* from raising his Duties: That in'stead of allowing farther time for him to do Homage 'for the Dutchy of *Bar*, he must expect every moment 'to see it declared lapsed to the King, by the Duke's Fe'lony, and incorporated to the Crown, and that the 'Principal might well follow the Accessary. His meaning was, that they might justly enough seize upon all *Lorrain* by vertue of a Decree of Parliament which wou'd be inflicted upon the Duke by way of Punishment for his stealing away *Monsieur*, and for the Charges of War.

After this manner it was that the Cardinal-Duke pretended to oblige those, that were weaker than himself, to submit to his imperious Will, under a Pretence of doing Justice to the King's Reputation. All his Ministry was supported by the same Arrogance, because he had to do with Persons of very ordinary Discretion; and having full Power to oppose them with the Forces of the Kingdom, and all the King's Authority, he crushed and overwhelm'd them, before they were in a condition to ward his Blows.

While the Discourse at *Paris* ran upon the Duke of *Lorrain*, and every one imagined that he wou'd at last marry Madam *de Combalet*, to appease her Unkle, he * married *Claude de Lorrain*, his Cousin, and Sister to his Brother's Wife, in the Presence of the Dutchess, some Ladies,

* *At* Luneville, *the* 16*th of* Feb. *Siri Mem. Rec.* T. 7. p. 750.

1634. Ladies, and a Gentleman. The Reaſon why he took this Reſolution, and put it ſo ſpeedily in Execution, was becauſe he feared that the Mareſchal *de la Force*, who was at the Head of the King's Army not far from thence, came with a Deſign to take theſe two Princeſſes, and to ſend them into *France*, which might furniſh that Court with a plauſible Occaſion to juſtifie the Rights which they pretended to have upon *Lorrain*, to the prejudice of the Princes of that Houſe. In Effect the Mareſchal *de la Force* having received Advice of this Marriage, cauſed *Luneville* to be * inveſted, and conducted the new-married Couple, with the Dutcheſs of *Lorrain* and the Princeſs of *Phaltsburg* to *Nancy*, where they were kept in Confinement, although they were otherwiſe treated with a great deal of Reſpect. He likewiſe placed a *French* Garriſon in the Town, after he had turned out the *Lorrain* Soldiers that the Prince had left there for the Security of the Place.

* *Siri Mem. Rec. Tom. 7. p. 740.*

This New Married Prince, whom we ſhall hereafter call *Duke Nicholas Francis*, ſent a Gentleman to the Court of *France*, to acquaint the King with his Marriage, and to deſire him to order *Luneville* to be reſtored, and himſelf and the Princeſs to be ſet at liberty, ſince he was ready to obſerve all the Treaties that had been made with His Majeſty. As for what related to his Marriage, they told his Envoy, That the King did not concern himſelf about it; but they denied he was a Priſoner, ſince he had liberty to walk all over the City of *Nancy*. But ſo far were they from delivering up any thing which they had taken, that under pretence that the Cardinal was of the ſame Humour with his Brother, they ſaid, The King was obliged, for his Security, to ſeize upon the remainder of *Lorrain*. In the mean time Duke *Charles* offer'd to deliver up *la Mothe* and *Biche*, two ſtrong Places, which he ſtill kept in his poſſeſſion, into the King's hands, if he would ſet his Brother and the Princeſſes at Liberty.

But the Court of *France* thought it better to take them by main Force, and not to part with the Prince and Princeſſes, whoſe Rights they deſigned to make uſe of: So the Mareſchal *de la Force* was ordered to Block up *la Mothe*, till ſuch time as he could formally Beſiege it.

The

1634. The Princeſs of *Phaltsburg* was kept more cloſely confin'd at *Nancy* than any of the reſt, becauſe ſhe was of a Spirit much more difficult to manage, and had been the principal cauſe of her Siſter's Marriage. But as ſhe was the Perſon who found out means for that Princeſs to make her eſcape, ſhe contrived a way to eſcape her ſelf, notwithſtanding the Guards, by hiding her ſelf in the Seat of a Coach that was to carry one of her Gentlemen who was Sick, and Maimed in one of his Legs, out of the City, by vertue of a Paſsport he had procured. The Coach was examined at the City Gate, but they ſaw nothing but a Gentleman lying upon a Quilt, which they did not ſearch. Within nine Miles of *Nancy* ſhe and her Cripple got on Horſeback, and took the way to *Beſanſon*. It was known ſhe had made her Eſcape two Hours after ſhe was gone, and a world of People were ſent to retake her, but they did not know what Road ſhe took. The Cardinal was exceedingly vexed at this new Trick which the Princeſs had play'd him, and was afraid that ſhe wou'd go directly to *Monſieur*, to conclude her Marriage with *Puilaurens*, which had been talked of ſome Years before.

Duke *Charles*, who was in *Alſatia* in the Imperial Army, deſign'd in the mean time to ſurprize the French Camp before *La Mothe*, and having obtain'd ſome Troops of the Imperial Generals, he joyn'd them with his own, and marched on that ſide. But the Rhingrave *Otho*, who commanded the *Swediſh* Army *, prevented him, and cut his Men in pieces, ſo that he was hardly able to make his Eſcape with a few Men into the *Franche Comte*, there to pick up the Remainders of his Army.

* *The 12th of March.*

Cardinal *Richlieu*, who was highly provoked becauſe Duke *Nicholas Francis* did not marry his Neice, though upon diſadvantageous Conditions, prepared to carry on his Tryal, ſince he was now no longer a Cardinal, upon the pretended Rape of *Monſieur*. The Parliament of *Paris* appointed a day for him and his Brother to anſwer to the Charge laid againſt them, as well as the Princeſs *Margaret*, and order'd the Prieſt that had married them to be apprehended. Theſe Formalities made it evidently appear, that in caſe theſe Princes did not appear, they wou'd be condemn'd for Obſtinacy, and afterwards deprived of their Dominions.

1634. But neither did Duke *Nicholas Francis*, nor the Dutcheſs his Wife, think themſelves obliged to expect the end of this Tryal in *Lorrain*; ſo having found an opportunity to eſcape out of *Nancy* in a Diſguiſe, they retired to *Beſançon*, and from thence to *Florence*; only the Dutcheſs *Nicole*, the Wife of *Charles*, ſtill tarried in *Nancy*, in the Hands of the *French*. Some People were of Opinion that this new-married Couple were purpoſely ſuffer'd to eſcape, becauſe their Marriage having been approved of by the Pope, no Exceptions could be made againſt it. But the Court talked of re-uniting all *Lorrain* to the Crown, under a Pretence that it was formerly a Feif of the Counts of *Champagne*; and that this County having long ago fallen into the Hands of the Kings of *France*, all that depended upon it ought to belong to them.

While this paſſed in *Lorrain*, the Cardinal made great Promiſes to *Monſieur* and *Puilaurens* to draw them into *France*, for fear leaſt *Gaſton* ſhould reconcile himſelf to the Queen-Mother. It was generally expected that they wou'd now ſhortly return, ſince almoſt every thing they asked was granted them, except a place of Security. The Queen-Mother, who ſtill fell out more and more with the D. of *Orleans*, and found there was no probability of adjuſting Differences with him, ſo long as *Puilaurens* continued near his Perſon, was at the ſame time inclined to make her Peace with the King, whatever it coſt her; and ſhe was ſo much the more diſpoſed to uſe this Conduct, becauſe ſhe perceived that the *Marquiſs d' Aytone*, Governour of the *Low-Countries*, ſhew'd a greater Reſpect to *Gaſton* than her ſelf. She cauſed F. *Chanteloube* to write to *Bouthillier*, that ſhe was reſolved to come and throw her ſelf upon his Majeſty's Generoſity, and to be reconciled to the Cardinal of *Richlieu*, if the King commanded her to do it. *Bouthillier* carried this Letter to the King, ſeal'd as it was, and at the ſame time cauſed the Man that brought it, and came without a Paſſport, to be ſecured at his own Houſe. The King open'd it in the Cardinal's Preſence, where, beſides what is related above, he found that the Queen demanded a Paſſport to ſend one *la Roche*, who might come and go as Buſineſs required. F. *Chanteloube* ſaid that the Queen demanded nothing more for him, but that he might peace-

peaceably end his Days in ſome Convent of his Order. 1634.
Upon this the King aſſembled a Council, who as they were ſurpriſed to ſee the Queen-Mother paſs from one Extremity to another, ſo they imagin'd that there was ſome Artifice in this unaccountable Conduct. What help'd to confirm them in this Belief, was, that this *la Roche* had been the Accomplice of *Alfeſton*, and that another Man, who had been lately ſent to the Baſtile, accuſed F. *Chanteloube* afreſh. So they anſwered the Bearer of this Letter by word of mouth, That ſo ſoon as the Queen removed F. *Chanteloube*, and writ with her own hand, they wou'd give more Credit to it, than to ſuch blind Inſtructions as theſe were, which they had now received.

Upon the Arrival of this Meſſenger to *Flanders* *, the Queen-Mother diſpatch'd *de Laleu* with three Letters, of her own Writing, one to the King, and the other two to the Cardinal and *Bouthillier*; the Contents of which were, That ſhe was ready to do whatever His Majeſty deſir'd of her, and particularly to be reconciled to the Cardinal, that ſo ſhe might obtain Permiſſion to return to Court. *De Laleu* had Orders to tell them the ſame Thing by word of mouth; and the Letter which this Princeſs writ to the King, ſerv'd him inſtead of a Letter of Credence. I will ſet down the Words of that which was addreſt to the Cardinal, and which wou'd certainly have inclined him to Compaſſion, if it had been poſſible for him to pardon an Injury.

* *The 16th of* Febr. *See* Aubery's *Mem. T. I. P. 422. and Siri Mem. Rec. T. 7. p. 761.*

Dear Couſin,

THE Sieur Bouthillier *having given me to underſtand from your Part, that my Misfortunes ſenſibly affect you, and that being concerned to behold me ſo long depriv'd of the Honour of ſeeing the King, it wou'd be a great Satisfaction to you to procure me that Happineſs; I thought my ſelf obliged to aſſure you by the Sieur* de Laleu, *with what Pleaſure I receive your kind Inclinations. Repoſe Confidence in him, and believe that I ſhall be with all Sincerity,*

Your, &c.

1634. The Instructions of *de Laleu* ran to this Effect, That he shou'd wait upon the Cardinal, and tell him that the Queen-Mother had not the least Resentment for what was past: That she desired to make no other Advantage of those Professions of Friendship which he made her, than to fix her self again, by his Interest, in the King's good Graces, and obtain leave to send some of her Servants to him to negotiate her Return: That as for himself, he had no reason to be apprehensive of the Queen-Mother, since he was infinitely the more powerful of the two, and she wou'd always be commanded by him. *De Laleu* was order'd to observe whether the Cardinal expresst any Diffidence or no, because if he did, it was an infallible sign that it wou'd be in vain to think of an Accommodation. As for Father *Chanteloube*, the Queen wou'd not remove him of her own proper Motion; but if the Cardinal excluded him out of the Treaty, as he himself desired, he promis'd to withdraw of his own Accord.

This Gentleman having thus deliver'd the Queen-Mother's Letters, and executed his Commission, † the Cardinal found himself extreamly embarrass'd, because that since this Princess had humbled her self to such a degree, as it was never expected she wou'd condescend to, all the World wou'd be of opinion, that the King cou'd not refuse to give her Leave to come back to Court, without the Imputation of an unnatural Severity. However, he did not find himself disposed either to believe that his old Benefactress cou'd heartily forgive him the Vexations he had caused her, or to pardon this Princess for her manner of treating him before she left *France*, and for the Writings she had caused to be published against him after her Departure. Besides, he pretended to have received Advice from several hands, that Father *Chanteloube* design'd him a Mischief, and that he had written to some of his Friends, that the Queen wou'd never abandon him, altho' he had desired her to leave him in *Flanders*. At the bottom this was but an inconsiderable Matter, and which he might easily have prevented afterwards, if the King had preserv'd any Tenderness for the Queen his Mother, and if the Cardinal cou'd have resolved to forgive a Princess who in her time had done

† *Siri*, Ibid. p. 761.

done him incomparably much more Good than Harm. 1634.

But the King, instead of being influenc'd by those Considerations that naturally presented themselves to his Mind, was easily perswaded by the Cardinal to persist in his Demands, that she shou'd deliver up to him some of her Domesticks, in order to receive farther Punishment; which she cou'd not do without renouncing the Principles of Humanity, and frighting all those Persons from her Service that shou'd have any Inclinations to serve her. So *de Laleu* being ordered to come to *Ruel*, ‡ where the King was to meet him with the Cardinal, he accordingly went thither, but was surprized to find only the latter there. However, he was received with extraordinary Civility, and the Cardinal told him, that the profound Respect he had for the Person that sent him, obliged him to shew him more if it were possible. But his Answer made it sufficiently appear with what Sincerity he delivered this Complement. He told him, 'That 'the Queen-Mother had always been welcome, but 'that his Majesty was willing to be satisfied that she 'wou'd never be diswaded from that Desire she then 'expresst wholly to submit her self to his Pleasure, by 'those malicious Spirits that had deceived her hitherto, 'and of which he could never be fully assured, so long 'as they were in the World: (*for now it seems they were 'not content to have the Queen discard them, when they 'saw she was inclined to do it:*) That for this end the 'King demanded of her to deliver into his hands Father '*Chanteloube*, the Abbot of St. *Germain*, and the Fellow 'that calculated Nativities, (*he meant* Fabbroni *whom 'he afterwards named,*) because they had not only injured the Queen, but likewise offended the King to that 'degree, that they must never hope to be pardoned: 'The first by his ill Counsels, the second by his seditious and wicked Libels, and the third by his Predictions, wherein he had given out that the King had but 'a short time to live, which had made the Queen-'Mother listen to pernicious Counsels, disorder'd the 'Royal Family, and done a mighty Disservice to the 'State: That therefore the Queen-Mother ought, without farther delay, to surrender up the Man that had 'put the King's Life in question, as *Fabbroni* had done; 'the

‡ The 19th of Febr.

1634. 'the Man that by his defamatory Libels had endea-
'vour'd to take away his Reputation, as the Abbot of
'St. *Germain* had notoriously done; and lastly, the Man
'that by attacking the Life of His Majesty's most faith-
'ful Servants, gave him all the just reason in the World
'to be apprehensive of his own.

The Cardinal added, That this would be an effectual way to convince all Mankind that she disapproved of their wicked Designs, and seem'd to testifie abundance of Joy that his Enemies had not been able to alienate the Queen-Mother's good Affections from him. He concluded with saying, 'That he cou'd not forbear to
'inform the Queen with the same Freedom he had spo-
'ken to her heretofore, that considering what had past,
'it was impossible but that the King must still have some
'Distrust: and that she must resolve to dissipate it en-
'tirely, in order to build her Reconciliation upon a sure
'and lasting Foundation: after which she wou'd receive
'all imaginable Marks of natural Tenderness and Affe-
'ction from the best Son in the World, and she wou'd
'see the Effects of the sincere Inclinations of one of her
'Creatures, who in this Juncture cou'd not dissent from
'the King's Intentions, without offending him sensibly.'

Before *de Laleu* return'd to *Brussels*, he received fresh Letters for the King and Cardinal, in which the Queen-Mother confirm'd the same things, in terms still more humble and condescending, particularly in regard to the Cardinal. She likewise demanded a Passport for Father *Suffren*, her Confessor, whom she desired to send to Court. But Answer was made, that they wou'd hearken to no one, unless he brought them word from the Queen, that she was ready to deliver into his Majesty's hands the three Persons he demanded of her. *De Laleu* return'd to the *Low-Countries* with this sad Message, which made the Queen lose all hopes of ever seeing the King her Son again.

While these Negotiations were managed by the Queen-Mother, *Monsieur* consulted the University of *Louvain* about his Marriage, which they judged to be valid, and he got it to be solemnly confirmed by the Archbishop of *Malines*, in the presence of seven Witnesses. The Queen-Mother was desired to be present at this Cere-

Ceremony, but refused it, whether she had resolved to concern her self no more with the Affairs of *Monsieur*, as she had told him, or was not willing to disoblige the King, at a time when she endeavour'd to appease him. However, when she received the abovementioned News, she was so far from complying with those dishonourable Submissions they expected from her, that she bestowed upon the Abbot of St. *Germain* the Place of her chief Almoner, which happen'd then to be vacant. At the same time the Court employ'd the Mareschal *de Crequi* at *Rome*, to engage the Pope to declare the Marriage of *Monsieur* null, by representing to him all the Reasons they could think of. But as these Reasons only served to cover their Desire to hinder *Monsieur* from Marrying, the Pope, who was not prejudiced that way, formed great Difficulties upon all the Proposals they made him. 1634

The surest Expedient was to get the Duke of *Orleans* into *France*, because there they cou'd make him do whatever they had a mind to; for which reason they laboured in private to effect it, although this Prince pretended to be as far from entring into any Reconciliation as ever he had been. At this time * *Puilaurens* was extreamly out with the Duke of *Elbeuf*, and the latter complained of him, because in the Treaty which was secretly making with the Cardinal, he had demanded nothing in favour of him, save only that he should not be excluded out of the Amnesty. While these Quarrels were on foot, † it happen'd that some unknown Bravo's attempted to murder *Puilaurens*, and discharged a Carabine loaden with several Bullets at him, as he was going up the Stairs at the Palace of *Brussels*. He was only wounded slightly in the Cheek, and the Assassines made their Escape so speedily, that no News cou'd be heard of them, whatever search was made. *Monsieur* made a mighty Noise about this barbarous Attempt, and laid it to the charge of the Duke of *Elbeuf*, or some of the Queen-Mother's Servants; which served to compleat the Breach between them, and afterwards occasion'd several Differences, the Particulars of which 'tis needless to relate here. Whoever it was that design'd to kill him, 'tis certain it did a great Injury to the Queen-Mother, who was now suspected of designing to assassinate the Favourites of her two Sons,

* *See* Aubery's *Life of the Card.* Lib. 4. Cap. 49.

† *The* 3d *of* May, Aub. Ibid. *Siri Mem.* Rec. Tom. 8. p. 73.

1634. that ſo ſhe might manage them as ſhe ſaw convenient. However, others were of opinion, that the *Spaniards* being informed that *Puilaurens* was negotiating the Return of *Monſieur*, were reſolved to break off this Negotiation, by cauſing him that was the chief Promoter of it to be taken off. But as this Blow happened to miſcarry, it only retarded *Monſieur*'s Return for a ſhort time, and made *Puilaurens* deſire it more than ever, who did not think himſelf any longer ſafe at *Bruſſels*.

But as it was highly neceſſary to conceal this Deſign from the *Spaniards*, for fear they might ſtop *Monſieur* and his Servants, beſides that the Treaty with the Cardinal was not yet concluded, this Prince enter'd into a new Treaty with the *Spaniards* * a few days after the Aſſaſſination, that ſo they might not ſuſpect he deſigned to accommodate himſelf with the King his Brother. The principal Articles of this Treaty are as follow; by which it will appear that *Gaſton* who ſigned them, did not trouble himſelf much to keep his Word: That he engaged himſelf to enter into no ſort of Agreement with the King his Brother, whatever Advantages were offer'd him, and whatever Alterations might happen in *France* upon the Cardinal's ruine, for the ſpace of two years and a half, without the Conſent of his Catholick Majeſty: That nevertheleſs if he came to treat before that time was expired, tho' it were by the Conſent of his Catholick Majeſty, he ſhould be obliged to break it when it pleaſed his Catholick Majeſty: That in caſe any Rupture happen'd between the two Crowns, his Highneſs promis'd to take the part of the Houſe of *Auſtria*, and to ſupport its Intereſts till a General Peace was concluded: That if the Arms of the Duke happen'd to make any progreſs in *France*, by the Taking of any Places, his Highneſs ſhou'd deliver up ſome of them to his Catholick Majeſty, partly to re-imburſe him for the great Expences he had already been at, and partly for an Aſſurance that he would be grateful to them one day, if his Highneſs came to the Crown; in which caſe, his Highneſs engaged fully to recompenſe them for all their Charges: That upon this Suppoſition, his Catholick Majeſty wou'd furniſh his Highneſs with 12000 Foot and 3000 Horſe, one half of which were to be *French*, and the other *Spaniards*: That theſe

* The 12th of May, Aub. *Mem.* T. 1. p. 425.

theſe Troops ſhou'd be ready to act towards the End of next *September*, and that then his Catholick Majeſty, if the ſtate of his Affairs wou'd permit him, ſhou'd draw his Troops towards the Frontiers of *France*, to alarm the King's Forces on that ſide, while his Highneſs enter'd the Kingdom at another: That his Catholick Majeſty wou'd give 70000 Crowns towards the raiſing of the French Troops, and 45000 each Month for their Subſiſtence, which however was to leſſen according as the Army advanced; ſo that when they were once in *France*, his Catholick Majeſty ſhould not be obliged to be at any Charge for their Maintenance, ſince they might live upon Contributions from the Country, as 'tis the way in *Germany*: That his Catholick Majeſty ſhou'd allow 15000 Crowns a Month for the Support of his Highneſs and Madam, as ſoon as *Monſieur* ſhou'd leave *Bruſſels* to march towards *France*, but that when he was arrived there, he and his Army were to live at the Expence of the Country where he reſided. This Treaty was ſigned by the Duke of *Orleans*, and the Marquiſs *d' Aytone*, and the Duke of *Lerma* and *Philaurens* ſign'd it as Witneſſes. The Marquiſs *d' Aytone* and Prince * *Thomas* of *Savoy*, who had lately put himſelf in the Service of *Spain*, were very urgent with the Queen-Mother to ſign this Treaty, and uſed her ill upon that Account: but ſhe had too much Reſolution and Prudence to engage herſelf in a Treaty ſo directly oppoſite to the Intereſts of the King her Son: The Marquiſs *d'Aytone* having ſent this Treaty into *Spain* to have it ratified, the King of *Spain* ſigned it, and ſent back the Ratification of it by Sea. * But the Veſſel which carried it happening to run a-ground upon the Coaſt of *Calais*, this Ratification was taken by the *French*, and ſent to Court, where perhaps it help'd to haſten the Cardinal to conclude the Treaty which he had begun with the Duke of *Orleans*.

1634.

* *Siri Mem.* Rec. T. 8. p. 88.

* *Siri Mem.* Rec. T. 8. p. 84, &c.

The Abbot of *Elbene* made ſeveral Journeys for this purpoſe from *Paris* to *Bruſſels*, and the principal Difficulty which retarded the Concluſion of it, reſpected the Perſon of Madam, whom the King wou'd have his Brother deliver up to him. It was likewiſe propoſed, That he ſhould conſent that thoſe Judges whom the Pope ſhould nominate out of the Biſhops of *France*, ſhould determine

1634. termine the Validity of his Marriage; but he wou'd give his Consent neither to the one nor the other. The Treaty which Monsieur had made with the Marquis *d'Aytona* was not perhaps kept so secret but they had some Intelligence of it in *France* before they happen'd to light upon the abovementioned Ratification, and the Abbot of *Elbene* reproached Monsieur with it. It was also known that he had written to *Rome*, that he wou'd never agree that the *French* Ecclesiasticks should judge of this Marriage, and that he had complain'd that Cardinal *Richlieu* design'd to call in question his Right of Succession to the Crown, and for that end had made an Alliance with several Heretick Princes, at the time when *Gaston* had married a Princess of a most Catholick Family.

The Abbot of *Elbene*, at his Return to *Paris*, gave an Account of his Negotiation, and told them he was clearly of opinion, that if they let alone the business of the Princess *Margaret*, Monsieur would readily accept the Conditions that were offer'd him. But whether the King was possest with his ancient Jealousie against his Brother, or whether the Cardinal was not willing that this Prince should have a Lady that was obliged to the Queen-Mother for her Marriage, the Court obstinately persisted to make him declare it null, under a Pretence that the King had not consented to it. * A Council was held just after the Abbot of *Elbene*'s Return, wherein the Cardinal was pleas'd to say, 'That there were but two 'ways to preserve the King from the ill Designs of Mon'sieur; the first of which wholly depended upon the 'Blessing of Heaven, and the other upon his Majesty's 'Prudence. The first was, if the King had a Son who 'might take away all hopes from the Duke of *Orleans* of 'ever finding the Throne vacant for himself. The se'cond, according to the Cardinal's Notion of Things, 'was, a firm Association between those of whose Fidelity 'his Majesty was assured; which might make Monsieur's 'Adherents sensible, that if they hasten'd that Prince's 'Succession by any indirect means, they wou'd find per'sons enough ready to chastise their Wickedness, and 'that even if the Throne happen'd to be vacant natu'rally, he shou'd not take possession of it without some 'Dispute. The Reason of this was, that if Monsieur 'believed

* *Siri*, ibid. p. 841.

'believed that after the King's Decease his Succession 1634.
'might be vigorously contested, he would never desire
'his Brother's Death. This Expedient, in the Cardinal's
'Opinion, was the only means to secure the King, and
'to preserve the State from those Dangers into which the
'Designs of the *Spaniards* might throw it, as well as the
'Cabals of the disaffected *French*; because, whenever the
'King happen'd to die, neither one nor the other could
'then constrain Monsieur to act as they pleased; their
'Power being counterbalanc'd by that of the contrary
'Party; and that thus his Majesty's Servants, being
'supported by the undoubted Right of Monsieur, might
'be in a condition to defend him against the *Spaniards*,
'and wou'd find their Security in endeavouring the
'Peace and Welfare of the Kingdom.

History no where informs us what Reflections were made upon this strange Advice, but 'tis certain it fairly tended to give the Cardinal power to chuse whom of the Princes of the Blood he should pitch upon, to succeed to the Crown. This Minister who reproached Monsieur with having violated the fundamental Laws of the State, would have perswaded his Majesty, against all manner of Justice, and all received Precedents, to invest him with an Authority, to which the whole Body of the People has no right to pretend, in an hereditary Monarchy. Some time after, * Monsieur reconciled himself to the Queen his Mother upon the occasion of a Difference that happen'd in his Family, in the heat of which the Queen sent to offer him all her Servants, and to dispose of them as he should think fit. The Duke of *Elbeuf* likewise made up matters with Monsieur and *Puilaurens*; but the Duke of *Orleans* was so uncapable to regulate his Affairs at home, and to make himself beloved by his Domesticks, that the greatest part of them abandon'd him, without taking their leave of him, and withdrew into *France*, although Passports were refused them.

* *Towards the beginning of June.*

Thus the Cardinal was in no great pain for any thing the Duke of *Orleans* might do, because in gaining his Favourite, he was assured to bring him to what Terms he pleas'd. The unshaken and firm Resolution of the Queen-Mother gave him a great deal more trouble; and as he carried Matters to the highest Extremities, he

was

1634. was afraid that this Princeſs, provoked to the greateſt degree, wou'd cauſe him at laſt to be aſſaſſinated if ſhe ſtill continued in the *Low-Countries*, which are but a few days Journey from *Paris*. Therefore he now thought afreſh of ſending her to *Florence*, whither the Grand Duke offer'd to invite her, if the King thought it convenient. For this purpoſe * he obliged *Gondi* to take a Journey into *Flanders*, and make this Offer to the Queen, to ſee what Anſwer ſhe wou'd return to it. He was of opinion, that though ſhe abſolutely rejected it, yet it was good to let her know that the King wou'd not be diſpleaſed at her going to *Florence*. *Gondi* undertook this Journey, and preſented to her a Letter from the Grand Duke, wherein he invited her to come and live with him, till ſuch time as ſhe was reconciled to the King. The Queen received this Complement very kindly, and told him, that the Grand Duke had a greater Conſideration for her than either her own Sons or her Sons-in-law, of which the former uſed her ill, and the other refuſed her all manner of Aſſiſtance, or elſe were weary of giving it any longer. She ſeem'd to be very ſenſible of the Grand Duke's Kindneſs, and deſired time to conſider of an Anſwer till *Gondi* who was going into *Holland* came back again. She gave him to underſtand, that ſhe was diſſatisfied with her Domeſticks, that Father *Chanteloube* wanted Integrity, and the Abbot of *St. Germain* was a Man of no Judgment; but ſhe cou'd not reſolve to turn them away, leaſt the World ſhould ſay that this was an open Acknowledgment that ſhe had been ill adviſed. The King of *Spain*, as ſhe told him, did not furniſh her with what ſhe wanted, but ſlowly and with great Difficulty, and ſhe wanted ſeveral things that were neceſſary even for her own Perſon. *Puilaurens*, ſhe ſaid, was the Man that had begun to ruin her, and then had compleated her Deſtruction; becauſe after he had engaged her againſt the Cardinal, by ſwearing to her, that he wou'd never abandon her, he had, to regain this Prelate's Favour, acquainted him with what had paſſed between them, before Monſieur parted from *Paris* the firſt time. And afterwards this Man, fearing leaſt ſhe ſhou'd reſent this Injury, had done all that lay in his power to ruine her.

* *Siri Mem. Rec. Tom. 8. p. 93.*

At

At *Gondi*'s Return from *Holland*, the Queen told him 1634. ſhe was obliged to the Grand Duke for the great Kindneſs he expreſs'd towards her; but though ſhe did not abſolutely refuſe the Treat which he offer'd her, ſhe ſaid that *Florence* was too far from *Paris*, and that if ſhe went thither, her Affairs would go on with too much Slowneſs. Upon this Conſideration, ſhe reſerved that place to retire to, when ſhe was deſtitute of all Hopes to make an Accommodation. She once more intimated to *Gondi*, how little ſhe was ſatisfied with Father *Chanteloube*, the Abbot of *St. Germain*, and *Fabbroni*, and own'd, that if the King gave her to underſtand that he was pleaſed ſhe ſhould diſmiſs them, ſhe would not fail to do it, but that ſhe would not after this run the risk of a Refuſal, as it had happen'd to her at the beginning of the Year, when they deſpiſed all her Submiſſions. She open'd her ſelf very frankly to *Gondi*, becauſe he was the Grand Duke's Reſident, whom ſhe believed to be well-affected to her Intereſts, and received his Advice very courteouſly. In all theſe Converſations, ſhe ſhed abundance of Tears, and ſhew'd all imaginable ſigns of a great Inclination to be reconciled to her Son, by throwing her ſelf wholly upon his Generoſity, and demanding nothing of him. Nay, ſhe ſaid that ſhe deſired to owe her Return to the Cardinal, and that ſhe was very well ſatisfied that none but he could ſerve her. *Gondi* ſaw that ſhe was really in a Condition that deſerved Commiſeration, and her Diſcourſes were enough to have affected any one but thoſe ſhe had to deal with.

At his Arrival at *Paris*, he gave the Cardinal and the other Miniſters an Account of his Journey, and endeavour'd to repreſent to them the hearty Inclinations of the Queen-Mother in ſo feeling a manner, that it might touch them with pity. The Cardinal * hearken'd to him with a great deal of Indifference, although he ſeem'd to be ſatisfied with his Negotiation. At laſt he told him, that ſo long as Father *Chanteloube*, who was convicted of a Deſign to kill him more than once, continued about the Queen, it was impoſſible to repoſe any Confidence in her, and that ſhe always ſaid the ſame things.

* *The 15th of October.*

Gondi had † another Audience of the Cardinal, where-in he tryed to move him to Compaſſion, by laying be-fore

† *Siri Mem. Rec. T. 8. p. 126.*

1634. fore him the ſad Condition of this Princeſs, and the Reſolution ſhe had taken up to forget all that had paſs'd: this Miniſter anſwer'd him, that he did not know her ſo well as he did, and that the day ſhe had broke off with him, notwithſtanding all his Submiſſions, and all the King's Entreaties, ſhe had ſaid, *That ſhe was, and wou'd be always implacable*; which made his Majeſty tell her, *That ſhe was of a very cruel Diſpoſition.* At laſt he fell into an outrageous Paſſion againſt Father *Chanteloube*, *St. Germain*, and *Fabbroni*, whom he called Murderers, Poiſoners, and execrable Perſons. After he had complain'd that Father *Chanteloube* had thrice endeavoured to get him aſſaſſinated, as three Men who had been executed for it, had accuſed him; that *S. Germain* had aſſaulted his Reputation in ſeveral villainous Libels; and that *Fabbroni* had lodged Money at *Antwerp* to recompenſe the Murderers that had been ſent into *France*; he ſaid that this was the leaſt Fault they had committed, and that they were guilty of High Treaſon. Nevertheleſs he teſtified, That if the Queen-Mother wou'd deliver them, perhaps they might not be treated ſo rigorouſly as they deſerv'd. At the Concluſion he ſaid, That if ſhe wou'd acknowledge by doing this, that ſhe had till then believed and protected thoſe that were Enemies to the King, he was ready to ſubſcribe her Return with his own Blood; and that he wou'd leave no means unattempted to obtain it of his Majeſty.

D'Elbene met with better Succeſs in his Negotiation for the Return of the Duke of *Orleans*, becauſe having gain'd *Puilaurens* by fair Promiſes, this Prince conſented to whatever they wou'd have of him, at the perſwaſion of his Favourite, who had no regard to his Maſter's Honour. The Treaty was concluded, and ſign'd by the King, and the * Subſtance of it was, that the King and Monſieur agreed to be determined, as for what related to the Marriage of the latter, by thoſe Laws which the other Subjects of the King are uſed to be judged by in the like Caſes; the King allowing full liberty to Monſieur to ſatisfie his Conſcience in this point by the uſual Methods; that if this Marriage happen'd to be diſſolved, Monſieur promis'd the King not to marry again without his Majeſty's Conſent, as on his ſide the King gave his Word

* *See it in Aubery's Memoirs, T. 1. P. 427.*

Word not to conſtrain him to act againſt his Inclinations; that in whatever place Monſieur reſided by the King's permiſſion, that is to ſay, whether in *Auvergne*, *Bourbonnois*, or at *Dombes*, he promiſed to behave himſelf there like a true Brother, and a good Subject, without maintaining any private Correſpondence which might offend the King: that his Majeſty granted an Amneſty for him and all his Domeſticks, except three or four: That Monſieur ſhou'd be re-eſtabliſh'd in all his Goods, Appanages, and Penſions: and That the King ſhou'd give him immediately upon his Arrival into *France* four hundred thouſand Livres, to pay off his Debts at *Bruſſels* and elſewhere, and a hundred thouſand Crowns fifteen days after to ſet up his Equipage: That the King ſhou'd give him the Government of *Auvergne* inſtead of that of the Province about *Orleans* and *Blois*: That he ſhou'd keep for him a Company of the *Gen d'Armes*, and another of Light Horſe, conſiſting of a hundred Men each, for ſix Months, and afterwards of fifty, till ſuch time as Monſieur returned to Court. The King granted theſe Articles, only upon Condition that Monſieur accepted them in fifteen days, and perform'd them by coming back to *France* within three Weeks, reckoning from the day of the Date, which was the firſt of *October*.

Puilaurens, for his part, had the * Government of *Bourbonnois*, and the Dutchy of *Eguillon*, with a Promiſe to marry one of the Cardinal's Relations eight days after his Arrival into *France*. This Marriage, and the great Favour he was in with Monſieur, made him imagine that the Cardinal wou'd ſhare his Authority with him, and take him for his Partner in the Management of Affairs. But the Event made it ſufficiently appear that he was as little acquainted with the Cardinal, as he was incapable to ſerve his Maſter faithfully.

† *Siri Mem. Rec. T. 8. P. 102.*

In the mean time Monſieur and He, full of Joy and Satisfaction for having obtained theſe Advantages of the Court, were contriving how to make their Eſcape with all ſpeed, for fear leaſt the *Spaniards* ſhou'd detain them if they came to ſuſpect their Deſign. They took their Opportunity when the Marquiſs *d'Aytone* was gone to confer with the Duke of *Newburg*, and parted out of * *Bruſſels*, under a pretence of going to Hunt, with the Duke of

* *On a Sunday, the 8th of October.*

1634. of *Fargis* and ſix more, and ſome led Horſes. Inſtead of looking after Foxes, as they pretended when they went out, they rode ſtrait to *Capelle*, which is about twenty five Leagues from *Bruſſels*, and is the firſt Town belonging to *France* on that ſide. Monſieur took his Leave of no body, nay not of Madam her ſelf, whom he afterwards recommended by a Letter to the Queen-Mother. From thence he marched directly to *S. Germain*, where the King was, * to whom he made abundance of Complements to beg his Pardon, and promis'd to be more obedient for the time to come. Thoſe that were with him did the ſame, and the King received them all into Favour.

* *The 21ſt of* October, Siri, *ibid.* p. 103.

The Cardinal came thither from *Ruel*, to viſit the Duke in his Majeſty's Preſence. He aſſured him that he had been extreamly concerned that his Abſence did not permit him to do him thoſe Services which otherwiſe he had been ready to have done, and expreſſed a great deal of Joy that he was now able to ſerve him after his Return, which had been ſo long deſired. The Duke told him that he was heartily ſorry that he had not been undeceived ſooner, and that for the time to come he wou'd follow his Advice, and then embraced him.

The next day the Duke went to *Ruel* to repay the Cardinal the Viſit he had made him, and entertain'd him in private, where 'tis ſuppoſed he told him all that he knew. The Cardinal afterwards treated him very ſplendidly, and with extraordinary Honour. After this, Monſieur went to his Eſtate at *Limours*, within five Leagues of *Paris*.

The firſt Complements being now over, they began to diſcourſe of Affairs, and laboured to perſwade Monſieur to give his Conſent that his Marriage ſhou'd be declared void. The Duke rejected this Propoſal, as he had reaſon good, and alledged that his Conſcience wou'd not permit him to diſannul a Marriage, which after all cou'd not be juſtly condemned, although the King had not conſented to it. Upon this the Cardinal ſent ſeveral Divines to him, to cure him of theſe troubleſome Scruples, for he was ſeldom unprovided of dexterous Caſuiſts that knew how to accommodate his Paſſions to Religion. At firſt *Puilaurens* joyn'd with them; but becauſe Monſieur cou'd

cou'd not be brought to reliſh the Cardinal's Goſpel, it was ſuppoſed that this Favourite did not cordially repreſent the Matter to the Prince, although he told them that for his part, he was very well ſatisfied with their Reaſons, but ſince they had not wrought any Conviction upon Monſieur, he would not pretend to force him. However, the Cardinal ſtill kept to his Reſolution to beſtow his Couſin *Mademoiſelle de Pont Chateau* upon him, although he was not willing that the Marriage ſhould be yet conſummated, which made ſome People ſuſpect, that *Puilaurens* was not ſo much in the Cardinal's Favour as he believed. 1634.

The King, after he had paid to Monſieur the money which he had promis'd him, and expedited the Patents for *Puilaurens*, ſent F. *Joſeph* and *Bouthillier* to the Duke of *Orleans*, to tell him from him, that he wou'd never approve of his Marriage, though at the ſame time he wou'd never force him to marry again. Some more Divines were afterwards ſent to him upon the ſame Errand, three of which were Jeſuits, three Secular Prieſts, beſides the General of the Fathers of the Oratory; but, in ſpite of all their Reaſons deduced from Politicks, which were founded upon the Jealouſie of the King and of his Miniſter, *Gaſton*, contrary to his cuſtom, ſtill maintain'd that his Marriage was valid. He told them, that ſince the Parliament were able to find out no other Reaſon for the Nullity of this Marriage, but the pretended Conſtraint of the Princes of *Lorrain*, it was unqueſtionably lawful, ſince of his own proper motion he had demanded their Siſter of them, and that they durſt not refuſe him: That as for himſelf, he cou'd be content to live ſeparated from his Wife to ſhew his Obedience to the King, but that he wou'd never conſent to marry another. Thus theſe ſeven Divines, after they had harangued him three full Hours to perſwade him to write to the King that he was convinced of the Nullity of his Marriage by their Reaſons, returned without doing any thing.

Puilaurens began to be ſomewhat diſtruſtful that the Cardinal intended to deceive him, when this Miniſter ſent the Abbot of *Elbene* to Monſieur, who was then at *Blois*, to tell him, that the King was not diſpleas'd with his Conduct, and that the Cardinal deſired *Puilaurens* to

1634. come to *Paris* to marry the youngest Daughter of the Baron *de Pont-Chateau*. This News was exceeding welcome to *Puilaurens*, who before had some Thoughts of retiring into *England*. Upon this they return'd to Court, and the Duke of *Orleans* was again * Regaled by the Cardinal at *Ruel*, and from thence went to *S. Germain*. Afterwards the King put out a Declaration, by which he restor'd Monsieur to his former Possessions, pardoned him for all that was past, and order'd it to be † registred in the Parliament of *Paris*. At the same time the Duke *de la Valette* married the eldest Daughter of the Baron *de Pont-Chateau*, and *Puilaurens* the youngest. The Count *de Guicke* also married a Relation of the Cardinal of the House of *Plessis Chivrai*, and their Marriages were kept the same day at the Arsenal with an extraordinary Magnificence. *Puilaurens* bought the Dutchy of *Eguillon* of the Princess *Mary* for six hundred thousand Livres, and had very considerable Gratifications from the King; so that besides his Quality of Duke and Peer, in which he was received in the Parliament on the 16th of *December*, he had an Estate of above six hundred thousand Crowns a year.

* The 19th of Novemb.

† The 27th of November.

After having thus related the Disorders of the Royal Family, and of Monsieur's Reconciliation, in which the Cardinal had no less a share than the King; 'twill be now necessary to pass to Foreign Affairs, which took up this Minister at the same time.

The Dutchess of * *Lorrain*, Wife to Duke *Charles*, who had resided at *Nancy*, came by Order of the Court to *Paris*, where she arrived the last day of *April*, and was received with great Respect, and conducted to the Palace of *Lorrain*. From thence she went afterwards to *Fontainbleau*, where the King entertained her very courteously. However, as she apprehended that when she was at *Paris* they wou'd engage her in some Treaty, which might be contrary to the real Interests of her House, she had made a Declaration before she left *Nancy*, in the presence of a Notary, wherein she signified, that being obliged by the King's Command to go to *Paris*, she there protested, That whatever she might do prejudicial to the House of *Lorrain*, was to be reckon'd null, as being extorted by force.

* *Siri Mem.* Rec. T. 8. p. 87.

There

There was no longer any Discourse now in *France* to make use of this Princess's Name to keep *Lorrain*, nor of the Guardianship of the Places deliver'd up by Prince *Charles*. The King's Commissioners govern'd that Dutchy as if it had been a Conquer'd Province, and gathered the Revenues of it without any Disturbance from the Duke's Officers. They augmented the Imposts and Taxes, which exceedingly oppressed the poor People, who still continued well affected to their ancient Princes. About this time an Edict of the Duke of *Lorrain* was stuck up in several places, wherein he prohibited his Subjects to obey the *French*, whom he called Usurpers and Tyrants. This Edict gave such Offence at Court, because they imagined the *Lorrainers* knew the Contents of it to be true, that they immediately order'd the Parliament to re-assume the Process which had for some time been discontinued against the Duke, as a Vassal of the Crown, as well for the pretended Rape of Monsieur, as for several other notorious Misdemeanours. For this end the Parliament sent to Duke *Charles* to make his personal Appearance on a day appointed at the Palace of *Lorrain*, without having any regard to the Dutchess that lived there, and complain'd of it to the Cardinal to no purpose.

1634.

While the Dutchess was at *Paris*, the Mareschal *de la Force* took the Castle of *Biche*, and afterwards *La Mothe*, which surrender'd by Composition on the 28th of *July*, after which there remained no other places in *Lorrain* that durst hold out for the ancient Lords of this Country. * So the Parliament having confiscated the Dutchy of *Bar*, the Cardinal caused the Decree to be executed with all imaginable Vigour. He erected a Court of Justice at *Nancy*, which adjudged to the King abundance of Places in *Lorrain*, as having been alienated from the three Bishopricks of *Metz*, *Thoul*, and *Verdun*. He likewise got the Remainder of *Lorrain* to be solemnly seized upon, towards the Expences of the War, and obliged the Clergy, the Nobility, and the People, to take an Oath of Fidelity to the King. This Country was now look'd upon to be part of the Kingdom, which had formerly been taken from it by Usurpation and Violence; so that now they said it was but just to re-unite it to the

* *Siri Mem.* Rec. Tom. 8. p. 108.

1634. Crown; and to hinder the *Lorrainers* from making any Insurrections for the future, they caused several places to be dismantled, where they might have lodged themselves, unless the King would have kept Garrisons there, which would have required a prodigious Expence.

The Cardinal had all along kept a mighty correspondence with the *Swedes*, till such time as he thought he might be able to effect by *Wallestein*'s means a great part of what he did by the help of the *Swedish* Army. This man had got it into his Head to make himself be crown'd King of *Bohemia*, and to employ the Emperours Army against himself. He maintain'd a private Commerce with the Marquiss *de Feuquieres*, the King's Ambassador in *Germany*, and the King promis'd to assist him. As *Wallestein* passed for one of the chief Captains of his time, and was extreamly beloved by the Soldiery, it was probable that he would at least give the Emperour a great deal of Trouble. It appears that upon this Expectation the Cardinal did not manage the *Swedish* Generals and Chancellour *Oxenstern* with that Address as he had formerly done. * There was likewise a sort of a Difference between them, because they had refused to surrender *Philipsburg* to the King, of which place they had made themselves Masters by composition. The King already was in possession of several Towns in *Alsatia*, the Bishoprick of *Triers*, and in the Neighbourhood; but *Philipsburg* was necessary to him to secure and cover part of them.

* Siri Mem. Rec. T. 4. P. 32.

While this Coldness between the Cardinal and the *Swedes* lasted, the Emperour having discover'd part of *Wallestein*'s Designs, † caused him to be killed at *Egra*, a City of *Silesia*, to which place he had retired; and so those Projects which the Cardinal had formed, in hopes that *Wallestein* would in a short time begin to act in concert with *France*, vanished in smoak. This News arriving to the King's Ears, he publickly said, That all those that betrayed their Prince deserved the same fate. As for the Cardinal, he was so concern'd at his Death, that he could not forbear saying, That the King might very well have spared to explain his Sentiments in publick. From this time it was necessary to shew a greater Regard to the *Swedes*, who did not so much propose to themselves to

† *The 15th of* Wallestein's Febr. 1634. Siri, *Ibid.* P. 53.

free *Germany* from the Yoke of the House of *Austria*, as 1634. to gain some Advantage by the War.

Upon the Occasion of *Wallestein*'s Death, the King, considering the great Danger the Cardinal was in, by reason of the frequent Attempts that had been made upon his Life, thought it convenient to augment the Number of his Guards. Besides those he had before, he gave him 300 Musqueteers on Horseback; so that the Cardinal had now a compleat Sett of Guards, while the Queen-Mother was obliged to dismiss those of her Domesticks that were not of absolute necessity to her, because she had not wherewith to maintain them.

The *French* accused Chancellour * *Oxenstern* of Designing to possess himself of the Electorate of *Mentz*; and 'tis reported that Cardinal *Richlieu* had the like Ambition to make himself Elector of *Triers*. To compass his Ends, he obtained of the Elector, by a good round Sum of Money, the Coadjutorship of the Bishoprick of *Spire*, and engaged him to send one of the Canons of the Church to *Rome*, to get his Bulls expedited for that place, as of his own proper motion, so that he might not be obliged to appear himself in this Affair. He only caus'd a Letter to be writ to the Count *de Noailles*, who had been lately sent Ambassadour to *Rome*, to support the Demand of the Canon whom the Elector of *Triers* sent thither, and to talk with the Pope and the *Barberini*'s about it. The first time that the * Ambassadour mention'd it to the Pope, his Holiness answered, that it was not a thing to be done, as being opposite to the Concordats of *Germany*. *Noailles*, at his second Audience upon this Affair, represented to the Pope, That since the *Swedes* were Masters of *Spire*, there was no other way to preserve the Catholick Religion in that City, but by granting the Cardinal his Bulls to make him Coadjutor there. He maintain'd besides, that there was nothing in the Concordats of *Germany* which made a Foreigner uncapable to be Bishop of *Spire*. The Pope sent back the Ambassadour to the Cardinal of the Datary; and as the Court of *Rome* is seldom guilty of acting with Precipitation, the Emperour had time enough to be informed of Cardinal *Richlieu*'s Design, and laid such powerful Impediments in the way, that this Affair came to nothing.

* *Siri Mem. Rec.* T. 5. p. 622.

Siri Mem. T. 5. p. 113.

* *In September.*

1634. At the same time the Duke of *Weimar*, and Mareschal *Horn*, the *Swedish* Generals, * lost the famous Battel of *Norlingue*, which put their Affairs in a bad condition, and gave terrible Apprehensions to the Cardinal as soon as he received the News. He was afraid that the Imperialists wou'd utterly ruine the other Party in a short time, because they only subsisted by their Victories. If that once happen'd, it was justly to be feared that the Emperour's Forces wou'd pour into *Lorrain*, while the *Spaniards* enter'd *France* by the way of *Picardy* or *Champagne*. Besides, the latter threatned to make a Descent upon *Provence*, and attack *Languedoc* by Sea. Besides, they had just reason to suspect that the Duke of *Savoy* wou'd joyn them, because they had not kept their Promise with him as to the Sum they had agreed to pay him for *Pignerol*. He caused *Turin* and *Montmelian* to be fortified, and had given some other signs of his being discontented. All this gave a great deal of Inquietude to the Cardinal, * who had a long Conversation with Father *Joseph* about it; and they concluded that the Protestant League was in very great danger, because they were not in a condition to bring an Army into the Field presently: so that it was absolutely necessary to relieve them with all speed, as they desired. *Oxenstern* and the Confederates who had formerly refused to deliver up *Philipsburg* to *France*, were now willing to surrender it, and consented to have a Bridge built there, and a Fort on the other side the *Rhine*, to defend it.

* *The 6th of Septemb.*

* *The 13th of September. Siri Mem. Rec. T. 8. P. 163.*

Thus the Affairs of *Germany* coming to be debated in the Council, the Cardinal was of opinion, 'That nothing could so much prejudice his Majesty's Affairs as 'to express any consternation at the Defeat of *Norlingue*: 'That if the Protestant Party was entirely ruined in *Germany*, all the Forces of the House of *Austria* wou'd 'pour down like a Torrent upon *France*: That the condition of the Protestants demanded a speedy and vigorous Relief, and a Name capable of giving courage to 'the Imperial Cities, who would otherwise disengage 'themselves from the League, and make a separate 'Peace, as well as the other Members of which it was 'composed: That although *France* should refuse to interpose in the Affairs of *Germany*, yet the House of 'Austria

'*Austria* would be no less provoked against her, and 1634. 'only believe that this proceeded from her Weakness and 'Fear: That his Majesty cou'd not possibly act worse 'than so to manage Matters as to let *France* alone sustain 'the shock of *Austria*, which wou'd most infallibly happen if they did not take care to maintain the Party 'which had given that House so much trouble for so 'many years: That in resolving to support them, the 'worst that cou'd fall out was to keep up the War in '*Germany* by the Assistance of the Confederate Protestant 'Princes; whereas otherwise they must soon expect to 'behold the same War in the heart of *France*, without 'having any Friends to help them: That therefore the best way wou'd be to encourage these Princes, to find 'out Money, and raise sufficient Forces to strengthen 'the Army of the Mareschals *de la Force* and *de Brezé*, 'who were appointed to command in *Germany*.

This Advice was follow'd, and Orders were sent in the mean time to the Mareschal *de la Force*, who was in *Lorrain*, to advance towards the *Rhine* to oppose the progress of the Imperialists, that already threaten'd to joyn the Army of the Marquis *d'Aytone* and of Prince *Thomas*, and with them to enter *Lorrain*. Several places of *Alsatia* and the *Palatinate*, which the *Swedes* were forced to abandon to form an Army out of the Forces of these Garrisons, put themselves under the protection of *France*, that they might not fall into the hands of the Imperialists. The Mareschal *de la Force* marched with 25000 Foot, and 4000 Horse towards the *Rhine* between *Coblentz* and *Brisac*, and in the interim a new Treaty was concluded with the Protestant Confederates, who were promis'd great Supplies of Men and Money. In consequence of this Treaty, the *Swedes* delivered * *Philipsburg* to the *French*, and the Prince of *Wirtemberg*, who was to be Governour of the place, took the Oaths of Fidelity to the King. The Cardinal was extreamly glad to see so important a City in the hands of his Majesty, it being capable to stop the Imperialists, in case they designed to pass the *Rhine*, to make their way into *Lorrain*; and the Mareschal *de la Force* was order'd not to stir far from it, least the Enemies shou'd attempt to carry it by force.

* *The 9th of October.*

1634. *Siri Mem. Rec.* T. 8. P. 180, &c.

The Marquis *de Rôny*, who was Grand Master of the Artillery of *France*, being dead, the Cardinal procured this place to be given to the Marquis *de la Meilleroys*, his Cousin, who had exercised it by Commission ever since the Marquis *de Rôny* was obliged to leave the Court. Not long after a Report was spread abroad, that the King was disgusted with the Cardinal, because this Prelate perswaded him to go in person upon the Frontiers of *Germany*, to encourage the Protestant Party. The King was better pleas'd to live at one of his Houses of Pleasure near *Paris*, than to engage himself in so tedious a Journey. 'Tis pretended by some, that his Confessor put some Scruples into his Head, for assisting the Hereticks, for the Banishment of the Queen-Mother, and his Invasion of *Lorrain*. It was some time before he wou'd see the Cardinal; but the latter having consulted eight Divines of the *Sorbone* upon his Majesty's Scruples, four of them made Answer, that in the present conjuncture of Affairs, his Majesty was obliged to continue to act upon the same foot, to preserve Tranquillity in his Kingdom, and that this sufficiently justified his Conduct. Soon after, the King began a-fresh to visit the Cardinal, and did him the honour to come to the Castle of *Chilly*, where this Minister then was, to consult with him as formerly about the most important Affairs of the Crown.

The End of the Fourth Book.

THE

THE HISTORY Of the FAMOUS Cardinal *de RICHLIEU.*

VOL. II. BOOK V.

Containing the most material Passages of his Life, from the Year 1635 *to the Year* 1638.

1635. THE Duke of *Orleans* being now taken into Favour, and *Puilaurens* his Confident seeing himself a Duke and Peer of *France*, they imagined that they had nothing more to fear, and that they might manage the Cardinal as they had formerly done. * So this Minister having sent word to *Puilaurens* that if he cou'd perswade Monsieur to consent to have his Marriage annull'd, they wou'd reward him with the Command of an Army, and make him a Mareschal of *France*; *Puilaurens* laughed at this proposal, and thought he might rally the Cardinal safely enough. *Coudrai Montpensier*, who had

* *Siri Mem. Rec.* T. 8. P. 197.

1635. had the greatest credit with the Duke of *Orleans* next to *Puilaurens*, was of the same humour, and had as little Inclination to comply with the Minister's pleasure as the other. The Cardinal fansied he was the Man that possessed *Philaurens* with these ambitious Thoughts; so that he resolved to remove him. Upon this he tells *Puilaurens*, that since he had contracted so near an Alliance with him, he was desirous to be united still more closely to him, but that he cou'd not do it, so long as he kept Company with *Coudrai Montpensier*, and reckoned him one of his best Friends. Whether *Philaurens* distrusted that the Cardinal had some Design upon him, or else was resolved to pay no farther regard to this Minister, instead of discarding him, as he was desired, he gave him the next Apartment to his own; which procedure began to incense the Cardinal, whom all the other Ministers obeyed at the first word, and who cou'd not digest this Opposition from the Favourite of the Duke of *Orleans*, whom he had so far honour'd, as to give him one of his Relations in Marriage.

* *Siri Mem. Rec. T. 8. P. 199, &c.*

Monsieur generally resided at *Blois*, and * it happen'd while he was there, that several *Spaniards* of Quality who travell'd from *Flanders* to *Spain* by Land, came to *Blois* to pay their Respects to him, who received them very courteously. He frequently mention'd the Gentlemen of that Country with great esteem, as if he intended to shew his Gratitude for the kind Reception he found among them, and engage them to use Madam well, who still continued in their Territories. This made Don *Cristoval Benavides*, the *Spanish* Ambassadour, say, That although Monsieur left the *Low-Countries* without taking his leave; yet if he went thither a hundred times, and came back as often after the same manner, he should still find a hearty Welcome there. This Conduct of Monsieur, and the Discourses of the *Spaniards*, gave the Ministers occasion to suspect, that he still kept some private Intelligence with them, or at least preserv'd an Affection to that Nation, which might be prejudicial to *France* in the present posture of Affairs. On the other hand, the Duke of *Orleans* continually protested, that if the King cou'd find any way to dissolve his Marriage legally, he wou'd not oppose it; but that he wou'd never go to tell the

the Parliament a Sham-story that he was forced to this Match by the Princes of *Lorrain*, since he cou'd neither do it in Conscience nor in Honour. He praised the Princess *Margaret* exceedingly, and preferr'd her infinitely, for her good Qualities, to his first Wife. He frequently writ to her, and sent her Money, Cloaths, Liveries for her Servants, two Coaches, and five thousand Crowns a Month towards her Expence. 1635.

The Cardinal was of opinion, that this inflexible steadiness of Monsieur cou'd only proceed from the Advice of *Puilaurens*: nay, he pretended that this shew'd him to be ill affected to the King's Person, and that he desired to behold the Duke of *Orleans* upon the Throne, that he might become chief Minister of State; as if the Marriage of Monsieur had any relation to the King's Death. *Puilaurens* was accused of being familiarly acquainted with one *Vieux-Pont*, a Domestick of Monsieur, who had spoken scandalously of His Majesty. He was likewise charged with keeping a correspondence with the House of *Lorrain*; and that the reason why he approved this Marriage was, that this House might support the Prince, in case the King happen'd to die. Thus it was interpreted a Crime in the Duke of *Orleans*, because he wou'd not depend upon the Discretion of the Minister for his Succession to the Crown; and yet this Minister must be allow'd to take what Securities he pleas'd against the whole Royal Family, and all the Princes of the Blood.

The Cardinal, who had always taken great care to keep up that Jealousie which the King ever since his Infancy had entertain'd against his Brother, easily perswaded him that all these Practices of Monsieur only tended to dethrone him, and that there was no other way to prevent the Designs of his Domesticks, but to destroy them. So the King was resolved to apprehend *Puilaurens*; and that he might execute it with more facility, they were contriving of means to draw him from *Blois* to *Paris*. To effect this, a Ball was proposed at the *Carnaval*, where Monsieur and *Puilaurens* were invited to dance, as well as the King. They came to *Paris* upon this Occasion, and Monsieur was mightily caress'd on all hands, though they cou'd not prevail with him to make

1635. make the leaſt ſtep towards the Diſſolution of his Marriage.

The 14th of *February* was the Day agreed upon to apprehend *Puilaurens*; and the Guards at the *Louvre* were order'd to be doubled. This had like to have diſcovered their Plot; for a Footman belonging to the Duke of *Orleans* having obſerved it, went to his Maſter to bid him have a care of himſelf, becauſe the Court had ſome extraordinary Deſign on foot. This Prince came to the *Louvre* about Two a clock in the Afternoon, to practiſe the Ball before-hand, when he received this Advice; but as foreſight was none of his Talents, he neglected it, and went to the King's Chamber, where he ſtayed till the Cardinal came there. They had ſent to find him out at the Keeper of the Seals, where he dined, and carried the Marquiſs *Du Fargis* and *Coudrai Montpenſier* with him. When he went away he took *du Fargis* to the *Louvre* along with him, and gave Orders for the other to be apprehended when he offer'd to be gone; which was accordingly executed. Every thing was ready at the *Louvre* to begin the Ball, and none of the Company were wanting but only *Puilaurens*, who made the reſt wait above half an hour after the time appointed; which made the King and the Cardinal ſuſpect that he was informed of the Deſign againſt him. At laſt he came, and after he had diſcourſed ſome time with the King, the Duke of *Orleans*, the Cardinal, and other Noblemen of the Court that were preſent, the King took Monſieur by the hand, and led him to his Cloſet. This was the Signal they agreed upon with the Marquiſs *de Gordes*, and the Count *de Charot*, Captains of the Life-Guards, when they were to arreſt *Puilaurens* and *du Fargis*.

They immediately executed the King's Orders, and theſe two Domeſticks of the Monſieur were taken up without any noiſe. The King, as ſoon as he had received notice of it, told this Prince what he had done, and at the ſame time embraced him, and aſſured him that he was perfectly well ſatisfied with him. He added that *Puilaurens* was an ungrateful Wretch, and that Monſieur cou'd never expect to be well ſerv'd by him, after his horrid Ingratitude to the Crown which had been ſo kind to him. The Duke ſeem'd to be ſomewhat concerned at

at it; but fearing to be ſerved after the ſame manner himſelf, he ſaid he would abandon *Puilaurens* for ever, if he had made any unhandſome Returns to His Majeſty's Favours. The Cardinal came afterwards into the King's Cloſet, whoſe Preſence hearten'd Monſieur a little, for he concluded that if there had been any Deſign to apprehend him, the Cardinal durſt not appear in that place. This Miniſter complimented him afreſh, and aſſured him it was his Majeſty's Pleaſure, that for the future he ſhou'd aſſiſt at the Council. Monſieur asked him whether the King gave him leave to ſtir out of the *Louvre*, and go to the Palace of *Guiſe*, where he lodged. The Cardinal told him he might go when he pleaſed; ſo this Prince, after he had waited upon the Queen at her Apartment, where the King then was, retired. Nevertheleſs he returned to the *Louvre* towards the Evening, although ſeveral of his Domeſticks had been ſeized. *Puilaurens* and *du Fargis* lay at the *Louvre*, and were conducted the next day to the Caſtle of *Vincennes*; but *Coudrai Montpenſier* was carried to the *Baſtile*. 1635.

Upon this the King publiſh'd a circular Letter, which was ſent to the Parliaments, and to the Governours of Provinces, to acquaint them, that he had been obliged, for ſeveral weighty Reaſons, to apprehend ſome of Monſieur's Domeſticks. It was penn'd in an obſcure ſtyle, becauſe the Priſoners were not as yet convicted of any crime; but moſt People concluded, that the chief Miniſter had cauſed *Puilaurens* to be confin'd, becauſe he cou'd not truſt him any longer, and that he wou'd perhaps carry his Revenge farther. *Richlieu* ſent the Cardinal *de la Valette* and *Bouthillier* to Monſieur, to give him freſh Aſſurances, that he was wholly at his Service, and to tell him, he was heartily ſorry that *Puilaurens* had forced the King, by committing freſh crimes, to take ſo rigorous a courſe with him. It was obſerved that the Cardinal did not go himſelf to the Palace of *Guiſe*, fearing perhaps leaſt a fancy ſhould take the Duke of *Orleans* to revenge this ill Uſage. This Prince told them, that he had promis'd to be a faithful Servant to the King, and a Friend of the Cardinal, and that he wou'd keep his Word: That if he found *Puilaurens* was really guilty, let his fault be what it wou'd, he wou'd

be

1635. be so far from making any Interceſſion for him, that he wou'd be the firſt man that ſhou'd demand Juſtice upon him: That he did not believe he had committed any new crimes: and, That if he kept any commerce with *Vieux-Pont*, it was about ſome matters of Gallantry in *Flanders*, and not Affairs of State: That if they thought it proceeded from the Advice of *Puilaurens*, that he ſtuck to his Marriage, they were mightily deceived: and, That neither *Puilaurens*, nor any other man in the World, ſhou'd make him give his conſent to a Thing which he believ'd to be againſt his conſcience. This unalterable Reſolution of *Gaſton* ſtrangely perplex'd the Cardinal, who cou'd not endure to ſee him married to a Princeſs whoſe family he had ſo lately ruin'd. It was likewiſe no ſmall Mortification to the Miniſter, that People laugh'd at the *Arreſt* which he had ſent to the Parliament, by which they were to declare, that Monſieur cou'd not contract a Marriage in *Lorrain*.

After this, the Duke of *Orleans* return'd to *Blois*; from which place, merely for his Diverſion, he took a Journey as far as *Nantes*, which made the Court believe that he went thither to ſhip himſelf for *England*; but his Return diſſipated the Fears they began to entertain that he wou'd go out of the Kingdom again. In the mean time *Puilaurens* died at *Vincennes* *, after a few days ſickneſs, which his Vexation, as well as his cloſe Impriſonment, threw him into. The Duke of *Orleans* was extreamly concern'd at the News; and this was the ſecond of his Favourites whom the Cardinal had caus'd to die in Priſon, without convicting them of any other crime than that unpardonable one of not being over-devoted to his Pleaſure. Few people regretted the death of *Puilaurens*, whoſe Pride and Arrogance had render'd him inſupportable to all Mankind. Ever ſince his Confinement the Court had given Monſieur a Council, compoſed of ſuch perſons as had an entire Dependence upon the Cardinal. *Bouthillier* was the chief of it, with the Title of Chancellour; and the others were the Abbot of *Elbene*, *Goulas* his Secretary, and the Abbot of *La Riviere* his Chaplain.

* *The firſt of July.*

Not long after, the Cardinal ſummon'd the Clergy of *France* to meet at *Paris*, and the King ſent to the Aſſembly

ſembly to know of them what were their Sentiments concerning the Marriages of the Princes of the Blood, who might pretend to the Succeſſion of the Crown, and particularly of thoſe that ſtood neareſt to it, when they were made not only without his Majeſty's conſent, but even againſt his expreſs Prohibition. Upon this the Aſſembly deputed certain Biſhops to conſult about this Affair, with ſeveral Divines, both Regulars and Seculars. Theſe Biſhops having * made their Report to the Aſſembly, they return'd their Anſwer the next day, juſt as the Cardinal deſired, That Marriages might be render'd null, by ancient Cuſtoms granted upon Reaſon, and authorized by the Church: That the Cuſtom of *France* did not allow the Princes of the Blood, but eſpecially the Preſumptive Heirs of the Crown, to marry without the King's Conſent, and much leſs againſt his poſitive Commands: That Marriages of this nature were illegitimate and void, for want of an eſſential Condition, without which Princes cou'd not marry lawfully: That this Cuſtom of *France* was reaſonable, ancient, eſtabliſhed by a legal Preſcription, and authorized by the Church. The Queen-Mother having received Advice of this Declaration, writ to *Rome* to deſire his Holineſs to forbid the Clergy of *France* to interpoſe in this Affair; becauſe it was notorious to all the World, that this Convocation was almoſt wholly compoſed of Court-Biſhops, who to advance their own Fortunes, were ready to ſay every thing the King and his Miniſter wou'd have them; and that if it was the King's Pleaſure, nay if one of his Miniſters was of a different Opinion, they wou'd find no Difficulty to frame another Declaration directly oppoſite to the former.

* *The 6th of July.*

Leſt the *Spaniards* might obtain of the Pope a Declaration contrary to that of the Clergy of *France*, or leſt his Holineſs might expreſs his Diſlike of it, † the King ſent the Biſhop of *Montpelier* to *Rome*, to inſtruct him for what Reaſons they had declared the Marriage of his Brother to be null. But he was expreſly ordered, not to let fall the leaſt Word by which it might be gather'd that the King had ſent him thither, as having any occaſion for the Papal Authority to ſupport his Right, or as if the Nullity of Monſieur's Marriage was doubtful. He

† *The 12th of October.*

was

1635. was only commanded to inform the Pope what dangerous consequences an Alliance with the House of *Lorrain* might derive upon the Crown, and to represent to him the several just Reasons his Majesty had to complain of the Princes of that Family.

The Queen-Mother had sent the Viscount *Fabbroni*, * some months before, to *Rome*, to be her Resident at that Court, and endeavour to perswade the Pope to employ his Interest to reconcile her to the King, since she cou'd not prevail upon the Cardinal, who was resolved to let her die out of the Kingdom. † At the same time she writ to the Pope, to prevent the two Crowns from coming to an open Rupture, and to procure a general Peace to *Europe*. In another Letter, which almost contains the same Things, ‡ she nominated for her Resident not the *Viscount*, but the Abbot *Fabbroni*, her Almoner. The Queen-Mother owns in this Letter, that she had dispatched a Gentleman to the Emperour to incline him to a Peace; perhaps out of this consideration, That when it came to be concluded, she might be comprehended in it, and so might once more see *France* in spight of the Cardinal. She had likewise sent to the King of *Spain*, for the same Reason, as it appear'd by another of her Letters to * *Mazarine*, Nuncio extraordinary in *France*. As the Cardinal was the chief man that had voted for declaring a War against *Spain*, to render himself more necessary to the King than he wou'd have been in time of Peace, she thought it wou'd be no small Mortification to him to see her take the contrary Party, which besides was more suitable for her self, who was Mother to the King of *France*, and to the Queen of *Spain*, than that which this Minister had perswaded the King to take.

Some time after, she writ a long † Letter to the King, which she address'd to *Mazarine*, as not knowing how to have it brought any other way to his Majesty. But she was mightily mistaken in her man; for *Mazarine* was entirely devoted to the Minister, without troubling himself whether this was conformable to his Character of Nuncio. Thus he deliver'd it into the Cardinal's hands, ‡ who cou'd have been content to suppress it, but durst not do it, because he understood that the Queen had sent other Copies of the Letter to be carried to the King.

* *In* May. *Siri Mem. Rec.* T. 8. p. 272.

† *The* 25*th of* May. Siri, *ibid.*

‡ *The* 1*st of* June. Aubery's *Life of the Card.* Lib. 4. Cap. 53.

* *See it in* Aubery's *Life of the Cardinal*, lib. 4. 4. 5.

† *Dated the Last of* Aug. *Aubery*, ibid.

‡ *Siri Mem. Rec.* T. 8. P. 359.

King. The Expedient he made use of, to hinder this Letter from producing any effect, was, to accuse the Queen-Mother for having endeavour'd to corrupt the Duke of *Rohan*, in favour of the *Spaniards*, by the means of one *Clausel*, who was hanged for that reason. The Contents of this Letter principally related to the War, from which the Queen endeavour'd to dissuade her Son by all manner of Arguments. She told him, among other Things, *That War is never just but when it is necessary, and that the Justice and Necessity of it are only founded upon Preservation and Defence, which are not lawful but when all other means are insufficient; that War is an Evil which is not tolerated but to avoid a greater: And what Evil,* continued she, *are you constrain'd to avoid? and what Advantage can you expect equal to the Loss you expose your self to? Hitherto you have been the Arbitrator of Peace and War, but so soon as you quit the Quality of a Judge for that of a Party, neither of the two will any longer depend upon you. The Forces, the Conduct, and the Interests of your Enemies will be balanced with yours. The disproportion between them not being extraordinary, consequently the Success cannot be infallible; and if they are uncertain, how can you be assured that the ill, which must of necessity happen to one of the two Parties, will not fall upon yours.* She afterwards represented to him the Mischiefs which *France* might suffer by this War, and told him, that his Father had always recommended to her to keep the Kingdom in Peace with her Neighbours; and that if ever she saw the King her Son ready to declare War against them, *She was to conjure him by his ashes, and by his memory, not to come to those Extremities; or if he happen'd to be engaged in them, she shou'd perswade him to bring a speedy remedy to them, and listen to a Peace, as being the properest means to preserve what he had left him, having purchased it with his own blood, and by the perils and fatigues of twenty years.*

Mazarine, to acquit himself outwardly of his Duty as Nuncio Extraordinary, who was sent on purpose for the Peace, desired the King to answer this Letter; but the King refus'd to do it. He alledg'd, for the reason of his silence, that if he answer'd a Letter so seditious, so much inclining to the *Spanish* Interest, and so full of pretended

1635. Affection, while the Queen-Mother endeavour'd to corrupt the Duke of *Rohan*, he shou'd be forced to lay before him the great Injury she did to *France*: That she made a great Bustle about the Advice of the late King, to maintain a Peace with *Spain*; but that the design of it was, to decry the present Government, to render the Cardinal odious, and to cause an Insurrection of the People: That when the Queen-Mother wou'd carry her self truly like a Mother, he wou'd honour her as such; and that it was purely out of respect to her, that he wou'd not answer her Letter; but that the Nuncio might return her such an Answer as he shou'd think convenient.

All this while * Monsieur continued firm in his Resolution not to agree to have his Marriage declared null. All that they cou'd draw from him was, That if the Pope declared he might marry again in Conscience, he wou'd do whatever the King desired of him: probably because he knew the Court of *Rome* wou'd never consent to it. He only expressed himself in this manner when he was at Court; for when he was at home, he did not speak a word, not daring to open his mind to any of those that were about him, whom he knew to be the Cardinal's Creatures. He often appeared extreamly thoughtful and melancholy, so that nothing cou'd divert him.

* *Siri*, Ibid. p. 160.

People remark'd another thing at Court, which was, That the Cardinal had so ordered Affairs that the Privy-Council met at his Palace at *Ruel*, whither the King himself was used to come from *S. Germain* or *Versailles*. It is true indeed, he excused it upon the score of his Illness, but as his Indisposition was not so great but he cou'd walk out in his Garden, several persons were of opinion that he was afraid of being in a place where he was not the strongest. If he went at any time to *S. Germain*, it was at such times as no body cou'd tell whether he wou'd go thither or no, as if he did it purposely to break any measures that might be taken against him. But after all, if the King was resolved to destroy him, all these precautions were useless; for he had found in a moment, all the Court and Kingdom upon his hands. The Princes of the Blood whom he treated so disrespectfully, and the People whom he daily oppressed with new Imposts and Taxes, equally hated him, and nothing was capable to save

save him. Thus this mighty Authority, founded wholly upon the King's Weakness, and a perpetual series of Acts of Violence, was attended with no little Inquietude. 1635.

In the mean time the Cardinal, being resolved to preserve his post by the same ways as he had hitherto used, continued to act with the same heat against the Queen-Mother. As soon as he knew that Abbot *Fabbroni* was at *Rome* in Quality of Resident from the Queen-Mother, he complain'd of it to the Pope by the Count *de Noailles*, who told him, That the Queen-Mother not being a Soveraign, but a Subject of the King, had no right to keep a Resident at *Rome*, and that she ought to have recourse to the Ambassadour of *France*. The Pope answered, that simple Bishops had their Agents there, and that there were several Examples of the like nature. But whether he sent to inform *Fabbroni* of it, or whether the latter was afraid of having some Affront put upon him, he retired immediately to *Florence*, and thus eas'd the Cardinal of the trouble to get him removed from that place.

The Queen-Mother provoked to the highest degree to find her Design of keeping a Resident at *Rome* thus opposed, writ a long * Letter to the Pope, wherein she described the Cardinal's Conduct in very severe terms. She told him that this Minister, who set the Ambassadour upon such an impertinent Harangue, very foolishly urged that she was to make use of the King's Ambassadour, a thing against common sense, it being certain that these Ambassadours wou'd concern themselves in nothing she desired them to do, without an express Order from the King: That it was impossible for her to get any thing deliver'd to His Majesty, since Cardinal *Richlieu* had deprived her of all means of acquainting him with her Circumstances, by Letters, or otherwise: That the Ambassadours who absolutely depended upon the good Will of the Cardinal, were obliged to act according to the Passions of this Minister, to avoid the loss of their Lives, their Estates, and Honours. That thus they treated, with no other Design but to foment the Divisions that were between the Christian Princes, to carry Subjects to Rebellion against their Soveraigns, and to set all Christendom in a Flame: That they continually talked of a Peace with-

* *Dated* Dec. 7. *See Aubery*, l. 4. c. 54.

1635. without ever designing to effect it: That they made no Scruple to overturn all Laws, both Divine and Humane, to fly directly in the face of the Apostolick Authority, and to violate the Sacraments of the Church, by their endeavouring to break off the Marriage of the Duke of *Orleans*: That she desir'd the Pope to allow her the Favour to keep a Resident, to give him an Account of all that she knew, which might facilitate a General Peace: That the Cardinal abundantly discovered his Hatred and Malice against her by seeking to rob her of an Honour which belonged to her: That the King had no hand in these Violences, and that he durst not open his mind to those that were about him, who were all gained over to the Cardinal by Bribes, or else aw'd out of their Duty by the fear of punishment: That he attempted by his Threats to gain an Absolute power over his Holiness; but that she cou'd assure the Pope, that although the Cardinal was capable of all sorts of Wickedness, yet he was of so fearful a Temper, that he durst never undertake so horrible and so impious an Attempt as that was with which he had threaten'd him, *(She means his design perhaps to make himself Patriarch of France:)* That the Emperour and Catholick King had not condemn'd the Affection she express'd towards *France*, nor disapproved of her Desires of a Peace, but on the contrary, had esteem'd her the more for it: That the Cardinal wou'd rather consent to have all *France* embroil'd, than suffer her to concern her self about a Peace. In the whole course of this Letter, she represents the King as more depending upon his Minister than the Minister upon him, although she seems desirous to excuse the King all along.

However, this Letter produced no effect, since, as it has been already said, *Fabbroni* was forced to withdraw to *Florence*; and the Efforts the Queen-Mother used to incline *France* to a Peace, had no better Success.

† *Siri Mem.* Rec. T. 8. p. 207.

This same Year the Cardinal gave several Mortifications to the Count *de Soissons*, who having occasion to complain of the Marquis *de Seneterre*, was obliged to dissemble his Resentments in consideration of the Minister, who gave the Countess of *Soissons*, his Mother, to understand, that he had taken *Seneterre* into his protection. The Count afterwards made the Cardinal a Visit, which was

1635. was a thing he had never done before, because he cou'd not suffer this Prelate to take the Right-hand of him at his House, according to the custom of *Rome*.

In the midst of these Disorders and Quarrels in the Royal Family, which I have related together, that I might not interrupt the series of Foreign Affairs, the Cardinal employ'd his Majesty's Forces against the House of *Austria* with that unwearied Application and Vigour as if nothing else had taken up his Thoughts.

After several Proposals, to no purpose, concerning the means of accommodating the Differences of the Crowns by the way of Negotiation, they began on both sides to make preparations for an open War. * About the beginning of this Year *Philipsburg* was surprized by the Imperialists, under the conduct of *Braumberger*, who had been Governour of the place before it fell into the hands of the *Swedes*. Some Soldiers, apparell'd like Peasants, and driving some Waggons laden with Wine, cut the Throats of the *Corps de Garde*, while *Braumberger* scaled the place on another side; and this was done so suddenly, that the *French* Garrison were made Prisoners, together with the Governour, before they were in a condition to defend themselves, or make their Escape. The Cardinal received this unwelcome News with extraordinary concern, by reason of the Importance of the place, and the great Booty which the Enemies found there. The Magazines were full of all sorts of Ammunition and Provision, and there was above two hundred thousand Crowns in ready money, to supply the Necessities of the Army, which was in Winter-Quarters in *Bergstraat*. Besides this, this place had cost four hundred thousand Crowns, which they gave the *Swedes*, to oblige them to deliver it up to *France*; and the Cardinal's Flatterers had published, that his Eminence had found a way to make the strongest place in *Germany* fall into the King's hands without so much as drawing a Sword for it, which served to bridle the *Palatinate* and several other Territories, which was a secure Pass upon the *Rhine*, and where an Arsenal and Magazine might be made, by the means of which, they might, whenever they pleased, carry the War into the very heart of *Germany*. The greater Value the Cardinal had set upon this Acquisition, the

* *The 24th of* January.

1635. more did the Loſs of it mortifie him. The King likewiſe was ſo concerned at this Diſgrace, that whereas he was wholly employ'd about the Cloaths for the Ball abovementioned, he retired the next day to *Verſailles*, which wonderfully diſpleaſed the Cardinal, who wou'd have fain diſſembl'd this Loſs. Nevertheleſs, not finding himſelf fit to attend State-Affairs in the preſent Agitation of his Mind, he went to *Ruel*, under a pretence that his Health required it; and 'tis reported, that the King went to *Verſailles* before, to give him an opportunity to leave *Paris*. Father *Joſeph* who was related to *Arnaud* the Governour, and who had procured him that Employment, was under no leſs a Confuſion, while the Enemies of the Cardinal and his Confident rejoyced to ſee their Vanity puniſhed.

To prevent the dangerous Conſequences which the Loſs of *Philipsburg* might occaſion, Orders were diſpatched to the Mareſchals *de la Force* and *de Brezé*, not to ſtir from *Bergſtraat*, till *Manheim* and *Heidelburg* were fortified as well as their Situation would permit. After this, it was judged expedient that the Duke of *Weimar* ſhould joyn his Army with that of his Majeſty, to beat the Imperialiſts out of the Country of *Wirtemburg*, and to deliver *Ulm*, *Norimberg*, and *Ausburg*. *Feuquieres* alſo was ſent back into *Germany* to be preſent at the Meeting of the four Circles, which was to be at *Wormes*, and to encourage all the Confederates to act with greater Vigour and Reſolution. In the mean time great * preparations were made in *France* to raiſe and keep on foot a hundred and fifty thouſand Men the next Campaign, in ſeveral places, where *France* was obliged to keep Armies.

* *Siri Mem. Rec. T. 8. p. 218.*

The Reſult of the Diet of *Wormes* was, That the King of *France* ſhould be forthwith acquainted that they wou'd act with all imaginable Vigour for the Common Cauſe; and that they deſired him at the ſame time to pay the Army of the *Circles* commanded by the Duke of *Weimar*, conſiſting of ſeven thouſand Foot, and four thouſand Horſe. This was a ſmall Army, but they had none but brave experienc'd Men in it, and the Officers were all Soldiers of Fortune, who expected to raiſe their Fortune no other way but by the Sword. But the *Swediſh* Army commanded by *Jean Banier*, had near fifty thouſand men, with ſome Troops of the Allies. Thus notwithſtanding the Loſs of *Philipsburg*, they took freſh Courage, and flatter'd themſelves, that if *France* aſſiſted them, they ſhou'd be able to beat the Imperialiſts back into *Auſtria*. On the other ſide the Imperial Generals, *Charles* Duke of *Lorrain*, *Galas*, the Counts of *Mansfeld* and *Piccolomini*, and *Jean de Werth*, being aſſembled at *Aſchaffemburg*, did not queſtion but they ſhou'd be in a capacity to break their way into *Lorrain*, and from thence into *France*, to hinder the King from ſuccouring the Proteſtant League in *Germany*.

1635.

The *French* Generals open'd the Campaign by attacking *Spire*, which had received an Imperial Garriſon. They took it by Capitulation on the 21ſt of *March*, and diſmantled it, in ſpight of *Galas*, who was on the other ſide the *Rhine*. Their Joy for the Taking of this place was not of long continuance, for they received Advice that *Treves* had been ſurprized on the 26th of the ſame Month, and that the Archbiſhop, who inclined too much to the *French* Intereſt, was made a Priſoner in his own Palace. *Buſſy-lamet* the Son commanded there in the Abſence of his Father, who was gone to *Coblentz* a little before: and the Count *d'Emden*, Governour of *Luxemburg*, ſurprized the place by the Stratagem of a Native of the Dioceſe of *Liege*, whoſe Name was *Cerfontaine*, who in the night-time came up to the Walls with Barks full of Soldiers, which he pretended were laden with Salt. At laſt he blew up one of the Gates with a Petard, thro' which he enter'd with 2000 Foot, and attacked the *French* that were got together in the Market-place. Soon after another Gate was broke open after the ſame manner, and gave the Count *d'Emden* an opportunity to enter into the City with 500 Horſe. *Buſſy-lamet* was taken Priſoner with 4 or 500 men, and the Archbiſhop, after he had ſeen his own Palace rifled, was carried to *Luxemburg*, and from thence to the Caſtle of *Antwerp*.

As ſoon as this News arriv'd at the Court of *France*, they expreſs'd a mighty Indignation againſt the *Spaniards*, as if it had not been as lawful for them to aſſiſt the Emperour, as it was for the *French* to ſupport the *Swedes*. They talked of carrying the War into the *Low-Countries*,

1635. and Orders were given to ſend the King's Equipages to *Compiegne*, that ſo he might take the Road directly to *S. Quintin*. But as an open Rupture with *Spain* required them to march with more circumſpection, 'twas thought fit to retard the King's Journey eight days longer, and to call a grand Council of War, where all the Princes of the Blood, and ſeveral other Lords, were to aſſiſt. I will relate the Conſequences of this Affair, after I have finiſhed the Narration of what happen'd in *Germany* this Campaign, between the *French* and the *Imperialiſts*.

* *Siri Mem. Rec.* T. 8. p. 227. The terrible Cold which the * *French* had ſuffer'd in the *Bergſtraat*, and in the Expedition of *Spire* which was ſomewhat of the earlieſt, occaſion'd great ſickneſs in the Army. Out of 28 Royal Regiments that had paſſed the *Rhine*, there were ſcarce left 10000 men that were in a condition to bear the Fatigues of a War, when they repaſſed that River. The Army of the Duke of *Weimar* was not in much better circumſtances; ſo that it was not ſafe to rely either upon one or the other. In the mean time the Cardinal thought fit to draw off ſome of the *German* Regiments to join them with the Army of *Champagne*, which was to act in *Flanders*; and on the ſide of *Germany* he reſolved to be upon the Defenſive, only to hinder the Imperialiſts from entring *Lorrain*. Orders were ſent to *Feuquieres* to raiſe 12000 *Germans* to reinforce the Army of the Duke of *Weimar*, and to command them under him. This Army reſolved to ſtay upon the *Rhine*, while the Mareſchal *de la Force* commanded a Body of 15000 men, upon the Frontiers of *Lorrain*. It was hoped that the *Swedes*, and the Confederate Princes of the Houſes of *Lunenburg* and *Heſſe*, wou'd employ one part of the Imperial Forces on the other ſide the *Rhine*, and that by this means the Duke of *Weimar* and the Mareſchal *de la Force* would be able to oppoſe the reſt.

* *Siri*, Ibid. p. 235. *Oxenſtiern* the * Chancellour of *Sweden* came to *Paris* in *April*, to renew the former Treaties, and ſee how they muſt act in *Germany* againſt the common Enemy. *Bouthillier* and he ſign'd a new Treaty on the 28th of *October*, by which the former were confirmed, and the two Crowns obliged themſelves reciprocally to aſſiſt their Allies, and not to enter into a Peace or Truce one without

out another. He was received with uncommon honours at *Paris*; for they not only Treated him, as they do Ambaſſadours of Crown'd Heads, but bore all his Expence: Nay, the Cardinal made him ſome Viſits, an Honour which he vouchſafed to very few perſons, but he wou'd not give him the Right-hand at his Palace, nor feign himſelf ſick, as he ſometimes did in favour of the Ambaſſadours of *England*, who wou'd by no means allow the Prerogatives that thoſe of the Purple aſſume. *Oxenſtiern* did not regard theſe Formalities, in conſideration, as he ſaid, of the extraordinary Merits of the Miniſter with whom he had to do. He parted from *Paris* on the 3d of *May* for *Holland*, from whence he was to go into the *Lower Saxony* to oblige the Houſe of *Lunenburg* to joyn their Troops with thoſe of the Landgrave of *Heſſe*, and *Banier*, to beat *Galas* out of the Country of *Wirtemburg*, and oblige *Piccolomini* to retire from the *Main*. 1635.

The *Swedes* * not being able to prevail with the Princes their Allies to joyn with them in this Deſign, *Galas* paſs'd the *Rhine*, took *Wormes*, and having joyn'd *Manſfeld*, they made together an Army of 12000 Horſe, and 15000 Foot. The Duke of *Lorrain* and *Jean de Werth* approached likewiſe on the ſame ſide, ſo that now it was to be feared that they wou'd enter into *France* with an Army of 25000 Horſe, and as many Foot, ſince there were not Forces ſufficient to oppoſe their March: The Armies of *Germany* were not in a condition to make Head againſt them, and the reſt were employ'd either in the *Low-Countries* or in *Italy*. The Levies that had been rais'd to enlarge and compleat the Troops commanded by the Mareſchal *de la Force*, and *Feuquieres*, were in a manner come to nothing, partly by Deſertions, and partly by the Treachery of the Colonels and Captains, who received Pay for compleat Companies, although they had not half the effective Soldiers they were obliged to have. * *Siri Mem.* Rec. Tom. 8. p. 330.

Thoſe that knew the preſent ſtate of Affairs, were ſurprized to behold a flouriſhing Kingdom, full of Men and Money, which paid above a hundred and fifty thouſand Men, out of a Deſign to humble the Houſe of *Auſtria*, ſhou'd have no more than ſix thouſand Horſe and twenty thouſand Foot to oppoſe an Army of fifty thouſand Men; ſo that it might juſtly fear to ſee the Imperial Colours in

a ſhort

1635. a short time all about *Paris*. This sufficiently discovered how slightly the Cardinal had engag'd himself in a War, which was not to be managed like a Court-Intrigue, by Tricks, and putting Chimera's into the King's Head.

But the Imperialists, instead of speedily executing the Design which had been proposed to enter into *Lorrain*, and from thence into *Champagne*, lost a great deal of time unprofitably. *Galas* retired to *Sarbruck* till the rest came up to him, where he in a manner block'd up *Mentz*, *Creutsnack*, and other Places belonging to the *Swedes*; but this was nothing in comparison of what the Imperial Army might have done, if they had gone immediately into *Champagne*. In the mean time the Duke of *Weimar* marched to cover *Lorrain*, and hinder'd *Galas* from making any Attempts on that side: nay, he offer'd to force this General to re-pass the *Rhine*, if they would speedily send him 3000 Horse and 15000 Foot.

The Cardinal, who was afraid that the Imperialists wou'd take those Advantages which their Numbers as well as the Opportunity it self had put into their hands, told his trusty Confident Father *Joseph*, 'That he saw 'the Kingdom was in a very dangerous condition, and 'that he knew not what Remedies to apply to it; that 'the Levies that had been raised, dwindled to nothing in 'a short time; and, that there was no Fidelity or Truth 'in the Officers: That there were not Forces enough 'to oppose the Imperial Armies if they joyn'd to make 'their way into *France*; and that the 12000 *Switzers*, 'and the same number of *French* which he gave Orders 'to be raised, could not be got ready before the Month 'of *September*: That if the Duke of *Weimar* had not 'stop'd the Progress of *Galas*, *Lorrain* had been already 'lost, with the three Bishopricks of *Metz*, *Thoul*, and *Verdun*. This Capuchin, whom a little matter could not astonish, told the Cardinal, that he must take Courage, and particularly apply himself to beat *Galas* back: That he must place another General over the Army in *Germany*, re-inforce it as well as he cou'd, and hinder the Chears of the Officers: That lastly, he must keep up and cultivate the Alliance with the *Switzers*, that so he might be furnished with Men from thence, and that this wou'd be so much the easier done, because their Pensions were not paid them by the *Spaniards*. In

In pursuance of this Advice the Cardinal * paid *Ponica*, the Duke of *Weimar*'s Agent at *Paris*, three hundred thousand Livres for the payment of his Army, and sixty five thousand for himself, the better to encourage him to fight *Galas*; however, he wou'd not make any Treaty for the future. The Mareschal *de la Force*, and the Duke of *Argoulême*, had Orders to have an eye upon the Frontiers of *Lorrain*, and upon Duke *Charles*, to hinder him from invading it, as 'twas believed he had a Design. Orders were likewise dispatched to the Cardinal *de la Valette*, who desired to command an Army, and whose Inclinations were by no means suitable to his Dignity, to go and place himself at the Head of a small Body of Men, whom he was to joyn with the Forces of the Duke of *Weimar*. *Galas* had besieged *Kaiserslauter*, and block-ed up *Mentz*, and the Duke was not strong enough to raise the Siege, or break the Blockade. He was so much the more concerned to preserve that place, because he had laid up there the most considerable part of the Booty which he had got since the Entrance of *Gustavus* into *Germany*. For this reason he had put some of his best Troops into the Town; and among the rest, the Yellow Regiment of the late King of *Sweden*. This Place made a very brave Resistance; and this Regiment refusing to capitulate, sustain'd several Assaults, and perished upon the Breach. But at last the Town was taken by force, and all of them put to the Sword. It cost the Imperialists very dear; but the Duke of *Weimar* sustained an irrepairable Loss by it.

1635. * The 26th of July.

The Cardinal *de la Valette* joyn'd the Duke of *Weimar* after this. This latter, although he was a *Lutheran*, gave him the Right-hand, because he rather considered the great credit he was in with the Minister of *Lewis* XIII. than his Dignity of Cardinal. All the World wonder'd that the King, who did not want Generals, and kept a Mareschal in Prison, wou'd have recourse to an Archbishop, to command one of his Armies, at so dangerous a Juncture; for in short, whatever Inclinations the Cardinal *de la Valette* had to the profession of War, 'tis certain, that he came infinitely short of several Commanders whom his Majesty might have employ'd. But it was one of the Minister's Maxims, To employ Bishops and Abbots

The 27th of July.

1635. Abbots in things that had no relation to their Function, whether he had a greater esteem for Ecclesiasticks than he had for the Laity, or whether he thought they wou'd serve him with more punctuality.

In the mean time *Galas* had besieged *Deuxponts*, which place he had brought to surrender the next day, when he received Advice, that the Cardinal *de la Valette*, and the Duke of *Weimar*, were marching towards him to relieve it. Upon this News he drew off; but notwithstanding all the haste the *French* made, with the Duke of *Weimar*, they cou'd not overtake him so as to give him Battel. However, they advanced by the side of *Mentz*, and obliged 14000 Imperialists to raise the Siege of that City, which the Enemy had reduced to such Extremities that they must have been forced to surrender in four or five days for want of Provisions.

* *The 5th of August.*

A few days after, *Galas* having re-united all the Imperial Forces that were about the *Rhine* into one Body, he formed an Army of them consisting of 30000 Men; and finding himself superiour in numbers to the Cardinal and the Duke, obliged them to retire in their turn. But it was impossible for them to subsist longer in the place where they were, by reason that *Francford* had declared for the Emperour, and Sicknesses having got into the Army, had lessen'd it considerably. Now the difficulty was, how to make a safe Retreat, before an Army much stronger than their own: They made an account to march straight to *Sarbruck*, and to *St. Avaud*, where there was plenty of Provisions; but *Galas* having cut off that way from them, they must resolve to take that of the Mountains, although un-peopled and without Refreshments, and endeavour to reach *Vaudervange*, where there was a *French* Garrison. They took this Road, labouring under all these Inconveniences, without daring to make a Halt at any place, either by reason of the great want of Victuals, or out of fear of having *Galas* upon their hands, this General following them very closely. At last they arrived, on the 26th of *September*, at *Vaudervange*, without any other loss than that of their Artillery, which the bad Weather, and the swiftness of their March, obliged them to leave behind. The same day they passed the *Save*, and this Precaution was not unserviceable to them;

them; for *Galas* appeared on the other side, four hours after. He likewise passed it on the 28th, and found that the *French* had abandoned their Baggage, to retire under the Cannon of *Metz*. He advanc'd within a League and half of this City; but finding the Enemy secure, he conducted his Army back again into the Country of *Luxemburg*, within some Leagues of that place. He had fifteen thousand Foot, eight thousand Horse, and six thousand *Croats*. The Cardinal and the Duke of *Weimar* had no more than eight thousand Foot, and six thousand Horse. 1635.

In the mean time *Charles* Duke of *Lorrain* had attempted, with a Body of Men under his Command, to re-possess himself of his Dominions, where some of his Subjects received him with great joy: But as all the strong Places were in the King's hands, it was impossible for him to make any progress, by reason of the great Opposition he found from the Marechal *de la Force* and the Duke of *Angoulême*. And thus after some Incursions, and a few Skirmishes, he retired to joyn himself to *Galas*.

The King being informed of the Retreat of his Troops that were followed by the Imperial Army, sent immediately to *Oxenstiern*, to oblige him to make some Diversion, in order to hinder all the Imperial Forces from falling into *Lorrain*. But * the Duke of *Lunenburg*, the Landgrave of *Hesse*, and all the other Allies of *Sweden*, had made their Peace with the Emperour, after the Example of the Elector of *Saxony*. *Banier* was abandon'd by the Army; so he was obliged to think of retiring with the Forces that remained, towards *Pomerania*, to treat afterwards with the Emperour, and obtain the easiest Conditions he cou'd get of him. *Oxenstiern* was thinking of nothing but how to return into *Sweden*, when he received the News that *Banier* had got a signal Victory over the *Saxons*, that pursued him. Although this Advantage inspired *Banier* with fresh Courage, and occasion'd him to stay in *Pomerania*, yet he was not in a condition to make any considerable Diversion for the rest of that Campaign. But the Marquis *de St. Chamond* managed Affairs so dexterously, that he hinder'd several Princes of *Germany* from declaring for the Emperour, and others he prevail'd with to espouse the *Swedish* Party afresh. He likewise obliged several Colonels, who had left

* *Siri Mem. Rec. Tom. 8. p. 347.*

1635. left *Banier* for want of Pay, to rejoyn themſelves in *Weſtphalia* under *Kniphauſen* Mareſchal de Camp, by giving them ſome money in hand, and promiſing them a farther Supply. General *Arnheim* gave his word not to take any Party, without the conſent of the King of *France*. Thus, if *France* did not obtain any great Matters by the *Swediſh* Troops this Year, yet ſhe hinder'd them from wholly diſperſing, and put this Party in a poſture to act with more Vigour the following Campaign.

* *Siri Mem. Rec. T. 8. P. 334.*

The * King had a Deſign to come in Perſon to his Army in *July*, though he ſaid, that if he went thither, he ſhou'd certainly fall ſick: But as the Army in *Germany* was not numerous enough to paſs for a Royal Army, and as there was an appearance of Danger to expoſe His Majeſty's Perſon there, he was diſſwaded from it: and indeed the Event ſhew'd that it was not without good reaſon. However, when he heard of the Retreat of his Army, he cou'd not be hinder'd from † going to *S. Diſier*, upon the Frontiers of *Champagne*, although the Cardinal tarried at *Paris*, expecting that he would not travel far. But inſtead of ſtopping at *S. Diſier*, he enter'd into *Lorrain*, and with a few Troops gathered up and down in *Champagne*, of whom the Count *de Soiſſons* had been declared General, he went to beſiege *S. Mihel* a ſmall place, of no Defence, which ſome *Lorrain* Soldiers had Taken and Defended four days againſt him; after which they were conſtrained to ſurrender at diſcretion. It was obſerv'd, ‡ that after the Taking of this Place, the King having held a Council of War, would not ſuffer the Count *de Soiſſons* to aſſiſt at it: though no one knew the true Reaſon of it, it was not doubted but that ſome Advice from the Cardinal occaſion'd it. In the mean time the Cardinal was extreamly * incommoded with the Hemorrhoids; but after the Application of Cauſticks, he was ſoon freed from his pain.

† *The 24th of Auguſt.*

‡ *Siri, Ibid. p. 339.*

* *Aubery's Life of the Card. Lib. 5. Cap. 16.*

During his Majeſty's Expedition, the Army of *Germany* arriv'd at *Metz*, and to re-inforce it, Orders were ſent to the Mareſchal *de la Force*, and to the Duke of *Angoulême*, to ſend their Troops to the Cardinal *de la Valette*. They encreas'd it ſtill from all Parts with all the Troops they cou'd get together; ſo that now the Cardinal found himſelf ſtronger than *Galas*, although the Duke

Duke of *Lorrain* had joyned him. Thus the Duke of *Weimar* and the Cardinal were ordered to bring him to a Battle if poſſible, or to cut off his Proviſions, but above all to hinder him from making any Excurſions in *Champagne*. But this General being advantageouſly incamped and intrench'd, ſo that there was no way to force him, was not willing to run any hazard. He hop'd to be ſoon joyn'd by a Body which the Duke of *Lorrain* commanded, but more that the Cardinal *de la Valette*'s Army would leſſen by frequent deſertions, ſo ſoon as the cold Rains of the *Autumn* began to fall. 1635.

This King's Perſon being unneceſſary in theſe Places, and indeed not out of imminent dangers, ſince the Enemy was not above fifteen Leagues off, he was adviſed to return home, ſooner than the Cardinal wou'd have had him there. * 'Tis reported that the Count *de Carmail*, *Mareſchal de Camp*, in the Army of Cardinal *de la Valette*, told the King, who asked him his Advice what was beſt for him to do in this Conjuncture, That his Majeſty expos'd himſelf too much, that he might be taken Priſoner by the Duke of *Lorrain*, if he did not ſpeedily return to St. *Diſier*, and that *Jean de Werth*, who had lately come to obſerve his Quarters, marched with Six Thouſand Horſe, to put this Enterprize in Execution. For this good Council, the Count *de Carmail* was made a Priſoner at the King's Return, and ſent to the *Baſtile*. Upon this and other Informations, the King reſolved to go back into *France*; but to cover his Retreat with ſome ſpecious pretence, he gave out that he wou'd go to *Langres*, to cut off the Duke of *Lorrain*'s Proviſions, that came to him from the *Franche-Comte*. But as ſoon as he was in *Champagne*, he took the Road directly to St. *Germain*, where he arrived on the 22d of *October*. The Cardinal, who was at *Ruel*, went to meet him as far as *Nully*, which is within a League of that Place, and was extreamly well receiv'd. The King ſtopt at *Ruel* to hold a Council there, and the Cardinal went the next day to St. *Germain*, where he had another long Conference with him. At his Return to *Ruel*, he caus'd the Count *de Carmail* to be apprehended there by his Guards, and ſent him to the *Baſtile*, under a pretence of not having perform'd his Duty ſo well

* *Siri Mem. Rec. T. 8. P. 339. See alſo the Q. Mother's Letter to the Pope, dated the 7th. of* December *in* Aubery's *Life of the Card. Lib. 4. c. 54.*

as

1635. as he ought. The same Day, the Cardinal told the Count *de Soissons*, that his Majesty was very much displeased with him, and that it would be his best way to absent himself from the Court for some time; which the Count immediately did, and retired to a Country House near *Fontainbleau*. They took away from him at the same time his Title of General, which had been conferr'd upon him, and this the Cardinal did by way of revenge upon the Count, because he had dexterously excused himself from marrying his Niece; but soon after, the Cardinal, to show what an absolute ascendant he had over the King, gets the Count to be recalled, and procures him the Command of the Army of *Champagne*.

Some days after the King's Return, the Duke of *Weimar's*† Agent at *Paris*, made a new Treaty for his Master, and for the rest whose Troops he commanded. By this Treaty, the King oblig'd himself not to make any Treaty without the Allies of *Germany*; and the Duke promised the same thing, in Relation to the King. *Weimar* likewise engaged to have Twelve Thousand Foot, and Six Thousand Horse in *Germany*, with Artillery necessary, upon Condition that the King wou'd cause to be paid to him Four Millions of Livres a Year; that if in fighting, he happen'd to lose this Army, the King shou'd raise him another, and that if he was taken Prisoner, he shou'd take the same Care of him, as of one of his own Generals. By a secret Article, the King promised him the Title of *Landgrave* of *Alsatia*, and Fifty Thousand Crowns Pension for ever.

† The 27th of October. *Siri Mem.* Rec. T. 8. p. 340.

In the mean time all the Troops being got together, under the Command of the Cardinal *de la Valette*, which formed together an Army of Forty Thousand Men, advanced towards *Vic*, to oblige *Galas* and the Duke of *Lorrain*, that were intrench'd at *Dieuse*, to abandon that Post, or cut off their Provisions and Forage, on the side of the *Mosselle*. These two Generals already felt an extream scarcity of Hay and Oats, as well as Victuals, but their Army being accustomed to suffer, did not disperse for that. On the Contrary, the Army of *France* that wanted nothing, was sensibly lessen'd by desertions, and that only for the cold Weather. But this excessive scarcity causing Distempers in the Imperial Army, *Galas* was

1635. was obliged to go out of his Camp with his Horse, and over-run *Alsatia* and the Country of *Triers*, no one being able to hinder him, from whence he sent store of Victuals to the Camp, after which his Troops that had stay'd there all this while to make Head against the *French*, retired in good Order into *Alsatia*, without leaving any thing behind them but their Sick. The *French* did not pursue them, whether because they were not soon enough aware of their Retreat, or because they contented themselves with having obliged them to quit *Lorrain*. They drew off in their Turn on this side the *Mosselle*, while the Duke of *Lorrain* took his Winter Quarters in the *Franche-Comte*, and *Galas* repass'd the *Rhine*, after he had plunder'd *Alsatia*.

To come now to the Affairs of *Flanders*, ever since the beginning of the Year the Cardinal was sensible, that the Maxim which he had observ'd till then, of not breaking openly with *Spain*, wou'd be for the future disadvantageous to *France*, since she was not at a much less expence to support her Allies, than if she had been in an open War, and yet made no advances against the *Spaniards*. On the Contrary, she had given them an Opportunity by this means to joyn their Forces with those of the Emperour in 1634, which made them gain the Battle of *Norlingue*, and had like to have entirely ruin'd the affairs of the *Swedes* in *Germany*; several Cities and Princes that furnished the *Swedes* with considerable Supplies, had thought of nothing ever since, but of making their Peace with the Emperour, least they should be in a short time irreparably overthrown, if they continued to oppose him with so much disadvantage. The States General of the United Provinces, weary of the War with *Spain*, which had lasted so many years, and fearing to be abandon'd by *France*, that wou'd never be brought to declare it self, express'd a great inclination to reassume the Negotiation of a Truce, which had been broken off, out of an Apprehension, that the Emperour after he had given Peace to *Germany*, wou'd do the *Spaniards* the same kindness they had done him, that is to say, come with a formidable Army into the Low-Countries, to help them to re-conquer the Seven Provinces which had with-drawn themselves from their Obedi-

1635. ence. If it ſo happen'd that a Peace was concluded in *Germany*, and a Truce in the Low-Countries, or that the United Provinces were ſubdu'd, then *France*, which was not in an open Rupture, either with the Emperour or the King of *Spain*, might ſee theſe Treaties concluded, without being comprehended in them, becauſe the Houſe of *Auſtria* would be in ſo advantageous a poſture at that time, what ſhe thought fit to command, muſt not be diſputed; and Matters being ſo, *France*, which had ſo long aſſiſted the Enemies of the Houſe of *Auſtria*, had no reaſon to doubt that all her Forces wou'd pour down upon her. The Miniſters of the Emperour and of the King of *Spain* ſaid aloud in all Places, that the *French* vainly flattered themſelves, that they ſhould continue in the poſſeſſion of what they had taken ſince the Treaties of *Queraſque* and *Ratisbone*, and that they ſhou'd be forced at laſt to ſurrender all.

For theſe Reaſons, the Cardinal thought it the beſt way to prevent the Houſe of *Auſtria*, in declaring openly againſt *Spain*, to hinder her from aſſiſting the Emperour, and to give new Life and Vigour to the *Hollanders* and *Swedes*. To this end, he took great pains to form a League againſt *Spain*, both in *Flanders* and *Italy*, in order to give her ſo much Buſineſs at home, that ſhe ſhou'd not have leiſure to look abroad and interpoſe in the Affairs of *Germany*.

* *Siri. Mem. Rec. T. 8. p. 224.*

* To begin with the League Offenſive and Defenſive, which the King concluded with the States General, it was Signed at *Paris* the 8th of *February*. They obliged themſelves to enter upon the *Spaniſh* Provinces on two Sides, with Twenty Five Thouſand Foot, and Five Thouſand Horſe each, next *May*. However the *French* had inſerted this Condition into the Treaty, *If the* Spaniards *don't agree to reaſonable Terms of Accommodation*; but it was not doubted but what they chriſtened by the Name of *reaſonable* in *France*, wou'd paſs for *very unreaſonable* in *Spain*, ſo that this Condition was impertinent enough. The Conqueſts were to be parted between them, ſo that the King was to have the Country of *Luxemburgh*, *Namur*, *Hainault*, *Artois*, and *Flanders*; and the Eſtates, the Marquiſate of the ſacred Empire, where *Antwerp* is, the Lordſhip of *Malines*, the Dutchy of

of *Brabant*, *Hulſt*, and the Country of *Dam*. To perſwade the Inhabitants of the Low Countries to an inſurrection, it was reſolv'd to invite them to joyn with the Confederates in turning out the *Spaniards*, with a promiſe to reſtore them to their Liberty, which being performed within the three firſt Months, the *Spaniſh* Provinces were to remain united in one Body as a free State, with all the Rights of Sovereignty. It was agreed that they ſhou'd act conjointly, and that *Frederick Henry* Prince of *Orange*, ſhou'd command the two Armies United, in quality of Generaliſſimo, and ſhou'd give the Word, unleſs the Duke of *Orleans*, or the Cardinal ſhould be there in Perſon. So the King ſent Orders to the Mareſchal *de Chatillon* and *de Brezé*, who had the command of the Army that was deſigned for the Low-Countries, to meet at *Meſieres* the 28th of *April*, to go and joyn the *Dutch* Army near *Maeſtricht*, the 12th of *May*. *Charnace* had long Conferences with the Prince of *Orange*, upon what meaſures they were to take. The *French* were deſirous to find out the Enemy and fight him, fearing to loſe too much time in beſieging of places; and the *Hollanders* choſe rather to undertake the Siege of ſome Town, without hazarding a Battel. At this time the *Dutch* underſtood the manner of beſieging of Places better than the *French*, and the *French* were fitter to give Battle. After a long debate, they only came to this Concluſion, to enter the Low-Countries to *Luxemburg*, and for the reſt to leave it to the diſcretion of the Generals, to regulate what was fit to be undertaken ſo ſoon as the Armies were joyn'd.

1635.

This Treaty was to be kept ſecret till the very time of execution, when *France* ſhou'd declare War againſt *Spain*, upon occaſion of the ſeveral infractions which the *Spaniards* had made of the peace of *Vervins*, although the *French* had done no leſs on their Side. In the Interim, the *Spaniards* happen'd to ſurpriſe *Triers*, and carried away the Arch-biſhop Priſoner, as has been already obſerved. The Cardinal thought he cou'd never find a more plauſible Pretence to declare War againſt the *Spaniards*, than the forcible detaining of a Prince, who had put himſelf under the protection of *France*. He therefore ordered *d'Avaux* *, the Reſident at *Bruſſels*, to

* *The 21ſt of April. Siri Mem. Rec. T. 8. p. 230.*

1635. to demand the liberty of the Elector of *Triers* of the Cardinal-*Infanta*, who was come thither the last year from *Germany*, and of the Marquis *d'Aylone*. They both answered they could do nothing in this Matter, till they knew what was the Emperour's Pleasure about it. They took this answer in *France* for a down right Shift, because they had had time enough to send to the Court of *Vienna*, and receive an Answer, since the taking of the Elector of *Triers*; upon this, the King sent a Herald of Arms to *Brussels*, to declare War against the Crown of *Spain*, upon this Refusal.

The Prince of *Orange* delay'd to march to the Randezvouz, till he received advice that the *French* Army was entred upon the Territories of *Spain*; fearing least an opposite Order should stop them on the Frontiers of *France*. This retarded the motion of the *French* Army for some days, which expected the same thing of the Prince of *Orange*; but at last it marched, and arrived the 16th of *May* at *Rochefort*. As it advanced towards *Maestricht*, divided into two Brigades, one of them commanded by the Mareschal *de Chatillon*, and the other by *Brezé*, they were informed that Prince *Thomas*, who had about Twelve Thousand Foot, and Four Thousand Horse, was intrench'd at *Avein*, designing to dispute the Pass with them, or charge them in the Rear. The Armies were so near, when this News came, and the ways through which they must pass to avoid a Battle, were so disadvantageous, that the *French* General immediately resolv'd to attack the *Spanish* Army. This they perform'd so † successfully, that without sustaining any great loss, they kill'd them Fifteen Hundred Men, took Three Thousand Prisoners, and put the rest to Flight. Prince *Thomas* left behind him all his Baggage and Artillery, and retired to *Namur*, with the Cavalry which had abandon'd the Foot.

† *The 20th of May. See Siri. Ibid. p. 318. and the Memoirs of M. Leg. p. 127.*

The Prince of *Orange* did not joyn the *French* Forces till towards the end of *May*, which began to give occasion of complaint to the *French*, who pretended that if he had been at *Maestricht* on the day appointed, they might have drawn great Advantages from their Victory, and that this Delay had given time to Prince *Thomas* to pick up the straggling Remainders of his Army. There was likewise some difficulty about the Command: The Mareschal *de Chatillon*, although a Relation of the Prince of *Orange*, wou'd not receive his Orders from him, but only communicate to him his Designs, and act in concert with him. But the Mareschal *de Brezé* oppos'd the Intentions of his Collegue, as well as the Marquis *de la Meilleraye*; and so the Command was yielded, according to the Treaty concluded at *Paris*, to *Frederick Henry*.

1635.

At this time, the King * publish'd his Declaration of War, with a Manifesto, wherein he recounts at length the several Infractions which the *Spaniards* had made of the Treaty of *Vervins*. The *Spaniards* were not wanting on their side to put out a Declaration and Manifesto quite contrary, in which they† defended their Conduct, and made the like Reproaches to *France*. They said, in this Writing, that it was not so much the King of *France* that had declared War against them, as Cardinal *Richlieu*, because every thing was done at the instigation of that Minister.

* *The 6th of June.* Aubery's *Life of the Card.* Lib. 5. Cap. 3.

The two Armies being joyned, went to besiege *Tirlemont*, which they attacked, each on their respective side. The Governour, *Don Francisco de Burgos*, defended himself so ill, that the Soldiers † took the Town with their Swords in their hands, and plunder'd it. At last, without any Order from the Generals, the Soldiers set it on fire, and so vast quantities of Provisions, which wou'd have been very serviceable to the *French* Army, were by this means consumed. Several Disorders were committed here, which the *Hollanders* imputed to the *French*, and the *French* threw back again upon the *Hollanders*. Some persons were of opinion, that *Frederick Henry* was not sorry to render the *French* odious by this, and to destroy the Provisions for which they had occation.

† *The 8th of June.*

Having at last form'd a Resolution to attack *Louvain*, they took *Diest* and *Arschot* in their way, and marched directly towards *Brussels*, as if their Design had been upon that City, purposely to draw the Cardinal *Infanta* thither, who was at *Louvain* with his Army. So the Confederates laid Siege to this Place on the 26th of *June*. They sat down ten days before it, when Provisions growing very scarce, they thought of leaving it, to be more conveniently supplied with Victuals in some other place.

1635. Beſides they received Advice that *Piccolomini*, who was coming to the relief of the Cardinal *Infanta*, with five or ſix thouſand Horſe, was already arrived at *Namur*, which made them fear that he wou'd ſtop their Proviſions, with which they were only furniſhed from *Liege*. Thus after they had received their Convoy, they raiſed the Siege on the 4th of *July*, and the *French* went to refreſh themſelves about *Ruremonde* and *Venlo*, while the Army of the States took the way of *Boiſleduc*. This Scarcity had conſiderably leſſen'd the *French* Army, beſides that the Generals not keeping a good Underſtanding between one another, it was impoſſible for their Enterpriſes to be well regulated. The Mareſchal *de Brezé*, naturally warm and haughty upon the ſcore of his Brother-in-law's great favour, proceeded ſo far as to give the Mareſchal *de Chatillon* ill Language, but the Prince of *Orange* reconciled them; and *Chatillon* being afraid of diſpleaſing the Miniſter, diſſembled his Anger more than he wou'd have done, upon another occaſion.

The *French* accuſed the Prince of *Orange* to have been the Cauſe of all this Miſchief, by his Slowneſs and want of Reſolution, which had made them loſe an opportunity of acting with Succeſs, and mightily impaired the Army. The *Dutch* on the other hand reproached the *French* Generals with diſagreeing among themſelves, and obſerving no order in their Troops. Abundance of people imagined that *Frederick-Henry*, who was never ſuſpected to want Reſolution in his Life, feared that the *French* made too great a progreſs in the *Low-Countries*, and that the States thought it more adviſable to have the *Spaniards* for their Neighbours than the *French*. And in truth it was much better for them, that the *Spaniards* ſhou'd keep what they had in the *Low-Countries*, becauſe the great diſtance of their different Dominions wou'd hinder them from acting with the ſame Vigour againſt the *United Provinces*, as the *French*, if they became their Neighbours, and afterwards their Enemies, might employ againſt them. 'Tis likewiſe ſaid, that the *Dutch* Army never wanted Proviſions all the while, and that the Prince of *Orange*, if he had been ſo pleaſed, might have eaſily furniſhed the *French*; but that having no other Deſign than merely to engage *France* in a War with

with *Spain*, he did not care what Succeſs they found in the courſe of it; and that for this reaſon he always ſuffer'd their Army to periſh. 1635.

However it was, there happen'd to him, much about the ſame time, an Accident of a much more dangerous conſequence, and that was the Surprizal of the Fort of *Schenk*, which is one of the Keys of the *United Provinces*. It was ſurpriz'd by Colonel *Eenholt*, in the night, on the 27th or 28th of *July*: for it ſeems no care was taken to make neceſſary Reparation there, and then the Garriſon was very inconſiderable; ſo that after they had vigorouſly oppoſed two Aſſaults of the *Spaniards*, they were cut off at the third. The Prince of *Orange* wou'd have fain got thither before the Enemy had thrown any more Men into the place, and begg'd the French Mareſchals to aſſiſt him; but the *Spaniards* made ſuch haſte to ſupply it with Men and Proviſions, that he arrived too late, and he judg'd it was impoſſible to reduce it by force. So he undertook to make himſelf Maſter of the Fort by Famine, and block'd it up almoſt a whole Year before it ſurrender'd. Several Rencounters happen'd between the two Armies near this Fort; but there was no deciſive Action. Afterwards the Cardinal-Infanta went to fortifie *Genap*, by the means of which place he greatly incommoded the Garriſons of *Venlo*, *Ruremonde*, and *Maeſtricht*.

All the World was ſurprized, that an Army of forty thouſand Men, as was that of the Prince of *Orange* and the Mareſchals of *France*, durſt not attack that of the Cardinal-Infanta, which had but half the number, and was ſtill diſheartned by the Defeat of *Avein*. * Some aſcribe it to Jealouſie of State, but others pretend that the Prince of *Orange*, who was skilful at forming a Siege, was afraid to run the riſque of a Battel. Nay ſome people add, That if he had only lodged himſelf upon the Banks of the *Rhine* between *Cleves* and the Fort of *Schenk*, he might have reduced it in ten days: but he was ſo much afraid that the *Spaniards* wou'd oblige him to fight them, that he came into the *Betawe* with his Army to cover them from any ſuch Attempt. 'Tis true indeed, he hinder'd the *Spaniards* at the ſame time from piercing too far into the Territories of the States, which wou'd have cauſed a prodigious Diſorder.

* *Siri Mem. Rec.* T. 8. P. 3. 9.

1635. Cardinal *Richlieu* was now ſenſible that the Deſign of entring the *Low-Countries* by the way of *Luxemburg*, which was the opinion of the two Mareſchals, was ill grounded, by reaſon of the great diſtance of the Frontiers of *France*, and that it had been much better to attack *Dunkirk*, as the Prince of *Orange* had adviſed. But now it was too late to remedy this fault. The King, who was made at firſt to expect Miracles from this great Enterprize, was mightily concerned that it ſucceeded ſo ill, although care was taken to conceal a great part of their Loſſes from him. It ſo fell out, that a Gentleman whom the Prince of *Orange* ſent to him, having informed him of the particulars, he fell into an exceſſive paſſion againſt *Bouthillier*, called him a Lyer, and forbid him to open any Packet but in his preſence. This ſate ſo hard upon him, that his Miniſter fell ſick upon it, and the Cardinal himſelf appear'd very penſive about it. At laſt they were ordered to ſave the reſt of the Army as well as they cou'd, but eſpecially the Horſe. *Charnacé* who came from the Army to *Paris*, was ordered to return into *Holland*, to endeavour to conduct it from thence.

While the Cardinal thus treated with the States-General about the manner of attacking the *Spaniards* in the *Low-Countries*, the Preſident *de Bellievre*, Ambaſſadour Extraordinary to the Princes of *Italy*, formed a League with ſome of them to fall on the *Milaneze*, and to defend the Liberty of *Italy* againſt the *Spaniards*. The Dukes of *Savoy*, of *Mantua*, and *Parma*, engaged themſelves in this League for three years; but the other Princes of *Italy* wou'd not be concerned in it. Beſides the Troops which the King kept on foot in the *Valteline*, as we ſhall ſee in the ſeries of the Hiſtory *, he obliged himſelf to ſend twelve thouſand Foot, and five thouſand five hundred Horſe againſt the *Spaniards*. The Duke of *Savoy* promiſed ſix thouſand Foot, and two thouſand two hundred Horſe: the Duke of *Mantua* three thouſand Foot, and three hundred Horſe: and the Duke of *Parma* four thouſand Foot, and five hundred Horſe. Every one was to maintain his own Troops till the End of the War; and in caſe the *Spaniards* augmented the number of their Forces, the Confederates were to raiſe a fourth part more than they had before. It was concluded, that the Duke of

* See the whole Treaty in Siri Mem. Rec. T. 8. P. 252. It was ſigned the 11th of July.

of *Savoy* ſhou'd command the Army, and in his Abſence the General of the French Forces; which Station was to be poſſeſſed by the Mareſchal *de Crequi*. They had likewiſe agreed about the Diviſion of the *Milaneze*, if it ſhou'd be conquered. 1635.

After this League was ſigned, the Mareſchal entred into the Territories of *Spain* on the 29th of *Auguſt*, with the French Troops; and having taken ſome inconſiderable Places, he went to inveſt *Valence*, upon the *Po*, without any Orders from the King, or the Duke of *Savoy*. *Edward* Duke of *Parma* took the Field the next day, aſſiſted by an experienc'd French Captain, whoſe name was *de la Marne*, whom Mareſchal *de Crequi* had ſent to direct him. He joyned him ſoon after, after he had routed a ſmall Body of *Spaniards*, that pretended to oppoſe his March. The Duke of *Savoy* made a longer ſtay before he came to the Rendezvouz; and as the Siege of *Valence* was not as yet perfectly formed, the *Spaniards* had an opportunity to throw four thouſand Men into the Town, commanded by the Marquiſs *de Celada*, to reinforce the Garriſon. *Francis del Cardine* was Governour of this place, aſſiſted by Captain *Spadini*, a Man of great Courage and Conduct. Siri, *ibid.* p. 292.

After this, the Duke of *Savoy* ſent his Troops to the Camp, and the Mareſchal began to carry on the Siege. He imagined that he ſhou'd be able to carry the Place in a few days, although the Beſieged ſallied out continually, and added ſome new Works to the ancient Fortifications. In the mean time the Duke of *Parma*'s Men, who had never been in any War before, daily diminiſhed; and as for the Duke of *Savoy*, he made ſome difficulty of going in Perſon to this Siege, as being undertaken againſt his Advice, and begun by another. The Mareſchal *de Thoiras*, out of Envy to *Crequi*, diſſwaded him from going thither; but at laſt, at the Inſtances of *Emery*, Ambaſſadour of *France* at *Turin*, he arrived at the Camp on the 13th of *October*; and after he had viſited the Works, he was of opinion that the Siege wou'd come to nothing; and in truth this unhappy Miſunderſtanding between them ruined all their Deſigns.

The Mareſchal having received Advice that the Spaniſh Army, commanded by Don *Carlo Colonna*, was on their

1635. their March to endeavour to raiſe the Siege, ſent to deſire the Duke to order his Men to paſs the *Po*, that ſo they might fight the Enemy before they were intrenched at *Freſcarolo*. But the Troops of the Duke paſſed ſo ſlowly, that they were forced to ſend them back the next day. It was ſtill believed, that it wou'd be their beſt way to go and attack the *Spaniards*; ſo the Army marched forward, the Mareſchal being in the Vanguard, the Duke of *Savoy* in the Body of the Battel, and the Duke of *Parma* in the Rear. The Enemy had taken no care to entrench themſelves, thinking that the French durſt not ſtir out of their Lines to meet an Army ſtronger than their own, and they began already to retire when they were attacked. *Crequi* had the Right, and the Duke of *Savoy* commanded on the Left: The Attack began on the Duke's ſide with a great deal of Vigour, although they had not ſent to obſerve the ground where the Enemy lay. They were beaten back into the Vineyards, where their Infantry was poſted, and they diſputed the ground very weakly, when *Crequi*, upon a falſe Information, ſent word to the Duke of *Savoy*, that the *Spaniards* were entrenched on the other ſide, and ſuperiour to them in number, upon which he did not think it ſafe to puſh it on any farther. This occaſioned *Victor-Amadeo*, who had already diſlodged the Spaniſh Infantry out of the Vineyards, to ſound a Retreat, and loſe a fair opportunity of beating the Enemy. It is reported, that *Crequi* ſuſpected that the Duke of *Savoy* only deſigned to engage him, to ſuffer him afterwards to be cut in pieces, and that for this reaſon he did not attack them. He retired likewiſe at the ſame time, and the *Spaniards*, who looked upon themſelves as good as beaten, were ſurprized to ſee the Enemy abandon, of their own accord, an Enterprize which had begun ſo well. This News they learn'd of the Priſoners, but then it was too late; for after this the *Spaniards* entrenched themſelves, and were always upon their Guard. Nor was this all; for they threw freſh Succours into the City through a place where the Lines of Circumvallation were not compleated, and where the *Savoyards* did not make any manner of reſiſtance. Another Supply enter'd the Town by the *Po*, after which the Rains that uſually fall in the Autumn, incom-

incommoded the Beſiegers. The Army which was otherwiſe exceedingly weakned, by Weakneſſes and Deſertions, and the mutual jealouſies between the Duke of *Savoy*, and the Mareſchal *de Crequi* ſtill increaſing, they began to talk of raiſing the Siege, as they did the next day, leaving their Canon, and part of their Baggage behind them. The Generals drew off, complaining one of another, and that the *Milaneze*, which they had wiſely ſhared between themſelves before-hand, ſtill continued in the Hands of the *Spaniards*. 1635.

The Cardinal who had believed the Conqueſt of it to be a matter of ſmall Difficulty, was exceedingly concerned at the ill ſucceſs of this enterprize, and the reciprocal Accuſations of the Duke and the Mareſchal, which afterwards came to him, gave him but little Conſolation. *Crequi* accuſed the Duke with holding private Intelligence with the *Spaniards*, and the Duke made it appear that the Mareſchal had undertaken this Siege with too ſmall an Army, and ſhow'd no Conduct in the whole Affair, whatever Bravery he might otherwiſe have.

He that was the moſt in Danger, was the Duke of *Parma*, whoſe Territories lay expoſed to the revenge of the *Spaniards*. He complain'd that he was the only Perſon that had obſerved the Treaty, both in regard to the number of his Troops, the time appointed, and to his Zeal in executing with Vigour the projects that had been concerted in the Council of War. To prevent the ruine of the Duke of *Parma*, and fruſtrate the other deſigns of the *Spaniards*, the Troops of *France* took their Winter Quarters in *Italy*, and were diſtributed into ſeveral Garriſons.

Thus the Cardinal's great Expectations of conquering the Dutchy of *Milan*, vaniſh'd on the ſudden, although 'tis certain that he cou'd not have choſen a fitter time for this enterprize, if it had been well executed, for the King had made himſelf Maſter of the Paſſes of the *Valteline* beforehand, to hinder any Troops from coming to the aſſiſtance of the *Spaniards* out of *Germany*. * The Duke of *Rohan*, who was in *Alſatia*, had Orders in the Spring to go into *Switzerland*, there to take Six Thouſand Men, and four Troops of Horſe, and conduct them into

* *Siri Mem. Rec.* T. 8. p. 216.

1635. into the *Valteline*, in order to poſſeſs himſelf of that Country, and to defend it with the Forces, which were there already. Being ready to march croſs the Country of the Proteſtant *Cantons*, he writ to *Du Landé*, who commanded three Regiments of *French* there, and as many of the *Griſons*, to make himſelf Maſter of all the Paſſes of the *Valteline*, which he very happily executed on the 13th of *April*, ſo that neither the *Spaniards* nor the little *Cantons* cou'd poſſibly hinder it. Soon after, the Duke of *Rohan* arrived there, and began to work upon the Fortifications of thoſe Poſts which they had ſeized. The King of *Spain* being informed of this Invaſion, ſent to demand aſſiſtance of the Emperour, who diſpatched Orders to *Galas*, to ſend a Detachment of his Army into *Tirol*, and from thence into the *Valteline*, to joyn the Troops of *Spain*, that were to force their Way there, on the ſide of the *Milaneze*. *Galas* detach'd Eight Thouſand Men, under the *Baron de Fernamond*, Serjeant *de Bataille*, who being arrived in *Tirol*, attack'd the Paſs of the *Valteline* on that Side, in the Month of *November*. The Duke of *Rohan* received him with Four Thouſand Men, and the *French* Infantry charged the *German* Horſe with that Fury, that they routed them, and put the Army to Flight. *Fernamond* loſt Two Thouſand Men upon the Spot, beſides Priſoners, and retired towards *Tirol*. Soon after he received a Reinforcement of Three Thouſand Men, and *Serbellon* entred the *Valteline* on the ſide of *Milan*, and advanced towards *Sondrio*. The Duke of *Rohan* thought it adviſeable to march againſt the latter, before the Recruits of *Fernamond* were in a Condition to Act. To this end he marched all Night, from the 13th to the 14th of *November*, and having met *Serbellon* at *Morbegno*, where he had intrench'd himſelf, he attack'd him, kill'd him Fifteen Hundred Men, and took all his Baggage. The next Day he returned to *Bormio*, leſt *Fernamond* ſhou'd take any advantage of his Abſence. By this Action, he hindered a conſiderable Relief from entring into the *Milaneze*, and falling upon the Allies of *France*. This was the only advantage that turned to any account with *France*, obtain'd againſt *Spain*, this firſt Year of the War.

While

While *France* was thus employed by Land in *Italy*, in *Germany*, and the Low-Countries, the *Spaniards* had a deſign to attack her by Sea, and to make a deſcent upon *Provence*. But their Fleet being ſeverely ſhattered by Tempeſts, they only ſeized upon the Iſles of St. *Margaret*, and St. *Honorat*, where they left a Garriſon, and ſome Men to build two Forts. This Acquiſition might ſerve to incommode the Trade of *Provence*, and to facilitate a deſcent upon the Continent; but it was a difficult matter to keep theſe Iſlands; ſo that the *Spaniards* were no great gainers by this Exploit. 1635.

Chancellor *d'Aligre* being Dead, the King conferr'd this Dignity upon *Pierre Leguier*, as he had formerly promiſed him, when he gave him the Seals. His Letters were preſented to the Parliament, on the 10th of *January*, and regiſtred. The famous *Antoine le Maitre* employed his Rhetorick upon this occaſion, and made a Panegyric upon the Chancellor and his Anceſtors, who had been Members of the Parliament of *Paris*, as he was, before his Majeſty made him Keeper of the Seals. 1636.

He was received with great Applauſe, but ſoon after he ſerved to mortifie that very Body, to which he ſo lately belonged. * To ſupport the expences of the War, the King was obliged to create abundance of new Officers, and every Parliament according to the extent of its juriſdiction, was conſtrained to receive a certain number of Preſidents and Counſellors, who bought theſe places of the King. Upon this, the Parliament of *Paris* had a meeting, and reſolved to make a Remonſtrance to His Majeſty upon this augmentation, but inſtead of hearkening to them, the King baniſhed ſome of the Councellors to *Angers* and *Amboiſe*, for talking too boldly. The New Chancellor fell into a great Rage at the Parliament, telling them, That it did not belong to them to cenſure the King's Conduct, and that their Authority reach'd no higher than to ſee the Laws duly obſerved, and to adminiſter juſtice to the People. The King likewiſe ſent *La Ville aux-Clercs* to forbid the Chambers to aſſemble, and to tell them that no Notice wou'd be taken of their Remonſtrances, till they had received the new Counſellors. They accordingly obey'd, and

* See *Siri Mem. Rec.* T. 8. p. 433. *The Life of the Duke of* Eſpernon, p. 536.

1636. and on the 17th of *March*, they obtain'd the return of thoſe that had been baniſhed, upon this Condition, that they would behave themſelves more dutiful for the future.

At the ſame time, the King ſhut up his Treaſury as to all ſorts of expences, but thoſe for carrying on the War, ſo that the Governors of Provinces, and the Officers of the Crown, had been obliged to throw up their Places and Penſions, if there had not been a way found out to get them paid by the Kingdom; which for that reaſon, they burthen'd with new Impoſitions. Some of them rather choſe to remit them, than to ruine the poor People; but the greateſt part of them made uſe of this Expedient, to ſatisfie themſelves for what was owing to them, which excited great Clamours and Diſcontents.

The Miniſter did not much trouble himſelf what the World thought of theſe exactions, ſo long as they brought in Money. He was infinitely more concerned to hear that the *Pope* had a deſign to call *Mazarine* home, whom he had ſent in quality of Nuncio extraordinary, to procure a general Peace, and particularly to obtain the re-eſtabliſhment of the Houſe of *Lorrain*. *Mazarine* inſtead of acquitting himſelf faithfully of this Commiſſion, thought of nothing elſe, but how to gain the good Graces of the Cardinal Duke; and ever ſince the Affair of *Cazal*, he had all along appeared ſo partial for *France*, that the *Spaniards* cou'd not endure him. So by Virtue of their conſtant importunities, * the *Pope* was prevail'd upon to recall him from the Court of *France*, and order'd him to diſcharge the Office of his Vice-Legate at *Avignon*. The Cardinal did all that lay in his Power to obtain of his Holineſs, that *Mazarine* might ſtill continue in *France*, or in caſe he wou'd not ſuffer him to ſtay longer there, to ſend him into *Spain*, to incline that Crown to a Peace as he pretended, but as the *Spaniards* believ'd, to ſerve as his Spy or Agent in that Court. The King too freely gave his conſent, that the *Pope* ſhou'd nominate him as Collegue to Cardinal *Ginetti*, whom they diſcourſed of ſending to *Colen* to treat of a Peace. * But the *Pope* wou'd not liſten to any of theſe Propoſals, and ſo *Mazarine* prepared himſelf to go to *Avignon*, where he deſigned to make as ſhort a ſtay as he cou'd.

* *At the beginning of the Year* 1636. *Siri Mem. Rec. T. 8. p.* 375.

* Id. Ibid. p. 386.

The

The Court of *Rome* gave another Mortification to the Cardinal this Year, for the Ciſtercian *Monks* and the *Premonſtratenſes* having elected him to be their Abbot General, the *Pope* refuſed to grant him the Bulls. He was already Abbot of *Cluny*, who is chief of the Order, and conſequently Abbot General of the *Benedictines*, ſo that if he had procur'd this, he had been the Head of the three richeſt Orders of the Kingdom. It was alledged in his Favour, that theſe Orders ſtanding in need of a Reformation, for this end they ought to have a perſon of great Authority ſet over them, as the Cardinal was. But they were well ſatisfied at *Rome*, that it was his deſire to Rule and not to Reform, that induced him to demand this Benefice. Had he ſucceeded in this affair, beſides a vaſt Revenue, he had found a great Number of Monks depending wholly upon him, ready to concur with him in all his inclinations, either to obtain Benefices which are in the Collation of the General of theſe Orders, or to teſtifie their acknowledgments to him after they had once obtained them. It was likewiſe feared, that he wou'd endeavour to get himſelf declared Patriarch in *France*, or at leaſt Legate *à Latere* for all his Life, after the example of Cardinal *d'Amboiſe*, and that having this Proſpect, he wou'd uſe his Intereſt to exempt the Monks and Secular Prieſts, from any farther dependance upon the Court, by the means of his Benefices, which the King always diſpoſed of upon his Recommendation. 1636.

If the Court of *Rome* did not ſhow him that Complaiſance which he deſired, it was not to be imagined that he wou'd give them any Satisfaction, as to what they demanded of him. Ever ſince the laſt year, it had been reſolved upon to ſend the Mareſchal *d'Eſtrées*, Ambaſſadour Extraordinary to *Rome*, although the Pope ſhew'd a mighty unwillingneſs to receive him, and had teſtified ſo much to the Court of *France*. Notwithſtanding this oppoſition, the Mareſchal parted towards the * beginning of this Year, to perſwade the Pope to treat the Duke of *Parma* with more Moderation and Gentleneſs. He had written two Briefs to this Prince, by which he diſapproved his uniting with *France*, to attack the *Milaneze*, becauſe by that Conduct he expoſed

* *The* 24*th of* January.

1636. sed a Fief of the Church to the Resentments of the *Spaniards*. He had likewise given that Duke to understand, that if the Holy See was obliged to arm, for the Defence of his Dominions, he expected to be satisfied for the Charges of the War. This was the principal reason of the Mareschal *d'Estree*'s Embassy, with whom the Pope refused a long while to treat, because he seem'd to have despised his Authority when he seized upon the *Valteline*, as has been observed elsewhere. It was likewise pretended, that by his rough Behaviour he had been the death of *Paul* V. However, the Cardinal, who was not used to start back from what he had once engaged in, did espouse him so vigorously, that the Pope was forced at last to lay down his Pretensions, and treat with him.

He had Orders * to recommend Father *Joseph* as from the King to his Holiness, for a Cardinal's Cap. But besides that the person of this Capuchin was not very acceptable at the Court of *Rome*, the Pope made a Difficulty to confer the Purple upon a Capuchin, because that the Cardinal of St. *Honorio* his Brother, who had been a Capuchin, pretended that he was the only person of his Order that enjoyed that Honour. The Pope insisted upon this, That after he had given a Cap to one Capuchin, it wou'd be demanded for others of the same Order, as was already done; and so that Body, which at present was so well regulated, wou'd be corrupted by ambitious Thoughts, with which abundance of Capuchins wou'd be possess'd, that wou'd begin to pretend to the chief Dignities of the Church. The Mareschal was very liberal in his Commendations of Father *Joseph*, but was not able to procure any thing in his favour; for the Pope still persisted in the same Reasons, whatever Arguments were brought to perswade him to the contrary.

* *Siri Mem. Rec.* T. 8. P. 426.

Before the Armies cou'd take the field, the Duke of *Parma* resolved to come to *Paris*, to recommend himself to the King and Cardinal. He was * received with all Demonstrations of Kindness, and was lodged in the *Louvre*, in the Queen-Mother's Apartment †. The Duke of *Weimar* came thither at the same time, and lay at the Arsenal; and though he was entertain'd with a great deal of Respect, yet they did not treat him like the Duke of *Parma*, who was received in the Quality of a Sov-

* *The 16th of* February. *Siri Mem. Rec.* T. 8. p. 389.

† *Ibid.* p. 394.

Sovereign Prince. This caused a little Discontent at first, but it was soon over, the Duke of *Weimar* having otherwise sufficient Reason to be well satisfied with the Cardinal. 1636.

The Duke of *Parma* obtained leave of the King to command a small Army, which the Duke of *Savoy* was to furnish him with, in Quality of his Majesty's Lieutenant. In his Absence, the *Spaniards* and the Duke of *Modena* made some Incursions into his Territories, and made themselves Masters of some small places: those Troops which the Duke of *Parma* had on foot, assisted by some of the French, and the Duke of *Savoy*, not being able to defend them. For this reason he parted in all haste from *Paris*, to give necessary Orders for their Defence; and at his Arrival into *Italy*, he desired the Duke of *Savoy* to send him instantly a strong Detachment to beat the Enemy out of his Country, and to revenge himself upon the Duke of *Modena*: but the Troops which they expected out of *France*, having not passed the Mountains as yet, it was impossible to satisfie him. And now all the World began to condemn the Duke of *Savoy*, for having so rashly declared against *Spain*, upon the Chimerical hopes which the Cardinal had given him, to put him in possession of part of the *Milaneze*, so soon as it was conquered. He found it to be true upon this occasion, That a neighbouring Enemy is infinitely more prejudicial than a Friend afar off can be serviceable to us, although his power is in no respect inferiour to that of the Enemy.

* *The 18th of* March. *Siri, ibid.* P. 396.

Nevertheless the King, at the earnest Instances of the Duke of *Parma*, † sent to the Duke of *Savoy* to take the Field with all Expedition, to go and relieve him, since none of the Princes of *Italy* wou'd favour the League, if they saw the Members of it abandon one another. The Duke of *Savoy* resolved to satisfie the King, and wou'd needs carry the Mareschal *de Thoiras* with him, for whom he had a particular Friendship, although the Cardinal kept him as it were banish'd at *Casal*, without giving him any Employment. Upon this there happen'd some Disputes between *Crequi* and him, which his Majesty soon ended by giving the Preference to *Crequi*, who was the King's Lieutenant; whereas *Thoiras* served in the same Post under the Duke of *Savoy*.

† *The 16th of* April.

1636. In the mean time the *Spaniards* and the Duke of *Modena* fortified themſelves in the places which they had taken in the Duke of *Parma*'s Country. The Marquiſs *de Leganez*, to whom the King of *Spain* had lately given the Government of *Milan*, placed the principal Troops of *Spain* at *Novara*, at *Pavia*, at *Alexandria*, and in the Neighbourhood, and threw a Bridge over the *Po* at *Girola*, by which the three Bodies, into which their Army was divided, might have free Communication one with another, in order to hinder the Duke of *Savoy* from coming into the Duke of *Parma*'s Country. On the other ſide, after ſeveral hot Conteſts between the Leaders, who agreed no better this Campaign than they did the former, it was concluded to accompany the Duke of *Parma* to the Frontiers of his Dominions with the whole Army, and to lend him ſix thouſand Foot, and eight hundred Horſe, to beat his Enemies out of it; and at the ſame time to fortifie themſelves upon the *Teſin*, and get *Oleggio* into their hands, that they might be in a condition to have a Communication with the Forces of the *Valteline*. Several Difficulties aroſe in the execution of this Deſign, occaſion'd by the Miſunderſtanding of the Leaders, and by the Duke of *Savoy*'s Neglect to furniſh the Army with a ſufficient number of Boats to paſs the Rivers; ſo that if the *Spaniards* had underſtood Military Affairs, they had more than once found an opportunity to ruin the Army of the Confederates: but they took the Irreſolutions and falſe Steps of the *French*, for ſo many Stratagems.

At laſt they came before *Oleggio* the 14th of *June*, and the next day *Crequi* made himſelf Maſter of this place, which ſurrendred in an inſtant. Three hundred Horſe, that were ſent towards the *Teſin* to ſeize the Boats upon which they were to paſs, found that they were on the other ſide; but the *French* Commandant, who had ordered the Carabineers of *Montferrat* to wear red Scarfs, made the Boatmen believe they were Troops in the Service of *Spain* that were purſued by the *French*: and having by this Artifice perſwaded them to bring their Boats on his ſide, they ſoon made themſelves Maſters of them. By this Trick, and by the means of ſome other Boats, which the Duke of *Savoy* had commanded to be brought thither,

thither, they paſſed the River, and the Mareſchal *de Crequi* being come up to them, they began to make a Retrenchment to cover the Bridge, which they deſigned to make in this place. 1636.

The Duke of *Savoy* marched at the ſame time to *Fontanet*, which upon his Arrival he found to be ſtronger than he believed. *Thoiras* inveſted it, and ordered a Battery of four Pieces of Cannon to play upon the Town; but as he ſtood too near this Battery, * a Muſquet-ball hit him full in the breaſt, and kill'd him on the ſpot. He was exceedingly lamented by all people for his good Qualities, and for the eminent Services he had done the Kingdom. The Cardinal never loved him, becauſe the King had expreſſed an Inclination to make him his Favourite; and after he had ſent him into *Italy*, made the King jealous of him, becauſe two of his Brothers had been in *Monſieur*'s Army at the Battel of *Caſtelnaudarry*. Nor was this all; for he got his Governments and Penſions to be taken from him, and gave the King ſuch a Character of him as he pleaſed, and the Mareſchal had not the means to defend himſelf.

* *Siri Mem.* Rec. T. 8. p. 411. *Hiſtory of Mareſchal Thoiras. Lib. 3. towards the end.*

Fontanet ſurrendred ſoon after, and the Mareſchal *de Crequi* joyn'd the Duke of *Savoy* without any oppoſition, becauſe the *Spaniards* had entirely abandoned all the places about the *Teſin*, thinking that the *French* had a Deſign to paſs the *Tanaro*, and afterwards the *Po*. The Duke and the Mareſchal continued together upon the Banks of the *Teſin*, one on one ſide, and the other on the other, till the 20th of this Month, in conſulting whether they ſhould ſend the Duke of *Parma* back again to his Country. The latter knew not himſelf what Meaſures to take; but at laſt, for fear an Army of his Friends ſhou'd ruine him, as well as that of his Enemies; he reſolved to part *incognito*, and in that manner, to get into his own Dukedom, through the Territories of *Genoa*. As he had no Experience in Military Affairs, he hop'd at firſt, that within a few Months, and without any great Expence, the Confederate Army would over-run all the *Milaneze*; but having ſeen the quite contrary happen, and his own ſtate in Danger to become the Theatre of the War, he wholly alter'd his Opinion, and became

1636. fearful very unseasonably, as he had formerly suffered himself to be led away with ill grounded expectations.

At last the Confederate Army marched on the two Banks of the *Tesin*, to fortifie some Post there, which they should judge most advantageous to command that River, and to make a Bridge over it. In their march they received Advice that the Marquis *de Leganez* was coming towards them, on that side where *Crequi* was, so that the Duke of *Savoy* set his Men to work all Night upon a Bridge, which was † ready by the next Morning, that he might joyn the Mareschal. The *Spaniards* had Fourteen Thousand Foot, Four Thousand Horse, and Four Canon. They charged the *French* in the Morning, who sustained the Shock till the Duke of *Savoy* had passed the River. The Fight was so resolutely maintain'd on both sides, that it lasted till Night; the Victory being uncertain all the Day, and the two Armies return'd several times to the Charge, and wou'd not give way. But the *Spaniards* retir'd in the Night, and the Duke of *Savoy* and the Mareschal endeavoured in Vain to begin the Fight afresh the next Day. All the Advantage they got, was the Field of Battle, and the number of the Dead and Wounded on their Side was somewhat less. In the mean time, the Duke of *Rohan* forced several Passes above the Lake of *Como*, but when he was at *Lech*, he sent word to the Duke of *Savoy*, that he cou'd not advance further than *Gravedonne*, because the ways were impracticable. Thus he was obliged to return to the *Valteline*, and the Duke of *Savoy* abandon'd the *Tesin* and * went back to *Turin*. From that time the *French* Army began to diminish considerably by perpetual desertions; and on the Contrary, the new Levies of the *Milaneze*, and of the Kingdom of *Naples*, daily augmented that of the *Spaniards*.

† *The 23d of June.*

* *The 23d of July.*

The Duke of *Parma* was no sooner returned to his Dominions, but he saw a considerable Body of *Spanish* Troops under Duke *Martin* of *Arragon*, who ravaged and plundered the greatest part of them. He then repented that he had not accepted the Forces that were offer'd him for the preservation of his Country, which he was afraid of burthening too much by receiving them, and he sent to demand them again with great earnestness.

But

But the *Spaniards* being at that time Masters of the Field, it was not an easie matter to relieve him. To compleat his Misfortunes, the Pope published a Monitory against the Duke, by which he cited him to *Rome*, and commanded him to recall the Troops which he had in the Territories of any other State. Besides this, the Pope pretended to have Security in Writing, that he wou'd obey him in the space of Thirty Days, otherwise he threatned to excommunicate him, and give his Lands to the first Possessor, People were so much the more surprized at these rigorous Proceedings, because at that time, the Duke had Soldiers no where but at *Rome*, and the *Spaniards* ravaged his Country at Pleasure, and kept *Placentia* blocked up. The World was not then acquainted with the Mystery, that there was a secret Treaty between the *Spaniards* and the *Barberini's*, who desired to make themselves Masters of this Prince's Dominions, under any pretence whatever, and to put D. *Taddeo Barberini*, prefect of *Rome*, in possession of them. The King sent orders to the Mareschal *d'Estrees*, to complain highly of the Pope's Proceedings, and hinder'd him from pushing on this Design any longer in publick. He likewise ordered the Mareschal *de Crequi*, to succour the Duke of *Parma* with all Expedition, but the Passes being all shut up, as well through the State of *Genoa*, as through the *Milaneze*, partly by the Troops that were posted there, and partly by the Rains and badness of the Weather; the Mareschal was not able to execute this Order, so that the best course the Duke of *Parma* cou'd now take, was to make his Peace with the *Spaniards*, who being satisfied to see him humbled, did offer very reasonable Conditions, of which the Pope, and the Grand Duke of *Tuscany* were to be the Guarrantees. But the Vexation to be so soon reduced to beg Pardon of the Crown of *Spain*, and the great promises of *France*, occasion'd this Prince not to listen to those that advised him to accommodate matters with *Spain*, although he was blocked up in *Placentia*, and 'twas now discoursed to besiege that Place in the usual Forms.

1636.

Thus this Champaign ended in *Italy* not so advantageously for *France* as it had begun, and their Victories were scarce able to preserve their Allies. The King

1636. was resolv'd to succour those places which he still held in *Alsatia*, to secure them against the Imperialists, who endeavour'd to retake them, and hop'd to reduce them in a short time, by reason of the great distance of the *French*. The Cardinal *de la Valette*, who had served his Apprenticeship the Year before in *Germany*, * undertook this Expedition. They gave him Three Thousand Horse, and the same number of Foot, all choice Men; and with this Body, he very successfully re-victuall'd *Slech-stadt*, *Colmar* and *Haguenaw*. After this, he and the Duke of *Weimar* † opposed the Enterprizes of the Imperialists in *Alsatia*, to hinder them from coming into that Country, and passing any farther.

* The 2d of January. Aubery's *Life of the Cardinal*, lib. 5. c. 24. *Siri Mem.* Rec. T. 8. p. 457.

† In the Month of May.

At the same time, the Cardinal procured an Army for the Prince of *Conde*, whose Lieutenant the Marquis *de la Meilleraye* was to enter into the *Franche-Comté*, and endeavour to conquer it. The Court complained of the *Compeois*, that though they were obliged to preserve a Neutrality in any Wars that might happen between *France* and the Crown of *Spain*, yet for all that, they had supplied the Enemy with Provisions, and harboured them in their Country, as well as several *French* Malecontents. They accused them of several other infractions besides, which they took care to aggravate in the highest manner in the Diet of the *Swisses*, for fear, least they should undertake the protection of the *Franche-Comté*, as being Guarrantees of the Treaty between the Crown and that Province. The Prince of *Conde* having enter'd the Country, and laid * Siege to *Dole*, the *Swisses* sent a Deputy to the King, to desire him to discontinue the Siege, but they put him off with the same pretences that had been insisted upon in the Diet, and he was told that if he came from the Deputies of every *Canton*, they wou'd consider what was to be done. However a little sprinkling of Money among them, appeased those that cryed out the loudest, and so this Deputation went away in Smoke. But the Inhabitants of *Dole*, although they were attack'd with a great deal of Bravery, defended themselves beyond Expectation, and the place was in a Condition to hold out till the *Imperialists* and *Spaniards* could come to relieve it. The Prince after he had got the outworks Foot by Foot, and with a world of difficulty;

* The 28th of May.

culty, ordered a general assault to be made the 14th of *June*, commanded by the Marquis *de Villeroy*, Mareschal *de Camp*, but the *French* were repulsed with loss. In the mean time the Duke of *Lorrain* and *Lamboi* entered the *Franche-Comté* with Eight Thousand Foot, and as many Horse, and encamped within a League of the *French* Lines, designing to attack them the next day. But the Prince did not stay for their coming up, but rais'd * the Siege immediately, and retired into the Dutchy of *Burgundy*. The *Imperialists* followed him, and committed great ravages in *Burgundy* and *Bress*.

1636.

* The 15th of August.

The Duke of *Lorrain* went afterwards to besiege St. *Jean de Lône*, while *Galas* who had joyn'd him, ravaged the Province at Pleasure, and neither the Prince of *Conde*, nor the Duke of *Weimar*, nor the Cardinal *de la Valette* were able to hinder him. But this place having at first made a Vigorous resistance, and afterwards receiving a considerable relief, commanded by Colonel *Ranzau*, * the Duke was obliged to raise the Siege, and *Galas* withdrew into the *Franche-Comté*, and from thence into *Germany*. His Army consisted at first of Thirty thousand Men, and now was reduced to Eighteen Thousand, having done nothing but pillaged a few Castles, and some Villages. The little Order they observed in their Designs, the irresolution of their Generals, and their greedines of Plunder, made the Imperialists lose the fairest opportunity in the World of ruining *France*, which had been otherways extreamly embarrass'd, and now had the good luck to escape a terrible danger, meerly through indiscretion, and want of Conduct in her Enemies.

† The 2d of November. Aubery's *Life of the Card.*

The *Spaniards* formed a design upon *Bayonne*, which met with no better success. There were scarce any Troops on the Frontiers, and they * entred the Country of *Labourt* so unexpectedly, that a general Fear having spread it self among the People, every thing fled before them, notwithstanding, all that the Duke *de la Valette* cou'd doe, who arrived there in great haste, to assist his Father that was fallen sick at *Bayonne*. The Admiral of *Castile*, who commanded a Body of Six Thousand Foot, and Two Thousand Horse, made himself Master of the Field, and at the same time of St. *Jean de Luz*, and the Fort of *Socoa*, within three Leagues of *Bayonne*. But in-

* In October. See the Duke of Espernon's *Life*, and *Siri* T. 9. p. 460.

1636. instead of advancing speedily to attack that City, which was destitute of all manner of Provisions, and cou'd not have held out above a few days, he stopt short in the way, contenting himself to keep what he had taken at first. This over-sight gave the Duke *de la Valette*, time enough to fortifie *Bayonne*, to provide it with Victuals, and to put the rest of the Province in a condition to defend it self.

* *Siri*, ibid. p. 432.

The *French* on their side, endeavour'd in Vain this Year to beat the *Spaniards* out of the Isles of *Hieres*, by a Fleet of Thirty Eight Vessels that came from the Ocean, under the command of the Count *d'Harcourt*, the Arch-bishop of *Bourdeaux*, and the Bishop of *Nantes*. This Fleet happily arrived the 12th of *August*, upon the Coasts of *Provence*, but instead of falling upon Action immediately, the Mareschal *de Vitry* Governour of the Province, made this Army lose a Month, being it seems incensed, because the Court had not employ'd him in this Affair. In the mean time, the Fleet ill equipped, and sorrily provided by the Bishop of *Nantes*, who had been trusted with that Commission, were able to keep the Sea no longer; and that of the *Spaniards* consisting of Fifty Gallics, came in Sight, and threw a thousand Men with Victuals and Ammunition into these Islands, which wholly broke the Design.

‡ *Siri Mem. Rec.* T. 8. p. 434.

Ever since † the beginning of the Year, the States General of the United-Provinces, weary of the War which they had for so many Years sustained against the *Spaniards*, began to renew the Negotiation with them, which had been interrupted. *France* was no sooner aware of it, but Orders were sent to the Mareschal *de Brezé*, and to the Baron *de Charnacé* to endeavour to break off the Conferences, which were begun in *Brabant*, concerning this Affair, who acquitted themselves so happily in this Affair, that the States declared to the *Spanish* Agents, that they would conclude nothing without the conent of *France*. They assured the Mareschal *de Brezé* of this their Resolution in writing, and made vast Preparations to continue the War: They offered to *France*, in case they resolved to attack the *Spaniards* by Sea, to maintain one Third of the Fleet, and to lend the King Thirty Men of War, if he would give them Two Thousand

and Livres a Month for each. The Prince of *Orange* demanded Ten Thousand Foot and Twelve Companies of Horse for this Champaign; but instead of listening to these Offers, the other Designs which the Cardinal had on Foot, and the good and bad success of which I I have related, made him in all probability neglect the necessary Preparations on that Side to oppose the *Spaniards*. And thus the States-General not being assisted by *France* as they ought to have been, the Cardinal *Infanta* was not apprehensive of any great harm they could do him, and therefore directed his Thoughts to retaliate to *France*, what *France* had done to him the Year before. Besides, seeing the principal Forces of *France* taken up in *Italy*, and in *Burgundy*, he thought it sufficient to send the Count *de Feria* against the Prince of *Orange*, with a small Army. 1636.

* Aubery's *Life of the Card.* Lib. 5. Cap. 35.

He designed to make himself Master of the * City of *Liege*, which had stood neuter ever since the Declaration of the War, and *Jean de Werth* went to besiege it, but the Inhabitants having made their peace with a Summ of Money, the Cardinal *Infanta* order'd that General to joyn Prince *Thomas* and *Piccolomini*, and make a descent upon ‡ *Picardy* together. The first place they besieged was *Cappille*, which only held out * seven Days, and then the Baron *du Bec* surrendered it by Capitulation. After they had taken some other small Places, they went to attack *Catelet*, which St. *Leger* who was the Governour of it, surrendered likewise, without staying till they had made a Breach. All People were surprized at the small resistance which the Governours of these Places made, and the Cardinal fell into an excessive rage against them, although it was purely his Fault; for the Frontiers of *Picardy*, even after the Declaration of the War, were left naked and unprovided, as if it had been in the midst of a Peace. To turn the Eyes of the World from himself, he composed a Council of the Officers of the Crown that were at *Paris*, and of some Councellors of State, which condemned the Governors of the Places surrender'd, to be quartered like Traytors. Nay * he fell foul upon the Duke *de la Valette*, because he wou'd not give his Vote to have the Baron *du Bec* condemned to die, as the Interests of the Minister demanded.

† *Siri Mem. Rec.* T. 8. p. 436.

* *It surrendered on the* 10th *of* July.

* *See the Life of the Duke of* Epernon. p. 548.

All

1636. All they cou'd do at that juncture was, to oppose the Progress of the *Spaniards* by a small Body of Men commanded by the Count *de Soissons*, and composed of the Troops of the Mareschal *de Brezé*, which he had brought out of *Holland*, and of those of the Mareschal *de Chaunes*, who had acted the Summer before upon the Frontiers of *Artois*. But this Army being in no respect capable to make head against the *Spaniards*, and being also lessen'd by the Detachments that were made out of it to defend those Places which were in danger to be attack'd, they contented themselves to dispute the Passage of the River *Somme* with them, and to incommode their March. On the first of *August* the *Spanish* Army appeared upon the Banks of that River, and pretending to pass over at a certain place by the favour of twelve Pieces of Cannon placed in Battery upon the Banks of the *Somme*, they passed it at another place where the *French* did not expect them. The Count was resolved to attack their Infantry, who had with great haste cover'd themselves with Gabions; but he sustained so great a Loss, without being able to dislodge them, that he was obliged to yield the field to the *Spaniards*, and to retire to *Compeigne*. This alarmed the whole Country, which was surprized to see that the Count shou'd fly before 8 or 10000 Horse, which *Piccolomini* and *Jean de Werth* commanded. Thus *Roye* the next day open'd their Gates to the *Spanish* Army, and the *French* Troops every where began to be possess'd with a great Consternation. It was feared, that as they fled towards *Paris*, the *Spanish* Army wou'd pursue them; whereas had they taken any Post that lay nearer to the Frontiers, the Enemies durst not have advanced too far into the Kingdom. Within a few days after, *Corbie*, which pass'd for a strong place, was taken, after a Siege of 8 days, although there were 1800 Men in Garrison there. *Soyecourt*, Lieutenant-General of the Province, surrendred it, without staying till it was assaulted, or fearing the Punishment to which the other Governours were condemned.

At this time the *Parisians* were in an extraordinary fear, notwithstanding the King's presence among them, and the perpetual Arrival of new Troops, which daily encreased the Army. Cardinal *Richlieu* was cursed in all places,

places, who had engaged the Kingdom in this War before he had provided for the Security of the Frontiers, and especially those of *Picardy*, which are at so small a distance from *Paris*. As he was beloved by none but his own Creatures, they now took occasion to say all the Ill of him they knew. * It was not only said, that War was not his Profession, but they added, that he had a Design to deliver up *Paris* to the *Spaniards*; and that for that reason he had caused the Walls of the *Fauxbourg* of St. *Honore* to be broken down, under a Pretence to enlarge the City on that side. However, † notwithstanding all these Murmurs against him, the Cardinal being come to *Paris*, went into the City, without his ordinary Guards, as it were to hearten the People, and to let them see how secure he thought himself upon the score of his Innocence. 1636.

* Aubery's *Life of the* Card. Lib. 5. Cap. 38.

† Aubery Ibid. c. 40. *Siri*, Ibid. p. 438.

All the Companies of *Paris* went to offer their Service to the King upon this occasion; and they assessed themselves to raise new Levies with all Expedition. All the young Fellows about the City that were capable of bearing Arms, were sent for. Those that had several Lackeys were obliged to send one, as well as the Tradesmen that had Apprentices to spare; and several Buildings at *Paris* were laid aside for the present, to lift the Carpenters and Masons. The King likewise put out an Order, that all those that had above one pair of Coach-Horses should give one, to serve for the Artillery or Troopers; and that all Gentlemen, and all those that were exempt from Taxes, and all the Officers of his Houshold, should repair in their Arms to St. *Denys* within six days. In the mean time the Siege of *Dole* was raised, as has been already observed, and the King, on the first of *September*, found himself at the Head of forty thousand Foot, and twelve thousand Horse, and with a Train of forty Pieces of Cannon.

The Army being met together, His Majesty came thither, accompanied by *Monsieur*, the Cardinal-Duke, the Duke of *Angoulême*, and the Mareschals *de la Force*, and *Chatillon*, besides abundance of other Officers. *Monsieur* was declared Generalissimo of that Army, and the Count *de Soissons* Lieutenant-General; which was rather done for fear of discontenting those Princes, than obliging them.

1636. them. The Cardinal desired to be Generalissimo, and that the Count *de Soissons* might Command under him; but the Count refused it; and so he was obliged to bestow that Post upon *Monsieur*, which he desired for himself. Although they were now in a condition to beat the Enemies out of *Picardy* so soon as they pleased, yet the Danger they had been in, and the Affairs of *Italy* and *Burgundy*, threw the King into so deep a Melancholy, that he was displeased at every thing. He was concerned that his Brother had the Command of the Army, and that he lived in a good Understanding with the Count *de Soissons*. He express'd a great Coldness towards the Cardinal, for daring to censure his ill Humour, and his want of Resolution. He wou'd scarce be brought to see him, and he contradicted him whenever he spake of any thing; so that the Cardinal lost in a manner all his Courage, and neglected to give the necessary Orders. It was observed, that contrary to his custom, he shew'd a great deal of Civility to those people whom he had formerly slighted. One day he publickly asked * St. *Yval*, whom he hated extreamly because he was deeply engaged in the Party of the Count *de Soissons*, what his Opinion was about an Affair of great consequence. He invited him besides to sup with him: and St. *Yval* was ravished with joy to see this haughty Spirit so humbled by his fear that the progress of the Enemy wou'd be the cause of his ruine. † At last he found himself so weakned in Body and Mind, that if Father *Joseph*, to whom he discovered his most secret Infirmities, had not encouraged him, he was ready to throw up the Ministry, and by that means to hasten his own Destruction, which his Enemies had so long desired. But this Capuchin having inspired him with fresh Resolution by his Discourses, he determined to apply himself more than ever to Publick Affairs.

* *Siri Mem.* Rec. Tom. 8. p. 441.

† *Siri Mem.* Rec. Tom. 8. p. 439.

The first Thing he advised His Majesty in this Conjuncture was, to perswade the States-General to make some Attempts upon the Territories of *Spain*. The Prince of *Orange* was willing enough, but those that promoted the Treaty hinder'd him from acting with necessary vigour. However, he gain'd his point of them at last, and forbad the State's Agent at *Vienna* to talk any more of a Truce.

Truce. He took the field with a considerable Army, and was ready to make a Diversion in the *Spanish Netherlands*, in case the Count *de Feria* approached the Frontiers of *France*. 'Twas at this time that *Frederick-Henry* received the Title of *Highness*, which the Cardinal gave him instead of that of *Excellence*, which he had till then enjoy'd. The King concluded a new Treaty with the States, by which he promised them a Million and half of Livres, to be paid at Three several Payments in a year; upon condition that all this Money should be employed in carrying on the War against *Spain*. 1636.

To encourage the Army by his Presence, the King arrived there, as I have already said, at the beginning of *September*, and having advanced as far as *Senlis*, from whence he beheld one night the Flame of some Villages, which the *Croatians* had set on fire before they left them, he fell a Weeping at the Losses and Calamities of his People. But the *Spanish* Army being utterly unable to oppose the progress of the Royal Forces, thought of nothing now but retiring into the Low-Countries, because they had not time enough to secure their Conquests. Thus the Army of *France* came before *Roye*, and after this Place had been Batter'd for a few days, by Twelve Pieces of Canon, they surrendred to *Monsieur* by Composition. Afterwards it Marched to Block up *Corbie*, for there was no hopes of taking it by force. To effect this, they undertook to environ it with Forts, and Retrenchments, for fear least the *Spaniards* should Relieve it; but they were informed soon after, that the Besieged wanted Corn, and other Provisions. This made the Cardinal resolve to propose the Attacking of the place, hoping that the Garrison, weakned by want and scarcity, would be obliged to Capitulate. The Marechal *de Chatillon* was the first that proposed it in a Council; and this Advice, supported by the Authority of the Cardinal, carried it from that of the Count *de Soissons*, who believed, it would be impossible to reduce this place by force, at that time of the year. They made Three Attacks, and the Garrison finding themselves destitute of Victuals, and no hopes of a Relief, Capitulated on the 19th of *November*.

This

1636. This good success made the Cardinal as courageous as ever, and retrieved his Reputation, which had suffer'd mightily by the progress the *Spaniards* made in *Picardy*. However, * People censured his Conduct, for uniting the Duke of *Orleans*, and the Count *de Soissons* in the Command of the same Army; because, as they were both his sworn Enemies, so they might lay their heads together to destroy him. The Minister was of opinion, that the Count *de Soissons*, who was of an imperious haughty temper, would fall out with *Monsieur*, and that their Domesticks, whose Interests were different, would take care to incense them one against another. But it fell out quite contrary, for these two Princes, who had been Enemies of a long standing to his Eminence, re-united more than ever to ruine him. They were made to believe, that if they still continued in their designs against the Minister, they would draw to their party the Houses of *Guise*, of *Vendome*, of *Bouillon*, of *Espernon*, and of *Retz*, whom he had scurvily used, and who appeared to be very much dissatisfy'd with him. So *Monsieur* and the Count being at *Peronne*, they advised together about the propereſt ways to destroy the Cardinal. Some were of opinion, That His Majesty should be made acquainted with the Ill-conduct of this Minister, who was the cause of all the Calamities the Nation groaned under; and that he had engaged him in a War, which he vainly imagined he was able to manage of himself, though he was much fitter to raise a Cruel War in the State, than to repel Foreigners. Others advised to dispatch him out of the way, for that would soon put an end to all these disorders: This last expedient seemed the best, and the two Princes being resolved to put it in execution, trusted the Secret with four persons, one of whom was a Domestick of *Monsieur*, and the other three belonged to the Count *de Soissons*.

* *Siri Mem. Rec. T. 8. P. 442.*

During the Siege of *Corbie*, the King Lodged in a Castle near *Amiens*, and never came to the City, where the Cardinal lay, but when he held a Council there, after which he returned to this Castle. So *Monsieur* and the Count resolved, one day when they came to Council, to carry a great number of the Officers of the Army along

along with them, and that so soon as the King was re- 1636.
turned to his Quarters, to find some pretence or other to stop the Cardinal, and cause him to be Murder'd by the Four Men, who knew of the Affair. With this design they came to the City, and the Council being over, the King retired according to his Custom. One of the Four Conspirators coming up to the Duke and the Count, as if he had something to say to them, asked in their Ear, Whether they still continued in this Resolution? They answer'd, Yes: So this Man made a Sign for the others to approach, at the time when the two Princes were discoursing with the Cardinal at the bottom of the Stair-case of the Council-Chamber. Nothing now remained for the Duke to doe, but onely to give these Fellows the Signal, and then the Cardinal had been certainly kill'd, without any possibility of escaping. But at this moment the Duke leaving the Cardinal with the Count, began to go up the Stairs towards the Hall in a great confusion: One of the Conspirators immediately followed him, and would have pulled him back, but the Duke never stopt till he was got up to the top.

It was to no purpose for this Man to represent to him, That he had lost the fairest opportunity in the World, and that nothing had been so easie as to accomplish it; The Duke was so strangely disorder'd, that he could make him no positive Answer, but expressed himself in confused and doubtful Terms. The Count still entertained the Cardinal in Conversation; one of the Conspirators being behind him, and the other two at a little distance off; but *Monsieur* not returning, the Cardinal began to fear there was some design against his Person; and taking his leave of the Count, got into his Coach, and went home. He did not know till some time after, the circumstances of the danger he had been in; but from that moment he would never trust himself more in the hands of his Enemies. These Princes afterwards pretended, That when they were upon the point of having him Assassinated, they were hinder'd from doing it, by considering, that the Cardinal was a Priest: a weak Reason to put by the Execution of a Lawful Design, if this was one, and which did not ren-

der

1636. der the Crime much more heinous, if they looked upon this action to be a crime, as really it was. Besides, it was not at that very Moment when they design'd to kill the Cardinal, that they first learnt he was a Priest: no, they knew that long before; and if that reason was good, it ought to have disswaded them at the beginning, from falling upon such a Design. But those people that had engaged these Princes in this Affair, attributed this sudden change to the natural weakness of *Monsieur*, which rendred him equally uncapable of good and bad actions, when they required any force of Mind or Resolution.

Having failed of this blow, the Duke and the Count took the other way which had been proposed, to ruin the Cardinal in the King's good opinion of him. To effect this more easily, they endeavour'd to engage the Dukes of *Espernon*, *la Valette*, *Bouillon* and *Rets* in their Design, and they sent Messengers to them for that purpose; but they onely discover'd their thoughts by this means, without strengthening their party. The Cardinal who was inform'd of it, judged that the best way to support himself against them, and to be revenged of 'em, was to remove them from the Court, by making false Advice be given them, That the King design'd to Apprehend them. Thus being gone to *Paris* by the King's Order, on the 18th of *November*, while the Cardinal was still in *Picardy*, he Alarm'd them so dexterously with this false news, that on the 20th, or 21st of *November* at Night, both of them made their Escapes. *Monsieur* retired to *Blois*, without seeing the King, and the Count *de Soissons* to *Sedan*, without taking his leave of him.

As soon as they had left the Court, it was no difficult matter for the Cardinal to perswade the King what he pleased; but when His Majesty came to be informed, that these Princes gave it out publickly, That the reason of their going away, was, because there was a design to apprehend them, he was extreamly offended at it; and, in reality, he had never thought of any such thing. *Monsieur* sent a very submissive * Letter next day to the King, which His Majesty was pleased to Answer in very obliging Terms. The Cardinal Writ to him likewise, and made him great offers of his Services;

* *See* T. 11. *of* Aubery's *Mem.* p. 13, *&c.*

ces; but, at the same time, blamed him for his over- 1636.
great credulity, in believing good and false News alike.

As for the Count *de Soissons*, who was of a more haughty spirit, he sent the King a Letter full of Reproaches; wherein he complained, That, in stead of a Reward for the services he had done him, he found himself constrain'd to fly for Sanctuary to one of his Friends, to avoid Imprisonment. However, the King was not much offended at his complaints, and sent him word, That he had not the least intentions to have him apprehended; and that if he had left the Kingdom merely out of fear, he would consent that he should tarry where he was, and that he should enjoy all his Revenues and Pensions, provided he would behave himself like an obedient Subject.

The Duke of *Orleans* seemed to be well enough satisfied with their usage of the Count, for whom he pretended to have a particular concern, and the great kindness they expressed towards himself, had, in appearance, stifled all his Resentments. At last, after they had sent several persons to him, to know what occasions he had to complain, and to see what might be done in his behalf, to cure him of all his jealousies, † *Chavigny* obtain'd a promise of him, That he would suffer himself no more to be influenced by the Counsels of the Count *de Soissons*, and a * Writing sign'd by his own hand, wherein he desired the King to favour him so far, as to put an end to every thing, that might give him any subject of suspicion, or distrust. This might easily be done, if the King would consent to his Marriage, or if he made him the Judge of it himself. If the King agreed to the latter, he demanded a place of security, where he might declare himself, without running any danger. The Duke added, That he hoped they would treat the Count *de Soissons* with the same lenity and indulgence.

† *Siri Mem. Rec.* T. 8. P. 451.

* *Dated the* 11*th of* December, 1636.

Chavigny returned to Court, and was † soon after sent back to *Blois*, with a Writing from the King, wherein he approved the Marriage of *Monsieur*, if he absolutely desired it; upon condition, that he would not at the same time espouse the Interests of the Duke of *Lorrain*, or entertain any Correspondences that might be prejudicial to

† *The* 16*th of* December.

1636. the welfare of the Kingdom. The King desired, that *Monsieur* would oblige himself to the performance of this, by signing a Promise that was drawn up, and sent to him. As for what concerned the Count *de Soissons*, *Chavigny* inform'd him what Message His Majesty had sent to him. The Duke of *Orleans* appear'd to be well enough pleas'd, and told him, He was ready to sign the Promise that was proposed to him; but, he would not wholly conclude it, till he had Written to the Count *de Soissons*, if it were onely for form sake. He likewise desired, that *Du Fargis*, *Coudrai-Montpensier*, and the Abbot of *la Riviere*, who had lately been sent to Prison, should be set at liberty. This, though it was not wholly refused, yet they intimated to him, that it would be much more proper to ask these Favours of the King, after he had entirely adjusted all differences with him. The Abbot of *la Riviere* indeed was soon after released from his Confinement, because he promised to joyn with *Goulas*, the Duke's Secretary, who was of the Cardinal's Party, to perswade *Monsieur* to doe what the Minister desired of him. As for a place of Security, they thought it by no means fitting to grant him one; and, unless they granted that, the Duke was afraid they would not keep their words with him. Some of his Domesticks put that into his head, as also to stick firm to the Count *de Soissons*, from whose Interests the Court endeavoured to disengage him. As he was naturally inconstant and irresolute, he sometimes seemed inclin'd to make his own Agreement by himself; yet Writ at the same time to the Count, who had invited him to *Sedan*, that he design'd to come and joyn him. But at last the Offers of the Court, and the Advice of those about him that favour'd it, determined him, for some time, to make his Reconciliation without the Count, and to feign himself sick of the Gout, that he might not go to *Sedan*.

In the mean time several of those persons who had been in the party of *Puilaurens*, came to *Blois*, and *Monsieur*'s Court increased every day. The Dukes of *Vendome* and *Beaufort* came thither in private to offer their Services to him, and the D. of *Beaufort* engaged to conduct him securely, where-ever he would be pleased to go. The Cardinal fearing

fearing lest this Prince might be prevailed upon to alter his Mind, by the suggestions of those that were about him, advised His Majesty to dispatch Orders to all the Governours of the Provinces and Towns about *Blois*, to have an eye upon all the Passes, and stop him, in case he attempted to go farther, till they had fresh Instructions. Troops were posted in several places for the same reason, and people were set at *Blois* to look after all *Monsieur*'s Motions, and send advice of all that happen'd. 1636.

Ever since the beginning of this year, the Court was informed by *Chavigny*, and the Count *de Guiche*, who were sent expressly to *Blois*, that the Duke of *Orleans* continued to demand a place of Security, such as *Blaye*, *Blavet*, or *Nantes*. The Count *de Soissons* demanded the same for himself, before he would return to Court, and named *Verdun*, or *Stenay*. The Duke supported this demand of the Count, whom he seem'd willing enough to abandon before; and sent *Chaudebonne* to *Paris*, to demand farther for himself, an enlargement of all his Domesticks: that after a General Peace they should pay all his Debts; that, for the present, they should pay him down all those Sums they had promised him, and allow him a Hundred thousand Crowns towards some Buildings he was then about; that they should not question any of his servants, or of the Count *de Soissons*; that he might reside where he pleased; and that they would assign him out of the Treasury a Pension for the Maintenance of Madam, so soon as she should come into *France*. 1637.

The King and Cardinal looked upon these Pretensions of *Monsieur* to be extravagant, especially what related to the Places of Security, which they thought these Princes demanded for no other reason, but to be in a condition, upon the first occasion of Discontent they pretended to receive, to introduce the Enemies of the Crown into the Bowels of *France*. So they were rejected, and the King enlarged the Chevalier *de Grignan* out of the *Bastile*, who had a great Ascendant over *Monsieur*, hoping that when he was near his Person, he might counter-balance the Credit of those who perswaded him to demand a place of security. They were per-

1637. swaded at Court, that *Monsieur* was so effectually led by the instigation of others, that they did not question but that if those that were about him would advise him to put himself into the King's hands, without making any Stipulations, he would immediately come and do it.

About the middle of *January* they sent him word, That His Majesty would grant him all the Securities he could desire, but that he was willing to see an end of this Affair. Upon this *Monsieur* dispatched F. *Gondran*, his Confessor, to Court, with demands like those he had made before. They discover'd plainly by this, that he onely endeavour'd to gain time to make his escape to *Sedan*, to which place the Count *de Soissons* sought all manner of ways to draw him, and that perhaps they waited till the *Spaniards* and *Imperialists* were in a condition to act in their favour. So the Cardinal advised the King to go to *Orleans* in Person with His Guards, to put an end to this business, but he thought it the best way to send before-hand to *Sedan*, to the Count *de Soissons*, a * Writing to Sign, by which he should declare, That if His Majesty gave him leave to reside at *Monzon*, a small Town in *Champagne*, he would live there like a dutiful Subject; and that if the Duke of *Orleans* endeavoured to debauch him from the Obedience he owed the King, he would not assist him in any manner. The Count answered, That he would leave that matter to the Duke of *Orleans* to act in it as he pleased; but refused to sign the Writing, by which he should engage himself to live in one of the worst Towns in the Kingdom. 'Tis probable the Cardinal made him the offer of that City, purposely to make him refuse it, that so he might not make his peace with the King so soon; for he hated him as much as he despised the Duke of *Orleans*, when he had no body to advise him. The Minister who put the same Sentiments into the King's Head, about both the Princes, perswaded him, upon the receipt of this Answer, to employ his Authority to make an end speedily with *Monsieur*, and to leave the Count, for some time, out of the Kingdom. So the King's departure for *Orleans* was fixed on the 25th of *January*, and he was to carry along with him the *French* and

* *See it in* Aubery's Mem. Tom. 2. p. 17.

1637. and *Swiss* Regiments of Guards, with Twelve hundred Horse.

After some Negotiations, *Monsieur* obtain'd a promise of the King, that he wou'd not pass beyond *Orleans*; but upon the Cardinal's * Arrival thither, the Duke was so terribly affrighted, that all that he insisted upon amounted only to this, that they wou'd not apprehend him when he came to *Orleans*. The King † writ to him, to invite him to come and see him there, and gave him his Royal Word that he wou'd be so far from using him in that manner, *That if after he had been with him he still persisted in his Inclinations to leave the Kingdom, he wou'd give him free leave to do it, with all the security he cou'd desire.* The Cardinal joyn'd a Billet to it, where he assured him, *That he wou'd engage his life and his honour for the performance of what the King was pleas'd to write to him.* The Duke on his side sign'd a new Oath of Fidelity at *Blois*, wherein he begged a Pardon for the Count *de Soissons*, and promised to renounce all manner of Friendship with him, if he behaved himself unworthy of the great favour his Majesty had shewn him in giving him leave to enjoy his Estate, his Pensions, and his Offices, if he continued to act like an obedient Subject. Upon this the King made a sort of a Declaration, wherein he promised to leave the Duke and the Count in the possession of the above-mention'd Things, upon condition they did nothing prejudicial to his Service.

* *The 31st of* January.

† Aubery's *Mem.* T. 2. p. 19.

After this, the Duke ‡ came to *Orleans*, accompanied by the Cardinal *de la Valette*; supp'd with the King, visited the Cardinal-Duke, and was received extreamly well, altho' all the World despised him for his Weakness. Even the Cardinal-Duke cou'd not forbear to rally him, though he made him abundance of Compliments. This Prince sent to acquaint the Count *de Soissons* with what had passed between the King and him, and to let him know, that if he had a mind to be comprehended in this Treaty, he had a Months time allow'd him to consider of it; and that in case he accepted it, he might either stay in his Government of *Champagne* with all safety, or come back to Court.

‡ *The 8th of* February. Siri. *Mem. Rec.* T. 8. p. 474.

The same day that the Duke of *Orleans* saw the King, His * Majesty sent Orders to the Countess of *Soissons*, who

* *See the Collection of the Mem. of Aub.* T. 2. p. 48.

1639. who was at *Paris*, to retire to *Creil*, a small Town in the Isle of *France*, for fear lest she shou'd form any Cabals at *Paris*, in favour of her son. In the mean time this Prince received the Advice which *Monsieur* sent him; and after he had complain'd of his Inconstancy, he † answered, that he was very glad that the Duke of *Orleans* had given content to the King; but as for himself, who had left the Court for no other Reasons but for the Interests of the Duke, and his own proper Security, all that he desired was, to live in quiet at *Sedan*, as his Majesty had promised he might do; That if it were lawful for him to complain, he might complain, that in the Declaration which was published in favour of *Monsieur*, the King pardons him a fault which he had never committed, since the King had not disapproved his retiring to *Sedan*; that he might add to this, the ill Treatment they had shewn the Countess his Mother, and that they pretended to take away from him his Estate, his Pensions, and his Governments.

† Aubery's *Mem.* T. 2. p. 29.

Although this Answer shew'd much more Resolution than the Duke of *Orleans* had expressed, yet the Count *de Soissons* was not the worse used for that. On the other hand, the Cardinal, fearing lest if the Enemy happen'd to make such a Campaign this Year as they did the Year before, and cou'd bring the Count over to their Party, they wou'd occasion infinite Disorders in the State, prevailed with the King to send the Count *de Brion* to *Sedan*, to hinder the Prince from bending his Thoughts that way. The King and the Cardinal writ to him some time after *, in very obliging terms, and in his Answers, the Count expresst a great deal of † Submission to the King, and Civility to the Minister, but wou'd not own that he had committed any fault.

* The 27th of March.
† The 6th of April. *Mem. d'* Aub. T. 2. c. 25.

In the mean time the Cardinal came to be informed, that this Prince, who was mightily beloved by the Soldiers, had sent several ‡ Emissaries to the King's Armies, to endeavour to debauch several Officers there, and bring them over to his own Party. Besides this, it was * discovered by the means of Father *Hilarion* a Capuchin, whom the Court sent to him to induce him to reconcile himself with the King, or to know his last Resolution, that he was upon the point of concluding a Treaty

‡ Aubery's *Life of the Card.* Lib. 5. Cap. 49.
* *Siri Mem. Rec.* T. 8. p. 474.

ty with the Emperour, and the Cardinal-Infanta, by the Intervention of the Queen-Mother. The Cardinal-Infanta offer'd to furnish him with Money to raise a new Body of an Army, and the Emperour granted him the Title of General, to command the Troops of *Piccolomini*, to which the Duke of *Bouillon* was to joyn some others. The Cardinal had notice of this; and fearing the fatal consequences of this Treaty, sent *la Croisette*, a Gentleman of the Duke of *Longueville*, to *Sedan*, as in the name of the Countess of *Soissons*, not believing that the King cou'd in honour send any one in his own name, after he knew how far the Court had advanced. *La Croisette* knew so well how to manage the Count, that he delay'd to sign the Treaty which St. *Yval* brought him out of the Low-Countries, and gave his Word that he wou'd not engage himself, till he knew whether his Majesty wou'd grant what he demanded of him. 1637.

La Croisette returning with all speed to the Court, obtain'd in a manner all that the Count pretended to, and went immediately to * carry him this News to *Sedan*. The King gave him leave to † reside at *Sedan*, or any other City he shou'd pitch upon in his Government of *Champagne*, in case he wou'd not come to Court, or in any Foreign City that was not suspected, for four Years, unless his Majesty sent for him to serve him in any important Affairs; that then he shou'd be obliged to come, and that till then they wou'd not interpret his Absence to be a Crime against the State, or a Disobedience. The same Articles specified, That during the space of four Years, the King shou'd furnish him with 25000 Crowns a year, to be employ'd in the Payment of the Garrison of *Sedan*: That the Duke of *Bouillon* should be paid all that was due to him; and that the King shou'd testifie to him, that he was well pleased with him for assisting the Count; and that he should augment his Revenue with 15000 Crowns, by reason of his Alliance: That the Count shou'd enjoy his Estates, Functions, Offices, Benefices, and Emoluments: That the King shou'd publish a Declaration in favour of all those that had follow'd him, that they shou'd not be taken again for this fault: That the Count shou'd sign these Articles, and swear Fidelity to the King, between the

* The 14th of July.
† See the *Mem.* of Aub. T. 2. p. 21.

1637. the hands of one of his Almoners; and that the Countess of *Soissons* shou'd return to *Paris*.

The Count sign'd these Articles, and took the Oath of Fidelity to the King, as was expressly provided by the Treaty; after which he excused himself as well as he cou'd to the Queen-Mother and Prince *Thomas*, for not concluding that Affair which he had begun with the Cardinal-Infanta. His Constancy and Resolution made him obtain better Terms than the Duke of *Orleans*, without stooping to make any of those condescensions as he had done. The Cardinal, who shew'd himself imperious to the highest degree against those whom he did not fear, complied with those that knew how to make themselves be feared.

He did not behave himself so in relation to the Queen-Mother, * for whom the King and Queen of *England* interceded in vain with her Son, towards the end of this Year. She sent *Monsigot* to *London* with an † Instruction, by which she demanded to be re-established as before, and the same favour for her Domesticks, and all those that had followed her Departure. But as they did not in the least fear *Charles* I. in *France*, and much less *Mary de Medicis*, they cou'd obtain nothing.

* *Siri Mem. Rec.* T. 8. p. 539.

† *Dated the* 11*th of* September.

To come now to Foreign Affairs; ‡ The Duke of *Parma* being besieged by the *Spaniards* in *Placentia*, and in great danger of being taken there, had long ago implored the Assistance of *France*, which they were now resolved to send him by the Fleet that was arrived at *Provence*, to recover the Isles of *Honorat*, and St. *Margaret*. But when this Succour was ready to part, the Duke of *Parma* fearing that it wou'd not come soon enough, made an Accommodation with the *Spaniards*, by the means of *Pandolfini*, Minister to the Grand Duke, who performed all the Offices of a Mediator. He excused himself to the King of *France* upon the invincible necessity he lay under; and the Court did not seem to be much displeased with him, because they knew not which way to get into his Country, nor how to find Subsistence for their Troops there, which they design'd to send him. The Duke of *Parma* order'd the few *French* Forces he had in his Dominions to depart, and after that was obliged to surrender *Sabioneta* to the *Spaniards*, under a pretence

‡ Siri, *ibid.* p. 476.

1637. tence of restoring that little Principality to the Neice of the Princess *de Stigliano* lately deceased. He likewise adjusted Matters soon after with the Duke of *Modena*: And thus the League of *Italy*, and the great Hopes that were built upon it, fell to the ground.

The Marquis *de Leganez* enter'd afterwards into *Montferrat*, where he took *Castel Ponzone* and *Nice de la Paille*; but advancing towards *Final*, with a Design to cover it, because the Mareschal *de Crequi* made as if he had a mind to attack that place, he was obliged to retire in Disorder, after the loss of five or six hundred of his Men.

In the mean time the *French* Fleet, * that they shou'd not be said to do nothing, went to attack the Isle of *Sardinia*, although they had scarce one Pilot aboard the Fleet that knew the Harbours and the Roads. However, they arrived very happily there, and made a Descent in the Bay of *Oristan*, without any one to oppose them. The *French* afterwards took a City of that name, which they found full of Provisions. The Officers had resolved at first to spare private Houses, and only carry off the Victuals, and send them to the Fleet; but this Order being ill executed, and the Country Houses plundered, all the Island took the Alarm, and the Inhabitants perceiving the small Numbers of the *French*, who were wholly destitute of Horse, resolved to beat them out by force. The *French*, who did not make above four thousand Foot with some Field-pieces, fearing to be over-run by the Cavalry of the Island which were as many as they were, and besides were followed by a considerable Body of Foot, thought of making a Retreat, which they performed luckily enough, by reason of the great Inexperience of their Enemies Militia. In this Precipitation they scarce carried away any thing but the Glory of having shewn the Nobility and People of the Island that they understood the Affairs of War better than they did.

* *Siri*, Ibid. p. 499.

So soon as these Naval Forces were * returned to *Provence*, they had Orders to attack the Isles, possessed by the *Spaniards*. This they executed with so much Vigour, that in a few Days, the † King was Master of the Isle of St. *Margarets*, notwithstanding the brave Resistance of the *Spaniards*, after which they forced the Garrison

* See *Siri Mem. Rec.* T. 8. p. 502.

† *The* 12*th of* May. *See* Charles Bernard *upon the Year.*

1637. Garrison of St. *Honorat* to Capitulate to have the Liberty to retire without Cannon, without Ammunition, and without Colours. The Count *d'Harcourt*, who commanded the Fleet, acquir'd a great deal of Reputation upon this occasion, as well as *Castelan*, who commanded the Troops in Quality of *Mareschal de Camp*. The Archbishop of *Bourdeaux*, who was likewise there, attributed to himself part of the Honour of this Action, although others wou'd have been apt to say, that he neither understood the office of a Bishop, nor that of a General, of which he was so Ambitious.

Thus the *Spaniards* were beaten out of the Isles of St. *Honorat* and St. *Margaret*, which had cost them a great deal, though they scarce made any advantage of them, while they kept them in their Hands. The Duke *de la Valette* found it an easie matter to * turn them out of *Guienne*, without doing any thing else than cutting off their Provisions. They were reduced to such great extremities, that without staying till they were attacked, they embark'd their Artillery and the Sick at *Socoa* of their own accord, after which the rest of the Army marched. All this while the Duke *de la Valette* had been but sorrily assisted by the Court, where he was not much respected, because neither he, nor his Father had ever submitted to the Cardinal's Authority, although the Son was allied to the Minister.

* *The Life of the Duke of Espernon.*

The Attempt which the *Spaniards* made upon *Languedoc*, towards the end of the same Summer, met with no better Success, although the *French* were not in a very good Condition to receive them. Count *Serbellon* at the Head of Fourteen Thousand Foot, and Fifteen Hundred Horse, went to besiege *Leucate*, on the last day of *August*. He attack'd it with a great deal of Vigour, but the place being sufficiently strong, what by its Fortifications, and what by its natural Situation, *Du Barry* the Governour defended it so well, that the Duke of *Hallain* Governour of the Province, had time enough to come to the relief of it. Having presently got together Ten Thousand Men of the Militia of *Languedoc*, brave fighting Fellows, and well season'd in the Civil Wars, with Seven or Eight Hundred Horse, of which he made a review at *Narbonne* the 22d of *September*, he marched

† *Siri Mem. Rec. T. 8. p. 513. See also Ch. Bernard. Lib. 18. S. 10.*

1637. marched four Days after in order of Battle, towards the Enemy's Camp. After he had taken a view of them, he resolved to attack them on the 28th of the same Month, at the beginning of the Night. The *Spaniards* surprized to meet the Enemy without seeing them, and not knowing where to run, fell into a great Disorder, after they had made a feeble Opposition for a few Hours. At last they found there was no other way to save themselves, but by abandoning their Camp, with all their Ammunition and Baggage, and the Night which furnished the Enemy with an opportunity to vanquish them, favoured their Flight. In Recompence of this brave Action and several other Services, the Duke of *Hallain* received a Mareschal's Staff of *France* on the 27th of *October*, and was ever after, called the Mareschal *de Schomberg*, as his Father was.

The same Day, the Mareschal *de Vitry* Governour of *Provence*, with whom the Court was highly dissatisfied, because he had ruined their first enterprize upon the Isles St. *Honorat*, and St. *Margaret*, was arrested by the Marquis *de Gêores*, and carried to the *Bastile*. His Government of *Provence* was given at the same time to Count *d'Alets*.

The *French* did not only defend themselves with a great deal of Success in *Guienne* and *Languedoc*, and turn the *Spaniards* out of all those Places they had taken, but they attack'd them in the Low-Countries with sufficient Advantages on their Side. The Cardinal *de la Valette*, and the Duke of *Candalle* his Brother, who had commanded a long while in the Service of the *Venetians*, and was now returned into *France*; besieged *Landreci*, a City of *Henault*, which * capitulated soon after. From hence they marched to attack *Capelle*, and took it, through the Cowardice of the Governour, who did not give the Cardinal *Infanta* time to relieve him, although he advanced by great Marches, with Fifteen Thousand Men. He was not far off, when he heard that the Place was in the Hands of the *French*. The † King had desired ever since the last Year to lay Siege to this Place, to get from the *Spaniards* all that they had taken, but the Season was too far advanced, after the taking of *Corbie*, to engage in a new Siege. He therefore

* *The* 23d. *of* July. *Siri Mem.* Rec. T. 8. p. 511. *and* Bernard. Lib. 18. S. 6.

† Aubery's *Life of the* Cardinal. Lib. 6. Cap. 53.

1637. fore was resolved to have it done this Year, and to be there himself in Person, but there appeared some difficulty in the attempt, which made the Cardinal dissuade him from it, and propose the design of besieging *Avesnes*. In the mean time, as they were preparing all things to put it in Execution, 'twas believed their attempt upon that Place would miscarry, and for that reason they bethought themselves to attack *Capelle*. The King was extreamly incensed at their besieging it, after they had dissuaded him from it as being a dangerous Enterprize, as if they had envied him the Honour of reducing that Place. Nay, he was angry with the Cardinal, as if this Minister had designed to deceive him: But the Minister appeased him, by procuring an Attestation signed by the Officers of the Army; wherein they affirmed, that they had resolved upon this Enterprize in the ordinary Forms, finding the opportunity to be favourable to them, and not at all by the Cardinal's Order.

At this time, the Minister found out the Correspondence which the Queen had kept with the Dutchess *de Chevreuse*, a discarded Mistress of the Cardinal, as 'tis reported, and ordered the Man to be apprehended, by whose means she managed this Commerce, as if the Queen had been obliged to give him an account of all those, with whom she had any manner of Concern. The Superiour of *Val du Grace*, who was accused to be in the intrigue, was likewise removed to another Convent. Every thing that touched the Minister never so little, was a Crime against the State, and was punished more severely than what regarded the King's Person; but to return to the Affairs of War.

On the other side, the Marescal *de Châtellon* attack'd *Yvoix*, in the Country of *Luxemburg*, and although it was defended with great Gallantry by Colonel *Bronx*, it was forced to surrender towards the end of *August*. But the *French* did not enjoy this Conquest long, for at the beginning of *September*, this place fell again into the Hands of the *Spaniards*, who made themselves Masters of it by surprize. This Loss troubled the King exceedingly, and to make amends for it, the Marescal *de Châtillon*, whom the Cardinal *de la Valette*, and the Marquis *de la Meilleraye* had joyned, with

with the Body which they commanded, went to besiege 1637.
Damvilliers, while the Duke of *Candalle*, who was with another Body at *Maubeuge*, kept the Cardinal *Infanta* in Breath. This Prince, after he had failed in his design'd relief of *Capelle*, endeavour'd with as little success to oblige the Prince of *Orange* to raise the Siege of *Breda*, but was not able so much as to fall upon his Quarters. *Frederick-Henry* enter'd this place the 9th of *October*, and all that the Cardinal *Infanta* cou'd do, was to make himself Master of *Bento* and *Ruremond* in *Guelderland*. A few days after, he received the uncomfortable News, that *Damvilliers*, one of the best places in the Country of *Luxemburg*, * had surrendred to the Marescal *de Châtillon*. The *French* took several other small places this Campaign, in the Low-Countries, and the *Franche-Comté*, where their Army was commanded by the Duke of *Longueville*.

* The 23d of October.

If the *Spaniards* had met with no better success in *Italy* than they had either in *France* or the Low-Countries, the Cardinal had found just Reason for having caused the War to be declared against them. But the Loss which *France* sustained of the *Valteline*, which had given them so much Trouble and Expence, very much diminished that joy, which their great Advantages in other places gave them. As this Minister was wholly taken up in Intrigues at home, by which means he made a shift to preserve himself in his Post, he was frequently obliged to neglect Forcign Affairs, and he was the readier sometimes to do it, because the Persons whom the King employ'd, were not in the favour of the Ministry. He discharged a great part of his Affairs upon Father *Joseph*, who was fitter to contrive any little Plots, than to manage great Affairs with Discretion. This gave the *Grisons* an opportunity to make an insurrection in favour of the *Spaniards*. They had never been satisfied with the manner of adjusting matters between them and the Inhabitants of the *Valteline*; and besides, * no care was taken to pay their Troops, as they were promised. At this time indeed it was impossible to do it, by reason of the vast Expences in other Places, some of which were as good as thrown away, as particularly the great Charges they were at for equipping the Fleet, in the Year 1636, occa-

* *Siri Mem. Rec.* T. 8. p. p. 497.

1637. occasion'd by the differences between the Officers, and the Mareschal *de Vitry*. Thus they were indebted upwards of a Million to the Troops of the *Grisons*, who saw there was no probability of their being satisfied, which disposed them to hearken to the Sollicitations of the House of *Austria*. It unhappily fell out too, that the Duke of *Rohan*, who had a great Authority among them, fell dangerously ill. During his indisposition, the *Grisons* resolved to break with *France*, and they obliged one another by an Oath, to take up Arms to beat the *French* out of their Territories. The Three Leagues made a Treaty at *Inspruck*, with the Marquis *de Leganez*, and the Arch-Duke *Leopold*, for the execution of this Design.

On the day appointed for it, the *Grisons* abandon'd the Posts, which the Duke of *Rohan* had given them to keep. One part of them entred into *Coire*, to secure that City against the *French*; and the rest positively refused to obey any other Officers, but those that were nominated by the Leagues. The Duke of *Rohan* finding himself somewhat better, went to all places to appease them, and by his repeated instances at last obtain'd of them to stay two Months, to give the King time to satisfie them. In the mean time, the *Spaniards* put themselves in a posture to assist the *Grisons*, if they shou'd have occasion for them; and these two Months passed and two Months more, and yet through the Cardinal's Negligence, no Money came from *France*, though the Duke of *Rohan* represented to him the great Danger he was in, if some course was not taken to pay the *Grisons* what was due to them. It seems the Cardinal had a Design to ruine the Duke of *Rohan*, by suffering him to lose the *Valteline*, and to throw the fault at last wholly upon him, in case he did not perish there. At last, all the Country took up Arms on the 18th of *March*, and some of them run to the place where the Duke was, to apprehend him; but he immediately retir'd to the Fort *du Rhine*, not that it was in a Condition to defend it self, but to avoid the fury of the People, who were provoked to the highest Degree, to see themselves paid with nothing but fair Words. Nay, though the Fort had been in a case of Defence, yet the Duke of *Rohan* was not able to

do any thing, because it was kept by the *Switzers*, who were fully resolved to deliver him up. The *Grisons* insisted, That the Duke should immediately give Orders for the *French* Troops to goe out of their Country; but, as he had no Commission from the Court to doe it, he was afraid lest he should ruine himself if he consented to it. However, he was obliged speedily to come to some resolution, or else to see the *French*, that were dispersed in several places up and down the Country, Murthered. 1637.

In this extremity he bethought himself of an Expedient, which, at the same time, saved his own honour, and the lives of his Souldiers. And that was to promise, That within Twenty days, reckoning from that on which the Treaty was Signed, he would Command them to quit the *Valteline*. But the *Grisons* not being content with that proposal, he offer'd to goe to *Coire*, and there to stay as an Hostage, till the entire accomplishment of the Treaty. By hazarding his Person thus, the Duke saved his Army, and gave the King time to send another General to the *Valteline*, through the States of *Venice*, if he thought it convenient, or if the Court was minded to abandon this Country, they might do it then with more honour, than if the Duke had given Orders for his Troops to remove, when the *Grisons* would have had him doe it.

In this conjuncture the *Spaniards* endeavour'd to perswade the *Grisons* to deliver up the Duke to them, for fear he should make his escape; but the *Grisons* would by no means consent to that, but rather chose to keep him, as a Prisoner of War, but would not give him leave to converse with any body. The term of Twenty days was expired, and yet no Order came from Court, the Cardinal being resolved to take no notice of the matter. However the *French* Troops * departed, the Forts were consigned to the *Grisons*, and the Duke set at liberty. The principal Persons of the Country accompanied him as far as the Frontiers, as it were to excuse themselves for the Violence that had been used towards him. After he had crossed *Switzerland*, and carried his Troops to the Province of *Gex*, he left them in the hands of the Count *de Guebriant* Mareschal de

* The 5th of May.

1637. Camp, and retired to *Geneva*, there to expect His Majeſty's farther Orders. This Conduct of the Duke of *Rohan* was extreamly cenſured at Court, as if he had not been ſenſible that the Country would be infallibly loſt, if they did not ſpeedily ſupply him with Money, and as if he had not acquainted them with all that happen'd. The Cardinal cauſed Two hundred thouſand Livres to be ſent to the Count *de Guebriant*, with Orders not to obey the Duke, but endeavour to re-enter into the Country, out of which he came, with his Troops, in caſe the *Venetians* were willing to aſſiſt him. But now it was too late, and the Paſſes were two well Guarded; ſo that theſe Troops, conſiſting in all of about Six thouſand Foot, and Seven hundred Horſe, were ordered, part to go into *Italy*, and the reſt for *Burgundy*, to joyn the Duke of *Longueville* there. From that time the War which *France* made in *Italy*, was onely a ſlight diverſion for the Forces of the Houſe of *Auſtria*; and it appeared, by what followed, that the Cardinal had no other deſign than that.

This year Three Princes of Europe died, whoſe death, it was to be feared, would occaſion great Diſorders. The firſt was the Emperour *Ferdinand* the II, who died on the 14th of *February*. His Son, *Ferdinand* the III, who had been already Elected King of the *Romans* ſucceeded him. The Cardinal, for what reaſon I don't know, would not ſuffer *France* to own him, either for the King of the *Romans*, or for Emperour, although every thing had been done in the accuſtomed forms, and all the Catholick Princes, and the greateſt part of the Proteſtants had own'd him without any difficulty. And therefore *France*, which otherwiſe would have diſobliged the Electors extreamly, and ſeveral other Princes, without any Neceſſity, or the leaſt proſpect of an Advantage to be made by it, ſoon after acknowledged *Ferdinand* the III, as every one had done before them. The Affairs of the *Swedes* went ill enough this year in *Germany*; and *Banier* was content to put himſelf in poſſeſſion of *Pomerania*, after the Death of Duke *Bogiſlaus* the XIV, ſince he was not in a condition to moleſt the Imperialiſts.

The

The ſecond Prince that died this year, was *Charles Gonzaga*, Duke of *Mantua*. While he lived in *France*, as a † Subject, he had a great Reputation, and paſſed for a Prince of equal bravery and prudence. After he became a Soveraign, he ſeemed to bend under the weight of Affairs, and could not find any expedient to hinder the deſolation of his Countrey, either by the way of Arms, or that of Negotiation. He left his Dominions to *Charles* his Grandſon, born of the Duke of *Rethel*, and *Mary* of *Mantua*, who was his Guardian. She was the Daughter of *Vincent* Duke of *Mantua*, and *Margaret* of *Savoy*, Daughter to *Charles Emanuel*. 1637. † The 25th of September. *Siri Mem.* Rec. T. 8. P. 478.

The Third was *Butos-Amadeo*, Duke of *Savoy*, who died the 7th of *October*. He was as much eſteem'd as any Prince of his time, for his Conduct both in Peace and War. The onely thing he is blamed for, was his weakneſs in ſuffering *Mazarine* to perſwade him to deliver up *Pignerol* to *France*; by which Surrendry he left his Territories on the other ſide the Mountains to their diſcretion and Mercy. 'Tis true, he deceived *Spain* in doing ſo, but at the ſame time he deceived himſelf infinitely more, and onely kept the bare Title of a Soveraign Prince, unleſs he had a mind to ſhow the marks of his Soveraignty, by cauſing his Country to be ruined by the *French*, whoſe will he was otherwiſe obliged to follow. *Francis Hyacinth*, his Son, ſucceeded him, who dying ſoon after, *Charles Emanuel* took his place, an Infant Four years old. The Duke his Father left *Chriſtina* of *France* his Guardian and Regent, who was owned in this quality by the Senates of *Turin* and *Chambery*, and by all the Orders of *Piedmont* and *Savoy*.

The Death of this * Prince was fatal to his Eſtates, becauſe he was engaged in an open War with *Spain*, who now had a fair opportunity to invade them, and would ſo much the ſooner embrace it, becauſe the Regent being Siſter to the King of *France*, ſhe would, in all probability, depend wholly upon him. On the other ſide, *Maurice*, Cardinal of *Savoy*, and Prince *Thomas*, favoured *Spain* openly, who might have a plauſible pretence to come into *Piedmont*, to put them in poſſeſſion of the Guardianſhip and Regency, to which they might pre-

* *Siri*, Ibid. P. 481.

1637. tend whenever they thought fit. Theſe conſiderations inclined Madam of *Savoy*, and her Council, to endeavour to make a Peace with *Spain* as ſoon as might be, to hinder the ruine of her Country. Beſides, ſhe diſcover'd, ſoon after the Death of the Duke her Husband, how little ſhe was to rely upon the Miniſters of the King her Brother. *L'Emery*, Ambaſſador of *France* at *Turin*, deſign'd, with the aſſiſtance of the *French* Troops that were quarter'd about *Verceil*, where the Duke died, to ſeize upon the Perſon of the Dutcheſs, and of the Princes her Sons, under a pretence to prevent the deſigns of the *Spaniards*, who would endeavour to engage this Princeſs in their Party, or at leaſt to obſerve a Neutrality. The Ambaſſador propoſed this enterprize to the Mareſchal *de Crequi*, but the Mareſchal would not conſent to be the Inſtrument of a violence of this nature, againſt a Daughter of *France*, and againſt Princes that were under the King's Protection. However, the Ambaſſador, who was perfectly well acquainted with the Cardinal-Duke's Temper; and knew, that in matters of State, abundance of things are approved of when done, which would not be allowed to be done, if leave was asked before-hand, did not, for all this, deſiſt from his Deſign. But the Dutcheſs happening to be informed of it, order'd the Marquiſs *de Ville* with the Troops of *Piedmont*, to enter into *Verceil* by night, and cauſed the Gates to be ſhut to ſeveral *French* Officers that came thither, under a pretence of Buying Victuals for their Souldiers. By this means ſhe fruſtrated this Deſign, and the Troops of *France* had Orders to remove from *Verceil*.

The Marquiſs *de S. Maurice*, Ambaſſador of *Savoy* in *France*, having received the News of the Death of the Duke his Maſter, went to carry it to the King and Cardinal, who promiſed to protect the young Duke, and the Dutcheſs, with all the Forces of the Kingdom. The Cardinal gave the Ambaſſador to underſtand, who complain'd of *Emery*'s deſign, that the King had no hand in it, and that he would go to aſſiſt his Sister in Perſon, if it were neceſſary. At the ſame time he adviſed the Dutcheſs to two things; one of them was, to put ſuch Subjects of the Duke, as ſhe was well aſſured of, into all the Strong Places of *Piedmont* and *Savoy*: the other was,

1637. was, To treat her Brothers-in-Law with all the Civility imaginable, but not to ſuffer them to come into the Dominions of the Duke her Son. Upon this the Ambaſſador told him, That the beſt way the Dutcheſs could take to live at peace with all the World, would be to clap up a Peace with *Spain*: To which the Cardinal anſwer'd, That ſhe might expect from the King her Brother every thing that was for the advantage of the Houſe of *Savoy*, even though it ſhould be againſt the Intereſt of the Crown, but that he did not ſee any ſecurity in a particular Peace.

The Cardinal afterwards made a Solemn Viſit to the Ambaſſador; where, after the firſt Compliments were over, he told him, "That he was ſurprized that Madam of *Savoy* had any ſuſpicion of the *French* Troops, "ſince the Mareſchal *de Crequi* had immediately drawn "them off from about *Verceil*, and conducted them to "*Caſal*: that he had diſcover'd, upon this occaſion, the "inclination of ſome of her Counſellors, that had adviſed her to ſend with all expedition into *Spain*, which "apparently tended to diſengage her from *France*; that "he hoped a General Peace would be ſoon concluded, "but that if the Dutcheſs and her Council were too "impatient, the King would not hinder her from making a particular accommodation by her ſelf, but that "his honour would not permit him to abandon his other Allies.

The Cardinal of * *Savoy* was deſirous at the ſame time to come into *Piedmont*, to offer his Services to the young Duke and the Regent by word of Mouth: but ſhe deſired him to let it alone, for fear of giving any ſuſpicion to *France*, with whom he very well knew ſhe was obliged to manage her ſelf cautiouſly, ſince neither her Brother, nor her Husband, could have drawn the Indignation of that Court down upon them, without being conſiderable loſers by the bargain. She likewiſe received Compliments from Prince *Thomas*, by the Marquiſs *Palavicini*. This Prince repreſented to her, That the *French*, under a ſhow of Protecting her, might take the opportunity to ſeize upon *Piedmont* and *Savoy*, and that if *Spain* was induced to bring the War thither for that reaſon, the States of the Houſe of *Savoy* would

* *Siri Mem. Rec.* T. 8. P. 485.

1637. be inevitably ruin'd: that therefore she ought to hinder the *French* from making themselves Masters of the Strong Places, that she might not bring these inconveniences upon her Self; and that he was ready to come there, where his Presence would be necessary, to hinder the *French* from possessing themselves of all: That the more she was interessed in the Preservation of the Princes her Children, so much the greater hast she should make to take the necessary measures for such a Design; and so much the rather, because it was visible that this War was not carried on for the Grandeur of the King her Brother, nor of his Kingdom, but to preserve the Cardinal in his present Dignity.

Towards the end of this year, the Cardinal perceiving that the King was extreamly Melancholy, did all that he could to penetrate into the reason of it. As the King was able to conceal nothing from him, and all those that approached His Majesty, were his own Creatures, except the Confessor, he came to know, that he was troubled with remorse of Conscience for suffering the Queen his Mother to be out of the Kingdom so long, after all the Submissions she had made him. This Prince, who had neither good nor bad inclinations of himself, but as they were put into him by others, was not capable of receiving such a Scruple as that, all on the sudden; and the Cardinal soon discover'd, that the Confessor had possessed him with it. * This Jesuit had the vanity to imagine, that he should make himself sole Master, and be able to destroy the Minister in a short time, against whom he had spoken several things, as it were *en passant*. This was a dangerous enterprise, as well in respect of the implacable humour of the Cardinal, if he did not succeed, as of the King's weakness, who told him again of every thing he heard. However, Father *Caussin*, who had long deliberated upon the matter, and waited a favourable opportunity to open himself frankly to the King, against the Conduct of his Minister, thought he had now found it, and began to represent to him all his Miscarriages, in the most violent Expressions he could think of. He concluded, that His Majesty ought to Discard him for Four principal Reasons. The first was the Banishment of

* *Siri Mem. Rec. T. 8. P. 573.*

of the Queen-Mother, who was left in so great an Indigence, that she wanted even the Necessaries of Life: and this Reason seemed to make some impression upon the King. The second was, that the Cardinal usurped all the Royal Authority, so that nothing remain'd to His Majesty but the bare Name of King; and that the whole Nation had recourse to him, as the supreme Disposer of all Favours. The third was, the Oppression of the People who were reduced to the last misery by the exorbitant Taxes. The fourth was, the Interest of Religion, which the Cardinal-Duke designed to annihilate, by supporting the *Swedes* and the Protestants of *Germany*, who through his means were become more formidable than ever.

1637.

As soon as Father *Caussin* had done talking, the King seemed to be moved by his Discourse, which in reality contain'd nothing but notorious Truths, and such as every one in the Kingdom, to their cost, were convinced of, but only himself. He appeared to be somewhat inclined to remove the Cardinal from the Ministry, if his Confessor cou'd have named any one to him, that was capable of succeeding him; but that was a point he never thought of, so unfit he was to manage an Affair of this consequence. The King afterwards asked him, whether he wou'd justifie before the Cardinal's face what he had then advanced against him. This Question put the Jesuit to a stand; however he recover'd himself, and told him he wou'd make the Cardinal subscribe to the truth of it, since he had said nothing but what all the World knew to be so. The King replied, that he shou'd see him then, and appointed a day; which was the 8th of *December*.

Father *Caussin* waited for this critical day, but found himself under strange Anxieties, especially when he reflected that there was no Dependance upon the King's Resolution, and that he must expect terrible Things from the Minister's Indignation. After he had considered with himself a long while what he was to do in this juncture, he resolved to communicate the whole Affair to the Duke of *Angoulême*, and to propose to him to fill the place of first Minister. The Duke going to visit him at the House of St. *Lewis*, he made this Proposal to

1637. him, which made him more astonished at the Boldness of Father *Caussin*, than desirous to accept the Station he offer'd him. However, pretending to be overcome by his Reasons, he filled him with mighty hopes, and promis'd to support him as far as he was able. The Jesuit was now impatient till the day appointed came, that he might in the Cardinal's presence make good the Accusations he had laid against him. He expected to see the Cardinal fall into an outrageous Passion, but was resolved to push the Business home, whatever it cost him.

But scarce had the Duke of *Angoulême* parted from him, but chusing the surest way, he posted directly to *Ruel* to acquaint the Cardinal with what he had so lately learn'd. Most People condemn'd this Fearfulness in him; but the Duke excused himself upon this, that not being able to repose any assurance upon the King's Constancy, and seeing that this Affair cou'd not possibly succeed if the Cardinal came to have the least knowledge of it by any other way, he wou'd never forgive him for that Confidence which Father *Caussin* had lodged in him. The Cardinal thanked him for his Information, and assured him he wou'd always remember this Kindness: after which, he went to St. *Germains*, to discourse the King. There he recounted to him all that had passed, and proved the four Heads of the Accusation to be false by such sort of Reasonings as used to impose upon His Majesty's Understanding. He remonstrated to him, how dangerous it was to lend an Ear to such turbulent Spirits, and concluded that the Father Confessor ought to be discarded. As for himself, he protested that he passionately desired to go to some place of Retirement, and that he wou'd do it, if it wou'd not be disadvantageous to His Majesty's Affairs.

The Confessor repaired to St. *Germains* on the day appointed, and came into the Anti-Chamber, as his usual custom was; where he was inform'd, that the King had shut himself up in his Closet with the Cardinal. The Conference being very long, was but a bad Omen for Father *Caussin*; and when it was over, *De Noyers* told him from the King, that as for that day his Majesty wou'd not perform his Devotions, and so he might return to *Paris*. By this he understood that he was undone; and

and the very same Evening an Exempt of the Guards seized his Papers and Person. He was afterwards carried to *Quimpercorentin* in *Britany*, where he lived in Confinement till the King's Death. 1637.

Although the Cardinal-Duke gave out that he hoped a General Peace wou'd be soon concluded, yet in order to it there was no prospect of a Treaty set a-foot; and the Court of *Rome*, whose Proceedings are always very slow, did not leave its usual pace to perswade the Crowns to a Peace. The Fancy which had possessed the Cardinal-Duke not to acknowledge *Ferdinand* III. for Emperour, hinder'd them from entring into any Negotiation. Therefore among several Orders that were sent to the Mareschal *d' Estrees*, relating to the manner he was to treat of a Peace, or a Cessation of Arms at *Rome*, he was ordered to find out a way to acquaint the Emperour's Ambassadour, without letting him know that this Advice came from him, that if a Negotiation was begun, the Crown of *France* wou'd own *Ferdinand* III. Above all, the Ambassadour was so to manage Matters, that the Ministers of the House of *Austria* shou'd by no means perceive, that the King had the least desire either for a Peace or a Truce, lest any Advantage shou'd be made of such a Confession. They seem'd to be mightily displeased with Count *Ludovico*, Ambassadour of *Savoy* at *Rome*, for that having proposed a Cessation of Arms in *Italy*, he shou'd affirm that he knew it from very good hands, that *France* wou'd not oppose it. 1638. *The 1st of January. Siri Mem. Rec. Tom. 8. p. 542.*

The Dutchess of *Savoy* * had one Father *Monod* a Jesuit for her Confessor, who had a great Ascendant over the Mind of that Princess. He seem'd to be mighty zealous for the House of *Savoy*, and had been so far considered by *Victor Amadeo*, that he concerned himself as much in Affairs of State, as he did in those that regarded the Conscience. It came into this Man's Head, whether of his own proper Motion, or by the Orders of Madam of *Savoy*, to procure the Queen-Mother's Return into *France*. For this end he took a Journey to *Paris*, where he contracted an Acquaintance with Father *Caussin* the Jesuit; and as he was a Man of extraordinary Address, he engaged him easily in this Design. They looked upon the Queen-Mother's Return to be as good

* Aubery's *Life of the Card. Lib. 6. Cap. 17. Siri Mem. Rec. Tom. 8. p. 574.*

1638. as impoſſible, ſo long as the Cardinal-Duke continued in favour; and therefore they concerted Matters together to ruin his Reputation with the King. To effect this, Father *Cauſſin*, as has been already obſerved, began to inſinuate into his Majeſty, that he cou'd not with a good Conſcience ſuffer his Mother to be any longer out of the Kingdom. The Cardinal coming to know that it was by Father *Monod*'s Inſtigation that Father *Cauſſin* had embarked in this Affair, after he had cauſed the former to be turned away, endeavoured to remove Father *Monod* from the Dutcheſs of *Savoy*, under a pretence that he ſecretly favoured the *Spaniards*. The Cardinal cauſed *d' Emery*, the Ambaſſadour, to tell Madam of *Savoy*, as from his Majeſty, that having ſeveral juſt Occaſions to ſuſpect Father *Monod*, he deſired her to diſmiſs him from Court. The Dutcheſs having no reaſon to part with her Confeſſor, whatever Stories were told againſt him, wou'd by no means give her Conſent to it, and endeavour'd to diſabuſe the Cardinal. But the latter, who never hated any man by halves, preſs'd her to turn him away with more Obſtinacy than ever; as if it had been impoſſible for the King to live peaceably with his Siſter, and to protect her, ſo long as ſhe kept this Jeſuit about her Perſon.

He was ſo incens'd againſt him, that he cou'd not forbear talking of him to the Ambaſſadour of *Savoy*, though this Subject had no relation to the Diſcourſe then in hand. * As the latter was one day telling the Miniſter how zealous Madam of *Savoy* was for the Intereſts of the Crown, and what care ſhe took that the *Spaniards* might not be able to attempt any conſiderable Enterprize which carried the leaſt probability of Succeſs, he afterwards added, that if any thing had happen'd diſadvantageous to the Crown, as for inſtance the Taking of *Ponzone*, it was through the fault of his Majeſty's Miniſters in *Italy*. The Cardinal anſwer'd, 'That the Negligence of the 'Mareſchal *de Crequi* and *d' Emery* was not to be excu-'ſed, but that as long as the Dutcheſs kept Father *Mo-'nod* near her, they muſt expect the like Diſorders, ſince 'the King diſtruſted him, and conſequently his Miniſters 'cou'd ſpeak of nothing to Her Royal Highneſs with any Confidence. The Ambaſſadour replied, That Father *Monod*'s

† *Siri Mem. Rec. T. 8. p. 575.*

Monod's living at *Turin* had not hinder'd the King's Miniſters from executing his Orders. The Cardinal perſiſted, 'That he told him nothing but the truth, and that 'his Majeſty cou'd communicate none of his Deſigns to 'Madam of *Savoy*, for fear leſt ſhe ſhould tell him of 'them again. At laſt, under a pretence that Father *Monod* favour'd Cardinal *Maurice* and Prince *Thomas*, although the Dutcheſs had evident proofs of the contrary, ſhe was forc'd to give her conſent to have him † apprehended. The Jeſuit being inform'd of it, endeavour'd to prevent this blow, but was taken upon the Frontiers, and put in Priſon at *Montmelian*.

1638.

† *About the End of the Year.*

In the mean time the *Spaniards* and the Princes of *Savoy* ſent word to the Dutcheſs, that if ſhe obſerved the Neutrality, they wou'd not make the leaſt Attempt upon *Piedmont*. On the other hand, *France* ſollicited her to renew the Treaty of a League offenſive and defenſive, made with *Victor Amadeo* in 1635, and which was to expire in the Month of *July* 1638. Moſt People were of opinion, that this Treaty was actually broke by the Death of the Duke who concluded it, as well as that of the Duke of *Mantua*, and by the Agreement which the Duke of *Parma* had lately made with *Spain*. The Dutcheſs was willing enough to make a defenſive League, as the Treaty of *Pignerol* had been, by which *France* was obliged to defend *Piedmont*, in caſe it was invaded by the *Spaniards*. Upon this ſeveral tedious Conteſts happen'd; and all that the Dutcheſs ſa'd ſhe cou'd conſent to, concerning the War they wou'd have her continue againſt the *Spaniards*, came to this, That ſhe wou'd attack the Places that had been taken in *Montferrat*. As for the reſt, the Council of *Savoy* was clearly of opinion, that ſhe ought to keep the Neutrality, to preſerve her own Country, without diſengaging her ſelf however from *France*, or making any new Treaty with other Princes. But it was inſiſted upon in *France*, that ſhe ſhould renew the Treaty of *Rivoli*, without having any regard to the Welfare of her State, or the Power of a Regent, which does not go ſo far as to declare a War, unleſs there be urgent neceſſity for it. Although ſhe repreſented all this by her Ambaſſadour, yet it ſignified nothing; and they daily talked of ſending a conſiderable Army into *Piedmont*,

1638. *mont*, to attack the *Milanese*, and to defend *Piedmont* against the Designs of the Cardinal of *Savoy* and Prince *Thomas*. It was to be feared, that under a pretence of Defending it, the Cardinal wou'd make himself absolute Master of all *Piedmont*; and the Dutchess's Council, who foresaw this Inconvenience, did not know how to remedy it. Not to look back so far as ancient Examples, they had before their eyes that of *Casal*, which the *French* had never quitted since the time they first got footing into it. Whenever they were asked to restore it to the Duke of *Mantua*, they still demanded to be reimbursed for the Expences they had been at to keep it, which amounted to so great a Sum, that the Duke of *Mantua* was not in a condition to pay it.

* *The 11th of March. Siri, T. 8. P. 575.*

In the mean time, the Marquis *de Leganez* * laid Siege to the Fort of *Breme* upon the *Po*, and on the other side the River, *Sesia*, to free the *Milanese* from the Incursions of that Garrison. Due care had not been taken to fortifie that Post as it deserved, and *Montgaillard*, the Governour of the place, did not acquit himself in that Trust as he ought to have done; so that it was concluded, the Town would be infallibly lost, if it was not relieved. The Mareschal *de Crequi* went thither in person, and as he approached the *Spanish* Camp, with two or three hundred Horse, to observe them nearer at hand, he alighted, with his prospective Glass in his hand; and leaning on a large Tree to view the Lines of the *Spaniards*, a Cannoneer belonging to the *Spanish* Camp seeing some Horsemen on that side, and a Man in Red Cloaths come forward, he imagined him to be some Officer of Note; and pointing a small Piece directly to the Tree where the Mareschal was, gave fire; and the Bullet carried off the Mareschal's Left-arm, which held the prospective Glass, wounded him in the Belly, and pierced the Tree. The *French* carried him off immediately, and his Body being embalmed, was sent to *Lesdeguieres*.

† *The 17th of March.*

Thus died † *Charles de Crequi*, after he had given great proofs of his Bravery for several Years. *Breme* Surrender'd after a Siege of 15 Days, and after it had suffer'd an Assault. The Governour was apprehended at *Casal*, because it was discovered that he had but 600 Men in Garrison, although but 8 Days before the Siege he had been

been paid for 1700. Afterwards Orders being arrived from Court to bring him to his Tryal, he was beheaded. 1638.

After the Death of the Mareschal *de Crequi*, *France* found it self so unprovided of Generals, upon whom the Cardinal durst rely, that they were forced to send the Cardinal *de la Valette* into *Italy*, and so to order matters, that the Pope should not take it ill that they had given him that Employ.

In the mean time the Dutchess of *Savoy*, finding herself incapable of opposing the Forces of *France*, if she offended them by refusing to sign the League Offensive and Defensive, ‡ was at last resolved to comply with them; and by that means drew the *Spanish* Army upon her hands. His Majesty's Troops and her own, when the Cardinal *de la Valette* arrived there, made up no more than 10000 Foot, and 3000 Horse, and that of *Leganez* consisted of 5 or 6000 Men more. So before the *French* had augmented their Army, the latter went to Besiege *Verceil*, and made their Lines of Circumvallation, that they might not be obliged to raise the Siege. There were about 1500 *French* and *Savoyards* in the place, commanded by the Marquis *Degliani*, Governour of the Town.

‡ *The 9th of June. See the Treaty in Aubery's Mem. T. 2. P. 147.*

The People of *Piedmont* seeing a *Spanish* Army in their Country, exclaimed every where against the Regent, who since she was not in a condition to defend them, ought to have kept the Neutrality; and 'twas highly probable, that if her two Brothers-in-law came into the Country, they wou'd rise up and declare for them. For this reason the *Spaniards* resolved to engage them to go thither, under a pretence of taking part in the Government of the State, but in reality to make themselves Masters of it. The Cardinal *de la Valette* vex'd to see so considerable a place ready to be taken, at his Arrival into *Piedmont*, used all possible diligence to throw Relief into the Town; and he luckily accomplished it on the 20th of *June* at night, putting into it, without loss, about two thousand Men, commanded by S. *Andre* Master *de Camp* of the Troops of *Savoy*. However, in spight of the obstinate Resistance of the Garrison, and of the Relief, the *Spaniards* carried on the Siege; and the Besieged wanting powder, they were reduced to the last Extremity

1638. Extremity in a few days. Thus having repulſed one Aſſault with Swords in their hands, Pikes, and Stones, they ſurrender'd upon compoſition, towards the beginning of *July*. The Cardinal *de la Valette*, who was not poſted far from the *Spaniſh* Army, was of opinion to attack the Enemy in their Retrenchments; but the Generals of the Dutcheſs wou'd by no means conſent to it, for fear leſt if the Enterprize ſhou'd not ſucceed, *Piedmont* wou'd be too much expoſed to the Inſults of the *Spaniards*. After the Taking of this place, the Dutcheſs complain'd exceedingly of the Cardinal *de la Valette*, and the people ſpoke ill of the *French* in all places. But that which threatned to hurt them, turn'd to their Advantage; for after this Loſs, the Dutcheſs ſaw her ſelf obliged to put *French* Garriſons into all the Towns of *Piedmont*, notwithſtanding the Murmurings of her Subjects. At the ſame time the *Spaniards* failed in their Deſign upon *Caſal*, which was favoured by the Dutcheſs of *Mantua*, who was entirely of their Party, and was angry to ſee her ſelf a Dependant upon *France* by the means of that place. The Marquiſs *de Leganez*, to render the *French* more odious to the People, publiſh'd a Manifeſto, wherein he declared that the true Intent of his coming into *Piedmont* and *Montferrat* was only to turn out the *French* from thence, and not to make War againſt the Dukes of *Savoy* and *Mantua*, that were oppreſs'd by this Foreign Power. This War being on the ſide of *France* nothing but a politick War, to humble, as Cardinal *Richlieu* pretended, the Houſe of *Auſtria*, and as others ſaid, to render himſelf more neceſſary to the King; and the Subjects of *Savoy* and *Mantua* not being engaged in it by Inclination or Neceſſity, but by force, this Manifeſto of *Leganez* produced ſtrange Effects in a ſhort time. But his Army being fatigued, was ſcarce able to attempt any thing in *Montferrat*, whither they came after the Taking of *Verceil*, and both ſides thought of withdrawing into their Winter-Quarters.

* The 4th of October. The young Duke of *Savoy*, *Francis Hyacinth*, happen'd to * die at this time, being Seven Years old, and his Brother, *Charles Emanuel*, ſucceeded him. This afflicted the Regent exceſſively, who now beheld all her Hopes for the future, founded upon the Life of her ſecond Son; for the Dominions belonging to the Houſe of *Savoy*, were to fall into the Cardinal's Hands, in caſe this young Prince ſhould die. This obliged her to unite her Self more cloſely to *France* than ever, and in ſpight of her own Inclinations, to reſign her Self wholly to the Cardinal's Advices, without whoſe good Affections, it was of no Service to her, that ſhe was the Daughter of *Henry* the Fourth, and *Mary de Medicis*, as well as Siſter of *Lewis* the XIII.

1638.

The Cardinal of *Savoy* parting ſecretly from *Rome*, came incognito to *Tortone*, where he made ſome attempts upon *Turin* and *Carmagnole*, but miſcarried in them; ſeveral Perſons that had a Hand in this Affair, were ſent to Priſon, and the Cardinal interceeded for them in a * Letter, which he writ to the Regent; wherein he tells her, that no Authority could hinder him from coming to his Father's Houſe. In the mean time, he narrowly eſcaped being taken, which had he not done, they had certainly ſent him into *France*.

* The 10th of December. *See it in* T. 2. *of* Aubery's *Mem.* p. 230.

In this Conjuncture, the Cardinal Duke writ frequently into *Piedmont* to the Dutcheſs, or to the Miniſters of *France* to aſſiſt her with their Counſels. He repreſented to her in a long Letter, 'That at laſt, ſhe ought to awake her out of that Lethargy, which had ſo long poſſeſſed her, ſince if ſhe did not do it ſuddenly, her Condition wou'd be helpleſs. *(His meaning was, that ſhe muſt turn Father* Monod *away, otherwiſe the King wou'd ſupport her no longer.)* That perhaps God Almighty had permitted by an extraordinary Providence, that her Enemies ſhou'd force her to do what her natural inclination to Peace, wou'd have diſſwaded her from *(to ſign the offenſive League, and to put* French *Troops into her Garriſons,)* againſt which Reaſon and her Intereſts ſeemed to adviſe her, that God wou'd not always work ſuch Miracles as he had done upon this occaſion to preſerve her. That in humane Affairs, he wou'd have every one make the beſt uſe of that underſtanding he had given them, and that her Highneſs for that reaſon, ought to examine her Mind, and ſee what it adviſed her to. That Nature invited her to it, ſince otherwiſe ſhe was unable to preſerve her Son, as well as ſecure her own Preſervation and Honour: That he wou'd not conceal from her

* The 10th of November. *Siri Mem. Rec.* T. 8. p. 613.

1638. 'her, that the Calumnies of her Enemies, from which 'she might easily defend herself as long as she lived, would 'pass for so many Truths, when she came to die. That 'to be plain with her, her Subjects did not love her, as 'they were obliged to do, whether because the Govern-'ment of Women, is never so well liked as that of 'Men, or for some other particular malignity; that her 'Highness very well knew what it was to pretend to a 'Sovereignty in *Italy*, and that the weakness of the Car-'dinal of *Savoy* might be perswaded to Evil as well as 'to good. That in suffering Father *Monod*, to continue 'in his present Post, and *Passer* that favoured the Cardi-'nal of *Savoy* to be let out of Prison, she kept the worst 'Councellors that she cou'd have against her. That since 'twas to no purpose, to represent to her the Evil that 'press'd her, without giving her the due Remedy, he assu-'red her, she might soon put her self in a condition to de-'spise all the World, if she wou'd follow his Majesty's ad-'vice, which wou'd never be different from what Nature 'and Reason inspired: That she ought therefore, without 'any farther difficulty, to secure her self of Father *Monod*'s 'Person, and severely to chastise all such as had conspired 'in favour of Prince *Maurice*: That such Governours 'ought to be put into places, as depended absolutely up-'on her: That her Army was to be reinforced with Troops 'that she cou'd rely upon; and that for the guard of 'her Person, and that of her Son, she should choose none 'but her own Creatures, and endeavour to encrease the 'number of them by her Kindnesses: That if she took 'this Conduct, he durst with the assistance of Heaven, 'be answerable to her for the happy success of it, towards 'which, he would freely contribute his own Life; but 'that if on the other Hand, her easiness and indulgence led 'her the contrary way, she would fall into inevitable 'Calamities: That he beseech'd her to dispense with 'him, from concerning himself any longer with her Affairs, 'because if any misfortunes happen'd to her, they might 'not be laid to his Door, by his seeming to Countenance 'her Irresolutions. The plain *English* of all these Lessons was, to make her turn away Father *Monod*, and to become the Oracle of the Dutchess of *Savoy* himself, as he was of her Brother. Thus he seemed to be born to

1638. to be the Pedagogue, or the scourge of the whole Family of *Henry* IV.

To come now to the most remarkable Occurrences in other places, the Cardinal ordered the Duke of *Rohan*, who was at *Geneva*, to retire to *Venice*, least out of revenge for his base usage, he might carry on some Designs against him. But the Duke pretending it was impossible for him to go to *Venice*, the ways being all stopp'd, he went to confer with the Duke of *Weimar* in *Switzerland*, and afterwards came to him at his Army. They had frequent Conferences together, which made the Cardinal very uneasie, and it was reported, that the Duke of *Weimar*, was to marry the Daughter of the Duke of *Rohan*. The former, after he had taken some few places, went to besiege *Rhinfeld*, the Capital of the four Forrest Cities. *Jean de Werth*, Duke of *Savelli*, and the other Generals of the Emperour, marched to the relief of it with Ten Thousand Men. The Duke of *Weimar* being informed of their March, went to meet them by the Duke of *Rohan*'s Advice, and the latter who refused to have any share in the command of the Army, putting himself at the head of the Left Wing, * was one of the first that began the onset and fought like a common Soldier. The *Imperialists* were beaten, after the dispute had lasted a long while, but the Duke of *Rohan* was wounded by two Musquet-shots, of which he died on the 23d of *April*: although the King sent him an obliging Letter, to thank him for the great Services he had done the Crown, yet he was not sorry for his Death, for his great qualities, and the past Wars had long drawn upon him the displeasure of the Court, which was never heartily reconciled to him, but only in outward Appearance. The Cardinal who by his good Will, employ'd none in his Majesty's Service, but such as were ready to do every thing he commanded them, and who had used him ill more than once, looked upon himself to be now delivered from a dangerous Enemy.

* The 28th of Febr.

Rhinfeld afterwards fell * into the hands of the Duke of *Weimar*, after which, *Friburg* and the Country of *Brisgow* submitted to him, as well as several Towns of *Swabia*. His design was to block up *Brisac*, which Place he had a great desire to get into his own Hands. He per-

* The 23d of March.

1638. performed it at last, but beat the Imperialists twice before he cou'd lock up this place at a convenient distance. After this, the Enemy endeavour'd to throw Succours into the Town, and were repulsed with Loss. At last, *Weimar* forced *Brisac* to surrender, for want of Provisions, on the 19th of *December*.

This Place wou'd have been of mighty importance to *France*, but the great Services which the Duke of *Weimar* had done, those he might still do, and the promise which his Majesty had given him to make him *Landtgrave of Alsatia*, were the Reasons why they suffered him to enjoy this Conquest. In short, he put himself in possession of it, and the Court connived at it, that they might not disoblige him at a time when he might do them as much Mischief as Good, till they found an occasion to get it into their own Hands, as we shall find in the Series of the History.

This was the greatest Advantage which *France* obtain'd this Year against the House of *Austria*. The * Marescal *de Châtillon* at the first opening of the Campaign enter'd *Artois*, and after he had ravaged the Country all about; for what design no Body knew, he went at last to besiege St. *Omers* on the 26th of *May*, and as the place was not in an extraordinary good Condition, he did not question but he shou'd carry it in a very short time. But Prince *Thomas* having put some Succours into the Place, this retarded his Hopes somewhat, but he still fansied he should accomplish his Design. But at last, the aforesaid Prince *Thomas* and *Piccolomini* obliged him to * raise the Siege, after they had reliev'd the Town the second time, although the Marescal *de la Force* had joyn'd him with a Body of Men. This ill Success was partly attributed to the over-sight of the Marescal *de Châtillon*, who had not made his Lines of Circumvallation strong enough, and had carried on the Siege too slowly, and partly to the mis-understanding between the Generals.

However they drew off in very good Order, and Prince *Thomas* not following them, took the way to *Terwin*, to cover the Country, and throw some Forces into *Hedin*, which was threatned. The Cardinal was extreamly concerned at the raising of this Siege, not only for the Interest of the Crown, but because he had flatter'd

* *See the Champaign of Prince* Thomas *in* Emanuel Tesauro's, *St.* Omero Assediato.

* *The 16th of* July.

1638. ter'd himself with the taking of it, upon the score of a pretended Revelation of a certain *Nun*, in the Convent of *Mount-Calvary* in *le Marets*. * Father *Joseph* who had consulted her, it seems, told him that this *Nun* had continued three Days in Prayer, that God would be pleased to reveal to her the Success of the next Campaign, and that at last she fell into an Extasie, wherein she had seen two Armies fighting near St. *Omers*, and the Victory remain'd on the King's Side. Upon this impertinent Vision, which either might be wholly invented, or else was the effect of a disordered imagination in the *Nun*, the Cardinal consented to the Siege of St. *Omer*, rather than of any other place, because he was in hopes that the King's Army wou'd obtain a Victory near that City.

* *Siri Mem. Rec. T. 8. p. 668.*

The Cardinal *Infanta* had the good Fortune that very Champaign to † defeat Seven Thousand Men belonging to the States-General, who had made themselves Masters of the Fort of *Kalloo*, upon the Dyke of *Antwerp*, under the Command of Count *William* of *Nassau*. He likewise forced the Prince of *Orange* * to raise the Siege of *Gueldre*, so that he might justly boast that he had made a very glorious Champaign. However he sustained some Losses, since the *French* took from him the Fort of *Renty*, which * surrendred after a Siege of eight Days, and retook † *Catelet* the only place remaining in the Hands of the *Spaniards*, since their Invasion in the Year 1636. The *Marescals de Châtillon* and *de la Force*, took *Renty* and rased it to the Ground. *Du Hallier*, Marescal *de Camp*, took *Catelet* by assault, with a small Body of Men, who had been commanded by the Marescal *de Brezé*, who being indisposed, obtained permission of the King to go to the Waters. These were all the Advantages which the *French* obtained in the Low-Countries, who at the beginning of the Champaign, had put the Cardinal *Infanta* into a great Consternation, by the great Preparations they had made. The King, provoked at the Marescal *de Châtillon*'s want of fore-sight, who had writ word to Court several times that it was impossible for St. *Omers* to miss him, * sent word to him, to leave the Command of the Army to the Marescal *de la Force*, and to retire to his House of *Châtillon*, without coming to Court. However he went to

† Siri, *ibid.* p. 476. *The 21st of* June.

* *The 25th of* August. *See* Relation of Em. Tesauro.

* *The 9th of* August. *See the Description of this Siege by* Em. Tesauro.

† *The 14th of* September. *See the Description in the same Author.*

* *By a Letter the 4th of* Sept. *See* Aubery's *Life of the Cardinal.*

1628. to wait upon the Cardinal as St. *Quintin*, and was not ill received by him; the Miniſter judging that it wou'd be by no means adviſeable to drive this General to deſpair, who might be uſeful to them upon another occaſion.

He had a freſh Subject to employ the ſame * moderation towards the Prince of *Conde*, who met with worſe ſucceſs at the Siege of *Fontarabia*, than the Mareſchal *de Châtillon* had done before St. *Omers*. The Count-Duke having in the Year 1637, carried one Invaſion into *Guienne*, and another into *Languedoc*, the Cardinal-Duke who was jealous of every thing that *Olivarez* did, reſolved to quit Scores with him whatever it coſt him. He propos'd to go and attack *Fontarabia*, to carry the War into *Spain*. It was a long while ſince he had cauſed that place to be obſerved by the Duke *de la Valette*, who diſſwaded him from this Attempt, by reaſon of the inſuperable Difficulties that attended it. However the Cardinal took it into hand again, and offered to truſt the management of it with the Duke of *Eſpernon* and *la Valette*, upon Condition that they wou'd advance one part of the expences of the War, and find a way to make the Province of *Guienne* bear it. If they refuſed to accept this Employ, they were to be told that the Prince of *Conde* wou'd be ſent down to command in the Province, and all the neighbourhood. Being afraid the Cardinal put them upon this enterpriſe, to carry on their Deſtruction, they rather choſe that the Prince of *Conde* ſhou'd take it. The Prince accepted it, and arrived in *Guienne* in *May*, to get every thing in readineſs that was neceſſary to this Deſign. As for the Duke of *Eſpernon*, he had orders to retire to his Houſe of *Plaſſac*, leſt he ſhou'd hinder, or croſs the Preparations of the Prince of *Conde*, but the Duke *de la Valette* follow'd him, as his Lieutenant: The Prince, after he had made a review of his Army at St. *John de Luz*, on the 30th of *June*, marched directly to *Fontarabia*.

* *Siri Mem. Rec. T. 8. p. 632.*

The Life of the Duke of Eſpernon.

While he inveſted this place, *d'Eſpernon* took *Paſſage*, where he found Six *Galleons*, and Five *Spaniſh* Men of War, furniſhed with all manner of Proviſions, which he ſeized upon. Five more of their *Galleons* fell into the Hands of the *French*, and the Admiral of this Fleet was ſunk. Nothing cou'd begin more happily than this

this Affair, and there was very good reaſon to expect it wou'd ſucceed, becauſe the *Spaniards* never imagined that the *French* wou'd attack them on the ſide of *Guipuſcoa*. *Don Chriſtoforo Meſſia*, who had lately been made Governour of *Fontarabia*, was not as yet come to his Government. The Garriſon which generally conſiſted of Five Hundred Men, cou'd ſcarce make Three Hundred, and the inhabitants joyning with them, cou'd not amount to above Seven Hundred fit to bear Arms. But they had a famous Engineer in the Town, named *Michael Perez*, a Native of *Biſcay*, and D. *Dominique Equia Deſtur*, another *Biſcainer*, a Man of Courage, Lieutenant to the Commandant. The Prince open'd the Trenches on the 10th of *July*; and on the 2d of *Auguſt* the *French* Fleet, conſiſting of Forty Two Veſſels, full Mann'd with Soldiers that were to be ſet on Shore, commanded by the Arch-biſhop of *Bourdeaux*, appeared before the Port of *Fontarabia*. They took immediately or put to Flight ſeveral *Spaniſh* Pinnaces that came there, and gave chaſe to a Fleet of Fifty Sail, that brought Succours and Refreſhments to the Beſieged. The Arch-biſhop receiving Information, that in the Road of *Gatari*, there lay Forty Men of War, and ſeveral other ſmaller Veſſels, bore up to them, and ſome he Burnt, and others he forced to run aſhore, although they were defended with ſome Batteries, that were raiſed on purpoſe by the Sea-ſide. Abundance of *Spaniards* were loſt in this Action, that were burnt in the Ships or Drowned, and among others, the two old Regiments of *Caſtile*, that made up about Three Thouſand Men. 1638.

The *French*, on the other hand, loſt in this Action not above Two hundred Men, with ſome Officers, and onely Nine or Ten of their Veſſels ſuſtained any damage.

Thus *Fontarabia* loſt all hopes of being relieved by Sea; and as for what Succours could come to it by Land, the Prince flatter'd himſelf that he might take it, before the *Spaniards* could be in a condition to take the Field. The Arch-biſhop, at his return from his Expedition, offer'd to Guard the Port of *Paſſage*, and the Mouth of the River *Orio*, by which way the *Spaniards* might throw Succours into the Town. This Affair was pro-

1638. posed in a Council of War, but as it could not be effected without dividing the Army, and they hoped to carry the place in a short time, the Prince was of opinion, that it was the best way to abandon *Passage*, not considering what advantage the *Spaniards* might make of this Post, if the Siege held much longer. In the mean time, the *Spanish* Army, Commanded by the Admiral of *Castile*, came in sight, and their Provisions arrived principally to them by the means of the Port of *Passage*, which made them, now it was too late, see, the great over-sight they had committed. But the chief fault was, that the Prince, who was not much experienced in Sieges, had not prest the Works with that vigour as was requisite. The *Spaniards* having possessed the Tops of the Neighbouring Mountains, were within Musquet-shot of the Advanced-Guards of the *French*, so that daily Skirmishes happened between the two Armies.

Altho' the Garrison was inconsiderable, as to its number, the Commandant made several Sallies, to retard the Works of the *French*, and to give time for relief to arrive to them. At first he had good success in them, but making one more considerable than the rest, at which time the *French* happen'd to be better upon their Guard than they used to be, they lost a Hundred Men, among whom was *Michael Perez*, who died of his Wounds in the place.

At last the Garrison was so much diminished, that it held out onely in hopes, that the Cardinal of *Castile* would come speedily to relieve it; and, they sent to inform him, That if he did not make haste, they should be obliged to Surrender, as not being in a condition to sustain an Assault.

In the mean time the Attacks were still carried on, and several Mines were played, one of which, on the side of the Duke *de la Valette*'s Attack, proved fatal to the Besiegers *, Blowing up Two hundred of their Men, who had Orders to make an Assault, as soon as it was play'd. Some that were not wounded, made a shift however to Mount the Breach, at which time the *Spaniards* were retired, being terrify'd by the Mine; but as they were not follow'd, they were forced to return back

* *In the Month of* Sept.

back again. Upon the Reports they brought, it was hotly debated in a Council of War, whether they should give a General Assault or no; but, in the interim, the Garrison Sallying out at the Breach, made a Retrenchment upon the Top of the Bastion, which had been ruined by the Mine. † Nevertheless, the Prince gave his Advice, That they should endeavour to lodge themselves there; and, as the Duke *de la Valette* made some difficulty at it, he told him, He would give the Execution of it to the Arch-bishop of *Bourdeaux*. The Duke would rather attempt it himself, although he came not to this conclusion till after a great deal of hesitation, since he alter'd his opinion two or three times. Having at last got his Men to Mount the Breach, he found that the Enemy had made a Retrenchment there, and a Pallisado; and as those that were there demanded a Re-inforcement, and Instruments to make a Lodgment in that place, he sent them Orders to come back, not thinking them able to maintain this Post, or as others believe, out of Jealousie to the Prince of *Conde*, to make him miscarry before this place.

† Ch. Pernand, *Vie de Louis XIII. Liv.* 19.

Upon this the Prince being provoked, gave the Duke *de la Valette*'s Attack to the Arch-bishop of *Bourdeaux*, who offer'd to finish the Lodgment, and make himself Master of the Place in three days, if the Duke would quit his quarter. As the Arch-bishop was putting himself in a readiness to give a new Assault at this place, and had order'd the Troops which he commanded to disembark, they receiv'd advice, that the *Spanish* Forces advanced nearer than they used to doe, which made them deferr the Attack.

The Admiral of *Castile* had onely Fifteen thousand Foot, and a Thousand Horse, the greatest part of which were the Militia-Troops, that had no experience in War; and the Prince of *Conde* had above Twenty thousand well-disciplin'd Men. However, the *Spaniards* seeing the place reduced to the last extremity, were resolved to attempt the Relief of it. * Accordingly they Marched by broad-day-light to Attack the Lines of the *French*. The advanced-Guards were beaten back at the first Onset; and as they retired within the nearest Redoubts, by leaping over the Ditch, the *Spanish* Troops follow'd them

* *The 7th of* Sept. Siri Mem. Rec. T. 8 p. 634.

1638. them the ſame way. The Quarter belonging to the Marquiſs *de la Force*, which they attack'd the firſt, was immediately carried; and the *Spaniards* that firſt entred it turning the Canon againſt the *French*, who fled in ſo great a diſorder, that the Marquiſs was not able, by all the Arguments he could uſe, to make them rally. In the mean time the Officers, who ſtill kept their ground, ſent for the Prince's Order, to know whether they ſhould retire, or Charge the Enemy; but he beholding the Confuſion, deſpaired of being able to retrieve it; ſo he Embarked in a good time in a Veſſel, which carried him to *St. John de Luz*. They ſent to find the Duke *de la Valette* in his Quarter, but, before this happen'd, he had reſign'd his Poſt to the Arch-biſhop, by the Prince's Order, and was a League from thence. As for the Arch-biſhop of *Bourdeaux*, he Shipt his Men, and likewiſe retired. In the mean time the Duke *de la Valette* being informed by ſome Fugitives, That the Enemy had forced the Lines, and that all was in diſorder; ran to his Quarter to endeavour to rally as many of his Men as he was able, or at leaſt to give them Orders to make their Retreat in the moſt advantageous manner they could. But the General having diſappear'd, as well as the Naval Forces, the reſt retired in confuſion, leaving all their Baggage, Artillery, and Ammunition behind them. The *Spaniards*, chiefly employ'd in Pillaging the Camp, did not purſue them; ſo that the *French* loſt but very few Men in the retreat. Thus the Prince of *Conde*, who, in theſe matters, could neither give nor follow good Advice, was defeated by an Army, which was, in all Reſpects, inferiour to his own. To excuſe himſelf, he laid the fault upon the Duke *de la Valette*, as if he had been the occaſion why this Place was not taken in the ſpace of Two months, which before another General could not have held out Fifteen days, conſidering the condition it was in. The Cardinal, who durſt not fall out with the Prince, but was incens'd, to the utmoſt degree, to ſee a deſign, of his own projecting, miſ-carry, like thoſe of the Count-Duke againſt *France*, reſolved to ruine the Duke *de la Valette*, notwithſtanding the great Friendſhip that was between him and the Cardinal his Brother, who durſt not undertake to defend him, unleſs he was found innocent.

innocent. As for the Accuſation of Cowardice, which 1638. ſome laid to his charge, he boldly maintain'd, that it was falſe; but he durſt not wholly excuſe him from jealouſie. In the mean time the D. *de la Valette* retired into *England*, altho' he was ſent for to Court. The Cardinal his Brother had a meanneſs of Soul ſo directly oppoſite to the Matchleſs bravery of the D. of *Eſpernon* their Father, that this Gallant Old Man was us'd to call him, not the *Cardinal de la Valette*; but, *the Valet of a Cardinal*. But the Cardinal-Duke would entertain none for his Friends, but ſuch as were blindly devoted to all his Paſſions.

A little before this Miſcarriage, * the Cardinal-Duke receiv'd advice, That Fifteen *Spaniſh* Gallies, Commanded by *Don Rodrigo de Velaſco*, were beaten by the Marquiſs *de Pont-Courlas*, General of the *French* Gallies, who had with him the ſame number. After an obſtinate diſpute, which laſted ſome hours, in the ſight of *Genoua*, the *Spaniards* loſt Six Gallies, and the *French* Three, and then they retired in ſufficient diſorder on both ſides.

* Siri Mem. Rec. T. 8. p. 660.

At the Spring of this year Queen *Ann* of *Auſtria* perceived, that ſhe was big with Child, after ſhe had been now Married Two and twenty years, which occaſioned extraordinary Rejoycing at Court. In the mean time the Cardinal having diſcover'd, that this Princeſs maintain'd a Correſpondence, by way of Letters, with the Cardinal-Infanta her Brother, treated her, after a manner, that was enough to doe her a great deal of Miſchief; ſo little did he regard what the World ſaid of him. This correſpondence was onely concerning a Peace, which the Queen had reaſon to conſider as a Work extreamly pleaſing to God, and very advantageous to the People, who were drained and oppreſſed on all ſides. Great Provinces were wholly depopulated, without any conſiderable advantages obtained, either on this, or t'other part, merely to ſatisfie the ambitious pretenſions of the *Swedes*, or of the Cardinal, againſt the Houſe of *Auſtria*. The manner of their keeping this private Commerce, was as follows. The Cardinal Infanta's Letters were delivered to a certain Nun of *Val de Grace*, who hid them in the Cloſet of an Oratory which the Queen had in that Convent, and whither ſhe frequently went. The Queen likewiſe left her own in the ſame place, and this Nun re-

1638. took care to fetch, and give them to one *la Porte*, who sent them to *Brussels*. The Cardinal, who had more persons to spy, even the least Actions of the King and Queen, than those were to watch his own, came to be acquainted with it; and, as he looked upon a Peace, as a thing that would prove fatal to his Grandeur, he resolved to break off this Correspondence, whatever it cost him. He had effectually possessed the King with deep prejudices against the Queen, ever since she engaged her Self in Cabals opposite to his Authority, as I have elsewhere observed. So it was no difficult matter for him to make His Majesty believe, how dangerous it was to suffer the Queen to Write to a Declared Enemy of the State. Having therefore order'd *la Porte* to be apprehended, he was minded to Interrogate him himself, to effect which, he repair'd to *Chavigny*'s Apartment, and threw himself upon his Bed; after he had order'd the Curtains to be drawn, that so he might discourse him without being seen. Then *la Porte* was order'd to come into the Room, and the Cardinal began to question him in a Counterfeit-Voice. But this new manner of examining a Prisoner did not succeed as he imagin'd, for *la Porte* knew his Voice immediately, and stood upon his Guard. Upon this he order'd the Chancellor to go to *Val de Grace* to the Queen's Oratory, and there to seize the Letters of Her Majesty, and the Cardinal-Infanta. The Chancellor, however he was intirely devoted to him, yet, apprehensive of what might hereafter happen to him from the Queen's part, was for finding out a way to obey the Cardinal, without offending the Queen too much, and therefore gave her private Intimation of the Command he had received. This Princess having no body about her to Consult in this strange Conjuncture, sent the Marchioness *de Senneccy* to the Marquis *de Puysieux*, who, ever since his Disgrace, had lived at his Country-House, to demand his Advice upon this occasion. He was somewhat troubled that the Queen should Consult him upon so nice an affair as this was, knowing the implacable humour of this Minister; but, at last, he could not refuse to tell Her his Sentiments of the Matter.

One day, when the Queen was at *Val de Grace*, the Chancellor came there, and acquainted Her with the Commissi-

Commission which the King had given him. He after- 1638.
wards asked Her some Questions, but so, as to Insinuate to Her Majesty, what Answers she was to make him. And the Queen pointed with her Finger to the place where she used to keep the Cardinal-Infanta's Letters, and gave him the Keys of it. She told him, That as for what related to the Prince her Brother, she could never stifle the affection which Nature obliged her to show him, but that she knew how to love her Brother, without prejudicing the State; a Maxim directly contrary to that of the Cardinal-Duke, who had possessed the King, That it was impossible for him to love His Subjects, and his Mother, with his other nearest Relations, at the same time. The Queen had taken the Precaution to trust all her Papers with the Marchioness *de Sourdis*, Daughter to the Count *de Carmail*; So that the Chancellor found nothing in the Closet but a few Disciplines.

From hence he return'd to carry this News to the Cardinal, who was enraged to miss his Blow, after he had put an Affront of this nature upon the Queen. It fell out very luckily for this Princess that she was big with Child, otherwise he had too cruelly offended her, not to use all his Efforts to ruin her; and he had formerly spoken to the King more than once, to be divorced from her. At the same time another Accident happen'd at Court, which was not indeed of the same consequence, but serves as well to discover the prodigious Authority of the Minister. The King had fallen in love with Mademoiselle *de la Fayette*, and had for some time entertain'd a Commerce with her, which was by no means pleasing to the Cardinal, who cou'd not endure to see any one in favour with the King that did not wholly depend upon him. It happen'd without the King's knowing the occasion of it, that this Lady retired to a Convent call'd *La Visitation*, to put her self in the Service, as she pretended, of a greater Lord than he was. The King was extreamly inquisitive to know the reason of so sudden a Retirement; and not contenting himself with what the Cardinal's Creatures had been instructed to tell him, he resolved to discover the whole Mystery himself: so pretending to hunt in the Forests which lye between *Gresbis* and this Monastery, he came to this last place, where he had

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1638. a long Conversation with Mademoiselle *de la Fayette*: and thus they came to be satisfied that they had been both cheated by *Boizenval*, Valet de Chambre to his Majesty, who nevertheless ow'd his preferment to this Lady. Whenever the King sent him to Mademoiselle *de la Fayette*, to deliver any Message to her, or carry her a Billet, and whenever this Lady sent him back to the King, or writ to him, he went directly to the Cardinal, who caused the Billets to be chang'd, as he saw convenient, by counterfeiting the Hand, or else order'd him what Answers to make. This imperious Minister had engaged him thus to sacrifice the King and his Benefactress, by sending him word, that since he was made Valet de Chambre without a Recommendation from him, he must not expect to enjoy that Post long. *Boizenval* affrighted at this Menace, which he did not question but the Cardinal wou'd soon put in execution, went to acquaint him, that if he wou'd be pleased to take him into his Protection, he wou'd blindly obey him in whatever he shou'd think fit to order. The Cardinal promis'd it, upon condition he wou'd inform him of every thing he saw: And thus *Boizenval* communicated to him the King's Billets, and those of his Mistress, which he alter'd in such a manner as was most proper to inspire them with a disgust each for the other. At the same time the Cardinal threaten'd the Marchioness *de Senneçay*, and the Bishop of *Limoges*, who were related to Mademoiselle *de la Fayette*, to banish them the Court, unless they prevailed with this Lady to betake her self to a Retirement. Their Advice, and the Letters she receiv'd from the King, oblig'd her at last to think of a Recluse Life; and she accordingly put this Design in execution, as it has been already said. The King being inform'd that she had received some Billets which were wholly different from those which he had writ to her, was sensible that *Boizenval* had betray'd him, and resolv'd to turn him out of his place. While he was in the Parler with Mademoiselle *de la Fayette*, *Boizenval*, who had follow'd him, was at the Gate, and came to understand, as soon as ever the King was gone, that His Majesty and She had been talking of the Cheat he had put upon them. By this he concluded himself to be undone, and next morning he was discarded; yet the

the Cardinal did not condescend to speak one word in favour of him to the King, lest he should thereby discover from what Quarter the Cheat proceeded. 1638.

The King had spent four hours in entertaining himself with Mademoiselle *de la Fayette*; so that it being too late for him to go back and lie at *Gresbois*, he went to *Paris*, and the Queen * that very night was deliver'd of a Son, afterwards *Louis* XIV, who was born on the same day that the Cardinal-Duke was, and has to their cost convinced all *Europe*, how terrible a figure a Monarch makes that can govern by himself. This Birth ruin'd in a manner all the Cabals of the Grandees, which were in a good measure founded upon the Expectations they had that the Duke of *Orleans* wou'd succeed to the Crown. In all probability too, it seem'd to threaten the Cardinal's Authority, who had for a considerable time drawn the Queen's Hatred upon himself; but he was so strongly possessed of the entire Management of the King's Will, that this did not cause the least Alteration in his Power. The † same Year the Queen-Mother passed over into *Holland*, where she was received with all imaginable respect; and from thence into *England*, to engage King *Charles* I. her Son-in-law, and the Queen her Daughter, to make new Efforts in her behalf, that she might be suffer'd to return to *France*. *Bellièvre* was at that time Ambassadour in *England*, and the Queen-Mother having found an opportunity to converse with him, although he studiously endeavour'd to avoid it, she acquainted him, that she had for some time employed all the means imaginable to signifie to Cardinal *Richlieu* the extraordinary desire she had to return into *France* through his means; but that she had received no manner of Answer from him, and that no Promises had been ever made her, but upon such hard Conditions that she could not comply with them. The Ambassadour interrupted her, and desired her Majesty to remember, that the King had sent him in the Character of Ambassadour to the King of *England*, but that he had not the Honour to be sent to her. He added, that if her Discourse tended to command him to write about her to *France*, he desired her not to charge him with that Commission, because he had no Order to meddle with any thing, whatever it was, that concerned her

* The 5th of September.

† *Siri Mem. Rec.* T. 8. P. 639.

1638. her Majesty. The Queen replied, that then they had not forbidden him to do it; and the Ambassadour made Answer, That he had no Orders. To this the Queen rejoyn'd, That it signified nothing at all; and, that she requested him to listen to her; That the Afflictions she had sustained since her Departure out of *France* had inspired her with quite different Sentiments from what she had when she quitted that Kingdom; That she should think her self infinitely obliged if he would acquaint the Cardinal, that she conjur'd him to deliver her out of this Misery, and the necessity of begging her Bread; That she long'd exceedingly to be near the King, not to concern her self in the least with any Affairs, but to pass the Remainder of her Life in Repose and Tranquillity, and employ it in serving of God, and thinking how to die well; That if the Cardinal cou'd not obtain leave of the King for her to return to Court, he wou'd at least get permission for her to live in some part of *France*, where His Majesty thought convenient, and there to provide for her Maintenance; That she wou'd turn away all such out of her Service that were either hated or suspected by him; and, That she was ready to do all that the King order'd and the Cardinal counsell'd her to do; That this was all she desir'd him to communicate to the Cardinal, because she believed that some Persons who had undertaken to do it, had not acquitted themselves faithfully in this Affair. The Ambassadour answer'd, that he wou'd never give her the same occasion to complain of him, because he would not concern himself in her Business. Upon this the Queen told him, that this was the Stile of all Ambassadours, who nevertheless were obliged to write all that was said to them; and that she wou'd not fail to expect his Answer. The Queen of *England* afterwards gave *Bellièvre* to understand, that they had pitch'd upon this way, because the King had declared that he wou'd not have any Strangers interpose to accommodate Matters between him and his Mother. The Ambassadour still continued to say as before, that he had no Authority to concern himself in this Affair; but for all that, * writ to the Cardinal, to inform him what the Queen-Mother had said to him.

* *By a Letter dated the 25. of December.*

The End of the Fifth Book.

THE

THE HISTORY

Of the FAMOUS

Cardinal *de RICHLIEU.*

VOL. II. BOOK VI.

Containing the most Remarkable Passages of his Life, from the Year 1639. *till his Death.*

THE Cardinal having received *Bellièvre's* Letters, was no more mov'd with pity towards his old Benefactress, than by the other Steps she had formerly made to reconcile her self to him. * The natural Inclination that Women have to Revenge, the Humour of the Queen-Mother in particular, who dissembled her Indignation 1639.

* *Siri Mem. Rec. T. 8. p. 640.*

1639. nation so much the more as she appeared to humble herself before the Minister, and who if she were in *France*, wou'd not fail to discover to the King all that he conceal'd from him; and lastly, the implacable Malice of the Cardinal himself, who seldom quitted what had once fully possess'd him, determin'd him to reject all Offers which this afflicted Princess caused to be made to him; and as for the King, he had not of a long while thought fit to deliberate upon any thing which he saw was not approved by this Minister. Thus the Cardinal having dictated a Letter, in the King's Name, to *Cherè* his Secretary, his Majesty signed it. He pretended that before he had read an Extract of *Bellièvre*'s Dispatches, concerning the Propositions which the Queen-Mother had made to him, he had told the Council of his own proper motion, that he believed there was no longer room to rely upon the fair Words of the Queen his Mother, who had always been accustomed to dissemble; that her unquiet Temper hinder'd her from being able to live peaceably in any place, since she cou'd never bear her Prosperity when she was in *France*, nor agree in *Flanders* with the Duke of *Orleans*, after she had obliged him to leave the Kingdom to go thither, no more than with the Princess to whom she had married him; that it was not without some Design that she went to *Holland*, and that she was already disgusted with *England*; that if she was not able to content her self with the extraordinary Authority which she enjoyed before her Departure out of *France*, much less wou'd she rest satisfied with what they cou'd give her at present, and which wou'd be nothing near so great as what she formerly had; that considering her aspiring Humour, she wou'd be no sooner in *France*, but she wou'd oblige the Malecontents to occasion new Disorders, and that the more easily, because the greatest part of them had been formerly engaged in her Interests; that the *Spaniards*, who had despised her in their own Country, wou'd not fail to influence her to excite Commotions in *France* as soon as she was arrived there, and that merely for this Consideration they desired her Return; that within 7 or 8 Months she had endeavour'd to form a new Party at *Sedan*, with the Duke of *Bouillon* and the Count

Count *de Soissons*, though she cou'd draw nothing but bare Words from them; that the King of *England* having in vain interceded for her, design'd to send her elsewhere; that all these Reasons obliged him to stick firm to the Proposal he had made to the Queen his Mother that she shou'd retire to *Florence*, where she should receive what was sufficient to maintain her according to her Quality; that lastly, his Conscience was satisfied, and that he shou'd be justified before God and before Men, since he had done all that in him lay, to satisfie the Queen, without exposing his Kingdom to new Broils and Troubles. 1639.

Upon this Answer, which was wholly founded upon this Supposition, That the Queen-Mother wou'd embroil the Kingdom, in case she came back, as if they had been certainly assur'd of it, and that there was no way to hinder it, but by sending her home to *Florence*; the Queen of *England*, touched for her Mothers Affliction, writ several Letters to the King and Cardinal with her own Hand, and sent them by my Lord *Fermyn* to confirm them by Word of Mouth. The King answered these Letters by others, which *Chavigny* composed and were corrected by the Cardinal, wherein he commends the good intentions of his Sister, but desired her not to interpose in this Affair; that he intended on his Side to give his Mother all reasonable Satisfaction, but that she had ingag'd her Self in so many Cabals against him, that he cou'd come to no other Resolution about her, till a Peace was concluded; that as for the Maintenance they demanded for her, he was afraid she was abused by her own Evil Councellors, as if there was no Medium between granting her all, and refusing his Mother a Dowry, which lawfully belonged to her, and yet *Lewis the Just* refus'd it her.

Thus my Lord *Fermyn*'s Negotiation came to nothing, and though he offer'd in the Name of the King and Queen of *England*, to ingage for the good Conduct of the Queen-Mother, and promised every thing which cou'd in reason be expected, yet they would talk of nothing less than sending this unfortunate Princess to *Florence*, where they promised to settle an Appointment upon

1639. on her, which perhaps they wou'd have ſtopt afterwards. No one durſt ſpeak a word to the King upon this occaſion, and the good Prince could not bethink himſelf of any middle Expedient, between treating his Mother with this exceſſive Rigour, only to pleaſe the Cardinal, and reſtoring her to her firſt Authority. He cou'd without jealouſie, behold his chief Miniſter aſſume a Power infinitely greater than the Queen-Mother had ever pretended to, and abuſe it in a more notorious manner, and yet it never diſturbed him; but the Cardinal had gain'd that abſolute Aſcendant over him, and had ſo far poſſeſſed him, that without him, both he and his Kingdom wou'd be intirely ruin'd, and that none but he had honeſt intentions towards him, that he perceived nothing of the Cardinal's Deſigns.

However to ſecure himſelf in ſome meaſure from the Inhumanity which the World wou'd be apt to charge him with, in refuſing to let the Queen-Mother return, ſince ſhe deſir'd it with ſo much Submiſſion, he wou'd not declare his own Opinion in the Council upon this Affair: But he ingag'd the other Miniſters to give their Sentiments in Writing, which he drew up for them himſelf, and they afterwards ſign'd. They are ſtill to be ſeen in the Memoirs of * *Montreſor*, and they take two things for granted; firſt that it was impoſſible for the Queen-Mother to come back without embroiling the Kingdom, and that there was no other way to preſerve it in Tranquility, but by ſuffering her to want even Neceſſaries out of *France*, unleſs ſhe wou'd go to *Tuſcany*. Secondly, that as Princes are deſign'd more for their State than for themſelves, ſo they are alſo more nearly related to that, than to their Father or Mother, and are not obliged to ſhow them any marks of the reſpect they owe them, but as far as they agree with a more publick and noble Duty. According to theſe Slaves of the Cardinal, *France* wou'd be undone, if the King made any Proviſion for his Mother, and this Action of the King reſembled the Separation of *Jeſus Chriſt* from the *Virgin-Mary*. They gave this Advice to his Majeſty, in the Month of *March*, and their Names that ſign'd are as follow, *Leguier*, *Bullion*, *Bouthillier*, *Chavigny* and *Sablet*.

* Page 340.

Judges

1639. At the ſame time, the Cardinal-Duke order'd a Proceſs againſt the Duke *de la Valette*, who had been received very honourably in *England*. * According to the uſual Forms, it belonged to the Parliament of *Paris* to judge of it, but according to a cuſtom eſtabliſh'd by this Miniſter, the King nominated ſome Commiſſioners of Parliament and of the Privy-Council, although the Parliament had remonſtrated to him, that it was an Infraction of their Privileges, and that theſe Cauſes belonged to them. The Duke *de la Valette* was accuſed of Cowardice and Treaſon; beſides that, he had left *France* without Permiſſion, which he cou'd not do, as being Colonel-General of the *French* Infantry, Governour of *Guienne*, and Duke and Peer of *France*. The King order'd the Judges to come before him at St. *Germains*, and commanding them to give their Opinions, the chief Preſident humbly begg'd of his Majeſty to diſpenſe with him from giving his Opinion in that place, being obliged to give it in Parliament if the King wou'd be pleaſed to ſend back the Cauſe to be there tried, conformable to the Laws, as he was going to prove. But the King took him up ſhort, and told him, That the Councellors of Parliament ſtarted difficulties of their own making, and had a mind to keep him in Tutelage; but he wo..'d have them know that he was their Maſter. He add d That it was a great miſtake to ſay, that he cou'd not order a proceſs againſt a Peer of *France* after what Manner he ſaw moſt convenient, and forbad them to ſpeak of it. The * *Rapporteurs de la Poſterie*, and *Machaut* concluded after a long reaſoning, that his Body was to be apprehended, and then the King ſpoke to the reſt to give their Opinion. *Pinon* began his Harangue with obſerving that in all the Fifty Years he had been a Councellour of Parliament, he never remembred a thing of ſo vaſt an importance to have come before them; that he conſider'd the Duke *de la Valette*, as a Perſon that had the Honour to be married to the King's Natural Siſter, and as a Duke and a Peer, and that therefore his Judgment was, That this Cauſe ought to be brought before the Parliament. The King told him that this was not giving his Opinion, and that he did not take it as

* *Siri Mem. Rec. T. 8. p. 781.*

* *So they call thoſe Judges in France, that make a Report of the Caſe to the Parliament.*

1639. ſuch. But *Pinon* anſwer'd, That in the Order of Juſtice, a Reference was a lawful Vote. The King reply'd in great Anger, That he wou'd have them give their opinion of the Merits of the Cauſe; and *Pinon* made anſwer, That ſince his Majeſty commanded him, he was of the ſame Opinion with the former. The Preſidents *Neſmond* and *Leguier* ſaid the ſame thing, ſeeing the King poſitively bent to have it ſo. The Preſident *de Bailleal*, who had heard at his coming into the Hall, that the Cardinal ſhou'd ſay, That the King wou'd make the Duke *de la Valette* taſte of his Mercy once more, ſaid that he approved of the Overture which the Cardinal had made; but the latter reply'd, That he needed only to cover himſelf with his Robe to give his Opinion: ſo he was conſtrain'd by the King's Command, to do as thoſe before him had done. The Preſident *de Meme;* thought of his Bonnet without ſaying a Word. The Preſident *de Novion*, after a long Diſcourſe, wherein he remark'd that no mention was made, neither of the Name, nor Age of the Witneſſes that ſwore againſt the Duke, and that the proceſs was againſt the uſual Forms, as the King himſelf confeſs'd, declar'd, that he thought the Duke ought perſonally to appear; and beſides that, he cou'd not in Conſcience give his Opinion in the place where he was. He added, that if the King conſtrain'd him, he wou'd be of the moſt favourable Side, becauſe he wou'd not load his Conſcience. The Preſident *de Belliévre* riſing up, ſaid, That in his Judgment, this cauſe ought to be ſent back to the Parliament, but as the King obliged him to paſs his Judgment upon the equity of the matter, he made a ſhort but handſom Diſcourſe, the ſubſtance of which was, That he thought it was extremely ſtrange, that his Majeſty ſhou'd interpoſe in the Trial of one of his Subjects; that his Anceſtors were accuſtomed to reſerve their Graces to themſelves, and to remit Condemnations to the Tribunals of Juſtice; that he did not believe that his Majeſty had rigour enough in him to ſee a Man upon a Sledge to be dragg'd the next Hour after to a Gibbet; that the ſight of a King carried Acts of Clemency along with it; that it took off Eccleſiaſtical Interdicts, and that no one ought to depart from his Preſence

ſence diſſatisfied. He afterwards took notice how inconvenient it was for them to deliver their Opinions before 1639. the King, ſince they were not at liberty to ſpeak their Thoughts freely. The King, after he had heard him with a great deal of Patience, commanded him to ſpeak poſitively to the matter in Hand. *Belliévre* made anſwer, That theſe were his Sentiments: but the Chancellour ſtill preſſing him to give his Opinion; he ſaid, That it was time loſt to ſpeak, if he muſt ſay nothing but what the Chancellor approv'd of, and ſo ſtuck ſtill to his firſt Judgment. The *Premier* Preſident continued to inſiſt upon a Reference, but at laſt gave his Opinion, that the Duke's Body was to be ſeized.

After the Preſidents had done, the Councellors declared their Sentiments; and it was remarkable enough, that *le Bret* alledged the Cuſtom of the *Perſians* and *Turks*, and *Leon Bralart* the moſt violent Proceedings of *Germany*, to ſerve as a Rule upon this Occaſion. After this, the Dukes and Peers ſpoke, and were follow'd by the Chancellour, by the Cardinal, and by the King. At laſt the Court roſe, and the King calling the Preſidents to him, told them in a great Paſſion, that they always made it their Buſineſs to diſobey his Orders, that he was extreamly ill ſatisfied with their Conduct, and that he hated all thoſe that were againſt his Trying a Duke and Peer out of Parliament; that they were ſorry, ignorant Wretches, unworthy of Places, and that for all he knew, he might put others in their room; that he was reſolv'd to be obey'd, and that he wou'd make them ſee, that all their Privileges were only founded upon an illegal Uſage; and laſtly, that he wou'd hear them argue no more about the Matter. Thus the blindeſt of all Kings, with whom the Arbitrary Courſes of his Miniſter paſs'd for Law and Policy, violated all the Ordinances, as if there had been no ſuch thing as Juſtice in *France* before the Cardinal-Duke ſate at the Helm, and that all the ancient Cuſtoms ow'd their Original to Madmen and Fools. It was too dangerous a point to endeavour to make him ſenſible of his Error, not only by reaſon of the vaſt Authority of the Miniſter, but his own natural *Opiniaſtete*, which was as great, as his Knowledge and Inſight

1639. into Things was ſmall. Thus he cou'd never have been brought to comprehend what might have been ſaid to him concerning the beginning of Laws, and the great Advantage which Princes as well as their Subjects find in ſeeing them carefully obſerv'd.

In conſequence of the Reſult of this Aſſembly, the Duke *de la Valette* was condemn'd by an Arreſt of the * Council of State to be ſent to the Baſtile to anſwer the Crimes he was accuſed of; or to be adjourned to appear at Sound of Trumpet, at a certain time, and his Goods in the interim to be ſequeſtred. Afterwards they examined the Teſtimony of fifty, as well Officers as Soldiers, whom they thought moſt proper to make him ſeem guilty. Their Depoſitions were read in full Council, and the † Attorney-General concluded that the Duke *de la Valette* was condemn'd to have his Head cut off, and his Goods confiſcated for the Crimes of Cowardice and Treaſon. The Preſidents, who ſaw it was to no purpoſe to make any Oppoſition, approved of all theſe Concluſions, except *Bellièvre*, who ſaid it was a hundred Years ago ſince *Francis* I. had made an Order, by which he ordain'd, that in Civil Matters, the Plaintiff ſhou'd not come to a concluſion, under a pretence of Contumacy, unleſs he cou'd juſtifie his Demand; and that it was much more juſt to follow this method in Criminal Matters, where the Honour and Life of the King's Subjects lay at ſtake: That thoſe that were attainted of Contumacy, were not always guilty at bottom: That the Duke *de la Valette* was accuſed of Treaſon, and Diſobedience to his General: That in relation to the Treaſon, it was hard to imagine that a *French* Gentleman, and one that had ſo many Obligations to the King, cou'd be guilty of ſo baſe a Thought: That he had remark'd no proof of it in the Proceſs, and that the Attorney-General ſeem'd to be of the ſame Opinion, ſince he had not pronounced the uſual Sentence of Traitors, which was, to demoliſh their Houſes, to cut down their Woods, and to declare their Poſterity degraded from their Nobility: That if the Duke *de la Valette* had entertain'd any private Intelligences with the Enemy, he wou'd never have diſcover'd it to a parcel of Scoundrels, ſince this was the moſt effectual way to

* 4th of ...uary.

† 24th ...ay.

to ruin his Deſigns: That none of theſe Witneſſes had depoſed, that he ſent any Letters to the Enemy, or received any from them, or kept any Correſpondence with them, or their Adherents: That conſequently he judged him innocent in reſpect of this Allegation: That as for his Diſobedience to his General, this was a point purely military, the Cognizance whereof belonged to Gentlemen of that Profeſſion; and that if the Duke were preſent, he might perhaps demonſtrate the contrary: That as to this Article, the Witneſſes depoſed no more than that the Breach was reaſonable; and that if an Aſſault had been made immediately, in all appearance the Place had been taken: That it was a Matter of dangerous conſequence to ſubmit the Honour and Life of a General to the Judgment of thirty Soldiers: That nevertheleſs tho' there was not any direct proof of theſe two Capital Points, of which the Duke *de la Valette* was accuſed, to condemn him to die; yet he thought him to be ſo great a Criminal for leaving the Kingdom, and not appearing to juſtifie himſelf, even though he were in perſon, that he was of opinion that he deſerved to be baniſhed for nine Years, to be turn'd out of his Places, and to pay a Fine of a hundred thouſand Crowns. 1639.

Upon this the Chancellour replied, That from whatever Principle it was that the Duke *de la Valette* had made the King loſe the Opportunity of Taking *Fontarabia*, and diſobey'd his General, this Action was of ſuch mighty prejudice to the State, that he was ſatisfied the Attorney-General's Sentence was juſt. The King throwing his Hat upon the Table, began to tell them, that having not been bred up in the Parliament, he cou'd not deliver his Opinion ſo well as they cou'd: That however, to expreſs himſelf after his own manner, the Debate was not here of the Cowardice or Ill-ſufficiency of the Duke *de la Valette*, ſince he was ſatisfied he wanted neither Bravery nor Courage, but that he had purpoſely and deſignedly loſt *Fontarabia*. After he had added a few Words of his ill Deſigns, which he had diſcover'd upon other Occaſions as well as this, he concluded after the ſame rate as the Attorney-General had done. At laſt the Court broke up, without any other Forma-

1639. Formality, and the Duke *de la Valette* was condemn'd by the whole Assembly, except *Bellièvre*. † The Council of State pronounced the Arrest, which declared the Duke to be found guilty of High Treason, for having basely and perfidiously abandon'd the King's Service at the Siege of *Fontarabia*; and of Felony, for departing out of the Kingdom contrary to his Majesty's Orders, and for this condemn'd to have his Head struck off at the *Grêve* if he were taken, or in Effigie if they cou'd not Apprehend him; to lose all his Offices, and to have his Goods confiscated.

† *The Duke de la Valette was re-established in his Estate and Honour by the Parliament of Paris, after the Death of the Cardinal-Duke.*

This was a thing without president till now, that a King of *France* should, as a Judge, Condemn a Gentleman, sitting at the upper end of a Table, about which the Judges were placed. What does still deserve to be remarked, is that in the Choice of these Judges, no new Commission was dispatched, that some of them were justly to be excepted against, that most of them had never served as Judges before; that they observed no Formalities; that they violated the Privileges of Dukes and Peers; that an Arrest was issued out by the Counsel of State, who had no Cognisance of the matter of Fact, and who don't use to concern themselves in such Affairs. Thus the King, who never did a good thing, but with the greatest difficulty imaginable; nay, who often suffer'd the Cardinal to undoe it, when he had passed his Promise to reward any one, suffer'd himself, without the least reluctance, to doe a Crying, Illegal, Unprecedented Piece of Injustice, to destroy a poor Nobleman, who had behaved himself extreamly well upon several occasions, and whose Father had served the Crown above 60 years. The Cardinal *de la Valette*, like a true trusty Slave as he was to the Cardinal-Duke, Writ a Letter to him in the very Interval, when he was employing all his Power to ruine his Brother; wherein he assured him, * *That since Monsieur* de la Valette *continued to live after such a manner, as could by no means be agreeable to him, he was obliged to tell him, that for his failure in his Duty, he (the Cardinal* de la Valette*) would be the first against him. For, 'tis certain,* adds he, *that I should be the most ungrateful Man in the World, if I should not prefer your service, not only to his Interests,*

* *See a Letter of the Cardinal* de la Valette, *dated the 17th of January, in the Collection which is at the end of the Memoirs of the Cardinal.*

terests, but even to my own. These mighty Obligations were, that he had not ruin'd him as well as his Brother, and that he had given him a Command in the Army, tho' he was as unfit to make a General, as he was to Govern his Bishoprick in good order. In the mean time the D. of *Espernon* had Orders, to retire to his House at *Prassac*, and was deprived of his Government, and all his Pensions. This good old Man had yet another Misfortune, which befel him at the beginning of this year, and that was the death of the D. of *Candalle*, his eldest Son, who died at *Casal*.

1639.

The Cardinal-Duke had sustain'd a very considerable Loss some time before, in the death of Father * *Joseph du Tremblay* his Confident, who died at the beginning of this Year. This Capuchin, whose Character I have drawn in another place, was a mighty Assistant to the Cardinal, whose Designs and Maxims he so perfectly well understood, that he acted upon them without Order, as if he had been the Minister himself. For this reason he discharg'd the greatest part of the Foreign Affairs upon his Shoulders.

* *See a Letter of Condolement from the Cardinal* de la Valette, *dated the 11th of* January.

Father *Monod* having ever since the beginning of the Year been sent to *Montmelian*, as I have already observed, the Dutchess of *Savoy*, in Answer to some Advice which the Cardinal had given her a few Weeks before, writ a † Letter to him, wherein she tells him, that she had never been in so profound a Lethargy, as not to know what she owed to his Merits, and to the great desire she had of finding any occasion to oblige him: She there speaks of the Marks she had always given of her unwearied Zeal for the Service of the King her Brother, and adds how severe a Mortification it was to her, that the bare Consideration of Father *Monod* shou'd hinder the good Correspondence which she promis'd her self to find from his Majesty. In the Close she demands timely Assistance, that so she might be in a posture to defend her self against her Enemies the next Campaign, promising her Friendship to the Cardinal-Duke, and desiring his for her self.

† *Dated the 4th of* January, *in the Collection added to the Memoirs of the Card.* p. 7.

The Cardinal of *Savoy*, and Prince *Thomas* who was arrived out of *Flanders* in *Italy*, prepared to enter *Piedmont*

1639. *Piedmont* with a powerful Army with all imaginable speed, and the *Piedmontois* expected them with great impatience; the People much rather loving to be Commanded by those that were related to their own Princes, than by Foreigners. Nevertheless they endeavour'd at first to enter into some Accommodation with their Sister-in-Law, and to obtain of her, that they might come in safety to *Piedmont*: but as she had all the reason in the World, on her side, to suspect that their design of coming to *Turin*, was, in order to make themselves Masters of the Place, she would never consent to it; and importun'd the Cardinal, by frequent Letters, to send her a timely and powerful relief. She Writ likewise to the King, but apply'd her self to the Minister in such a strain, that it plainly appear'd, she reposed little confidence in the languishing Friendship of her Brother, if the * Cardinal did not recommend her condition to him with all his address. She presses him all along after such a manner, as supposes he had a greater hand in disposing the Forces of the Kingdom, than the King himself.

* *See the abovementioned Collection, p. 31, &c.*

In the mean time Don *Martin* of *Arragon* parted from *Alexandria* with Seven or Eight thousand Men, and went to Attack the Fort of *Cengio*, where there was a *French* Garrison, which defended it self bravely. The *Spanish* General being killed before the place, *Don Antonio Sotello* succeeded him, and after he had repulsed the Succours which the Marquis *de Ville* wou'd have thrown into it, obliged it to surrender. On the other side, Prince *Thomas* marched in the * Night to *Chivas*, a place Situate upon the *Po*, between *Turin* and *Crescentin*, and took it, which gave a Terrible alarm to the Dutchess, and to the *French* who were not as yet strong enough to take the Field. *Quiers*, *Montcalier* and *Jore* declared at the same time for Prince *Thomas*. After this he marched to * *Verrue*, where the Governour did not acquit himself of his Duty; and the Castle being unprovided of several Necessaries, surrendred to the Prince, as well as the Town. *Crescentin* submitted soon after; and thus the *Spaniards* hinder'd the *French* from being able to send any Relief to *Casal* by the *Po*.

* *The 26th of March. Siri Mem. Rec. T. 8. P. 657.*

* *The 5th of April.*

Cardinal

Cardinal *de la Valette* not being in a condition to oppose the progress of the Enemy, contented himself with preserving of *Turin*, hoping it would be no difficult matter for them to regain the rest, provided they cou'd but keep that City in their possession. Thus either the Cardinal, or the Dutchess of *Savoy*, to destroy or preserve Father *Monod*, put the young Duke of *Savoy* in danger of being stript of his Territories. At the bottom, the true motive which engag'd *Victor Amadeus* and his Widow in this War against the *Spaniard*, was only to give their forces some diversion in *Italy*, for fear they shou'd grow too strong in the *Low Countries*: and it must be acknowledg'd, that the Cardinal assisted them after a feeble manner. But in all probability he was not much concern'd to see the Daughters of *Mary de Medicis* out of a condition to make themselves be feared. He affected to mortify them upon every occasion, and had order'd *d'Emery* to reside as Ambassador at *Turin*, altho he was extremely disagreeable to the Dutchess, whom he sometimes treated with a great deal of pride and arrogance. 1639.

The Dutchess fearing to be besieged in *Turin*, thought of sending the Duke her Son, and her Daughters to some place of Security, tho the Cardinal made some proposals to her to send them into *France*. But as she already depended but too much upon him, she concluded it would be her best way to send them to *Montmelian*, under the guard of Don *Felix* of *Savoy*, who was Governor of that place. Now to engage the Dutchess in some Treaty, Prince *Thomas*, and the Marquis *de Leganez* * advanced within sight of *Turin*, and made themselves Masters of the *Borgo du Pau*, which those within were not able to maintain. The people of *Piedmont*, generally speaking, were so little affected to the Dutchess, that there had been a just occasion to be apprehensive for her, if the *French* Garrison had not been stronger than the Burghers of *Turin*. There were quartered in that City five thousand Foot, and two thousand Horse, by whose means the Cardinal *de la Valette* so bridled them, that they were not able to attempt any thing; and at the

* *The 18. of April.*

1639. ſame time kept the Dutcheſs, who was affrighted to ſee her Enemies ſo near her, from making any Treaty, contrary to the intereſts of *France*. And thus after ſome few propoſitions, the deſign of which was to disengage this Princeſs from aſſiſting the *French*, Prince *Thomas* and *Leganez* retired. The Prince took *Villanuze d Asti*, and *Leganez Moncalvo*, and afterwards *Pontestura*, which occaſion'd a ſuſpicion, that the *Spaniards* had a deſign upon *Caſal*, but the Cardinal *de la Valette* recruited it in good time with all manner of neceſſary proviſions.

In the mean time, the King reſolv'd to ſend *Chavigny* into *Piedmont*, in quality of Ambaſſador extraordinary, to aſſure the Dutcheſs of her Brother's aſſiſtance, and withal to prevail with her to oppoſe the deſigns of the Princes of *Savoy*. *D' Emery* was but lately returned to *France*, and 'twas deſign'd to ſend him back to *Piedmont*, as indeed they did: but as the Dutcheſs had taken an incurable diſlike to his perſon, it was fear'd that all his endeavours wou'd fall to the ground. *Chavigny* had * orders dexterouſly to inſinuate to the Princeſs, that there was only one way left to ſave herſelf, and that, in the Cardinal's opinion, was to remit her Children into *France*, and to ſecure herſelf ſo effectually of all the principal places of her Country, that ſhe might lye under no farther apprehenſions of loſing them. Now to ſecure theſe places for herſelf, ſhe needed only to put *Frenchmen* into them, which ſhe might do both with honour and ſafety, becauſe the *Spaniards* had made a powerful Invaſion in *Piedmont*; and the King promis'd to reſtore theſe places to her, whenever ſhe pleaſed. *Chavigny* had inſtructions to ſupport this advice with ſeveral other reaſons, and to tell the Dutcheſs that if ſhe follow'd it, the King her Brother would redouble his efforts to deliver her out of her preſent difficulties; but if ſhe neglected it, his Majeſty diſcharged himſelf before God and Man of the protection he otherwiſe deſign'd to give her, ſince it would be unſerviceable. The places which the King demanded to have in *Piedmont*, were the Caſtles that ſecure the entrance or the Valies, as *Cahours*, *Revel*, *Coni*, and ſome others like them. *D' Emery*

* See *Hiſt. Inſtructions in the Mem. of Richl.* Tom. II. p. 272.

D' Emery was likewiſe order'd to return from *Lyons* to *Piedmont*, to fortifie *Pignerol*, and make the ſame propoſitions to the Dutcheſs. Beſides this, in caſe the Dutcheſs made a Treaty of Neutrality, or a Ceſſation of Arms with the *Spaniard*, he was commanded to confer with the Cardinal *de la Valette*, to ſee how one might ſeize thoſe places which lay upon the road from *Pignerol* to *Caſal*; and to effect this deſign in caſe it were feaſible. 1639.

The Cardinal in the mean time, in all his Letters to the Dutcheſs, and to the Cardinal *de la Valette*, gave them to underſtand, that this Princeſs cou'd never truly reckon herſelf miſtreſs of any place, where ſhe had *Piedmonteſe* Governours, even tho the Garriſon was *French*, becauſe thoſe Governors wou'd make the people riſe up againſt the Garriſons. In this conjuncture the Dutcheſs ſent to acquaint Prince *Thomas*, that if he did not ſurrender the places he had taken, ſhe was reſolved to throw up all which ſhe had into the hands of the *French*, who already poſſeſſed *Carmagnole* and *Queraſque*, and who wou'd ſoon be maſters of *Turin*, if they had once the Citadel. Soon after ſhe began a Treaty with her Brothers-in-law, by which ſhe agreed to divide the Guardianſhip with them, and to receive them into *Turin*; which had it gone on, would have infallibly ſubjected her to their power, and made her entirely depend upon them. The Ambaſſadors of *France* took a great deal of pains to make her comprehend, that ſhe wou'd abſolutely ruin herſelf, if ſhe concluded this Treaty; But when they came to talk to her of putting the reſt of her Towns into the hands of the King, who was only to keep them for her, till ſuch time as ſhe cou'd maintain them ſafely herſelf; then ſhe cry'd out, that inſtead of aſſiſting her, they deſign'd to plunder her of all ſhe had, and wou'd not hear them mention the leaſt ſyllable of it for ſeveral days. She was afraid that if theſe places were once out of her power and ſurrendred to them, they wou'd afterwards pay her juſt ſo much reſpect as they ſhou'd ſee convenient, and thus ſhe might come to loſe all her authority. But the Miniſters of *France* having

1639. found means to gain her Councellors over to their party, by pensions which they promis'd them in the Kings name; and in particular, the Cardinal having corrupted the Abbot *de la Monta*, by resigning the Abby of *Nantes* to him; the Dutchess began to soften a little, and as she wanted ready money for her present support, there was a necessity for her at last, even of her self to come to the Cardinal's Lure. The Treaty was signed the 1st of *June*, 1639. and the King promis'd to restore her these places which she put into his hands, as also those which he happen'd to retake from the Enemy, assoon as she was in a condition to keep them for her self.

* *Siri Mem. Rec.* T. 8 p. 710.

During this Negotiation, the Marquis *de Leganez* made himself Master of * *Trino*, and of † *Santia* in *Montferrat*; the Army of the Cardinal *de la Valette* not daring to quit *Turin*, while they doubted of the good affections of the Dutchess. To make some amends for these losses, and the better to preserve *Turin*, the Cardinal *de la Valette* besieged *Chivas*, which he began to attack on the 17 of *June*. The Marquis *de Leganez* thought himself obliged to relieve it, and for that end advanced with his Forces, but he found the Lines of the *French* so strong, that he durst not attempt them. However he posted himself between *Chivas* and *Turin*, hoping to cut off all Provisions from the *French* Army; but the Duke of *Longueville* being arrived in *Piedmont* with a fresh Army, guarded a great Convoy to the Cardinal *de la Valette*'s Camp, which obliged the Marquis *de Leganez* to alter his measures. The place surrendred on the 29 of *June*, and the taking of it began somewhat to re-establish the Reputation of the *French* in *Italy*.

* The 24 of *May*.
† The 14 of *June*.

But shortly after the Emperor publish'd an Ordinance, by which he declared the Dutchess to have forfeited the Guardianship of her Children, absolved the Subjects of the House of *Savoy* from the Oaths of Fidelity they had taken to her, and commands them to own the young Duke's two Uncles for his lawful Guardians; upon which all *Piedmont* rose up against the Dutchess, except *Turin*, and those places where the *French* were strongest. The Cardinal having received

received this ill news, * sent a long Memorial to *D'Emery* and the Generals of the Army, wherein he told them, 'That this insurrection of all the places in 'Piedmont ought to convince the Dutchess, that the 'people were deeply prejudiced against her, and that 'she could not rely upon them any longer: That if 'the *French* Troops that were in *Turin*, and the 'Neighbourhood of the King's Army did not awe the 'Inhabitants of that City, they would do the same as 'the rest have done, since in spight of her prohibitions they continued to form Assemblies, and resolutions contrary to her Authority: That the only 'Bond that ties people to their Soveraign is Fidelity, 'and that it is not to be expected from those persons, 'that think themselves absolved from their Oaths by 'the Emperor's Declaration, and who are confirm'd 'in this opinion by the Ecclesiastics: That this ought 'to be represented in a vigorous manner to Madame 'of *Savoy*, who was to be told, that the King would 'be in extraordinary pain till he heard she had given 'necessary orders for her own security: That for this 'end she must disarm the Citizens of *Turin*, and manage her self with a great deal of prudence, for fear 'she should hasten their Rebellion: that a report 'might easily be spread about, that the Enemy approached near the City, while the Duke of *Longueville* should be employed elsewhere, and so she take 'that opportunity to bring the Cardinal *de la Valette*'s 'Forces into the Town, seize the most advantageous 'posts, and disarm the Burghers: That *Madame de Savoy* might turn out the *Piedmontese* Captains that 'kept the Gates, and place some *French* in their 'room, who were in her pay: That she might place 'a faithful experienced Governor there, to turn out 'the factious Spirits, and oblige the Superiors of Convents to send their turbulent Religious elsewhere: 'that besides this, she might buy up all the Arms, 'and all the Powder that was made in *Turin*, and 'bestow it in the Arsenal, or Cittadel: That since 'the Dutchess possest no more than *Turin*, *Avelliane*, 'and *Susa*, she ought to take all imaginable care to 'keep them in her hands: That it was necessary to

1639. * The 6 of *July*.

1639. 'put a truſty Garriſon into the Caſtle of *Nice*, and 'not to truſt the people of *Nice*, nor thoſe of *Villa* 'Franca: That no ſuſpected perſon ſhould be ſuffered 'to be about the Duke, and even there to place *Sa*'voyards in the room of *Piedmonteſes*: That aſſoon as 'the ſeaſon would permit, care ſhould be taken to 'make the Naval Army, commanded by the Count 'd'Harcour, come before *Nice*; That they ſhould 'make all convenient haſte to diſarm the inhabitants 'of thoſe places that were to be kept in truſt for the 'Dutcheſs.

Orders were diſpatched to the Duke of *Longueville* to go and raiſe the Siege of *Coni*; and to the Cardinal *de la Valette*, to march to *Carmagnole*; but as they were putting themſelves in a readineſs to execute theſe orders, they were oblig'd to change their deſign. Prince *Thomas* entred *Turin* at night on the 26th of *July*, by ſecret intelligence with ſome in the Town, and conſtrain'd the Dutcheſs and *French* that were there, to retire in diſorder into the Cittadel. 'Twas to no purpoſe, that the Cannon of the Cittadel began to play upon the Town, for the Prince had thrown up good retrenchments on that ſide, and fill'd the ſe Houſes that lay moſt expos'd with Earth. However, he cou'd not hinder the *French* from conducting the Dutcheſs to *Suſa*, and putting a ſtrong Garriſon into the Cittadel of *Turin*, with all neceſſary proviſions to hold out a long time. In the mean time, *Caſſarelle* the Nuncio obtain'd a Ceſſation of Arms for two months, which was to begin from the 14th of *Auguſt*, and in the interim the King recall'd the Duke of *Longueville* to go and command in *Germany*, and left the conduct of all his Troops in *Italy* to the Cardinal *de la Valette*, who had excellent Officers under him to ſupply the defects of his own incapacity.

The Dutcheſs writ to the Cardinal Duke with the greateſt ſubmiſſion imaginable, becauſe ſhe ſaw he had foretold, what ſince happen'd to her; and the Cardinal *de la Valette* excus'd the Ceſſation of Arms which he had lately made, by alledging that the Cittadel of *Turin* was utterly unprovided of every thing, and that

that all the other places which the King held in *Piedmont*, except *Chivas*, were in ſo bad a condition, that it would be a difficult matter to keep them. Nevertheleſs if the Cardinal Duke diſapproved of it, the Cardinal *de la Valette* conſented that he ſhou'd withdraw it, *provided he ſtill preſerv'd for him the honour of his good graces.* 1639.

Upon the news of this laſt inſurrection of *Piedmont*, *Chavigny* who was upon his return to *Paris*, was ſent back to the Dutcheſs of *Savoy*, to perſwade her to put *Nice* and *Villa Franca* into his Majeſty's hands. Some of the inſtructions he receiv'd were none of the moſt honourable for that Princeſs, whoſe conduct was extreamly blamed, becauſe ſhe ſeem'd to diſtruſt the King's Miniſters. In the mean time they receiv'd advice, that the Generals had concluded a Ceſſation of Arms with Prince *Thomas*, which made them change the Orders they had given to *Chavigny*. He was only commanded to inform the Dutcheſs, how much the King was concern'd to ſee her affairs in ſo bad a poſture, and to tell her that his Majeſty would come as far as *Lyons*, that ſo he might be nearer at hand to give neceſſary Orders for the defence of thoſe places which ſtill remain'd in her poſſeſſion. She was likewiſe given to underſtand, that ſhe ought to place a *French* Garriſon and *French* Commanders in *Suſa*, and in *Avelline*, and to provide theſe places with every thing that was neceſſary, otherwiſe ſhe would run the hazard of loſing all the reſt. In this Interval the *French* and *Spaniſh* Generals had an interview at *Piedmont*, where the Marquis *de Leganez* ſpoke of a general Peace, and Prince *Thomas* of reconciling himſelf in particular with *France*, being weary to continue longer in the ſervice of the *Spaniards*, of whom he imagined he had juſt occaſion to complain. But this conference produced no effect at this time.

The Dutcheſs being deſirous to diſcourſe the King her Brother about her affairs, diſpatch'd the Marquis *de St. Germain* to him, to know where he would be pleaſed ſhe ſhould meet him. *Grenoble* was the place appointed, and the Marquis had Orders to repreſent to the Dutcheſs how extreamly ſhe prejudic'd her ſelf,

1639. by expreſſing a diſtruſt of the King her Brother's Miniſters, and taking no care for the preſervation of her State, and that there was no other expedient for her to defend herſelf againſt the enterprizes of her Brothers-in-law, but by throwing herſelf intirely upon his Majeſty. The Cardinal principally deſired, that the Dutcheſs would put the Caſtle of *Montmelian* into the King's hands, where Father *Monod* was; for which end it was propos'd to this Jeſuit to leave it if he pleas'd, but he could not be prevail'd with to agree to it, fearing that he ſhould be ſtill in greater danger if he departed out of it, than if he continued there.

In the mean time Cardinal *Maurice* found means to gain the Governors of *Nice* and *Villa Franca*; and the fear of loſing all influenced the Dutcheſs to put *Suſa*, *Avelliane*, *Geluſſe*, and *Taillon* into the King's power, but ſhe would not hear the leaſt mention of ſurrendring *Montmelian*. The King arrived with the Cardinal at *Grenoble*, whither the Dutcheſs likewiſe came, but before they enter'd into any Negotiation, the Cardinal told her what he thought would be moſt advantageous for herſelf, and the Duke her Son, and had ſome converſation with the principal Miniſters of the Dutcheſs. He endeavour'd to perſwade her to truſt the King, at leaſt in appearance, with the adminiſtration of *Savoy*, and to put the Duke her Son into his hands. The Dutcheſs could not bring herſelf to give her conſent to it, for fear leſt this apparent truſt, as the Cardinal call'd it, ſhould become but too real, if the King gained the Governor of *Montmelian*, or made himſelf Maſter of it any other way. It came to be diſcover'd that Count *Philip d' Aglie* adviſed the Dutcheſs to continue firm to this reſolution, but whatever artifices they uſed, it was not poſſible for them to draw any thing more from the Princeſs, but that ſhe would deliver two or three ſmall places more to the King. And in truth, it was a ſtrange thing that the King wou'd not vigorouſly aſſiſt his Siſter upon cheaper terms, than by being abſolute maſter of all her dominions, and of the perſon of her Son. But this was the Cardinal's Maxim, who did not pretend to be a Counſellor

Counſellor or Friend to the Dutcheſs, but to be ſupream Arbitrator of her Will. To effect which, the Duke of *Savoy* and all his Country muſt be put into his hands, and then his advices would not be properly Counſels, but Commands. Beſides, tho the Duke of *Savoy* was Nephew to the King, yet it was not ſafe to repoſe too much confidence in the Cardinal, whoſe ambition had no bounds, and whoſe dark deſigns 'twas impoſſible for any one to foreſee. 'Twas to no purpoſe to talk of the great affection which *Lewis* XIII. had for his Siſter, and of the obligations both of conſcience and honour to protect her as well as his Nephew: All this ſerved for nothing without the Cardinal's concurrence, of which 'twas impoſſible to be ſecure. 1639.

The Cardinal upon the point of his parting from *Grenoble* with the King, went to take his leave of the Dutcheſs, and *told her, 'That he left her involved in 'greater dangers than thoſe he had found her in, be- 'cauſe her Enemies ſeeing that ſhe was uncapable to 'employ the only remedies which could preſerve her 'from all the difficulties that threatned her, would be 'ſure to puſh on their deſigns with greater vigour, at 'a juncture, when they ſaw her abandon'd by her Sub- 'jects, and not able to procure the aſſiſtance of the 'King her Brother: That ſhe imitated thoſe perſons 'that obey God's Commandments but in part, which 'however would be ineffectual to their Salvation: 'That thoſe that wanted prudence to give her good 'advice, wanted courage alſo to defend her, and 'that thoſe that diſſwaded her from following the 'King's Counſel, found it was their intereſt to ma- 'nage her after this rate, and intended to redeem 'their own loſſes by hers. The Cardinal preached a great deal of this cajoling doctrine to her, and left it with her in writing, that ſhe might make more reflexions upon it at leiſure. But the Dutcheſs held faſt to her reſolutions not to diveſt herſelf of *Savoy*; and as this did not hinder the King from acting vigorouſly in *Piedmont*, if he were ſo minded, which was ſufficient to preſerve his Siſter and his Nephew, 'twas impoſſible to comprehend what ſhould incline him to deſire

* *Siri Mem. Rec.* T. 8. p. 749.

Savoy,

1639. *Savoy*, unleſs his Miniſter had ſome ſuch deſign upon that Country, as he has abundantly convinced the world he had upon *Lorrain*.

Count *Philip d' Aglie*, who had confirmed the Dutcheſs in her opinion to keep *Montmelian*, incurred no little danger upon this occaſion. The Dutcheſs was already got into her Coach to return to *Savoy*, and her Attendants were on Horſeback to follow her, when the Cardinal took the Count by the hand, and led him into a Chamber to diſcourſe him there in private. Here ſqueezing his hand, and preſſing it hard againſt his breaſt, he frown'd upon him, and told him, 'That now he might return in glory to *Savoy*, 'ſince he had engag'd the Dutcheſs by his Advice, to 'put the greateſt affront upon the King her Brother, 'and the greateſt diſappointment he could receive in 'the world, ſince people would now believe, that 'he came on purpoſe to talk with her, with a deſign 'to rob his Nephew of thoſe places, which he deſired 'with no other proſpect than only to keep them againſt 'his Enemies, and to force them to ſurrender the 'reſt they had taken from him. The Count made anſwer, That he had no power over the Dutcheſs's inclinations; and the Cardinal replyed, that it were to be wiſhed that all the world did believe the ſame; after which he turned his back upon him. The Count took Horſe immediately, and without ſtopping at any place, never thought himſelf ſecure till he arrived to *Montmelian*. Nevertheleſs the Cardinal prevailed ſo far, that none of the *Piedmonteſes* were to tarry there, except the Marquis *de St. Germain*, and Count *Cagnol* his Lieutenant, and that the Garriſon ſhould be wholly compoſed of *French*, that were in the Service of the Houſe of *Savoy*.

Towards the end of *October*, *de la Cour* was ſent Ambaſſador in Ordinary to be near the Dutcheſs, in the place of *D'Emery*, with poſitive Orders not to treat her with the Title of *her Royal* Highneſs, as ſhe had for ſome time deſired, in imitation of the Cardinal Infanta, to whom the Title was given. The Cardinal Duke was reſolved never to grant her this ſatisfaction, becauſe ſhe had too much oppos'd his advice.

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In the mean time the Cardinal *de la Valette* died, and the Pope refuſed to ſay Maſs for his Soul, as 'tis the cuſtom, under a pretence that he had headed an Army, which was compoſed in part of *Lutheran* Troops, againſt Catholicks. He likewiſe denied to ſhow him ſome other honours, that are accuſtomed to be paid to Cardinals. The Count *d' Harcourt*, who commanded the Kings Fleet in the *Mediterranean*, had orders to go and take his place. He march'd immediately, becauſe the Truce was ready to expire; and as ſoon as it was ended, he attacqu'd *Quiers*, in ſight of the Enemy's Army, who in vain endeavour'd to get thither before them. There were four hundred *Germans* in Garriſon, and three Hundred Horſe, who were reduced to capitulate the 28th of *October*, after ſome Vollies of Cannon had paſt between them. Next day the *Spaniards* advanced, as if they deſign'd to attacque the *French* Lines, but the latter marched out to meet them, and defeated five Squadrons of Horſe, who retreated in ſome diſorder under the Cannon of *Villeneuve d' Aſti*. The Count *d' Harcourt* being deſirous to preſerve *Quiers*, during the Winter, tarried there ſo long to put it in a capacity of defending it ſelf, that proviſions began to fail him. In the mean time the Marquis *de Leganez*, and Prince *Thomas*, who had foreſeen this, poſted themſelves ſo advantageouſly, that nothing could come to him from *Carmagnole*, and ſo reduc'd him to a neceſſity to paſs between their two Bodies, if he were minded to ſtay there no longer. But their precaution was in vain, for the Count ſlipt by them one night with ſo much order and ſpeed, that he had made the beſt part of his way, before the Enemy perceived it. Prince *Thomas*, who was firſt aware of them, deſign'd to attacque the *French* in the Front, while the *Spaniards*, as he imagined, would fall upon their Rear. But he was repulſed with loſs, and the *Spaniſh* Cavalry, who came afterwards with full ſpeed, were conſtrain'd to return to the place from whence they came, without doing any thing. Thus the Count arrived at *Carmagnole* without loſs, after this double Victory, but the Marquis *de Leganez* was extremely blamed for loſing

1639.

1639. ſing ſo fair an opportunity. The Princes of *Savoy*, who had complain'd of him before, now had a freſh occaſion to complain of him, as of one that was uncapable to act with that promptitude and vigour which is requiſite in War. The *Spaniards* ſuſtain'd another loſs near *Caſal*, the Garriſon of which place, on the 29th of *November*, carry'd off five of their beſt Companies of Horſe; and ſo with this action the Campaign ended.

Cardinal *Maurice* and Prince *Thomas*, finding there was no way to accommodate matters with their Siſter-in-law, publiſhed a Declaration, wherein they maintained themſelves to be the lawful Guardians of the Duke of *Savoy* their Nephew, and acknowledged as ſuch by the Emperor, and by the Inhabitants of *Piedmont*; ſo that they declared all theſe perſons to be guilty of High Treaſon, that adhered to the Dutcheſs's party. But the Senate of *Chambery* cancell'd this Declaration, and the Dutcheſs publiſh'd another quite oppoſite to it.

* *See Aubery's life of the Cardinal*, l. 6. ch. 37.

In the mean time *France* was engag'd in a * quarrel with the Court of *Rome*, as being very ill ſatisfied with its conduct for ſeveral reaſons. One was, the death of *Rouvray*, Maſter of the Horſe to the Mareſchal *d' Eſtrees*, who was aſſaſſinated by the *Sbirri*, becauſe he had reſcued his Valet out of their hands, who was condemned to the Gallies. The other was, the little notice the Pope took of the nomination his Majeſty had made in favour of *Mazarine*, for a Cardinal's Cap. Beſides this, the Miniſter had not been able as yet to obtain his Bulls for his Dignity of Abbot-General of the Orders of the *Ciſtercians* and *Premonſtratenſes*; and he had reaſon to complain of the manner the Pope had treated his Friend the Cardinal *de la Valette*. The firſt of theſe reaſons was the occaſion, why *Scoti*, the Pope's Nuncio, who ſucceeded *Bolognetti*, was forbidden to have audience of the King. He had a Conference upon this affair with *Chavigny*, who particularly complain'd of the Aſſaſſinate of the Mareſchal *d Eſtree's* Gentleman of the Horſe, and that the Pope had not permitted the accuſtom'd ſervice to be celebrated for the Cardinal *de la*

la Valette, as was uſual for the other Cardinals. The 1639. Nuncio denyed both one and the other, and began to complain that four or five Biſhops being aſſembled in *Paris*, had propoſed to have a National Council ſummon'd. He added, that if they came to theſe extremities, he knew very well how to maintain the Intereſts of the Papal Chair, and that he did not doubt but the greateſt part of the Biſhops wou'd declare for him. *Chavigny* deny'd the matter of fact, and wou'd have put a writing into *Scoti*'s hands, by which he was forbidden to come to the King's Audience, till his Majeſty had receiv'd ſatisfaction from him; but the Nuncio refuſing to receive it, *Chavigny* deliver'd it to him by word of mouth. After ſome diſcourſe concerning a Peace, to which the Nuncio accuſed *France* to have an averſion, he told *Chavigny* that the menaces which the Cardinal *de Richlieu* made, no longer to acknowledge the Pope in *France*, but only as he was Head of the Church, and a Spiritual Prince, unleſs *Mazarine* was immediately promoted to the dignity of a Cardinal; and the diſguſt he took becauſe he had not obtain'd his Bulls to be Abbot General of the *Ciſtercians*, were the true cauſe of the miſunderſtanding between his Holineſs and the King. That Cardinal *Richlieu* had firſt made uſe of violent ways, in ſtopping the Pope's Curriers, and hindering him (*Scoti*) to perform the functions of his Nunciature Ordinary and Extraordinary: That he had aſſembled ſome Biſhops at his Palace, to talk of convening a National Council, under pretence of *Annates*, and other pretended Grievances; that this was not the way to procure *Mazarine* a Cap; and that as for a National Council, the Prelates of *France* had too much zeal for the Holy See, of which they had given ſo many public teſtimonies, to engage in an affair of that nature. The Nuncio likewiſe complain'd, that *Chavigny* had order'd Father *Valerio*, a Diſcalceated *Carmelite*, to tell him, nay, to ſend word of it to *Rome*, that the King might with Juſtice, if he pleas'd, revenge the death of *Rouvray* upon the Nuncio, by ſending the Mobb to inſult him in his houſe, or baſtinado him in the ſtreets; but that his

1639. his Majesty wou'd not make use of his power; and that he expected satisfaction from Cardinal *Antonio Barberin*. *Chavigny* denyed he ever said any thing like it, but the Nuncio offering to send for Father *Antonio*, he told him there was no necessity for it, and began to make a Panegyric upon the Cardinal *. After some other discourse they parted.

* See the Relation of this Conference on the 9th of Dec. in l. 2. of Aub. Mem. p. 409.

As the Nuncio refused to receive from *Chavigny* the above-mentioned order in writing, which he tendred to him, *Berlise* the Introductor of the Ambassadors, accompanied by an Usher of the Privy Council, was sent to give it him. The Nuncio refus'd it a second time, nay, not only so, but wou'd not hear it read, and withdrew into another Chamber. *Berlise* left it upon the Table, and charg'd the Nuncio's Officers to give it him, but as soon as the Introductor of Ambassadors was gone, they threw it back to him into his Coach. In the mean time, the King forbad all the Bishops of *France* to have any manner of communication with *Scoti*, and every night a Guard was placed about his house, to hinder any one from going to him.

* Ibid. p. 414. & 415.

The Nuncio writ a complaining * Letter to the King, that he never spoke the least disrespectful word in regard of his Majesty, and that he had done nothing, which he was not indespensibly obliged by his character to do. But the Cardinal complain'd highly of his conduct to Cardinal *Bagno*, as being *inconsiderate and too violent*; for he did not value it seems their threatning to Bastinado him, which the Grand Seignior, said *Scoti*, durst not do at *Constantinople* to a Bayly of *Venice*. The Cardinal writ likewise to the Pope, to complain of him for refusing to take informations about the life and manners of him whom the King had nominated to the Bishoprick of *Cominge*, altho they had been taken before a Diocesan Bishop, pretending that it was to be done before the Nuncio. To this he joyn'd several other Grievances, which some Prelates, assembled several times at *St. Genevieve*, had presented to him. All this only tended to obtain more speedily for him the Bulls for his being General of the *Cisterciens* and *Præmonstratenses*; and he on his

his side granted to the Court of *Rome* a great part of what they demanded. 1639.

After having thus recounted the most remarkable passages in *Italy*, that have a relation to our Cardinal's History, we must now relate in a few words the attempts of *France* in the *Low Countries*, in *Languedoc*, and in *Germany*, against the House of *Austria*. Ever since the preceding year the *French* had a design to attack *Hedin*, but the relief which Prince *Thomas* of *Savoy* had thrown into the place, diverted that design. This year they took it in hand again, and the Marquis *de Meilleraye* had orders to open the Campaign, on the side of *Artois*, with the Siege of this place. At the same time a small body of men was given to the Marquis *de Fenquieres*, to enter into the Country of *Luxemburgh*, and attack *Thionville*. *Some persons are of opinion, that *Fenquieres* received this order from the Cardinal against his will, and that he was only sent thither to facilitate the taking of *Hedin*, and do honour to the Marquis *de Meilleraye*. Others * deny it, and pretend that *Fenquieres* was left at liberty to attempt the reduction of this place, or barely to oppose *Picolomini*.

* *Siri Mem Rec.* T. 8. p. 773.

* *Aub. Vie du Card.* l. 6. c. 30.

However it was, while * *Meilleraye* attacqu'd *Hedin*, the Army commanded by *Fenquieres*, which consisted of eight thousand Foot, and four thousand Horse, advanced before *Thionville*. Altho the place was strong enough, yet it was so ill provided, that in all appearance *Fenquieres* would carry it in a few days, if *Picolomini* did not march to the relief of it. He made so much haste, and marched with so little noise, that he * appear'd before the *French* thought he could have reach'd them, so that *Fenquieres* could not imagine who he was, when he saw his Colours. As he marched between the Woods, they could not judge what quarter he would attack, and all that the *French* General could do was to put his Army in Battel, in the different posts where they stood, to be in a condition to march, if there should be occasion. All this while *Fenquieres* was in an extraordinary perplexity, which made several Officers laugh who did not love him, and call'd him the *Pedant*, because he was fitter

* The 22. of *May*.

* The 7th of *June*.

for

1639. for Negotiation, than the Military profession. In the mean time *Picolomini* gave the first onset on that quarter which was posted on the other side the *Moselle*, which he carried after a vigorous opposition made by the Foot, for the Horse run away. By this means *Picolomini* threw what succors he pleas'd into *Thionville*, and then placed his Army in Battel Array, between the Counterscarp of the place, and the Quarter of *Feuquieres*, without advancing further, till about five a clock in the Afternoon. The *French* General, who had sent his Artillery Horses to *Mets*, was of the opinion to stay for them to carry him off, or at least to defer the Retreat till night. But the Enemy having approached a Ravelin, which parted the two Armies, with their Artillery, began to cannonade the *French*, who likewise advanced on their side; tho for want of Horses, they were not in a condition to bring up their Artillery. This gave the Enemy an opportunity to pass the Ravelin, notwithstanding the resistance of the *French* Infantry, who were, once more, in this extremity abandon'd by the Horse. *Feuquieres*, as he perform'd all the Offices of a General, received two shots from a Musquet, one of which broke his arm, so he was obliged to retire the distance of a Cannon shot from the place, where the action was. There he was taken Prisoner, and conducted to *Thionville*, where he died in a few days after, partly of his wounds, and partly of grief. The *French* lost few of their Horse, because they had the discretion to run away betimes, but their Infantry were half kill'd upon the spot, and half taken Prisoners.

The Mareschal *de Chatillon*, to whom the Cardinal had given a small Army, which he commanded upon the Frontiers of *Champagne*, was blamed for not advancing to the relief of *Feuquieres*, since he had notice of *Picolomini*'s March. 'Tis reported that he was not sorry for the defeat of *Feuquieres*, whom out of derision he called the *New General*; because it would make the raising of the Siege of *St. Omers* be forgotten.

After

1639. After this advantage, *Picolomini* judging that the *French*, dispirited and terrified with this overthrow, would not be in a condition to oppose his designs, marched directly to * *Verdun*: but the Mareschal having thrown three Regiments into the place, he went to attack *Monzon*, which however he could not so speedily do, but that seven or eight hundred men were put into it. Nevertheless he carry'd all the Outworks of the place easily enough, and had made himself Master of the Town, if the Mareschal, who had gathered the straggling remainders of *Feuquieres*'s Army, had not marched thither with extraordinary haste, which * obliged *Picolomini* to retire to *Yvoix*, as being not in a condition to resist an Army compos'd of 12000 Foot, and 4000 Horse.

* The Relation of the Mareschal *de Chatillon* in the *Mem.* of *Aub.* T. 2. p. 312.

* The 21 of *June*.

In the mean time, the Marquis *de la Meilleraye* prest the Siege of *Hedin* with great vigour; and it was fear'd that *Picolomini* would pass the *Meuse*, to joyn the Cardinal Infanta, in order to make him raise it. Upon this consideration the Mareschal was ordered to follow him, and observe his motions. But the place was forced to surrender on the 29th of *June*, for fear left the Enemy should enter it through the Breach. The King, who was then at *Abbeville*, to come and behold the Siege, made his entry into the Town through it; and the same day bestow'd a Mareschals Staff upon the Marquis *de la Meilleraye*. About a month after, the Mareschal *de Chatillon* * retook *Yvoix*, and order'd the Fortifications to be razed to the ground. After this, no considerable Action happen'd on the side of the *Low Countries*.

* On the 2d of *Aug.* See the Capitulation in the *Mem.* of *Aub.* T. 2. p. 357.

During the same Campaign, the * Prince of *Conde* entred into *Roussillon*, and besieged the Fort of *Salces*, which is not far from *Leucate*; and altho *Don Michel Lorenza Bravo* defended it with a great deal of vigour, yet he oblig'd it to capitulate on the 19th of *July*. He took *Canet* some time after, and then withdrew to *Narbonne*, leaving the charge of the Army to the Mareschal *de Schomberg*. In the mean time, the *Spanish* Forces advanced under the command of the Marquis *de Spinola*, and came to re-besiege *Salces*, on the 20th of *September*. Not to lose time, he order'd

* *Siri*, *Mem.* *Rec.* T. 8. p. 970.

R 1640.

1639. a general aſſault to be made upon the Outworks, and carried them, but with the loſs of abundance of his men. This made him not ſo violently attack the body of the place, and *D' Eſpenan* who commanded in chief there, made frequent Sallies to beat him off. While things were in this poſture on both ſides, the Prince of *Conde* ſummoned the Arriere-ban, and gathered as many Troops as he could find, with all imaginable ſpeed, to preſerve this new Conqueſt, and force the *Spaniards* to raiſe the Siege. He marched on the 22d of *October*, and cauſed the *Spaniſh* Lines to be obſerved by the Mareſchal *de Schomberg*, and the Duke *de St. Simon*, who advanced in a Boat towards that ſide, upon the Lake of *Leucate*, and diſcover'd there were great ſpaces void, by which they judged entire Squadrons and Batallions might enter in a front. This confirm'd the Prince in his deſign to attack the *Spaniards*; and the better to ſurprize them, he paſs'd his Army over the Mountains, inſtead of marching along by the Sea ſide. On the 24th he arrived in ſight of the Enemys Camp, with twenty two thouſand Foot, the greateſt part of whom were the Country Militia, and four thouſand Horſe, beſides two thouſand Volunteers. The *Spaniards* were in a great conſternation when they ſaw from afar ſo powerful an Army marching towards them, through ways which were always held to be impracticable; and if the Prince had fallen upon them at that inſtant, in all probability they had been deſtroyed. But he was of opinion to defer the Onſet till next morning, thinking the *Spaniards* durſt not ſtay to expect him; but about midnight there aroſe ſo prodigious a tempeſt of wind, rain, and thunder, that the Army, extremely incommoded by this unfavourable night, deſerted in great numbers, as ſoon as day-light appear'd. They that tarried were obliged to draw back, becauſe the ſpace between them and the Enemys Camp was by the rain converted into a perfect Lake; and the Prince of *Conde*, who was but indifferently beloved by the Troops and the Militia, could not oblige them to come back again. The *Spaniards* alſo ſuffered no ſmall detriment by it; however this did not

1639. not conſtrain them to diſcontinue their Attacks, but they compleated their Lines. Nevertheleſs the Prince, who had ſtill fourteen thouſand men with him *, reſolved to attack them; but he was repulſed after he had loſt three thouſand of his men, and left as many priſoners to the Enemy. *Salces* was obliged to ſurrender to the *Spaniard*, which ill news extremely diſcompoſed the Cardinal, who had been accuſed more than once for his ill choice of Generals. The Sieges of *Dole* and *Fontarabia* came afreſh into mens memories, and 'twas believed now more than ever that the Duke *de la Valette* was innocent.

* The 31 of *Oct.*

Thus it cannot be ſaid, that this Campaign was fortunate to the *French*, altho they took a few places in the *Low Countries* *. The Duke of *Weimar* made war againſt the *Imperialiſts*, rather for himſelf than *France*, altho ſhe reaped this advantage by his Conqueſts, that the Troops which the Emperor employ'd againſt him, could not act againſt her. He had paſſed the winter with his Troops in the Mountain *de Vauge* and in the *Franche-Comte*, where he had reduced abundance of ſmall places, which were not in a condition to make any reſiſtance; and when his Army, fatigued and diminiſh'd one half at leaſt, by the preceding Campaign, recruited, and increas'd conſiderably. Altho his Troops were but indifferently paid, the great indulgence he ſhow'd them, and the frequent ravages they made, gain'd him ſo effectually the hearts of the Souldiers, that he rais'd what Recruits he had occaſion for, without great difficulty. At this time his thoughts were already employ'd in preſerving *Breiſac*, intending to erect a Principality with what he could conquer about that City; for he began to be weary of being as it were a bare General of the *French*, and to depend upon the Caprices of a haughty inconſtant Miniſter, from whom he could expect nothing but an everlaſting Slavery for the Reward of his Services. After the taking of *Breiſac*, the Cardinal ſent him word, that it would be neceſſary for him to come to *Paris*, to concert with them for the next Campaign, but the prudent Duke was loth to engage to deliver up that important place to the

* *Siri Mem. Rec.* T. 8. p. 763.

French.

1639. *French.* As he expreſt ſome difficulty of going thither, they took care not to pay him the Arrears they had promiſed him, altho he demanded them with great importunity. However he kept to his reſolution not to go to *France*, but contented himſelf to ſend Colonel *d' Erlach*, the Governor of *Briſac* thither, who only talked of the deſigns of the enſuing Campaign, and pretended that the great preparations that the Emperor made to regain *Briſgow*, hindered the Duke from coming to *Paris*. The Count *de Guebriant* having orders to feel his Pulſe about *Briſac*, the Duke bluntly anſwer'd him, that *to demand a chaſte Woman's Virginity, and a brave Man's Honour, was the ſame thing.* Nevertheleſs the Cardinal extorted a promiſe from *d' Erlach*, that if the Duke happen'd to dye, he would reſign *Briſac* to *France*, and ordered him to acquaint that Prince, that if he would quit it, they would ſupply him with Men and Money to make himſelf Maſter of the *Franche Comte*, and ſee him confirm'd in it by a Treaty of Peace. But he was too wiſe to fall into ſuch a ſnare as this, and thought it much better to be in poſſeſſion of *Briſac*, and part of *Alſatia*, than of the *Franche Comte*, becauſe it lay nearer to his friends in *Germany*, and that he could more eaſily preſerve this Principality, even againſt *France* it ſelf, in caſe ſhe ſhould ever pretend to diſpute it with him. On the other hand, the Cardinal, who was ſenſible of the Duke's deſigns, began to be afraid of him, and knew not whether he ſhould wiſh that he ſhould make any new advances, or be beaten by the *Imperialiſts*. The report runs, that he ſecretly treated of a Marriage with the Landgrave of *Heſſe*'s Daughter, which would have put him at the head of twenty thouſand men kept in conſtant pay by that Houſe, beſides his own Troops, and thus have made himſelf formidable to all *Germany*.

The Cardinal and he were taken up with theſe different thoughts, when the Duke came from *Burgundy* to *Sungow*, to paſs the *Rhine* at *Newbourg*, and from thence to march to the *Black Forreſt*. Being arrived at *Newbourg*, he there fell ſick on the 4th of *July*, and died on the 18th, in the thirty ſixth year of his

1639. his Age. The Cardinal was ſuſpected to have got him poiſon'd, in order to make himſelf maſter of his Conqueſts; and indeed people talk'd of indications ſtrong enough * to prove that he was diſpatched by poiſon. But after all, perhaps the only foundation to charge the Cardinal with this crime, was becauſe immediately after his Death *France* took poſſeſſion of thoſe places he had conquer'd.

† *See Siri Paſſendorf. Ferd. Jacit. l. 11.*

The Duke of *Weymar* had order'd by his * Will, that they ſhould be conſign'd into the hands of one of his Brothers, who was willing to take poſſeſſion of them; and who, to preſerve them more eaſily, would endeavour to gain the favour of the Crowns of *France* and *Sweden*; and that in caſe none of his Brothers ſhould think fit to take poſſeſſion of them, *France* ſhould be preferr'd; upon condition that the ſtrong places ſhould receive a garriſon of part *French*, and part *Germans*, and that they ſhould be reſtor'd to the Empire by a general Peace. In regard of the Army, he order'd that after his deceaſe, it ſhould be commanded by Major General *d' Erlach*, Collonel *Oleim*, Count *Naſſau*, and Collonel *Roze*, and after them by other Collonels. He gave ſeveral Legacies to the Officers of the Army, and to his Domeſticks, amounting to the ſumm of three hundred thouſand Crowns, and gave his Charging Horſe to the Count *de Guebriant*.

* *See it in the* Mem. *of Arlerii.* T. 2. p. 419.

The Directors of the Army, which were in a manner wholly compoſed of old Souldiers, ſent immediately into *France* to demand the protection of that Crown, and endeavour to make ſome advantage for themſelves in this conjuncture. An Agent of *Sweden*, then reſiding at *Benfeld*, took pains to perſwade the Army to joyn that of *Banier*, by remonſtrating to them that 'twas what they ow'd to the memory of *Guſtavus Adolphus*. But the Money which the Count *de Guebriant* liberally diſtributed among the Officers, made a greater impreſſion upon them, than all the diſcourſes of the *Sueditſh* Miniſter. 'Twas unanimouſly agreed by them, to compoſe a body apart by themſelves, nay, ſome diſcourſed of putting the Elector Palatine in the room of the Duke of *Weymar*; but this

1639. this Prince coming from *England*, was ſtopt in *France*, through which he deſign'd to paſs *incognito*.

The Cardinal having receiv'd advice that the Duke of *Weymar* was dead, was not overmuch troubled at the news, for he had long ago entertain'd a jealouſy, that this Prince rather deſigned to make his own fortune, than either to aggrandize *France*, or humble the Houſe of *Auſtria*. The firſt thing they took care of was to preſerve his Army for the King, and get poſſeſſion of the places he had taken. In purſuance of this, * *Baron de Oiſonville* was immediately diſpatch'd to the Count *de Guebriant*, to bring him thoſe Orders he was to follow upon this occaſion. He was commiſſion'd to tell the Officers, that they ſhould not only have the ſame pay continued to them, which they had under the Duke of *Weymar*, but likewiſe conſiderable Penſions, if they would take the Oaths of Fidelity to the King. Above all, he was particularly charged to remember Major General *d' Erlach* of the promiſe he had made, in caſe the Duke happen'd to dye, concerning *Briſac*; and to offer him two hundred thouſand Livres in ready money, if he would ſurrender it to the King, or if he was minded to continue Governor of it for the King, a penſion of ſix thouſand Crowns, beſides what he had under the Duke of *Weymar*; provided he would conſent to have a *French* Lieutenant, and one half of the Garriſon *French*. The like orders were alſo ſent, concerning the Governors of the other places on t' other ſide the *Rhine*; but as for thoſe on this ſide, in regard of *France*, the King pretended they belonged to him of right. Beſides this, the Count *de Guebriant* was to propoſe the Duke of *Longneville* to the Army to be their General, and to back this propoſition, by beſtowing ſums of Money, as he ſhould ſee convenient.

The King was afterwards inform'd, that General *d' Erlach* was very well inclined to *France*, and * that he had taken great care to prevent the Army from diſbanding, and to engage the Officers to continue in the Service of the Crown. The Court alſo received a Copy of the Duke of *Weymar*'s Will, and contrivances were ſet on foot to hinder it from being executed. To

* Aubery's *Life of the Cardinal*, l. 6. c. 5. *See his Inſtructions in* T. 2. *of the* Mem. d' Aub. 421. *dated the* 27 *of* July.

* *See the Letter of the* 31 *of* July 20 Novem. Mem. d' Aub. T. 2. P. 423.

To effect this, *De Choiſy* was ſent to confer with the 1639.
Count *de Guebriant*, and Baron *d' Oiſonville* upon this affair, with the following inſtructions; that they ſhould endeavour to ſecure themſelves of the Army, without any relation to the Brothers of the late Duke, nay tho they ſhould have a mind to enter into the Kings ſervice; that it was not reaſonable that the expences his Majeſty had been at to re-eſtabliſh the Duke of *Weymar*'s Army after the Battel of *Nortlingac*, and ſupport it ever ſince, and to make him conquer *Briſac* and other places, ſhould be loſt in an inſtant, by changing of parties, which the Brothers of the late Duke might be eaſily perſwaded to do, ſince they had already once abandoned that ſide, which they now embraced; that the Duke might have very well left all his Money to his Brothers, but that he could not leave them the command of the Army, nor the places of *Alſatia*, for ſeveral reaſons that are mentioned in this Inſtruction; that therefore they ought to employ all manner of means to ſecure both the Troops and the Places directly for the King, and not tarry to know whether his Brothers had a mind to accept what the late Duke offer'd them in his Will; That if they could gain all the Leaders, there needed no more to do, but if any of them made a difficulty to engage in his Majeſty's ſervice, they ſhould not fail to receive the Oaths of the reſt, and ſign a Treaty with them, to aſſure them that they ſhould be gratified by the King.

In the mean time Count *Flerſcheim*, who was ſent to the Court by the Directors of the Army, arrived thither, and preſented their propoſals, upon which the King diſpatch'd new * Inſtructions to the Count *de Guebriant*, and to two other Deputies that acted in his name, for the affairs of the Army, and the places poſſeſs'd by the Duke of *Weymar*. At laſt, after ſeveral Conferences and difficulties, too tedious to be recounted here, a * Treaty was concluded at *Briſac*, on the 9th of *October*; the principal Articles whereof are as follow: That the King agreed that the Troops, commanded by the Duke of *Weymar*, ſhould continue in a Body, as he expreſsly deſired in his

* *Dated the* 20 *of* Aug.

* *See the whole Tre*aty in Aub. T. 2. P. 430.

1639. his last Will and Testament, and under the direction of the Officers whom he nominated: That the Artillery should be commanded by the same Officers, that commanded it when the late Duke of *Weymar* was alive, and for the most part be joyn'd to the *German* Body, with power to the Mareschals of the *French* Camp, and to the Directors of the *German* Troops, to give them from time to time the necessary orders: That if it so happen'd that the Army came to be destroy'd, in whole or in part, by any misfortune of War, or some other inevitable accident, the King should be oblig'd to give the Officers extraordinary Allowances to re-establish their Troops; That the King should take care to pay them the Arrears due at *May*, which amounted to two hundred thousand Crowns, and were to be employed in paying a months pay to all the Army, and should give them good Bills for six hundred thousand Livres more, for the third payment of that year, due the last of *September*, of which the Directors and Officers of the Army should employ three hundred thousand to remount and recruit the Troops: That the King should pay the Army three payments and a half yearly, according to the agreement made with the Duke of *Weymar*; with this proviso, that the half payment should be employ'd by the Officers, in recruits and re-establishing their Troops, and the other three in paying off the Officers and Souldiers, according to the reviews that should be made of them by the Kings Commissaries: That besides this, his Majesty should pay as well to the General Officers, as to those of the Artillery, eight payments *per annum*, according to the Appointments assign'd to them by the Duke of *Weymar*: That his Majesty should still supply them with all necessary provisions of War; besides all extraordinary expences, as well as Ammunition-bread, without deducting any thing out of their pay for it: That if any of the Officers, Soldiers, or other private persons of the Army should demand of his Majesty the Donation of some Lands or Houses scituate in the conquer'd Countries, the King shall promise to give them such gratifications as shall content them, and ratifie

1639. ratifie all the Donations which the Duke of *Weymar* had granted to them: That the Orders should be given to the Soldiers by the Directors, or by one of them as they should agree amongst themselves, and that they should first receive them from the Duke of *Longueville*, as the *French* Officers used to receive them from the Duke of *Weymar*; that the Directors should be called to all the Counsels which shall be kept for the common cause: That the conquer'd places should be deliver'd into the King's hands, that so he might give *Brisac* and *Friburg* to such Governors as he should see fit, and place in them Garrisons half *French*, and half *German*, as well as in the other places, whose Governors he should chuse out of the Body of the Army.

Upon these conditions the Directors and Officers promis'd the King, in the name of the whole Army, to serve him upon all occasions, and were to confirm it by Oath, assoon as the Treaty was ratified, which the King's Deputies were obliged to procure in the term of two months, to commence from the day this Treaty was dated. By a secret Article it was provided, that the King should continue the Governments of *Brisac* and *Friburg*, in those hands that then commanded them; that if he should remove these of other places, he should choose others out of the Army to put in their room: That lastly, he would permit in all these places, a free exercise of the Protestant Religion.

After the Ratification of this Treaty, the Duke of *Longueville* having staid a month at *Creutznach*, and not able to subsist there any longer, by reason of the great scarcity of Forrage, ordered his men to pass the * *Rhine* about the end of the year, and the beginning of the following, upon a small number of Boats, and the Horses swam over, in which several days were spent. This Army which was quartered in high *Hesse*, about *Marburg*, might easily have been cut in pieces, if the *Imperial* and *Bavarian* Troops could have stir'd out of their Winter Quarters. *D'Amontot*, and *de la Bodiere*, Envoys from the King to *Amelia Elisabeth*, Landgrave of *Hesse*, had concluded

* *See the Relation of it in the* Mem. d'Aub. T. 2. p. 454.

1639. a Treaty with her, to engage her to declare againſt the *Imperialiſts*, on the 22d of *Auguſt*.* It was in a manner the ſame with that which the King had made with the *Swedes*, and the Landgrave was to have two hundred thouſand Crowns a year, for declaring againſt the Catholick League. The Duke of *Longueville* being now in her Territories made a new Treaty with her, concerning the quartering of his Army, and ſome other difficulties that aroſe in the preceding Treaty.

* *See it in the ſame Collection.* T. 2. p. 432.

Banier, who all this year kept himſelf not far from the *Elb* and the *Baltick* Sea, in the preceding year carried the War into *Saxony*, *Sileſia*, and into *Bohemia*; where his Army ſubſiſted conveniently enough, and the *Imperialiſts* could not hinder him. It was a pretty while ſince people began to talk of a general Peace, but ſo many great difficulties ſtarted up, that it came to nothing.

* *See* Sam. Pufend. Rer. ſacc. l. 11.

Before we paſs to the Affairs of State, and the events of War for the enſuing year, we muſt here take notice of ſome intrigues of Court, wherein the Cardinal had a much greater ſhare, than in the conduct of the Army. I have already ſpoken of the * Marchioneſs *de Senecey*, firſt Lady of Honour to the Queen, and of the great confidence that Princeſs repos'd in her. It was thirteen years ſince the Marchioneſs had enjoy'd that Poſt, and ſhe had always ſerv'd the Queen with an unſhaken fidelity, without purchaſing the Cardinals favour by betraying her Miſtreſs, as the greateſt part of the Courtiers us'd to do. The Cardinal, who was jealous leſt this Lady, who poſſeſt a great ſhare of vivacity and wit, would one day or other inſinuate into the Queen ſome deſigns contrary to his Miniſtry, reſolv'd to ruine her; and as the King implicitly believ'd every thing he told him, he prevail'd with him to write a Letter to the Queen, wherein he ſent her word that for ſome important reaſons he found it convenient for her to diſmiſs the Marchioneſs *de Senecey*. *Chavigny* * brought this Letter to the Queen as ſhe was ready to ſit down to dinner, and was juſt come from *Notre Dame* to acquit herſelf of a vow ſhe had made for the birth of the Dauphin. The

* Siri Mer. T. 2. l. 2. p. 555.

* *In* Sept. 1639.

The Queen was exceedingly ſurpriz'd at this Order of the King, ſince it concern'd a Lady with whom ſhe had ſo much reaſon to be well ſatisfied, and cou'd not forbear to ſhew a great deal of concern for it: But at laſt ſhe ſaid ſhe was born to obey the King, and that ſhe would execute his Orders. She perceiv'd well enough from what quarter this ſtorm attackt her, and hoping that ſhe might perhaps bring the Cardinal to a better temper if ſhe addreſt herſelf to him, ſhe writ to him to interpoſe in this affair, and prevent the execution of what would give her ſo much diſturbance. But the Miniſter, who was not a man that would ſuffer himſelf to be wrought upon by pure civilities, ſent her word that he was much oblig'd to her Majeſty for the confidence ſhe ſeem'd to repoſe in him, but that he could not give her better advice than to obey the King. The Queen was extremely offended at this anſwer, and could not forbear to ſay, that it was not the King, but the Cardinal, ſhe was forc'd to obey. So without taking the leaſt notice of her complaints, or ſo much as acquainting her with it, Madam *de Senecey*'s place was given to Madam *de Braſſac*, whom the Queen could not endure, becauſe ſhe was entirely in the intereſts of the Cardinal. For the ſame reaſons the Cardinal got the Baron *de St. Ange*, who was Comptroller of the Queens Houſhold, to be diſcarded. It ſeems he was afraid leſt the Queen, who was now become a Mother, might inſenſibly gain the good affections of the King, and at laſt prevail with his Majeſty to turn him off. To prevent which, he gave the King to underſtand, that the Queen was exceſſively partial to the Houſe of *Auſtria*; and engag'd him as much as he could, to mortifie that Princeſs; following his ancient Maxim, That a man ought not to have any confidence or friendſhip for thoſe whom he has often treated ill. However, to give the Queen ſome time to vent her paſſion, he order'd matters ſo, that under a pretence of hunting, the King came not nigh her for a long time.

1639.

A little before this happen'd, the King ſeem'd to have an extraordinary kindneſs for Madam *de Hautefort*,

1639. *fort*, after the retreat of Mademoiselle *de la Fayette*; but the Cardinal did not think it worth his while then to cross this new amour, because she was a Lady of a soft easie temper, and incapable of caballing. It was some years ago since the King had a respect for her, but he had discontinued for a long time to give her any marks of it. The Court was mightily surpriz'd at the Kings fondness, and knew not well what name to give it, for as on one side he seem'd to have a wonderful passion for those of the fair Sex, so he was the coldest of all men living. Instead of seeking an opportunity to entertain them in private, he never spoke to them but in the face of the whole Court, and in the Queens Apartment: and this Princess was so far from entertaining any jealousie at it, that she was extremely pleas'd that these Ladies drew the King to her Apartment, nay, what is more, she made them her friends and confidents. 'Tis probable the King design'd no more than barely to amuse himself with their conversation, to unbend himself from his other affairs. The Cardinal had at first without any distrust beheld the esteem which the King seem'd to have for Madam *de Hautefort*, but he began to look with an ill eye upon it, when he found this Lady to be an intimate friend of *Mademoiselle de Chemeraut*, who had infinitly more wit than she, and was the fittest person in the world to suggest to her, what she was to say to the King.

To disengage his Majesty from these correspondences, which he suspected, the Cardinal carried him to the frontiers of *Artois* and *Champagne*, and afterwards of *Dauphine*, to efface all these impressions. The Duke *de S. Simon*, who had been for some time a Favorite of the King, being remov'd from him, for some other reasons, the Cardinal endeavor'd to introduce into his place, *Henri d' Effiat*, Lord of *Cinq-mars*, Son to the Mareschal *d' Effiat*, a young Gentleman full of wit, and handsomely made as to his person. He was Master of the Wardrobe, and after he was in favour, the Duke *de Bellegarde* surrender'd his place of Master of the Horse to him. At first the King had an aversion to him, because he behav'd himself

himself very negligently in his Office of Master of the Wardrobe, and had inclinations wholly different from those of his Majesty. However the Cardinal knew so well how to manage the King in favour of him, that the antipathy he seem'd to have for him, turn'd into an extraordinary friendship and confidence; so that he could not tarry a day without seeing him. It was during the Siege of *Hedin*, that the King first began to shew him any marks of his favour; when he gave him a pension of fifteen hundred Crowns, and ever since that time, he could not divert himself without him. And now the King wholly forgot Madam *de Hautefort*, in whose entertainment he only sought to meet the same amusement, as he found in that of his Favourite. After he was in bed, and all the company withdrawn out of the room, he caused him to sit down by him, and would thus pass two or three hours alone with him. Thus the Cardinal, by the means of this Favourite, knew all the Kings thoughts, and in the assurance that nothing came into his mind, which was disadvantageous to the Ministry, he govern'd the State with ease and tranquillity enough.

1639.

As he had influenced the King to take a fancy to young *d' Effiat*, so he had also instructed the latter how to make himself be beloved, knowing perfectly what was most proper to gain the Kings friendship. However, lest the sight of Madam *de Hautefort* should diminish this growing favour, the Cardinal still found out one way or another to keep the King from *Paris*, as indeed he did the better part of this year. But at last the Kings Physicians did in private disapprove of these long Journeys, and his Majesty expressing a mighty desire to return to *Paris*, that he might there divert himself in his Royal Houses, it was not possible to detain him from it any longer. So he took the Road to *Paris*, while the Court was in great expectation to see who would carry it in the Kings favour. The Queen, according to his order, was at *Fountainbleau*, when he * arrived thither, and he saluted her with a coldness, which might have been expected from him, if he had parted from her

* *In* November.

but

1639. but a few hours before. As for Madam *de Hautefort*, who expected to be ſo mightily careſt by him, he ſcarce vouchſafed to look at her, and publickly proteſted he would no longer have any conſideration for her. Nay, he told her in private, that he knew ſhe ſpoke ill of *Cinq-Mars*, but that ſhe had better forbear it, for he had infinitely a greater kindneſs for him than ever he had for her, or for any one in the world; and that he would find out a way to ruine all thoſe that ſhould Cabal againſt him.

This was a ſufficient indication with a witneſs how ſmall an eſteem the King had for this Lady; however leſt his affection ſhould break out afreſh, the Cardinal ſo order'd matters, that he commanded her, as well as Mademoiſelle *de Chemerant*, to leave the Court. They went both to *Paris*, where they tarried for ſome time in a Monaſtery of Nuns; but as they receiv'd too many viſits in that place, the ſecond had orders to retire into *Poitou*, and the other to be at leaſt forty leagues diſtance from *Paris*. The Queen was wonderfully concern'd at their harſh uſage, becauſe ſhe had an extraordinary confidence in them, who for their part were thus cruelly treated for no other reaſon, but becauſe they were not dependents upon the Cardinal. After this manner, all thoſe perſons were removed from the Queen, in whom ſhe could repoſe any truſt, leſt ſhe ſhould attempt any thing againſt the grandeur of the Miniſter; and this new Favourite ſerv'd to poſſeſs the King with a thouſand ſtories diſadvantageous to that Princeſs.

1640. To return now to events of greater importance; *Siri. Mem. Rec. T. 8. p. 809. & Pufend. Rer. Saccic. l. 12.* The * *Swedes* were not well pleas'd, that the *French* had paſt the *Rhine* with ſo conſiderable an Army, and taken their winter-quarters in *Heſſe*; becauſe they pretended that they were not to enter into *Germany* but in the nature of Auxiliaries. The *French* were going to acquire a mighty reputation, by obliging the Houſes of *Heſſe* and *Lunenburg* to break the Neutrality, and to act in conjunction with them againſt the *Imperialiſts*; and they would ſoon advance too far in directing the affairs of *Germany*, if the *Swedes* did not take ſome care to prevent it. For this end *Banier*

1640. *Banier* marched into *Thuringia*, and deſir'd the Duke of *Longueville* to come and joyn him, with a deſign to debauch the Army of the late Duke of *Weymar*, and to engage them rather to ſerve the Crown of *Sweden*. After ſeveral marches, *Picolomini*, who was come from the *Low Countries*, and had joyn'd the *Imperial* and *Bavarian* Troops, oblig'd the Confederate forces to joyn, as they did at the beginning of *May*, in order to attack them. *Picolomini* was encamp'd upon the River *Saal* with fifteen thouſand men, and within a days march of him were ten thouſand *Bavarians*, who ſecured to him the proviſions that came from *Franconia*. The Duke of *Longueville* and *Banier* had thirty two thouſand men, and reſolv'd to attack *Picolomini*: but they found him ſo well intrenched, that they durſt not attempt it. Several marches and counter-marches there were on both ſides, without coming to a deciſive Battel, altho they had frequent Skirmiſhes. Towards the end of the Campaign, the Duke of *Longueville* falling ſick, left the Command of the Army to the Count *de Guebriant*. The *French* mightily ſuſpected that the *Swedes* had a mind to debauch their Army, and the *Swedes* on their ſide were jealous, that the *French* deſigns had no other end but the grandeur of their own Country. Thus theſe reciprocal ſuſpicions, joyn'd to their different ſentiments concerning the marching of the Army, hinder'd them from performing any conſiderable action.

On the ſide of the *Low Countries*, the Mareſchal *de la Meilleraye* had orders to go and beſiege *Charlemont* upon the *Meuſe*, and he marcht thither at the beginning of *May*, but the rains were ſo exceſſive that he durſt not continue his march, in a Country, where he could expect neither Victuals nor Forrage. However the Orders of the Court were preciſe, and the Cardinal would never ſuffer any difficulties to be ſtarted, after he had once projected a thing. Upon this the Council of War reſolved to ſend him a Memorial of the inſuperable difficulties that attended this deſign, and ſo it was laid aſide. But ſoon after another deſign was laid againſt *Arras*, a place of far greater

1640. greater importance, where they thought to succeed much easier than in the former. The principal difficulty that offer'd it self was, to hinder the *Spaniards* from discovering their design, and throwing succors into the place. For this reason they came to a resolution, that the Mareschal *de Chatillon* should march strait to *Bethune*, as if he design'd to besiege that place, and that the Mareschal *de Meilleraye* should follow him by small Journeys, as it were to support him, but that so soon as the latter was arrived at *Bapaume*, he should turn directly to *Arras*, and the Mareschal *de Chatillon* should do the same on his side. This was so happily executed, that the two Armies appear'd before *Arras* on the 12th of *June*, before the *Spaniards* were able to penetrate into their design. A few days after the Army received the great Convoys and Artillery, for which they had occasion, and the *Spaniards* were not in a condition to hinder it. The *Count d' Isemburg*, Governor of the place, who happen'd to be absent, endeavour'd in vain to get into it, when the Siege was once form'd, and he was obliged to leave the care of his defence to *Eugenius Buel*, an *Irish* Colonel, who commanded in his absence. General *Lambos*, who was incamp'd within a league and half of the place, in a very advantageous post, did likewise vainly attempt to throw some relief into the Town, being defeated by the Mareschal *de la Meilleraye*. In the mean time, notwithstanding the vigorous defence of the Garrison, the place was every day more and more straitned, so that the Cardinal Infanta was forced to march in person to relieve it, and form'd a Camp at *Mount de S. Eloi*, in a place easy to be defended, and which was separated from the Mareschal *de Chatillon*'s quarter by a plain of about a league over. The *French* could not receive their provisions but from a great way off, and part of their Troops must of necessity leave their Lines to go and meet them. Altho they did not stand in want of them as yet, yet fearing the Siege would employ them some time, and that the *Spaniards* would fortify themselves with new Troops, the Mareschals prest the Court to send them a Convoy without delay,

lay, and concerted their measures for this with the 1640.
Cardinal. The Convoy being ready to depart, the Cardinal gave orders to *Du Hallier* to guard it, but at the same time the King forbid him to advance, without saying a word to the Minister. This Prohibition was founded upon a fear of his Majesty, that in case *Du Hallier* and the Mareschal *de la Meilleraye*, who was to meet him, happen'd to be defeated, the *Spaniards* would break into the bowels of the Kingdom, and occasion great disorders there. But then he ran a great hazard too, to leave the Army which besieged *Arras*, in imminent destruction, to save the Body which *Du Hallier* commanded. When *Choupes* brought him an order from the Cardinal, he made a thousand difficulties, that he might not march. But at last, when *Choupes* assured him that he would answer to the Cardinal for his conduct, and that he must expect to take upon himself the ill success of the Siege, in case it miscarry'd, *Du Hallier* resolved to obey the Cardinal rather than the King, and so the Convoy arrived happily to the Camp. This opposition of *Du Hallier*, who had presum'd for some time, to ballance the Cardinal's Orders with those of the King, was the reason why he could not obtain a Mareschal's Staff till long after.

In the mean time the *Spaniards* having receiv'd advice, that the Mareschal *de la Meilleraye* was gone out of the Camp with three thousand Horse, and three thousand Foot, attacked the *French* Lines, which were double, and forced the first, notwithstanding all the resistance the Mareschal *de Chatillon* could make. After this they went on to force the second, so that being supported by a vigorous Sally from the Garrison, they had infallibly reliev'd the place, if the *French* going out of their second Line, had not fallen upon them in the Flank, and made them think of a Retreat. In the heat of the Fight the Mareschal *de la Meilleraye* arrived, and about half an hour after *du Hallier*; so that the *Spaniards* seeing so great a number of Troops march against them, were obliged to retire, leaving twelve hundred of their men dead in the *French* Lines. The

1640. *French* lost about half the number, but for their satisfaction, after they had made considerable breaches in the place, they forced it to surrender on the 10th of *August*. *St. Preuil* Captain of the Guards, who had signalized his bravery in the Siege, was made Governor of the Town. By this Conquest, *Picardy*, which before was exposed on all sides to the inroads of the *Spaniards*, was sufficiently cover'd on that side; and on the contrary, *Flanders* lay open to the *French* Armies, which has since caused infinite losses to the *Spaniards*. However, the *French* Army was so extremely fatigu'd by this Siege, that they were not in a condition to make any farther attempts in the *Low Countries* this Campaign.

On the side of *Catalonia*, a fair opportunity presented it self to *France*, to make a much larger breach in the *Spanish* Monarchy. * The Inhabitants of that Country, who are naturally but ill affected to the *Castilians*, had long before complained, that the Court of *Spain* did violate their Priviledges; and the Count-Duke in particular had taken no care to oblige them. As the *Catalonians* did not love him, so he for his part hated them, and having found an occasion to mortify them, he embraced it with joy, and assign'd the Army, which had taken *Salces*, their Winter Quarters in *Catalonia*: for as they receiv'd no pay, there was no manner of insolence which they did not commit upon the poor *Catalonians*; who being in their temper none of the most patient, submissive people in the world, had frequent quarrels with the Soldiers, and at last came to a general insurrection, which obliged the *Spanish* Soldiers to retire to *Ampourdan*, and into *Rousillon*. The Count *de St. Colome*, the Viceroy, altho he was a Native of that Country, was slain by the Harvest People near *Barcelona*, as he was ready to embark to avoid the fury of the Populace. This Assault, tho it was committed without premeditation, made the Magistrates of the City conclude, that the Count-Duke would not fail to make his best advantage of so plausible a pretence to satisfy his great hatred of the *Catalonians*, and to declare them fallen from all their Privileges; so

* *See* Siri Merc. T. 1. p. 45. *and the* Mem. Rec. T. 8. p. 814. *and* Aubery's *Life of the Cardinal*, l. 6. c. 49. &c.

1640. so that they thought their best way in this exigence would be to have recourse to *France*. They had formerly sent *Seminat* to *d' Espenan* Governor of *Leucate*, to know what assistance the *Catalonians* might expect from *France*, in case they declared against *Spain*. *D' Espenan* writ to the Cardinal concerning it, * who was then at *Amiens*, and immediately dispatched *Du Plessis Bezancon* with full power to negotiate in his Majesty's name with the *Catalonians*. He arrived at *Leucate*, and afterwards at *Barcelona*, where after he had offer'd the King's Protection to them, and had many conferences with several Members of the *Deputation* of *Catalonia*, who are the Magistrates of that Country, it was concluded, that to engage the King to send an Army into *Catalonia*, they should deliver him nine Hostages, three out of each Order; six of whom were to tarry at *Toulouse*, and three at Court, as Deputies of the Principality of *Catalonia*; that they should surrender up to the King two Gates of *Barcelona*, one on the side of *Tarragone*, and the other on the side of *Rousillon*: That the King should send a certain number of Troops both by Sea and Land. Thus they made a sort of a Treaty, which however was not signed, by reason of some difficulties which arose about it.

* *In the Month of* August.

The Hostages departed shortly after with *Villaplena*, a *Catalonian*, and *Du Plessis*, and the first having left them with the Prince of *Conde*, and conferr'd with him, return'd to *Barcelona*, while the other pursued his way to the Court, to instruct the Cardinal in what condition the *Catalonians* were. In the mean time it being reported, that the *Spaniards* were preparing a powerful Army, Orders were sent to the Archbishop of *Bourdeaux*, to repair incessantly to *Provence*, to get the Fleet in readiness to sail assoon as possible; and to the Prince of *Conde*, to cause the Body which he commanded, to advance under *D' Espenan Mareschal de Camp*, towards *Catalonia*. This last putting himself at the head of these Troops, entred into this Principality by *le Col de Pertuis*, even before the Treaty was signed, being urgently pressed by the *Catalonians*, by reason of the advice they received,

1640. ceiv'd, that the *Spanish* Army was not far from their Frontiers. To prevail with him not to lose more time, they assured him that their Militia Forces were both numerous, and well disciplin'd, that they only wanted a General to head them, and that the *Spaniards* were extreamly weak. So he marched directly towards *Barcelona* with three thousand Foot, and a thousand Horse, where he was received with extraordinary Acclamations. *Bezancon* arrived thither shortly after him, with orders from the Cardinal, in quality of Serjeant General *de Bataille*. In the mean time the *Spanish* Army having passed the *Ebre* at *Tortose*, drew near to *Tarragone*, where *d'Espenan* lay with seven or eight hundred Horse, and a *Catalonian* Regiment of the new Levies, waiting for the coming up of his own Regiment and that of *d'Enguien*. He afterwards repented for having advanced so far without the *French* Foot, when he was informed that the *Spaniards* had an Army of twenty five thousand men, and when he saw the *Catalonian* Militia fly before them. This Army was commanded by the Marquis *de los Velez*, nominated the Viceroy, and Captain General of *Catalonia*; and by the Marquis *de Torrecusa*, who was *Mestre de Camp General*, while the Duke *de St. George*, his Son, commanded the Cavalry.

Bezancon, who tarried all this while at *Barcelona*, at last concluded the Treaty with the *Catalonians*, and sent it to the Cardinal, who could scarce believe it was true, of so prodigious an importance did he look upon this Revolution to be. He afterwards bestowed the Title of Lieutenant General upon *Bezancon*, who being now arrived at *Tarragone*, proposed to *d'Espenan* to march out with his Horse, and come to joyn his Infantry, which was incamp'd within seven or eight leagues of him, and there to stay in some advantageous post for the arrival of the *Catalonian* Train-bands, that were gathering together in all parts, while the *Catalonian* Regiment of *St. Olaric*, with two Companies of Light Horse defended *Tarragone*, as very well they might. He represented to him how dangerous it was for a General of an Army to

to be locked up in so bad a place as that was: But 1640.
d'Espenan would not listen to this wholsome advice, but sent to him to order the *French* Foot to advance immediately, and to press the *Catalonians* to put themselves in a condition to make a vigorous resistance. He imagin'd he should be able to defend *Tarragone*, as he had done *Salces*, but finding nothing in a manner ready, when he attack'd the *Spaniards*, he was obliged to capitulate, and promise to return into *France*, with all the *French* Forces that were in *Catalonia*, to save *Rosseil* Commandant of the *Catalonian* Regiment, and the Standard of *St. Olaric*, which is the Standard General of the Country. He writ to *Bezancon* to come and confer with him upon the road, and told him he design'd to enter the Frontiers of *France*, to be as good as his word, and then immediately to come back to *Barcelona*. In spight of all that could be said to him, it was impossible to perswade him to stay longer in *Catalonia*, tho his retreat had like to have put the *Catalonians* in despair, and no less displeas'd the Cardinal, who had assuredly punish'd him for his Cowardice, had not the Prince of *Conde* interceeded powerfully for him. The *Deputation* of *Catalonia* took all imaginable care to put *Barcelona* in a capacity of defending itself, lest they should see all they had most remarkable in this Principality, sacrificed on the sudden to the indignation of the *Castilians*. *Bezancon*, who was return'd to this City, and understood the Language of the Country, assisted them very much with his advice. We shall see the consequence of this affair, in the history of the events of the following year.

At the same time the * *Portugueses* gave another blow to the Crown of *Spain*, by throwing off their Yoak, and placing the *Duke of Braganza*, under the name of D. *Juan* IV. upon the Throne. These people were so weary of the *Spanish* Government, that not one person took the party of the Catholick King; so that in the space of eight days, the *Castilians* were obliged to quit *Portugal*, and yet not the least effusion of blood happen'd upon this occasion. 'Tis confidently reported that Cardinal *Richlieu* had some share in

* *See* Siri Merc. t. 1. p. 115.

* Aubery's *Life of the Card. Richl.* l. 6. c. 64.

1640. in this great Revolution, and that finding the *Portugueses* were extremely disgusted at the insolence of the *Spaniards*, he dispatched one, whose name was *de Saint-Pe*, in the year 1638. with the Chancellor, Captain *George d' Azevedo*, and some others, to offer them the protection and assistance of *France*, in case they were minded to turn out the *Spaniards*. He was further to add, that if the Duke of *Braganza* would take the Crown upon him, the King would not be displeased at it, but otherwise he would send to them an Heir of the last Kings into *Portugal*. Whether these offers inspir'd the *Portugueses* with courage or no, 'tis certain that after their insurrection, the aforesaid *St. Pe* resided at *Lisbon* in quality of Consul of *France*, with instructions containing two advices, which he was ordered to present to the new King from the part of the Cardinal. The first was, that the Ambassador who was to be sent into *France*, to communicate this Revolution to the King, should have full power to treat about the assistance which should be demanded of his Majesty, that so it might be sent without delay. The second, That D. *Juan* was not to sleep upon this happy success which he met with at first, but make all necessary preparations out of hand to offer War to the *Spaniards* both by Sea and by Land, and to support himself by Alliances with those that were inclin'd to favour his cause.

* Siri Mem. Rec. T. 8. p. 833.

Ever since the beginning of the same year, the * Princes of *Savoy* had made several Proposals of agreement with the Dutchess, tho for all that the Hostilities ceased on neither side in *Piedmont*, or even between the Cittadel and Town of *Turin*. *Feragelli* the Pope's Secretary, who was come to *Turin* to assist the Nuncio in perswading the different parties to a Peace, did likewise propose a Truce for some years between *France* and the *Milanese*; and altho the Marquis *de Leganez* seem'd disposed to accept of it, yet he made great preparations to take the Field, before the *French* recruits could pass the Mountains. The *French* too on their side used all imaginable diligence, and were not behind the *Spaniards* in talking of a Peace or a Truce.

All

All these discourses only tended to render themselves odious to one another, and to lull one another asleep if it were possible. The Cardinal was of opinion, that Prince *Thomas* in particular only talked of an accommodation to ingratiate himself with the People of *Piedmont*, who had this long while languished for a Peace, and to make his Sister-in-law odious to them. He sent therefore to acquaint her, that this Prince kept a private correspondence with some Officers of her Houshold. The Prince proposed to make a Treaty with her by herself, without having regard to the Interests of *France*; but she scornfully rejected this Proposal, as she herself related the story to *de la Cour*, adding that she was resolved to follow the Cardinal's advice, altho he had treated her with a great deal of rigour at *Grenoble*, and that she would not cease to love him, as much as the King did, and as much as so great, and so excellent a Minister deserved. 1640.

Thus she communicated to him all the Proposals of Agreement made to her by Prince *Thomas*. Assoon as he saw them he rejected them as impertinent, and immediately dispatched the Abbot * *Mondin* to acquaint the Dutchess with his sentiments. He had Orders to tell her, that the King did not understand how any people durst be so bold as to engage her to sign such a Treaty as this was, without consulting his Majesty who was her only Protector, and wondered that she did not perceive that they aimed at nothing but her destruction; That she ought to break off all these Negotiations, and declare that she would not enter into any Treaty, which was not equally secure and honourable to the Duke her Son, and to herself; That otherwise she would only destroy herself, and ruine her State; That in the Declaration she was to publish upon this occasion, she must take care to insert all the most advantageous circumstances for herself, which were to be found in any of her Negotiations with Prince *Thomas*, and that whoever should mention this affair to her any more, should be obliged to retire. Besides this, he was ordered to press the Dutchess to turn Father *Monod* out of *Monmelian*.

* In April. See his Instructions dated the 20 of that Month, in the Collect. on of Aubery. T. 2. p. 513.

1640. *lian.* The * Cardinal writ to her much to the ſame purpoſe, and remonſtrated to her that her Brothers-in-law did only deſign to trepan her, as ſhe herſelf had obſerved. In the beginning of his Letter he aſſured her, that the King deſired nothing more earneſtly than to ſee her well re-eſtabliſhed in her Dominions, and maintain a good intelligence with her Brothers-in-law; that his Majeſty would be always ready to reſtore back the places which he held in *Piedmont*, aſſoon as the *Spaniards* would fairly part with what they had in their poſſeſſion, ſo that the Dutcheſs might for the future remain abſolute Miſtreſs of them; That nevertheleſs the ſecurity of her perſon, and that of the Duke her Son, being the principal cauſe which ought to be conſidered, the King would never conſent, that either one or the other, ſhould fall into the hands of thoſe perſons, whoſe intereſt obliged them to deſtroy both.

* *Ibid.* p. 812.

While the *French* were thus negotiating with the Dutcheſs of *Savoy*, the *Spaniards* held a cloſe correſpondence with the Dutcheſs of *Mantua*, and it was with her conſent, that the Marquis *de Leganez* attempted the Siege of *Caſal*. He began to inveſt this place on the 8th of *April*, with fourteen thouſand Foot, and five thouſand Horſe, at a juncture when the *French* were ſcarce able to defend the Cittadel of *Turin*, againſt Prince *Thomas*, who attack'd it on the ſide of the Town. The Princes of *Savoy* did earneſtly wiſh that he would have helped them to take this Cittadel, becauſe by the reducing of it they had effectually eſtabliſh'd their authority in *Piedmont*, which muſt needs be in a tottering condition, ſo long as the Cittadel of the Capital City held out for the Duke their Nephew. Beſides this, they could not behold *Caſal* in the hands of the *Spaniards* without extreme regret. But the very ſame reaſons perſwaded *Leganez* to undertake this Siege, and puſh it on with all imaginable vigour, becauſe it was of the higheſt importance to *Spain* that theſe Princes ſhould be ſtill dependent upon that Crown, and *Caſal* was very proper to retain the people of *Piedmont* in their duty. Nor was this all, for he began to ſuſpect theſe Princes for

for the frequent propoſals of Accommodation they made to their Siſter-in-law; and was of opinion that the only reaſon why they ſo much deſired to have the Cittadel of *Turin* in their hands, was that they might compound more advantageouſly for themſelves, without having any conſideration to the Intereſts of *Spain*. 1640.

Theſe were the motives which engaged *Leganez* to undertake the Siege of *Caſal*, againſt the ſentiments of the greateſt part of the Officers of his Army, who did not look upon him to be ſtrong enough for ſuch an attempt. He mightily depended upon a ſecret intelligence he held in the place, but it fell out unluckily for him, that *de la Tour* the Governor of that City, diſcovered it, and put every thing in ſuch good order betimes, that he muſt expect to reduce it no other way but by main force. At the ſame time the Governor having given the Count *d' Harcourt* advice of this deſign, that General uſed all his endeavours to bring his Troops together aſſoon as he was able, in order to raiſe the Siege, and at the ſame time ſent word to the Court, that he was reſolved to put this enterprize in execution, or elſe to dye before the place. He likewiſe demanded, that the Troops which were deſign'd for *Piedmont*, ſhould inſtantly advance, and that they would take care to furniſh him with all things neceſſary for a Campaign. The Cardinal was at a Play when this news came to him, and was ſurprized at the boldneſs of the undertaking, however he did not think fit to diſſwade him from it; on the other hand he told *Correro*, the *Venetian* Ambaſſador who ſate near him, that he would not trouble himſelf to give the Count any farther advice about it; that the thing was already done, and that he had great reaſon to hope good ſucceſs from it, by reaſon of the good conduct and bravery of the General. Thus the Count having received a promiſe at *Pignerol* to be immediately relieved, marched with ſeven thouſand Foot, three thouſand Horſe, and ten pieces of Cannon directly to *Caſal*, altho the *Spaniards* were almoſt double the number. The Marquis *de Leganez* had not as yet compleated his Lines of Circumvallation,

1640. tion, when he receiv'd advice that the Count *d'Harcourt* was coming towards him. Upon this he orders some Pioneers out of the *Milaneze* with all speed to labour on the Works, and in the mean time embarks his heavy Baggage and Artillery, to be carried by the *Po* to *Breme*, in case he should not be able to oblige the *French* to retire. He likewise attack'd the Castle of *Rossignan*, within some leagues of *Casal*, but his men were repulsed with loss. The Count's Army appeared on the 28th of *April*, and skirmished with the Advance Guards of the *Spaniards*, as they were going to take a view of the *Spanish* Lines on the side of *Frassinet*. He attack'd them the next day, after he had beaten off some Troops that would have hinder'd his passage over the *Gattola*, which falls into the *Po* near *Frassinet*. He made three attacks, one of which was commanded by the Viscount *de Turenne*, the other by the Count *du Plessy-Pralain*, and the third by *la Mothe Houdancourt*. *Du Plessy-Pralain* thrice attack'd the Lines of the Enemy on his side, but he was as often repulsed, by reason of the great depth of the Ditch. But the Count *d' Harcourt* finding it easier to effect it upon the left, where he was, pushed his Horse forward with that vigour, that he was the first that leapt into the Enemy's Lines; but those that were to have followed him, being not so well mounted, could not enter along with him, so that for some time he found himself all alone exposed to the firing of the Enemy. In the mean time *La Mothe* found a more easie place to pass over, within some paces of it, and entred with his Cavalry, to which the Count went and joyn'd himself. At the head of this Body he charged the *Spanish* Horse with so much impetuosity that they immediately gave way. He had his Horse kill'd under him in this occasion, but was soon re-mounted upon one belonging to a Captain of the Light Horse, whom he took Prisoner with his own hand. Not long after, as he pursued the Enemy down their Line, his Horse stuck fast in a miry ditch, so that he was not able to disengage himself from this embarras, but by leaving one of his Boots, his Hat, and one of his Pistols behind him. Being once more re-

re-mounted, he continued to beat back the *Spani-* 1640.
ards, that they might not have time to recover their disorder. *Turenne* and *Pralain* on their side return'd with their Foot to give the fourth Charge, and forced the Lines, after which they bore down all they met, notwithstanding all the fire which the Enemy made upon them. The Cavalry of the Besieged did likewise joyn that of the Count, and then the Marquis *de Leganez* thought of nothing but how to make a retreat to *Frassinet*; which he performed with a body of four thousand Horse, and by that means gave his Foot an opportunity to draw off; and as part of them had not been concerned in the battel, they might have made a Body sufficient to repel the *French*, in case they had had time to range themselves in Battel, but they pursu'd them so near, that they put them in disorder. Several of the *Spaniards* out of fear threw themselves into the *Po*, where great numbers of them were drown'd, and the night saved the rest. Others withdrew in the same confusion to *Pontestura*, and had no better luck. The *Spaniards* lost five thousand men in this rencounter, eight pieces of Cannon, six Mortars, all their Ammunition, which themselves set on fire, and a great part of their Baggage. *Leganez* had not so much precaution as to save his Papers, so that there was found in his Tent the secret Treaty he had made with the Dutchess of *Mantua*, concerning *Casal*, and some Lands which the House of *Savoy* held in *Montferrat*, and he thought to have taken from them. The Count *d' Harcourt* in this occasion acquir'd the reputation of one of the bravest and most resolute Generals which *France* had sent out of a long time, altho in reality this was a very rash action. The importance of the place which he saved, made the world willing to excuse a boldness which would have been blamed in any other occasion. On the contrary, the Marquis *de Leganez* was accused to have equally wanted bravery and courage. It was certainly a gross * Solecism, to stay within his Lines, which were of a prodigious length, and enclosed a very uneven ground, and there to wait for an Enemy, which he might have defeated in a plain field;

* *See the Siege of Casal and Turin by Emanuel Tesauro.*

1640. and in the heat of the Action he was so strangely discompos'd, that he abandoned his quarter, which the Count *d' Harcourt* attackt, and in half an hours time sent seven different orders to his men.

* Siri Mem. Rec. T. 8. p. 885. *See* Aubery's Mem. T. 2. p. 816.

After so considerable an * advantage, the King dissuaded his Sister more than ever from listning to the propositions of accommodation which Prince *Thomas* made her; and sent word to Count *Philip d' Aglie*, who was supposed to incline the Dutchess to a Treaty, that as he might hope every thing from his liberality, if he served his Sister well, so he might expect to feel his resentments in a heavy manner, if he behaved himself otherwise. The King likewise promised the Dutchess to beat her Enemies without intermission in *Piedmont*, till such time as he had entirely turn'd them out of that Country; and to send her with all convenient speed such forces as should be necessary to do it.

* The 21st of May.

At the same time the Cardinal * writ a very earnest Letter to her, wherein he shew'd her the great prejudice she would do the Duke her Son, and herself, if she engag'd in any negotiation with the Princes her Brothers-in-law, while they were masters of *Turin*; and the great danger she run if she went into *Piedmont* for that end, as they desired her, at a time when they were too strong for her there. The best advice he could give her at this juncture, was to make the most of the Troops she could, and to send them with all speed to the Count *d' Harcourt*, who laboured with so much ardour to effect the deliverance of *Piedmont*. The Cardinal did also congratulate the Dutchess, that she had at last provided for the security of *Montmelian*, by ordering F. *Monod* to leave that place.

* The 28th of May.

A few days after *, instructions were sent to the Count *d' Harcourt*, to let him know that he was to reject all proposals of Peace from Prince *Thomas*, till such time as *Turin* was re-taken; that if he could take *Turin* and Prince *Thomas* himself, without too much exposing the Kings Army, he should undertake that before any expedition whatever; but if he saw he should run too great a risque, he might enter into some

some composition, provided his Majesty's Troops were receiv'd into *Turin*, and the Authority of his Ministers and Generals was not limited there, any more than that of the *Spaniards* in the places they had taken. Unless this were granted, he was wholly forbidden to hear the least mention of any Agreement, or to retard any of the operations of the War; but if the Prince would espouse the party of *France*, he was order'd to promise him all sorts of advantages. 1640.

In the mean time the Dutchess of *Savoy* was so far from following the Cardinal's advice, in relation to the Troops she was to send to the Count *d' Harcourt*, that she kept even those that were in his Majesty's pay, near her person, as if she had been afraid that the *French* Army had made too great a progress. The Cardinal highly complain'd to her of this procedure by **de la Tour*, and represented to her how great an injury she did to the publick affairs, as well as to her own in particular by this negligence. *Chavigny* likewise sent a * Memorial to the same purpose, where among other things he took occasion to tell her, that it was the opinion of the Court, that there was no necessity to turn F. *Monod* out of the place where he had been shut up, unless it had been done with a design to send him to *France*. This Jesuit it seems had been carried to the Castle of *Miolans*, where the Ambassador was order'd to take care, that he should be well guarded, and that no body should be admitted to speak to him.

* *See his Letter on the 9th of* June, p. 821. *of* T. 2. *of* Aubery's *Memoirs.*

* *Ibid.* p. 822.

The Count *d' Harcourt*, after he had deliver'd *Casal* in so glorious a manner, now bethought himself of executing the orders he had received to besiege *Turin*, and he marched thither with so great diligence, that on the 9th of *May* he came in sight of the place. He had only seven thousand Foot, and three thousand Horse with him, reckoning the recruits which came to him. *However after he had seized of the Faux-bourg of the *Po*, and some advantageous Posts about *Turin*, hy marked out the quarters on the 16th of that month, and caus'd his men to work upon the Lines of Circumvallation. When they were finish'd, he push'd on the Siege with as much vigour, as could be expected from so small an Army.

* *See the detail of this Siege in* Eman. Tesauro *in his* Torino assediato & non soccorso.

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1640. The Marquis *de Leganez* having received advice at *Verceil*, whether he retired after his defeat, of the Count's designs, advanced in hopes to retaliate his late beating, and on the 26th encamped on the other side the *Po*, upon the Hills near *Quiers*, with eight thousand Foot, and four thousand Horse. After he had at his leisure viewed the *French* Lines, he believ'd it was not possible to force them, and that it would be better for him to endeavour to cut off their Provisions, to oblige them to raise the Siege for fear of Famine, which he hoped would soon make their Camp uneasy to them. Thus on the 9th of *July* he order'd twelve hundred men to pass the *Po* near *Montcalier*, where they retrenched themselves to hinder any Victuals from coming to them that way. But soon after the Vicount *de Turenne* attacked them, forced them, cut one half of them in pieces, and obliged the rest to swim the *Po*, into which they threw themselves in great confusion. This Post, as it was of the last consequence to the design of *Leganez*, he came up thither with his whole Army, and notwithstanding all the efforts of the *French*, yet they were not able to make the *Spaniards* quit it. By this means he shut up the passage for all manner of relief and provisions, that could come by the way of *Pignerol*. After this he sent *D. Charles de la Gatta*, to post himself at *Colegno*, to block up the way of *Suza*, lest the *French* should be relieved that way. In a short time the Provisions in the Camp were all consumed, and the Army was forced to subsist upon those that were in the Magazines in the Cittadel; so that the *French* were in danger, if they were not speedily relieved, to perish by Famine, and to abandon *Turin*. The Soldiers had their Victuals distributed among them with great Oeconomy, when they receiv'd advice that succours were arriv'd at *Pignerol*. This hope made the Souldiers combat with equal bravery against the Sallies of the Besieged, which were often very vigorous, and against the worst of enemies, Famine. It was an inexcusable oversight in the Chief Minister not to have prevented this inconvenience, by making timely Magazines for provisions at *Pignerol* or *Suza*.

Leganez

Leganez being inform'd of the arrival of this relief, was afraid they would force their passage, and so render all his labours ineffectual: For which reason he resolved to give a general Assault to the *French* Lines, while Prince *Thomas* should make a vigorous Sally. To effect this, they assign'd the 11th of *July*, and *Leganez* was to attack the Count's Quarter, while *La Gatta* fell upon that of *La Mothe*. The latter had then four thousand Foot, and two thousand five hundred Horse; and the Marquis had the same number of Horse, and five thousand Foot. 1640.

The day being come, *La Gatta*, without staying for the hour appointed, attackt the Quarter of *La Mothe*, fill'd up his Ditches, and broke in with his Body into the *French* Lines; but instead of beating them, as he had begun, along the Circumvallation, and hindering *La Mothe* from rallying, he march'd strait into the City with two hundred Horse and a thousand Foot, without troubling himself whether the Enemy made any opposition against those that followed him. In the mean time, *La Mothe* having rallied his Troops, cut the rest in pieces, and defeated those that conducted the Powder and Ammunition, which *La Gatta* was to throw into *Turin*, and which they wanted more than they did men. Those that escaped sav'd themselves in disorder at *Colegno*; and thus for want of discretion in this General, they lost a fair opportunity of utterly ruining the *French* Army. As for the Marquis *de Leganez*, it was too late before he attack'd the Count *d'Harcourt*'s Quarter, and after he had spent four hundred Cannon-shot all the day long against it, he was twice repulsed, nay, and pursued by the *French* out of their Lines. However, Prince *Thomas* and *La Gatta* made a Sally with four hundred Foot, and twelve hundred Horse, and made themselves Masters of *Valentin*; which news being brought to *Leganez*, he brought his men back again to the Onset: But the Count, who had seen by the preceding Attacks that there was little danger to apprehend from so harmless an Enemy, sent part of his Souldiers against Prince *Thomas*, and at the same time sustain'd the attack of *Leganez*, and forc'd

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1640. the Prince to retire into the Town again. He for his part complain'd that *Leganez* had not given him the Signal that was agreed upon, when he attackt the *French*, that so he might have made a vigorous Sally against them at the same time, as was projected: But the *Spaniards* said that the discharge of the Artillery and Musquet shot might easily have made Prince *Thomas* to comprehend when their attack began.

Next day the Vicount *de Turenne* and the Count *de Tonnero* arriv'd from *Pignerol*, with six thousand Foot, and eight hundred Horse, and provisions for the Army. The Marquis *de Leganez* return'd to his ancient Post, and *Don Charles della Gatta* wanting forrage in *Turin*, thought of nothing else but how to get out of the Town as soon as it was possible. This he vainly endeavour'd to do on the 23d and 31st of *July*, being constrain'd to return back again into the place.

In the mean time the *French* lock'd up *Turin* closer and closer still, and Prince *Thomas* was at a loss how to inform *Leganez* of what he wanted, or what measures to take with him, when an Engineer of *Bergamo*, whose name was *Zignon* according to some, or according to others *Francis Gallo*, Valet de Chambre to Prince *Thomas*, furnished him with an expedient to render a correspondence between the Town and *Spanish* Camp very easie *. As *Leganez* was within Cannon shot of him, he was advised to make hollow Cannon Bullets, in which he was to close up the Letters which he had a mind to send from the City to the Camp of *Leganez*, or from the Camp to the City, and to stop up the hole with Lead. Before he shot it, he gave him a signal by some lighted powder, to let him know that he must take care of the Bullet. 'Tis said they used the same Stratagem in the *Spanish* Camp, and threw into the Town Bombs full of Powder, which those of the Town took up in the Ditch, to take out the Powder that they had occasion for. The Citizens of *Turin* made use of the same expedient to acquaint their Friends in the *Spanish* Camp with what they had a desire to communicate to them; and this was the reason why they call'd these Billets the *flying Couriers*.

* *See* Siri's Mem. Rec. T. 8. p. 869. V. Tesauro's Torin. Assed. p. 125.

By

By the same way Prince *Thomas* agreed with the 1640. Marquis *de Leganez*, to make a vigorous Sally on the 14th of *September*, with four thousand Foot and a thousand Horse, while at the same time the *Spaniards* attackt them on their side. The Prince did not fail to Sally at the time appointed, and made himself master of some Redoubts of the *French*, and a Bridge which they had thrown over the *Po*: But the Count *d' Harcourt* regain'd these Posts, because the *Spaniards* did not appear, and forc'd the Prince to enter *Turin* again, after the loss of three hundred men. *Leganez*, who being deceiv'd by the narrow Valleys through which he was to march, did not think the way was so far as it really was, arrived too late, the Prince, who despair'd of seeing him, having already made his retreat. Thus he return'd without doing any thing, and thought no more of relieving the place, as those within the Town, ever since this defeat, thought of nothing more, than how to make the most honourable Capitulation for themselves that they could. The King and the Cardinal had design'd to send *Mazarine* thither, to negotiate with the Princes of *Savoy*; but the Count *d' Harcourt* being inform'd of it, was not willing that another should take that honour out of his hands, after he had taken so much pains to regulate the Capitulation of that place. It was therefore agreed on the 22d of *September*, that Prince *Thomas* should either surrender the City of *Turin* to him, or re-establish the Regence of the Dutchess, and the Soveraignty of the Duke her Son; that all hostilities should cease, and that Hostages should be given on both sides, till Prince *Thomas* had retir'd with his Troops, and all his Baggage, where he should see convenient. He withdrew to *Yvrees*, and the Count *d' Harcourt* entred *Turin*, before *Mazarine* could arrive there. Thus in the compass of two years he acquir'd the reputation of the bravest and most happy General, that had for a long time commanded the *French* Army, altho he was far from having all the experience requisite for War. But his rashness and good fortune, joyn'd to the cowardice and want of conduct in the Enemy, supplied the place

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1640. of capacity and experience. The Count *du Pleſſy Pralain* was made Governour of *Turin*, where he put a *French* Garriſon of four thouſand men; after which the Dutcheſs came to this City with the Duke her Son. The Princes of *Savoy* did * accommodate their matters ſoon after with *France* and with their Siſter-in-law. But the particular Articles of their Agreement having no relation to the life of our Cardinal, I ſhall paſs them over in ſilence.

* *See the Mem. of Aub. l. 11. p. 833, &c.*

Before the * year was expired, the Cardinal made the Dutcheſs of *Savoy*, and Count *Philip d' Aglie* ſenſible, that he had not forgot the oppoſition they made him at * *Grenoble*, when he was ſo earneſt to have the Dutcheſs ſurrender up *Montmelian* to his Majeſty. He ſent a ſecret Commiſſion to *Mazarine*, who was at *Turin*, ſo to manage affairs as without the leaſt noiſe to get the Count apprehended; with orders not to communicate it to the Count *d' Harcourt* nor to *Du Pleſſy Pralain*, till juſt upon the point of execution, when they were to give neceſſary orders to effect it. *Mazarine*, that he might perform this with the greater eaſe, engag'd the principal perſons belonging to the Court of *Turin*, and the *French* that were there, to regale one another by turns, every evening. Count *Philip* was one of the number, and when it came to the Count *Du Pleſſy Pralain*'s turn, whoſe lodgings were not far from the Caſtle, ſome Souldiers were order'd to be in readineſs to execute ſomething that was to be done. Count *Philip*, who did not in the leaſt dream of ſuch an entertainment, went to *Du Pleſſy*'s houſe, where he was put in a Coach and hurried into the Cittadel, and from thence to *Pignerol*, without any permiſſion or order from the Dutcheſs, who complain'd in vain of the affront done to the Soveraignty of the Duke her Son.

* *See the former, p. 380.*

* *The 30 of Lec. Siri Mem. Rec. T. 8. p. 877.*

Towards the end of this year, the * Cardinal, weary of the differences he had with the Court of *Rome*, upon the account of the Mareſchal *d' Eſtrees*, whoſe violent and fiery temper was not at all ſuited to this ſlow deliberate way of proceeding, got this affair at laſt to be accommodated, deſigning ſoon after to call the Mareſchal home. * 'Tis reported that the Cardinal

*Siri Mem. Rec. l. 8. p. 883.

* Ib. 884.

nal had it then in his thoughts to deſtroy the *Calviniſt* Religion entirely, and that he had explain'd himſelf upon this Chapter more than once to Chancellor *Seguier*. He propos'd to have a Conference with the Miniſters, wherein he hoped to carry them whither he pleaſed. But leſt it ſhould have the ſame ſucceſs with the famous Conference of *Poiſſy*, he was reſolved to ſecure himſelf before-hand of fourſcore Miniſters, who, joyn'd to thoſe that perhaps might ſuffer themſelves to be reduced by his arguments, would bring over, as he imagined, the greateſt part of the *Hugonots*. As for the reſt, he pretended to employ the Royal Authority, and ſo either make Proſelytes of them by dint of ill uſage, or if he could not otherwiſe accompliſh his end, to turn them out of the Kingdom. He believed that very few Families would rather chuſe to abandon their native Country, and ſee their admiſſion into it for ever lock'd up againſt them, than to embrace the Catholick Religion; That it would be a difficult matter for them to reſolve to wander like fugitives through the World, to find out a ſanctuary to receive them: That they would find inſuperable hardſhips in ſelling off their goods, either becauſe there would not be buyers enough to take them off their hands, or becauſe they muſt be forced to part with them at too low a price; That altho there might be ſome reaſon to ſuſpect the ſincerity of the New Converts, yet their Children, ſucking the Catholic Religion with their Milk, would be really perſwaded of the truth of it. The better to effect this deſign, he was of opinion that this Aſſembly was to be prevail'd upon in the firſt place to declare, that a man might be ſaved in both Churches. Becauſe if the *Hugonots* were once ſatisfied of that, they would ſooner chuſe to turn Catholics, ſo to avoid the miſeries they were to ſuffer, if they ſtill continued in their *Calviniſm*, than blindly to adhere to the latter, by rejecting a Religion, wherein nevertheleſs they believed that a man might be ſaved. After this manner did this Miniſter reaſon, who imagin'd that other people had no more Religion than himſelf. Part of this project has been ſince followed in *France*, and

1640.

1640. we find by experience, that contrary to what the Cardinal expected, a prodigious number of Families thought it better to leave the Kingdom than to turn. Thoſe perſons that have ſtudied theſe matters a little, know that the generality of mankind are ſtrangely wedded to the opinions they learnt in their infancy, eſpecially when they appear to be more conſonant to reaſon, and more agreeable to truth, than the oppoſite doctrines which ſome people would have them embrace. But this was the Cardinals blind ſide, and his Talent did not lye in theſe ſort of ſpeculations.

* Ibid. He likewiſe fell upon another * project, no leſs difficult to be effected than the former, and that was to make himſelf Patriarch of *France*. He thought himſelf already ſecur'd of the greateſt part of the Biſhops, and to bring the Monks over to his ſide he deſign'd to be Abbot General of the three moſt powerful Orders, that ſo he might have wherewithal to gain the ſuffrages of the Religious. But the Court of *Rome* being throughly ſatisfied of his ambitious deſigns, he could never procure his Bulls, notwithſtanding all his inſtances and ſollicitations to obtain them; ſo that wholly deſpairing to compaſs his intentions, this fancy left him, or at leaſt he carried it with him to the grave. Thus he never thought any more of this project, for in truth it requir'd another ſort of a man than himſelf; who, as he was generally hated, ſo he had moſt infallibly periſh'd under the weight of this attempt; which, tho he had been poſſeſſed of the love and eſteem of the whole Kingdom, he would have found a moſt difficult matter to have ever accompliſh'd.

On the 21ſt of *September* the King had another Son, who was call'd at firſt the Duke of *Anjou*, but at the death of *Gaſton*, had the Title of the Duke of *Orleans*. The Queen had not a jot the more authority for this; Nay, 'tis confidently ſaid, that the * Cardinal had extorted a promiſe from the King, that in caſe he came to dye, and declared the Queen to be Regent, he would make him Chief of the Council of the Regence, with orders to the Queen to follow his advice.

*SirJMer. T. 2. l. 2. p. 562

This

This year the Maſter of the Horſe had like to have fallen into diſgrace with the King, and tho the Miniſter had ſome reaſons to be diſſatisfied with his conduct, which afterwards revived, as we ſhall ſee in the ſeries of the Hiſtory, yet he did not forbear to uſe all his intereſt to reconcile him to the King. The * Maſter of the Horſe had a Miſtreſs at *Paris*, whoſe name was *Marie de l' Orme*, whom he went in all haſte to viſit, as ſoon as the King was gone to bed; ſo that when the King got up, which he frequently did very early in the morning, and enquir'd after him, they told him he was not ſtirring yet: This made the King frequently blame him for his idleneſs, but he was not able to cure him of it. Afterwards arriving to the knowledge of this private amour, the King forbid him to ſee that Lady, to whom, as the report ran, he was ſecretly married. As ſhe was not of a Quality equal to that of the Maſter of the Horſe, and beſides had but an inconſiderable fortune, his Relations were extremely averſe to this Match, and his Majeſty in favour of them oppos'd it likewiſe, beſides that he did not care that his Favourites ſhould be married. Whether it was, that *Cinq-Mars* was naturally of a rough uncomplaiſant humour, or whether he fancied himſelf to have ſo great an aſcendant over the Kings inclinations, that it was not poſſible for his affection to alter, whenever his Majeſty reprimanded him for his faults, he anſwer'd him with very little reſpect. Upon this account the King forbid him to appear before him, ſo that he ſhut himſelf up in his Chamber for ſome days, under pretence of a Feavor.

* SirJMer. de Vitr. T. 2. l. 2. p. 558.

1640.

1641. * *Mem. of Aubery T. 2. p. 837.*

Where is to be found a Letter of the King to the Cardinal, where he recounts this Converſation to him. The Cardinal did all he could upon this occaſion to accommodate matters between his Majeſty and the Maſter of his Horſe; and as he was at *Ruel*, and the King at *St. Germain*, he writ a Letter to the King, and gave the Pacquet to * *Cinq-Mars*, to deliver it to his Majeſty. The King having read the Cardinals Letter, thus directed himſelf to the Maſter of the Horſe, *The Cardinal has here ſent me word*, ſays he, *that you have teſtified a great deſire to comply with me in every thing, and yet you don't amend as to one particular*, dated Jan. 5. 1641. which

1641. *which I desired him to re-mind you of, and that is your idleness.* Instead of promising the King that he would amend that fault for the future, *Cinq-Mars* answer'd that he could not reform as to that point. Upon this the King replyed, *A man of your condition, who ought to render himself worthy to command an Army, and who has assured me that he design'd such a thing, must above all things avoid Idleness, as altogether destructive to his reputation.* *Cinq-Mars* bluntly answer'd, that he never had any pretensions that way, and the King maintain'd the contrary; after which he proceeded in his discourse, telling him that Idleness made a man uncapable of every thing that was commendable; that it was only good for the people of *Mavais*, among whom he was bred up, who entirely abandon'd themselves to their pleasures; and that if he design'd to continue that sort of life, he must return to them again. The Master of the Horse replied in a great heat, that he was ready to return thither. *Well*, says the King, *if I were not wiser than you, I know what answer I should return to what you have said.* He added, that *Cinq-Mars* having those great obligations to him which he had, ought not to treat him after such a fashion; when the Master of the Horse, with his usual good address and civility answer'd, that as he was always ready to serve the King, so he was as ready to leave him; and that he should be full as content to be *Cinq-Mars*, as *Monsieur le Grand*, and that he could not change his way of living. The King and he continu'd to pique at one another all the way to the Castle, till they arriv'd in the very Court, where the King told him, that considering the humour he was in at present, he would mightily oblige him not to come near him. So the Master of the Horse withdrew, and did not appear before the King for some days.

One may see by this boysterous and insolent behaviour, that *Cinq-Mars* was not born to continue long in this advantageous Post to which the Cardinal got him advanced; and that *Lewis* XIII. was not a Prince extremely impatient, since he could suffer a young fellow to talk to him after such a manner. In the mean

mean time the * Cardinal took care to appease the Kings anger, at the repeated instances of *Cinq-Mars*; and the King and his Favourite liv'd together as formerly. The Minister was extremely glad to make the Favourite every day more and more dependant upon himself, in becoming wholly necessary to him to maintain him in the Kings favour. By this means he continued to know all his Majesty's secret thoughts, who, reserved and close as he was in relation to all others, yet frequently open'd the most hidden inclinations of his Soul to his Favourites. Nay, tho he was never so much minded to conceal what lay within him, yet his Favourites, by putting him upon certain subjects, were able to sound his true sentiments, notwithstanding all the dissimulation he was master of; so that the Cardinal being perfectly inform'd of all occurrences, knew how to regulate his conduct accordingly. Altho the King intrusted him with the administration of all his affairs, yet he was desirous to be made acquainted with every thing, and could not forbear to express his displeasure, if he knew that any thing was kept hid from him; or at least he shew'd his dissatisfaction, when he entertain'd himself in private with his Favourites; and the Cardinal took care to appease him by some flatteries, which he mingled, as he saw convenient, in his discourse. 1641. * Aub. ib.

* *Cinq-Mars* being thus reconciled to the King, imagined now that he had nothing more to fear, tho his Majesty expresly told him, that if the Cardinal once came to be against him, he would abandon him for ever. The King having taken care that those that were about him should acquaint the Cardinal with all that he said, was sometimes displeas'd to find himself encompass'd by Spies: but the great occasion he had for his Ministry, and the high esteem he had for his capacity, hindered him from removing these people from him, altho he did by no means affect them. However, that he might have one near his person, to whom he might freely open his sentiments, he made the Master of the Horse swear to him, that he would never acquaint the Cardinal with what he should tell him. This Minister was soon sensible that * Siri Mer. T. 2. p. 563.

1641. Master of the Horse did not come, as he had been accustomed, to inform him of what past near the King, so he began at first to suspect him, and at last form'd a design to ruine him, on the very first occasion that presented it self. The Cardinal's Enemies having observed the coldness between them, did not fail to insinuate into the Master of the Horse, that the Minister was ill affected to him, and only wanted a fair opportunity to destroy him. *Cinq-Mars*, who on his side did not naturally love his Benefactor, look'd upon his Grandeur as an obstacle to his own, and did him no more good offices to his Majesty. This Prince being now satisfied, that *Cinq-Mars* carried no more tales to the Cardinal, had a greater affection for him than ever, and resolved to have him admitted into the Privy Council. One day when he was at *Rethel*, the Councellors entred the Council Chamber with the Cardinal, to hold a Council there, and as the Courtiers withdrew to leave them their places, and *Cinq-Mars* follow'd them, the King stopt him, and turning himself towards the Cardinal, *That my dear friend here*, says he, meaning the Master of the Horse, *may be able to serve me one day, I think it convenient that he should without further delay instruct himself in the affairs of my Council.* The Cardinal, who knew well enough that it was to no purpose for him directly to oppose the Kings pleasure, did not show the least resentment at that time, and so held a Council, but took care that nothing of importance should be there proposed. But the day following, he represented to the King, the ill effects such an innovation as this might produce, and the great injury he did his own reputation, as well as that of the Council, if it should be said that nothing of any consequence could be debated there, unless such a young man as the Master of the Horse, was one of the number. This remonstrance of the Cardinal made so deep an impression upon the King, that he did not permit *Cinq-Mars* to come into the Council Chamber any more.

From that time the secret hatred which the Master of the Horse bore the Cardinal, broke out in public, and those occasions of discontent which this Minister lately

lately gave him, wrought a greater force upon the mind of an ambitious young man, than all the services he had formerly done him. However, the King labour'd to reconcile them, and outwardly they seem'd to be as hearty friends as ever. But soon after they fell out, and the occasion arose from the Favourite's desiring the King to make him a Duke and a Peer, that he might marry the Princess *Mary* of *Mantua*, who would not accept of him but upon that condition. Having open'd this affair to the Cardinal, who he foolishly imagin'd would comply with his desires, this Minister tax'd him with imprudence and presumption, setting before his eyes what he had done to raise his Father and himself from the simple rank of Gentlemen, to the present degree of honour they enjoy'd. *Cinq-Mars*, who was of no less haughty a Spirit than the Cardinal, could not hear him talk thus but with the greatest indignation, and began to cabal with all his power, to ruine his Patron and Benefactor. He engag'd in his Interests *Francis de Thou*, Son to the famous *James Augustin de Thou*.* He was a most accomplish'd man in respect of all those qualities that are requir'd in a Gentleman of the Long Robe, and being either a relation or a friend to several of those that resented the effects of the Cardinals hatred, besides that this Minister had hinder'd him from being made one of the Councellors of State; after he had for some time consider'd of the matter, at last espoused the party of the Master of the Horse, and engaged the Dukes of *Orleans* and *Bouillon* to countenance his designs. There was the greater probability of succeeding, because the King had expressed himself to be particularly desirous of a Peace, to put an end to all those calamities and disorders, which the private interests of his Minister had stirr'd up in the Kingdom. The King had likewise frown'd upon several of the Cardinals creatures, whom he did indeed esteem and fear, but did not really love at the bottom; As for *Cinq-Mars*, he was now perfectly in the Kings favour, and this brought abundance of persons over to his party.

* Sir I Mer: T. 2. p. 567.

1641.

In

1641. In the mean time the Cardinal strengthen'd himself by an alliance with the House of *Conde*, by marrying *Claire-Clemence de Maille Breze*, daughter to the Mareschal de *Breze*, to the Duke of *Enguien*. 'Tis reported that the Prince of *Conde*, who had at first rejected this match when it came to be propos'd to him, suffered himself to be gain'd, partly by the great fortune which the Cardinal bestow'd upon his Niece, and partly out of fear, lest the Cardinal should ruine him, if he persisted any longer to despise an alliance with him.* The Marriage was celebrated on the 7th of *February*, and a magnificent Ball was kept upon this occasion at the Cardinals Palace. This Ballet represented the prosperity of the Arms of *France*, and the Decorations of the Halls were changed five times, as well as the habits of the Actors. The first represented the Earth embellished with Forrests, and *Harmony* supported upon a Cloud, with abundance of Birds singing: The second discover'd the *Alps* cloathed with Snow, with *Italy* upon a Mountain, and at a great distance *Arras* and *Casal*: The third shew'd the Sea environed with Rocks, and cover'd with Ships and Gallies, with three Sirens: The fourth an open Sky, from whence the Nine Muses descended; and the fifth the Earth adorn'd with Flowers, with *Concord* upon a gilded Chariot. The Theatre being changed into a magnificent Hall, the Queen, attended by all the Court, went to place herself at the upper end of it, and the Duke of *Enguien* taking her out to dance, the Ball began, and ended with a stately Collation of Sweet-meats. The Nuptials were afterwards celebrated on the 11th of the same month, with that magnificence which the Cardinal affected to show upon such occasions.

* Siri Mer. T. 1. lib. 2. p. 231.

During the divertisements of this * Marriage, the Minister contriv'd to mortifie the Parliament of *Paris*, which had presumed more than once to make some opposition to his demands. Some weeks after the King assembled all the several Chambers, and came thither accompanied by the Princes of the Blood, several Dukes and Peers, and many eminent Lords of the Court. He there caused a Declaration to be read,

* Ibid. p. 232.

read, which prohibited the Parliament to concern themselves with any affairs of State, and commanded them to receive his Edicts, not to disapprove, but confirm them. The King farther declared, that he intended to take the absolute power into his hands of disposing of all the Offices of Parliament, and to reward with them such as pleased him; and at the same time deposed the President *Barillon*, and the Councellors *Scarron*, *Salo*, and some others that had been banisht before. He likewise ordained, that the Parliament every three months should give the Chancellor an account of what they did, and every year take out a permission from his Majesty to continue in their respective functions. By this the King absolutely destroyed the authority of the Parliament of *Paris*, as if they had abused their power, by opposing the arbitrary proceedings of the Cardinal. This Prince it seems imagined, that only himself and his Minister were interested in the preservation of the Kingdom, and thought nothing was just, but what this imperious Prelate pretended to be so. 1641.

Those that had the Courage to defend the Rights of Parliament, urged in vain, that the persons that composed it, had never pretended to be their Kings Tutors, nor to arrogate a power superior, or equal to theirs; nor to set up for *Tribunes of the People*, as their enemies injuriously accused them. They own'd themselves to be the Kings Subjects, and to derive their power from his Authority; but then they said, that a Secret of Policy lay concealed in the exercise of their Offices, which the Flatterers at Court were not acquainted with: That the ancient Kings of *France* being sensible that a pure Monarchy, where all the Laws depend upon the Will of one single person, were but of a short continuance, had wisely temper'd the form of Government, by mixing some appearance of an Aristocracy with it, and by establishing Laws, which they themselves were not allowed to violate, that so the People might with greater chearfulness submit to their soveraign authority: That for this end they had voluntarily submitted their own Edicts to the examination of the Parliament, that so they might fully be inform'd,

1641. inform'd, whether they contain'd any thing contrary to the known Laws, and Rules of Equity: That their Conscience and true Interest engaged them to observe these Laws impartially, and not to violate Justice; That nevertheless, in case they were of opinion, that the Parliaments did not give them good counsel, they were still at liberty to have recourse to their absolute power, as it appeared by these terms in their Edicts, *For such is our good pleasure:* That Declarations are not addressed to the Parliaments out of pure formality, which was wholly unnecessary, but that the people might afterwards obey them without any repugnance: That it had been the antient policy of the Kings of *France*, to make all sorts of Graces depend upon themselves, but to see Justice administred in the Soveraign Courts: That this discharged the Kings from the Odium that might ensue upon the exercise of any severe act of Justice, and besides disengaged them, from the importunity of their Courtiers, who without this might lead them to commit several injust things, highly prejudicial to the Welfare of their States.

To return now to foreign affairs; ever since the beginning of the foregoing year, the Duke of *Lorrain* had demanded a Passport of the King to come to Court, out of hopes he might obtain the possession of his Dominions, by giving some satisfaction to his Majesty; and it was at last * granted him in very advantageous terms. Another was dispatched to him some * months after, and yet he did not come to Court as was expected. * The Cardinal, who by his natural inclination to invade the Rights of others, without considering the ill consequences that might follow, had seized upon the Dukedom of *Lorrain*, some years before, found by experience, that this conduct had extremely sunk his Reputation, but especially in *Italy*, where there was not a Prince who did not with great Jealousy and Concern look upon this aggrandizing of *France*, as fearing to be treated after the same manner as the Duke of *Lorrain* had been. Upon this consideration he judged, that after he sufficiently humbled him, it would be the best way to

* *The* 24 *of* Jan. 1639. *Mem. of* Aub. T. 2 p. 947.

* *The* 24 *of* August. * Siri Mer. T. 1. lib. 2. p. 289.

1641. to re-establish him, since he was not now in a condition to give any umbrage to *France*; and that this would gain him the esteem of several Princes, who might very eminently contribute in their respective stations, towards the depressing of the House of *Austria*. About this time the Duke of *Lorrain*, falling passionately in Love with the Countess of *Cantecroix*, had a mind to be divorced from his Dutchess *Nicole*, but this is a point upon which we need enlarge no more. 'Tis sufficient to observe, that the * Countess was very serviceable to the Cardinal, to incline the Duke to make fresh Sollicitations for the favour of *France*, which promised to procure a Divorce for him from *Rome*. The ill condition of his own affairs did likewise oblige him to it, since having no money to pay off the small Army he kept on foot, he was constrain'd to allow the Soldiers to do what they pleased, which set him in ill circumstances with the House of *Austria*, upon whose Lands they had been quarter'd for a long time.

* Siri Ib. p. 291.

At last, being entred into *France*, he saw the Cardinal, and arrived on the 10th of *March* at *St. Germain*, where he was received with all imaginable respect. Assoon as he appear'd before the King, he immediately set one Knee upon the ground, and told him, that he came to humble himself before him, and submit his fortune to his Majesty's Clemency. The King offer'd thrice to raise him up, but he protested that he would not quit that posture, till his Majesty had forgiven him for all his past faults. The King was then pleased to assure him, that he had not the least remembrance of what was past, and that he would assist him for the future. The Duke got up, and covered himself, after which he went to see the Queen, and the Duke of *Orleans*.

The Duke of *Lorrain* undertook this voyage, to endeavour to regain at least one part of his Country, to procure some money for the subsistence of his Troops, and to engage the King to act at *Rome* in the favour of his Marriage with the Countess of *Cantecroix*. If he obtain'd the two first Articles, he would be able to make better conditions of agreement with the

1641. the Houſe of *Auſtria*, in caſe he deſigned to embrace their party afreſh, or if he found it advantageous to him, he might ſtill continue linked to the Intereſts of *France*. But what he moſt earneſtly deſired was the Confirmation of his Marriage; and he had brought the Counteſs along with him into *France*, if the King had not ſent him word to leave her at *Eſpinal*. The Cardinal had given his word to the Nuncio, that he would in no manner ſupport the Duke as to his Divorce from his Dutcheſs *Nicole*; and that the Duke of *Lorrain* might not ſpeak to him about him, he ſpread a report abroad, that the King was reſolv'd to employ all his power with the Duke to prevail with him to be reconciled to his Wife. When the Duke firſt heard of this pretended deſign of the King, he was extremely mortified, for he could not endure to hear the leaſt mention of this Accommodation; ſo that any one might perceive he took it for a great favour not to talk to him about it, much leſs to pretend that they would lend him their aſſiſtance to break off his Marriage. Thus he contented himſelf to talk with the Nuncio concerning it, and ſince he found the King did not countenance his deſign, he did not importune the Cardinal to favour him, in a pretenſion ſo unjuſt as this really was.

Not to deſcend into the conſequences of this private affair, 'twill be ſufficient to obſerve, that the King concluded the Treaty, concerning the reſtitution of *Lorrain*, on the 29th of *May*, and ſwore to the obſervation of it the ſame day, as well as the Duke, in the Chappel of *St. Germain*.* The King reſtored *Lorrain* to him, and the Dutchy of *Bar*, upon condition that he would do homage for the latter; and that *Clermont*, *Stenay*, *Jametz*, and *Dun*, with all their dependencies, ſhould continue re-united to the Crown. *Nancy* likewiſe was to continue as a pledge in the Kings hands, till the end of the War. Beſides this, the Duke was obliged to renounce all manner of correſpondence with the Houſe of *Auſtria*, and to reſign his Troops to the King, who was to entertain them as his own, and to pay the Dutcheſs *Nicole* ſixſcore thouſand Livres by way of penſion. The Treaty concluded

* *See the whole Treaty in* Siri Mere. T. 1. lib. 2. p. 296.

cluded with a promiſe which the Duke made to obſerve theſe Articles ſo faithfully, that beſides what he left to his Majeſty to be inſeparably re-united to the Crown, he conſented that the reſt of his Dominions ſhould devolve to the aforeſaid Crown of *France*, if he in the leaſt infringed this Treaty. By this Article the Cardinal put the King in a fair way to invade *Lorrain* afreſh with a great appearance of Juſtice on his ſide, if ever the Duke ſhould violate the leaſt Clauſe of this Treaty, which it was not doubted but he would ſoon do, by reaſon of his natural inconſtancy and imprudence. In the mean time *France* did itſelf the honour of this reſtitution, and the Kings Miniſters in all places proclaim'd and boaſted of their Maſters generoſity. 1641.

The Duke of *Lorrain* was no ſooner return'd home but he began to fortifie *La Mothe*, an important place, which the Mareſchal *de la Force* had not been able to take, till after a tedious Siege of ſeveral months, as we have already obſerved. Altho this was not prohibited by any one Article of the Treaty, yet they immediately ſuſpected that he deſign'd to make a freſh rupture with *France*. The principal diſcontent which made him leave *Paris*, was becauſe the Court was ſo far from helping him to break off his Marriage, that they would not conſent that the *Lorrainers* ſhould acknowledge the Counteſs of *Cantecroix* for their Dutcheſs. This was the reaſon why that Lady diſengaged him from the party of *France*, and prevail'd with him to joyn himſelf again to the Houſe of *Auſtria*, which he had not quitted but by her perſwaſion, upon the hopes the latter had given her to act in her favour. Thus, never conſidering whether he ſhould be able to ſupport himſelf againſt *France*, he entered into a new Alliance with the Cardinal Infanta, under a pretence that the Treaty he had ſo lately made, was to his manifeſt prejudice and diſadvantage. His Majeſty being informed of theſe * practices of the Duke, ſent the *Count de Grauncey* at the head of a ſmall Army into *Lorrain*, and with *Du Hallier*, Governor of *Nancy*, he once more made himſelf Maſter of all the places belonging to this unfortunate

* Ib. 464.

1641. fortunate and indiſcreet Prince. As for him, he retired into the *Low Countries*, where his Troops being ill paid, began after their uſual rate to commit a thouſand inſolences and diſorders.

Prince *Thomas* of *Savoy* was no more exact in obſerving the Treaty he had concluded with *France*, towards the end of the laſt year. They were fully convinc'd of it at the beginning of this, when they ſaw that inſtead of coming to *Paris*, according to his his promiſe, he treated anew with *Spain*; ſo that now 'twas viſible, that the true reaſon of his reconciling himſelf to *France*, was only to make a better market for himſelf with *Spain*. Altho he was ill ſatisfied with the Marquis *de Leganez* and ſome others, yet he had no quarrel with his Catholic Majeſty; and indeed he durſt not truſt Cardinal *Richlieu*, whom he had offended in ſo many reſpects, and who had this reputation all *Europe* over, that he was never guilty of forgiving any one.

*Siri Mer. T. 1. lib. 2. p. 249. This Change of the Scene oblig'd * the Dutcheſs of *Savoy* to publiſh a * Manifeſto, wherein ſhe forbid all the Subjects of the Houſe of *Savoy* to pay any obedience to the Princes her Brothers-in-law. They anſwer'd it by another of the ſame nature, publiſhed fifteen days after, and there ſtil'd themſelves, *The Lawful Guardians of* Charles Emanuel *their Nephew, Duke of* Savoy. Prince *Thomas* complain'd that his Treaty with *France* had been made publick too ſoon, and that they ought to have tarried till his Wife and Children were return'd out of *Spain*. The *French* maintain'd that this was a pure pretence of his own inventing; but as this reaſon was too weak, ſuppoſing it were true, the Prince found out ſome other infractions of the Treaty on the ſide of *France*, which he publiſhed ſoon after.

* *Dated the 14 of March.*

To make him ſenſible of the fault he had committed, in re-joyning himſelf to *Spain*, whoſe affairs now began to decline every where, the *French* Army, under the Vicount *de Turenne*, took the Field towards the end of *February*, who poſſeſs'd himſelf of *Montcalvo* and the * Caſtle in a few days, and gave perpetual alarms to the *Spaniſh* Forces that were in *Piedmont*.

* *The 6 of March.* Siri Mer. l. 2. T. 1. p. 337.

Prince

Prince *Thomas* was gone to *Milan* to concert meaſures for the enſuing Campaign, with the *Spaniſh* Miniſters. The Marquis *de Leganez* was at that time call'd home from his Government of *Milan*, becauſe they were diſſatisfied with him at *Madrid* for the continual loſſes he ſuſtained, occaſion'd merely through his want of capacity, ſince he was ſuperior in number to the *French*. * The Prince mightily preſt the *Spaniards* to take the Field, and rather ſeek out the Enemy than wait for him; but the languiſhing Maxims of *Leganez* continuing at *Milan*, even after his departure, they only talked of acting upon the defenſive. The Prince being inform'd what progreſs the *French* had made, who were then at *St. George*, within eight miles of *Yvree*, was afraid they would attack that place, which was the only remaining Town where he had a Garriſon depending upon himſelf. *D. Sylvis Emanuel de Savoye*, his Natural Brother, commanded the Garriſon there, which was large enough, conſidering the greatneſs of the place, and the *Spaniards* ſent a few of their Troops thither. * The *French* ſtayed ſome weeks at *St. George*, and when it was no more ſuſpected, that they had any deſign upon *Yvree*, went to beſiege it on the 11th of *April*, before the Count *d' Harcourt* was return'd from *France*. *Vercellino Maria Viſconti*, *Meſtre de Camp*, who commanded the *Spaniſh* Troops, and had left the place to get himſelf cured at *Milan* of an Indiſpoſition, got into the Town with ſome other gallant fellows, who put every thing in readineſs to make a vigorous reſiſtance. Aſſoon as the Count *d' Harcourt* was arrived, he gave an Aſſault to the place, at three ſeveral places, on the 23d of *April*, but the breaches not being large enough, and thoſe within defending themſelves with great courage, he was beaten back with the loſs of three hundred men.

1641.

* Eman. Teſauro Ivrea Aſſediata & liberata.

*Siri Mer. T. 1. l. 2. p. 338.

Prince *Thomas* *labour'd all he could to engage the *Spaniards* to attack the *French* in their Lines, before they gave a ſecond Aſſault; but all that he could obtain of the *Count de Sirvela*, who govern'd *Milan* with Cardinal *Trivalce*, was that he would advance as far as *Bolengo*, which is within two miles of *Yvree*.

* Taſauro ib. 209.

1641. There the Prince, who commanded the Van-guard, receiv'd advice, that the Count *d' Harcourt* being inform'd of his March, reſolved to come and meet him; he gave orders to make a diverſion on the ſide of *Birolo*, in order to embarras the Count *d' Harcourt*, who diſpatched the Marquis *de Ville* thither, with the Troops of the Dutcheſs of *Savoy*, who repelled the *Spaniſh* Forces. In the mean time, he, and the Vicount *de Turenne*, advanced at the Head of their Army, as if they deſign'd to attack Prince *Thomas*, altho he was ſtronger than they in all reſpects. The *Spaniards* had reſolved, neither to receive, nor give battel; and were of opinion, that if after ſome ſmall skirmiſh they retired, it would be enough: But Prince *Thomas* earneſtly deſired to engage them in a Fight, ſince he was able to do it with a great advantage on his ſide. As he was diſpoſing his Army for that purpoſe, *Sirvela* was informed, that the Prince was preparing for a general Battel, which ſo much affrighted this *Spaniard*, who had not the leaſt experience in military affairs, that he ordered the Infantry in all haſte to withdraw to a Hill, which the Prince had juſt made them quit, to come and ſupport the Horſe. Altho Prince *Thomas* repreſented to him, the fatal conſequences that might happen upon his leaving the Horſe without Foot, yet he could not poſſibly perſwade him to let them advance. The Count *d' Harcourt* judging then from the Countenance of the *Spaniards*, that they were afraid of coming up to him, thought he had a fair opportunity to charge their Horſe, which he perform'd at firſt with ſucceſs enough, but at laſt he was repulſed, ſo that he ſounded a retreat, and the *Spaniards* did not dare to follow him. The Prince propos'd to go and attack the *French*, who were at leaſt one half diminiſhed, and fatigu'd with the Siege, and were not able to keep their Lines againſt an Army which was twice ſtronger than their own. But *Sirvela*, and the other *Spaniards*, would not liſten to it. All they did was to ſend ſome relief to *Yvree*, part of which only * enter'd the place, through the fault of the Guides. They deſign'd to have thrown them in on another ſide, ſome

* On the 20th of April.

ſome days after, but the *French* receiving notice of it, 1641.
poſſeſs'd themſelves of all the Paſſes, by which they were to enter.

At laſt, to oblige the *French* to abandon *Yvree*, the Prince made the *Spaniards* reſolve to attack *Chivas*, which was not in a condition to make any great reſiſtance, having but a ſmall Garriſon there, with ſome pieces of Cannon, but no Bullets, ſo that they were forced to cover the Stones with Lead, to make them ſerve inſtead of Bullets. The Prince thought he might be able to take the place by a Scalade on the 9th of *May*, and in all probability he had ſucceeded in his deſign, if his Orders had been well executed; but the *Spaniards* not ſeconding thoſe that began the attack, they were beaten back, ſo that now it was reſolved to attack the place regularly.

The Count *d' Harcourt* daily continued to preſs *Yvree*, but being informed what danger *Chivas* was in, he reſolved to go and relieve it, thinking after that to come before *Yvree*, and carry on the Siege of that place. He parted by night from the 14th to the 15th of *May*, but the *Spaniards* no ſooner heard the News of his March, but they concluded to retire on the other ſide the *Po*, under a pretence that now the Siege of *Yvree* was raiſed, they had fully executed their deſign. It was not poſſible for Prince *Thomas*, with all the Arguments he could uſe, to ſtop the fearful *Sirvela* for never ſo ſhort a time; ſo that the *French* ſaw the *Spaniards* on the other ſide the *Po*, aſſoon as they arrived here. The Prince nevertheleſs threw a thouſand Horſe into *Yvree*, under the conduct of *D. Vincent de Gonzaga*, beſides the Infantry which got in, which was the reaſon that the Count *d' Harcourt* when he return'd before it, deſpair'd the taking of it, and wholly raiſed the Siege on the 17th of *May*.

But tho the *French* Army retired from before *Yvree*, yet they did not ceaſe from farther action. After they had refreſh'd themſelves a little, the Count *d' Harcourt* led them out to reduce ſome ſmall places, as *Ceva*, and *Mondovi*, and ſate down before *Coni*, on the 29th of *July*, with ſix thouſand Foot, and two

1641. thousand Horse. While the *French* streightned this place, which was of great importance to them, for the communication of *Provence* and *Liguria*, with what they held in *Piedmont*; Prince *Thomas* advanced to the relief of it, with eight thousand Foot, and two thousand Horse, but all the passes being possest by the *French*, or else shut up by the overflowing of the River; besides that the Marquis *Ville*, with a body of two thousand Horse, and a thousand Foot, opposed his March, he only thought of giving them some diversion. He went to attack *Queiras*, which he vainly endeavor'd twice to take by Scalade, being repulsed with great loss: But the *Spaniards* had better success before *Montcalvo*, which they took by Capitulation, after three days resistance. However *Coni* was obliged to surrender on the 15th of *September* to the Count *d' Harcourt*, who put six hundred Foot, and three hundred Horse into the place.

Thus the *French* made themselves Masters of one of the best places in *Piedmont*, while the *Spaniards* lost time in doing nothing, or only retook *Montcalvo*, a place of small consideration. After the taking of *Coni*, the Count *d' Harcourt* design'd to relieve *Montcalvo*, and offer'd battel to the *Spanish* Army within a mile and half of *Asti*; he there received advice that *Montcalvo* was taken, and could by no means oblige the *Spaniards* to fight him; and so, after he had taken a few inconsiderable Castles, put his Army into Winter Quarters at *Canaves*. This being done, he arrived at *Turin*, towards the end of *September*, to surrender the City of *Coni*, which he had so lately conquer'd, into the hands of the Dutchess. 'Tis probable that the Cardinal by this act of self-denial, design'd to take off the suspicion he had given, and that he would not extend the Limits of *France*, at the expence of the young Duke of *Savoy*, by pretending he had no other design but to assist him.

The *Spanish* arms were not much more successful in the *Low Countries*, than in *Italy*, but as their forces there were much better managed, the reputation of the *Spanish* Monarchy did in some manner support it self by that means. * The Cardinal had a design to open

*Siri Mer. T. 1. l. 2. p. 422.

open the Campaign on this side by the Siege of *Aire*, 1641.
one of the most important places in *Artois*. After several Marches and Countermarches, the better to conceal this design, the Marquis *de la Meilleraye* went to attack some Forts about *Aire*, which made but a sorry defence; *Bernovitte*, the Governor of the place, being desirous to save his Men for the defence of the City. Thus the Mareschal, after he had possessed himself of all the Avenues, began to work upon his Lines of Circumvallation on the 25th of *May*, and the Enemy did not put themselves in a readiness to hinder them, or to stop the Convoys which arrived soon after. Nevertheless, General *Bec* coming to *St. Venant*, which is upon the River *Lis*, a little below *Aire*, found means to throw five hundred men of the old Troops into the place, which somewhat retarded the progress of the Besiegers. *Bec* marched afterwards on the side of *St. Omers*, and the Cardinal Infanta having joyned him, they marched towards *Aire*, as if they meant to attack the Lines of the *French*, in the sight of whom their Army appear'd on the 22d of *June*, and had some skirmishes with them. The night following the *Spaniards* got a great quantity of Fascines, to fill up the *French* Retrenchments, and a boggy place, over which they design'd to enter the City. But having sounded the Morass, and examin'd this place, they found the Morass was too deep, and the *French* Guard too strong to make any attack on that side, which made the Cardinal Infanta change his Post; and so he sent a small party into the *Bolonois*, to make some diversion there. In the mean time the place defended itself with a great deal of vigour, divers works were taken and retaken several times, and the Besiegers bought very dearly every foot of ground they got. The Cardinal Infanta was resolv'd to succour the place, assoon as General *Lamboi*, whom he expected every moment with impatience, had join'd him; but the *French* being acquainted with his design, prest their works with that brave * See the Siri Mer. T. 1. l. 2. p. 422. and diligence, that they made very great breaches with their Mines, and reduced the Garrison and Burghers to * capitulate on the 16th of *July*. Siri Mer. T. 1. l. 2. p. 422.

1641. to give the *Spaniards* longer time to relieve this place, the *French* Generals granted them very honourable conditions. The Garriſon marched out the next day, with Drums beating, Colours flying, Match lighted, Ball in Mouth, in ſhort with all the other Marks of Honour which are uſually granted to thoſe that have defended themſelves well, and yet don't ſtay till the laſt extremity before they ſurrender.

The ſame day that the Garriſon of *Aire* marched out, that of *Genap* capitulated, after a Siege of about a months continuance. The King had renewed this year, the antient Treaties he had made with the States General, and had promiſed to ſend them twelve hundred thouſand Livres, upon condition they would attempt ſome conſiderable enterprize. In purſuance of this Treaty, *Frederic Henry* attacqu'd *Genap*, and after he had made himſelf Maſter of the Town, reduced the Caſtle to capitulate at the time abovementioned.

The taking of *Aire* did ſo wonderfully provoke the Cardinal Infanta, by reaſon of the lamentable conſequences this Conqueſt might draw after it, for the reſt of *Artois* and for *Flanders*, that he reſolv'd to diſlodge the Army of the Mareſchal *de la Meilleraye*, and attempt the Siege of this place, before they could furniſh it with neceſſary proviſions. So *Lamboi* having join'd him with four thouſand Foot, and two thouſand Horſe, the day after the reduction of the place, he adventur'd to beſiege the victorious Army, and to hinder them from receiving victuals or other relief, he made a Detachment out of his Army, under the command of the Count *de Salaſar*, who took *Lillers*, and the Fort of *Ecluſe* between *Douay* and *Cambray*, and defeated a Convoy which advanced to throw themſelves into this latter Fort. The *Spaniards* made ſome new Forts between *Terwen* and *St. Omers*, to hinder any proviſions from coming that way.

» Siri lb. p 465.

On the 5th of *Auguſt* the Cardinal Infanta marched directly towards the Lines of the *French*, whom he kept in breath with continual skirmiſhes, but was not able to bring them to a battel; till at laſt the Mareſchal *de la Meilleraye*, fearing that if he ſtay'd in this

this Poſt much longer, ſcarcity of Proviſions and Ammunition would deſtroy his Army, as well as the place he had ſo lately taken, retired by night on the 9th of the ſame month, and marched in all haſte to poſſeſs himſelf of the Paſs of *Terwin*, leſt the Enemy ſhould prevent him. Before he parted, he repair'd the Breaches as well as he could, and fill'd up the greateſt part of the Lines. He put three thouſand men into the place, and gave the Government of it to *Aigueberre*, with food enough for two or three months, if rightly managed. He could not leave them any more Powder, which was abſolutely neceſſary for them, but he hoped to throw a Convoy ſhortly into the place. 1641.

Aſſoon as the Mareſchal was diſlodged, the Cardinal Infanta enter'd his Lines, and began the Siege of this place, with a great deal of vigour and diligence, but ſo as not to expoſe his men too much to the Enemy's ſhot. As he knew it was not provided with every thing neceſſary, he hoped ſoon to reduce the Garriſon by Famine. The Mareſchal did what he could to throw ſome proviſions into it, but the *Spaniards* were ſo ſtrongly upon their guard, that all thoſe that endeavor'd it were beaten back with loſs. By the 20th of *Auguſt* the *Spaniards* had already rais'd three Batteries, the beſieged not thinking it worth the while to incommode them by their Cannon, becauſe they had not Powder enough, and were oblig'd to reſerve the little they had till a time of neceſſity. Soon after the Garriſon diſarm'd the Burghers, and turn'd all unprofitable Mouths out of the place. However, to oblige the Cardinal Infanta to abandon his deſign, the Mareſchal *de Breze* attacked *Lens*, which he took, and *Meilleraye* took *la Baſſee* likewiſe, and made inroads into *Flanders*, where they burnt and ravaged ten or twelve leagues round the Country. But the *Spaniards* ſtill carried on the Siege which they had begun, hoping the place would ſhortly fall into their hands, through want of proviſions.

The Prince of *Orange*, importun'd by *France*, enter'd *Flanders* at another ſide, with the Army of the States, Siri Mer. T. 1. l. 12. p. 514.

1641. States, and deſign'd to attack *le Sas de Gand*, but the *Count de Fountains* having got thither before him, with ſeven thouſand Foot, and forty Companies of Horſe, obliged him to retire to *Bergen op Zoom*, without doing any thing. The *French* alſo did attempt in vain to make themſelves Maſters of *Armentieres*, upon the *Lis*; for ſome of *Lamboi*'s Troops that were in Garriſon there, beat them back with loſs.

But upon advice, that the *Spaniards* had weaken'd all their Garriſons, to form a ſmall body of men, in order to hinder the excurſions they made into their Country, the Mareſchal *de la Meilleraye* attempted the Siege of *Bapaume*, a place of great importance, and difficult to be beſieged, by reaſon of the great ſcarcity of Water. He began to beſiege it in *September*, and took it by Capitulation on the 18th of the ſame month. The Garriſon was to be conducted, according to the Capitulation, as far as *Doway*; but not being able to compaſs it in one day, they paſs'd the night at *Ecluſe*, and purſued their way the next morning. It was thought ſufficient to give them a Trumpet to accompany them, but happening to meet with *St. Preuil*, the Governor of *Arras*, altho the Trumpet acquainted him with the matter, * he fell upon them, kill'd part of their men, and pillag'd the whole Baggage. The King being inform'd of this action, leſt the world ſhould impute it to the perfidiouſneſs of the Generals, ordered him to be apprehended, in conſequence of which, having been accuſed of ſeveral other things, he was beheaded at *Amiens*.

* Pontis *relates this matter otherwiſe in his Mem. t. 2. p. 190, &c.*

In the mean time the Cardinal Infanta falling ſick in the Camp at *Aire*, cauſed himſelf to be carried to *Bruſſels*, to recover his health there, but his Indiſpoſition increaſing, he died there on the 9th of *November*. It was believ'd in *France* that his death would cauſe the Siege of *Aire* to be rais'd; but *D. Franciſco de Melo*, who had the management of it, continued it with great reſolution; ſo that at laſt, after they had conſumed all their Proviſions, and eaten every thing from whence they could draw the leaſt nouriſhment, the place ſurrendred on the 7th of *December*. Thus the Campaign concluded in the *Low Countries*, in which the *Spaniards* loſt three places, to regain one at an extraordinary expence. However, the *French* Generals were blamed for taking ſo little care to preſerve this Conqueſt, which had coſt them ſo much blood, and which they ſaw retaken before their eyes, without finding a way to hinder it.

1641.

The *Spaniards* did not * maintain the War with the ſame vigor in *Catalonia*, altho they could have done it with much more eaſe, provided they had given as good orders in that Principality, as in the *Low Countries*. Inſtead of offering an Act of Oblivion to the *Catalonians*, immediately after the retreat of the *French*, that ſo a deſpair to obtain a pardon for their inſurrection might not carry them to make a more obſtinate defence, the Marquis *de los Velez* mark'd the Men and Women with a hot Iron, and this Cruelty engaged the people to ſupport their Rebellion with all their force. Thoſe of *Barcelona* worked night and day upon their Fortifications, to put that place in a condition of defending it ſelf, and no perſons were exempted from ſo neceſſary a duty. In the mean time *Serignan*, Mareſchal *de Camp*, who had tarried in *Rouſſillon* with his Regiment of Infantry, and three Companies of Horſe, enter'd *Catalonia* with theſe Forces, and did not a little contribute to repreſs the firſt heat of the *Spaniſh* Army, and to teach the *Catalonians*, who were unexperienced in War, after what manner they might defend themſelves.

* Siri Mer. T. 1. l. 1. p. 11. Mem. Rec. T. 8. p. 825.

Serignan enter'd into *Barcelona*, and conducted ſome of the *Catalonian* Troops thither, altho he was purſued by the *Spaniſh* Cavalry. The Marquis *de los Velez*, being within a few leagues of this City, diſpatched a Trumpeter to them, with Letters to the *Deputation* of *Catalonia*. The Viceroy promis'd to employ all his intereſt with the King, to procure them a full Indemnity for their Inſurrection, upon condition they would diſengage themſelves from *France*; and on the other hand he threatned them with very rigorous puniſhments, if they perſiſted longer in their obſtinacy. The *Catalonians* after they had amus'd the Trumpet as long as they could, in order

1641. order to gain the more time, made anſwer, that the Privileges of the *Catalonians* did not permit them to treat with any one, whoever he was, that came in arms into their Country.

On the 26th of *January* the *Spaniſh* Army advanced to attack *Montjui*, which is within half a league of *Barcelona*; but the *French* and *Catalonian* Cavalry, to the number of five hundred, marched out of the City to obſerve the Countenance of the Enemy. The *Spaniards* perceiving it, privately retired into a Wood of Olive Trees, to cut off theſe Horſe, and at the ſame time attack'd them in the Front, to amuſe them. *Bezancon* and *Serignan* eaſily ſuſtain'd the ſhock of the latter, but ſoon after the Duke *de St. George*, at the head of the others, came out from behind the Wood, and marched towards them. Altho the Cannon of the City began to incommode them, yet they ſtill advanced forward, even within Muſquet ſhot, and bravely attack'd the *French* Cavalry with Swords in their hands; but the Duke being mortally wounded, and ſeveral Officers of Note killed, thoſe that followed him were obliged to retreat, leaving a hundred and fifty dead upon the ſpot, and a great number of wounded. The *French* and *Catalonians* loſt in this encounter about a hundred men.

Montjui ſtands upon a Hill, on the top of which is a ſmall Plain, where there was a Light-houſe, but *Bezancon*, at the deſire of the Inhabitants of *Barcelona*, had built a ſmall Fort there, encompaſſed with a Wall of dry Stones, where he lodged ſixty *French* Muſqueteers. This Hill being acceſſible on every ſide, except by the Sea, the *Spaniſh* Army began ſoon after to mount it, and the Forlorn Hope eaſily gain'd the advance Poſts, which the *Catalonians* were ordered to keep, who fled almoſt aſſoon as the Enemy appear'd. But being now come to the top, where they imagin'd to find no reſiſtance, they were ſurprized to ſee themſelves aſſail'd by a diſcharge of Muſquet ſhot, and a ſhower of Stones, which obliged them to deſcend, to cover themſelves from this ſtorm, till the body of the Army came up. In the mean time five hunered Muſqueteers came from *Barcelona* by Sea, and the *Catalonians*

nians who had ſaved themſelves behind the Fort, imagin'd that the *Spaniards* run away from theſe ſuccors, and three thouſand Muſqueteers whom *Bezancon* and *Serignan* conducted by Land; ſo that taking courage they went to charge the Forlorn Hope, and beat them back upon their firſt line, which they put into diſorder. Upon this *Bezancon* falling in with a thouſand Muſqueeters, broke it, and altho the ſecond line ſupported them, yet they could not recover themſelves. And now the reſt of his men arriving from *Barcelona*, and being followed by abundance of people, who had beheld this happy beginning, fear poſſeſſed the *Spaniards*, and they retir'd without noiſe, aſſoon as night came, towards *Martorel*. The *Catalonians* gave no quarter to the wounded, that could not follow the precipitate march of their Army; and with thoſe that were kill'd in the Skirmiſh, there were two thouſand dead in the Field of Battel. 1641.

About this time *D. John*, King of *Portugal*, acquainted the *Catalonians* with his Elevation to the Throne, by the Biſhop of *Lamego*, who was going to *Rome*, which news mightily animated them. The next day after the Fight, all the Courts being aſſembled, the *Catalonians* reſolv'd to ſubmit themſelves to the King of *France*, provided he would preſerve their Rights and Privileges. This they paſſed into an Act, which *Bezancon* diſpatched to the Court, with half the Colours that were taken at the Battel of *Montjui*.

Cardinal *Richlieu* having receiv'd this news, was in doubt whether it would be for the advantage of *France*, to accept of this Donation of *Catalonia* or no, by reaſon of the great obſtruction this would bring to the concluding of a Peace, and the mighty Expence the King would be oblig'd to be at for the preſerving of this Country. He could rather have wiſhed, that this Principality would erect an independent Republic, under the Protection of *France*, becauſe the King would have then drawn the ſame advantage from it, without engaging too far in its defence. But being convinc'd at laſt, that the *Catalonians* would never be able to govern themſelves long in the form of a Commun-

1641. Commonwealth, but would infallibly fall again under the *Spanish* Government; and lastly considering, that it would be scandalous for the King to refuse so important a Donation, only for fear of engaging himself in some expence, he believed he was obliged to accept of it. *Bezancon* was surprized at this irresolution in the Cardinal, being fully of opinion, that if they had not neglected matters so at first, but immediately imployed sufficient Forces in that Province, the Kingdoms of *Arragon* and *Valentia*, the Inhabitants of both which places had a mighty kindness for the *Catalonians*, would have fallen after the same manner, into the hands of *France*.

The *Spaniards*, after the defeat of *Montjui*, retreated to their first Camp of *Tarragone*, and the *Catalonians*, encouraged by this Victory, put themselves in a posture to preserve the advantage they had gain'd. The King gave Orders to the Marquis *de Breze*, who commanded a small Fleet in the Ocean, to sail towards the Coasts of *Spain*, to hinder them from sending any Fleet upon the Coasts of *Catalonia*. He met, near *Cales*, with a Fleet bound for *America*, of which he sunk or burnt five Gallions, whereof the Admiral was one, and the rest he put to flight. The Bishop of *Bourdeaux* likewise gave chace to the *Spanish* Gallies in the *Mediterranean*, commanded by the Duke *de Ferrandine*, and cruised upon the Coasts of *Naples*, where he burnt a Gallion under the Cannon of some Forts by the Sea side.

Siri Mer. T. 1. l. 2. p. 287.

Not long after the King sent a dispatch to *la Mothe Houdancourt*, who was in *Italy*, to set himself at the head of three or four thousand men that were marching to *Catalonia*. He arrived at *Barcelona* with his Troops, and as he saw that *Montjui* was a more important post than was at first believ'd, *la Mothe* caus'd a more regular Fort to be built there; which was no sooner in a condition of defence, but he marched to the Enemy, who besieged *Aytone*, and having obliged them to abandon this attempt, he threw five hundred men into the place. He likewise increased the Garrison of *Lerida*, and kept the *Spaniards* in a perpetual inquietude. Their Troops, which had abundance

abundance of *Portugueses* in them, diminished daily by desertions, so that they were constrained to retire to *Constantin*, a small City within a league of *Tarragone*. *La Mothe* *advanced towards that side, after he had put a *Catalonian* Garrison into *Valz*, with a design to favour the Descent of the Archbp. of *Bourdeaux*, who was lately arrived at *Barcelona*, and had brought some Troops by Sea. The *French* Army, being divided into two bodies, for the greater convenience of their March, met several scattered bodies of *Spaniards*, which they fought and put to flight; after which the *Spaniards* having abandoned their Camp, the Archbishop landed eight hundred men without difficulty, and made himself Master of the Fort of *Salo*. * A few days after, the *French* besieged *Constantin*, in view of the *Spaniards*, who were under the Cannon of *Tarragone*, and carried it in three days. At last *la Mothe* approached nearer to the Camp of the *Spaniards*, and a hot skirmish past between the two Armies in the sight of *Tarragone*. The *Spaniards* found themselves extremely incommoded for want of Forrage, and this still served to augment the desertions, so that the *French* and *Catalonians* found themselves much stronger than the *Spaniards*. *La Mothe* then attempted the Blockade of *Tarragone*, both by Sea and Land, with a design to reduce it by Famine, or lay a regular Siege to it, assoon as more Troops were come up to his relief.

1641. * *The 1st of May.* Siri ib. 344.

* *The 12 of May.*

In the mean time, as the Forces that were sent by Land into *Catalonia* run great dangers, so long as the *Spaniards* were Masters of *Roussillon*, and it would be a difficult matter to preserve *Catalonia*, unless they were possest of that County, * the Court of *France* now began to think of seizing it, if it were possible this year. *The Marquis de Mortare* was Governour of it, and had a small Body of five thousand Foot, and thirteen hundred Horse. The Prince of *Conde* enter'd this County with about seven thousand Men, about the beginning of *June*, and sent the *Vicount d Arpajon* to take a view of *Perpignan*, who had much ado to avoid an Ambuscade of the *Spaniards*. The Prince being advanc'd before *Canet*, carried that place and the

* Siri Mer. T. 1. l. 2. p. 434.

1641. the Caſtle in a few days. The inhabitants of *Argeles*, a place of great importance, becauſe it could cut off from *Rouſſillon* all manner of communication with the port of *Roſes*, turn'd out the *Spaniſh* Garriſon, and open'd their Gates to the *French*. Soon after the *Catalonian* Peaſants, who extremly incommoded the *Spaniards* with their excurſions, carried off a conſiderable Convoy, which was going from *Collioure* to *Perpignan*; and the Prince of *Conde* took *Elne*, which lyes between *Perpignan* and *Collioure*, on the 27th of *June*, altho it was very well defended by ſome *Italian* Troops that were in the place.

After this the Prince divided his Army into two Bodies, one of which was ſent to *La Mothe* near *Tarragone*, and the other deſign'd to overrun *Rouſſillon*. *La Mothe* poſt the *Spaniards* ſo near, that he kept them as it were beſieg'd under the Cannon of *Tarragone*, where they continued; without endeavouring to get out, for they hoped by this means to amuſe the *French* Armies by Sea and Land, without doing any thing, all the reſt of the Campain. He on the other hand flattered himſelf, that he ſhould be able to ſtarve them in this poſt, and reduce them to capitulate upon what conditions he pleas'd.

On the 9th of *July* the *Spaniards* having form'd a deſign to ſeize a poſt near the Sea, from whence they expected relief, and at the ſame time to favour a Convoy of forrage which was to come to them, put two or three thouſand men out of their Lines, to put this project in execution. But *la Mothe* having receiv'd advice of it before-hand by a *Walloon* deſerter, went to meet this detachment, and defeated it. The reſt of the *Spaniſh* Army which had advanced out of their Lines, to favour the retreat of thoſe who firſt went out, was in like manner defeated, after a ſharp reſiſtance. 'Tis ſaid that in this rancounter the *Spaniards* loſt ſix hundred men, and the *French* an hundred.

The *Spaniſh* Army having got into their Lines again, or into the City, began now to feel the terrible effects of a violent Famine, and the Prince *de Bottero* who commanded it, caus'd to be diſtributed daily to each

each Soldier two ounces of Rice, and three of Horſe- 1641.
fleſh; for they made no difficulty to kill their Horſes, becauſe they wanted forrage for them. In the mean time care was taken at *Madrid* to raiſe a ſmall body of men, to go and deliver the Army that was beſieged at *Tarragone*, and aſſoon as they had got together ſix thouſand Foot, and two thouſand Horſe, the Marquis *de Leganez* receiv'd orders to place himſelf at the head of them, and endeavour to force the *French* Lines. The Marquis ſet forward with this deſign, but as he was not become more dexterous in military matters in *Spain* than he was in *Italy*, he thought that the Paſſes were ſo well guarded, that it would be labour loſt to attack him. Thus he retreated peaceably within ſome leagues of the place, without adventuring to do any thing for its relief.

The Prince *de Bottero*'s Army being now reduced to the laſt extremity, were exceeding joyful to ſee a * Fleet of forty Gallies appear, but the difficulty was, how to make their way into the Harbour thro the *French* Veſſels. However the Prince of *Ferrandine*, who commanded this Fleet, was fully reſolved to attempt it, ſince it was not poſſible to ſave the Town and Army otherwiſe. Having therefore obſerv'd, that the Squadron of the Admiral and Vice Admiral lay at ſome diſtance from one another, he determin'd to paſs through their two firings; but there were only ten Gallies that durſt follow him through all the Cannon and Muſquet ſhot of the Enemy. They loſt abundance of men, and were extremely ſhattered before they could reach the Mole; and as they were unloading the Proviſions they brought upon the Key, the Squadron of the Admiral coming near, began to cannonade them ſo furiouſly, that they muſt of neceſſity return the ſame way they came to avoid being ſunk. However they performed it, and the *French* out of one and forty Gallies only took one; they unloaded but a ſmall quantity of proviſions, and landed ſome men on Shore; in a few weeks both the Army and Town were in a worſe condition than before, and began to feed upon Dogs, Rats, and Cats. Thus this Attempt of the Fleet only ſerv'd to deſtroy four or five

* *On the* 4 *h of* July.

1641. five hundred men in passing through, and to put a great number of Gallies out of a condition to appear for a long time at Sea.

But not to abandon a Town and an Army, which combated with much more resolution against Famine than against the Enemy, *Spain* made its last effort, and set to Sea a Fleet of sixty Sail, followed by several Brigandines laden with provisions. It * appear'd six weeks after the other, and while the men of War and Gallies attack't the *French* Fleet, which was in a manner surprized, as not imagining the *Spaniards* could be able to put to Sea in so short a time, Brigandines entered the Harbour without great difficulty. The Archbishop of *Bourdeaux*, who had sometimes succeeded by meer hazard, was in such a consternation that he was uncapable of making head against the Enemy, so that after the lost of three Vessels, he escaped with the rest of his Fleet very much damaged, to *Provence*. Notwithstanding this defeat, *La Mothe* staid some days longer in his Lines, but fearing the succours which continually arrived at *Tarragone*, he retook the posts, where he was lodg'd before, between *Constantin* and *Valz*, and abandoned this design.

* *The* 10 *of* August. Siri Merc. T. 1. l. 2. p. 451.

They were much dissatisfied with the Archbishops conduct at Court, because he had sent them word that he was strong enough to beat any *Spanish* Fleet that should come before him, and then after he had abandoned the Sea to the Enemy, would have made them believe that he had got the Victory. 'Tis reported that this man had gain'd the Cardinal's favour, by applying himself intirely to him, without making his Court to any of his Relations, or Creatures. He had been Steward of the Cardinal's House, and made the Servants and Tenants give an account of every thing, with so much rigour, that the Cardinal wondered at his exactness, besides that the Archbishop put in frequently something of his own, which considerably increased the Cardinal's revenues. But as all the World hated him, and especially *De Noyers* the Secretary, no means were left unattempted to destroy him. 'Tis said that it was with this prospect he was sent

sent into *Catalonia*, with a Fleet which they knew was not in a condition to oppose that of the *Spaniards*, and that it was against his advice that *La Mothe* endeavoured to starve *Tarragone*. As soon as he was arriv'd at *Toulon*, the Officers mutinied against him, and refused to own him for their Admiral. They likewise sent relations to Court quite different from his, and accused him of being positive and humoursom, and that he never regarded the advice of those persons, who had the greatest experience in Sea affairs. As all the Court in general joyn'd with his accusers, the King and Cardinal immediately concurr'd in an ill opinion of him, and at last resolved to order the informations against this Prelate to be taken. In the mean time they took from him the command the Fleet; which was none of the fittest posts for a Bishop, and banished him to *Carpentras*. At the bottom, altho he was certainly in the wrong to take up a profession which he did not understand, and his conduct was far from being regular, yet the Cardinal, who pretended to know the men whom he employ'd, was more to be blamed, for giving to a Bishop, and to a person so uncapable as he was, a Fleet to command. 1641

Towards the end of the Campaign * the *Spaniards* surprized the City of *Almenas*, but the inhabitants escaping into the Castle, they began to lay siege to it. *La Mothe* marched thither with all speed, with two thousand Horse, and two thousand eight hundred Foot, but the *Spaniards* being at least thrice stronger than himself, he durst not attack them. However he saved the place by a stratagem after this manner; he sent three hundred Horse to the top of the neighbouring mountains, with all the Drums and Trumpets belonging to the Army, and ordered them to Alarm the Enemy on that side, with the greatest noise they could make, that so they might believe the whole Army was there, while he on the other side, threw himself into the Town with five hundred Horse. This project succeeded very happily, and so the *Spaniards* quitted their design.

* *The* 4 *of* Novemb.

1641. After the King had accepted the donation of *Catalonia*, he appointed the Mareſchal *de Breze* to go thither, to command in quality of *Viceroy*, and to ſwear at *Barcelona*, in his Majeſty's name, to preſerve the privileges of the *Catalonians*. He was already arriv'd at *Conflens*, when he received orders to block up *Perpignan*, to hinder any relief or Ammunition from coming into it, becauſe the King propoſed to attack this place the following Campaign. He ſeized upon all the paſſes, and made retrenchments where he ſaw convenience; however he could not hinder the *Spaniards* from forcing the paſſage of the mountains, the 21ſt of *December*, ſo that he was reduced to defend himſelf againſt the inſults of the *Spaniards*, by poſting his men at *Argeles*.

What moſt of all favour'd the *French* on this ſide, was the happy ſucceſs that attended the inſurrection of the *Portugueſes*, who not only beat the *Caſtilians* out of their own Country, but made frequent excurſions in the neighbourhood with mighty advantage, *Caſtile* not being prepared to oppoſe them, and ſeveral Grandees, as the Duke *de Medina Sedonia*, being diſcontented at the Government, and favouring the *Portugueſes* under-hand. Their King *Don John* was own'd by *France*, and all the Enemies of *Spain* who encouraged him to keep the Crown on his head which he had ſo lately gain'd. The particulars of this Revolution having no relation to the life of our Cardinal, I ſhall therefore omit them.

In *Germany*, *Duke* the *Swediſh* General, and the Count *de Guebriant* performed no conſiderable enterprize, and the former happened to dye, *Leo-* * *On the* 10 *of May, he had Torſtenſon* took his place. The Princes of *Italy* Pufendorf lib. 13. had now for a long time been only ſpectators of what paſſed in *Piedmont*, and might have continued ſtill in the ſame tranquillity, if the *Barberini* had not made an incroach upon the Dutchy of *Caſtro* and ſome other Lands, belonging to the Duke of *Parma*,

* *See* Siri near *Rome*. * Under a pretence of I know not what Merc. T. 1. Rights, which 'tis not neceſſary here to ſet down, the lib. 3. *at the* Papal Army entered this Dutchy in *September*, and *beginning.* in *October* forced *Caſtro* to capitulate, and on the 13th

13th of that Month took poſſeſſion of it. The Duke 1641. of *Parma* complained of this hard uſage to all the Princes of *Italy*, but eſpecially to the Republic of *Venice*, and to the great Duke of *Tuſcany*, who promiſed to act in his behalf, but had done much better if they had hindered the *Barberini* from ſtripping him of part of his territory, by ſending ſufficient forces to this Prince, when he firſt demanded them; ſince 'tis infinitely eaſier to prevent a miſchief of this nature, than to apply Remedies to it when 'tis once done. The beſt ſupport which the Duke of *Savoy* found upon this occaſion, was the Mareſchal *d' Eſtrees*, a great Enemy to the *Barberini*, who being recalled from his embaſſy at *Rome*, ſtopt at *Parma*, and offered his ſervice to the Duke, as we ſhall find in the ſeries of this Hiſtory. And this he did not engage in without the conſent of the Cardinal-Duke, who was no better affected to the Houſe of *Urban* VIII. than the Mareſchal. The *Marquis de Fonteny* ſucceeded the latter in this embaſſy at *Rome*, and as he had as much Flegm in his conſtitution as the Mareſchal had Fire, it was hoped that he might be able to act with more ſucceſs in a Court, where their negotiations are very long, and require a world of patience.

After the Duke of *Parma* had received this hard Treatment, the Pope fulminated an Admonition againſt him, by which he ordered him to appear at *Rome*, under pain of Excommunication. The King of *France* and all *Italy* interceded for the Duke, but the *Barberini* were not men to be wrought upon by perſwaſions, ſo when any foreign Prince came to interpoſe in this affair, they only paid him with fair promiſes. In the mean time *Don Thaddeo Barberini*, whom the Pope, who doated upon his Nephews, thought to be a mighty Captain, made great levies of men, which he ſent into *Lombardy*, and cauſed Forts to be built in ſeveral places of *Polezin*, for the preſervation of his new Conqueſts. The Duke of *Parma* raiſed forces on his ſide, to oppoſe one power by another, and at the ſame time publiſhed a * Manifeſto, wherein he ſhewed the injuſtice the *Barberini* had done him, and the latter were not backward to return an anſwer to it.

* *See this Affair in* Siri Merc. T. 1. lib. 2. p. 379, &c.

1641. To return now to the Affairs of the Cardinal: The Queen Mother, who had resided for some time at *London*, was obliged to depart out of *England*, at the private instances he made to King *Charles* the First. This Prince being unluckily embroil'd with his own people, was not in a condition to refuse any thing to *Lewis* XIII. lest he should foment these disorders, more than he had already done; so that he gave his Mother-in-law to understand, that she would extremely oblige him, if she would leave *England*. She desir'd to return into the *Low Countries*, but whatever sollicitations his Majesty of *Great Britain* could make in her behalf, the *Spaniards*, who were dissatisfied with her former conduct, would not so much as give her leave to pass through their Country. Nor durst the States of the *United Provinces* suffer her to tarry in theirs, for fear of offending the Cardinal. So that she was forced to go to *Cologn*, where she lived in extreme indigence till her death.

The Cardinal, who was pleased at these mortifications which this unhappy Princess received, was not sorry to see her intirely abandon'd by her Daughters, and her Sons-in law. Towards the end of this year he had the pleasure to understand, that the Pope had made a * promotion of a dozen Cardinals, among whom was his dear Friend and Confident *Julius Mazarine*, for whom *France* had demanded a Cap.

* *The 6 of December.*

In the course of this very year, wherein so many things, as we have already seen, contributed to strengthen and support the fortune of this Minister, the new Conspiracy of the Count *de Soissons*, against him, which at first seemed powerful enough to overturn it, ended as advantageously for him as he could have wished, since he was delivered from one of the most formidable enemies he had. 'Tis what I am now going to relate, in order to conclude with it the History of the Occurrences of the

* See Siri Year 1641. Merc. Tom. I. p. 346, have * married his Neice *de Combalet*, to the Count *de*

de Soissons, and that this Prince refused an Alliance so much below him. The Minister did not drop his pretensions for all that, but flatter'd himself that by ill using and disregarding the Count, he should at last break his haughty Spirit: As he believed that the King would never have any Children, he imagined that the Heirs of the Count and his Neice, might one day sit upon the Throne: And he thought that by pretending to serve the Count, who was a high spirited, but imprudent Prince, he should humble the D. of *Orleans*, and the Prince of *Conde*; but the intractible constancy of the Count defeated all his projects, which appeared to be so much the more Chimerical, after the King had Sons to succeed him. Whatever he pretended in public, 'tis certain that the Cardinal had an unconquerable aversion to the Count, for besides that twas impossible to commit small faults against him, contempt was the thing in the world that most disgusted him, and which he took care to revenge in the severest manner. To this we may add, that the Cabals of the Count, which opposed the grandeur of the Minister, rais'd his hatred to the highest extremity, and it received no diminution by the retirement of the Count to *Sedan*, who had engaged the King to pay the Garrison of that City, pursuant to the Treaty, against the opinion of the Cardinal, who had advised that this Money should be paid to the Duke of *Bouillon*. 'Tis reported, that his design was to oblige that Prince to sell that place to him, for which he had offer'd him in vain great summs of Money, and Lands in another place. Nay, some persons confidently affirm, that the Minister had a mind to erect a small Soveraignty for himself upon the *Meuse*, to retreat thither in case of necessity. However it was, 'tis certain he loved the Duke of *Bouillon* at the bottom no more than he did the Count of *Soissons*. Besides, he was disgusted with the * Archbishop of *Rheims*, Son to the Duke of *Guise*, who had likewise retir'd to *Sedan* some years before, because the Cardinal would not give him leave to resign good part of his Benefices to his Brothers, as designing to marry *Ann de Gonzaga*, Daughter to the late Duchess

* See Siri Mer. T. 1. l. 2. p. 352.

1641. of *Mantua*. The Cardinal would have had him renounce all his Benefices, and ſurrender them into the Kings hands, after which his Majeſty was to grant him a *Brevet*, by which he ſhould be enabled to diſpoſe of part of them in favour of his Brothers. But the Archbiſhop fearing they would laugh at him as ſoon as he had made this renunciation, withdrew to *Sedan*. Upon this, the King, under pretence of repairing ſome buildings, which the Archbiſhop ought to have done, ſequeſtered his whole revenue, and nominated an Adminiſtrator, in his abſence. This Prince did all he could, to be reconciled to the Cardinal, but ſome difficulties aroſe, which hindered them from coming to any concluſion. But in the mean time the Prince *de Joinville* his eldeſt Brother, and the Duke of *Guiſe* his Father, happened to dye, which made him take upon him the title of the Duke of *Guiſe*.

* *Towards the end of the year* 1641. Siri ib. p. 359.

About this * time a Gentleman was apprehended in *Poitou*, belonging to the Duke of *Soubiſe*, his name *La Richerie*, juſt come from *England*, who as they reported, brought Letters from the Dukes of *Soubiſe*, and *la Valette*, to the Duke of *Eſpernon*, and the Marquis *de la Force*, wherein they perſwaded them to raiſe the *Hugonots* in *Guienne*. It was pretended that the Queen Mother, and Madam *la Chevreuſe* had a hand in the deſign. The Marquis *de la Force* had received his Letters, and ſent them to the Cardinal; but it was alledged, that he had kept them by him ſome hours, and this rendered him ſuſpected. Whether thoſe Letters were real or no, and whether *la Richerie* depoſ'd what he knew, or ſaid what they would have him, in the *Baſtile* where he was impriſon'd, the report ran that the Count *de Soiſſons* was concerned in this conſpiracy, and that he was to enter *Champagne* with an Army, while the Duke of *Eſpernon*, and his Son acted in *Brittany*. During the whole Miniſtry of the Cardinal, there were ſo many true Plots, and ſo many lies publiſhed, that often 'tis impoſſible to diſtinguiſh truth from falſhood. For as his Creatures took the depoſitions of the Priſoners, and thoſe that were accuſed, were not allowed to defend themſelves, according to the ordinary

ry forms, one cannot certainly know whether theſe priſoners depoſed the truth, or whether they did not ſwear as they were commanded. However it was, the Count *de Soiſſons*, poſitively denyed that he had any concern in this affair, and ſent *Campion* to Court, to make proteſtations of his innocence. The Cardinal, without troubling himſelf to prove that he was guilty, pretended to be partly ſatisfied with theſe aſſurances, and anſwered him coldly enough. 1641.

This Prince, notwithſtanding his abſence from Court, ſtill kept his place of Grand Maſter of his Majeſty's houſe, and ſent ſome orders, which the King would not ſuffer to be executed. As this nearly concern'd him, he tryed to confirm his orders, but he was obliged to give way, and ever ſince that time, as 'tis ſaid, meditated a revenge. The King would not allow him to nominate to the vacant Offices of his houſe, which were in his diſpoſal, nor that any one ſhould go to *Sedan* to beg them of him, as till now they were accuſtomed to do. He likewiſe ſtopt his penſions and revenues, nay he forbid any proviſions to be brought to *Sedan*, under a pretence that they were carried from thence, into the Country of *Luxemburg*. The Duke of *Guiſe* had not as yet quitted his Archbiſhoprick of *Rheims*, and yet he enjoyed none of the revenues belonging to it, altho he engaged *Corraro*, the *Venetian* Ambaſſador, to ſpeak in his behalf. All the anſwer that the Cardinal made was, that he ſhould deliver all his Benefices into the King's hands, and after that they knew how to deal with him.

About the * ſame time it was diſcovered, that certain perſons in the habits of Pilgrims, had conſpir'd againſt the Miniſter, who being apprehended and ſent to Priſon, accuſed the Duke of *Vendome*, who was enlarged out of confinement, after they had turn'd him out of all his places, and who lived at a diſtance from Court, with having engaged them in this enterprize. As ſoon as the Duke was informed of it, he ſent the Duke of *Beaufort* his ſecond Son in all haſte to *Paris*, to demand of his Majeſty, that he would be pleaſed to permit his Father

* Siri Mem. Tom. II. p. 223.

1641. to come to Court, to juſtify himſelf. The Duke arrived almoſt at the ſame time at *Paris*, where he was *Incognito*, and ſent to deſire of the King, that he might confront theſe Witneſſes. His demand was granted, but inſtead of making his appearance, he retired into *England* with the Duke of *Beaufort*, pretending that it was ſcandalous for a perſon of his Quality, to be confronted with profligate mercenary ſcoundrels. He was generally blamed for demanding an appearance, and going off after he had obtained it; and whether he was guilty or innocent, there was without doubt great indiſcretion in this management. However it was, the Dukes of *Vendome* and *Beaufort*, ſerved by this means to augment the number of the profeſſed Enemies of the Cardinal.

Several perſons were of * Opinion, that this Miniſter being aſſured of the weakneſs of *Spain*, and of the Malecontents, treated the Princes of *Sedan* in this inſupportable manner, that he might oblige them to have recourſe to the *Spaniards*, and thus furniſh himſelf with an occaſion to deſtroy them. He hoped by this conduct intirely to ruin the Count *de Soiſſons*, with whom he ſuppoſed he ſhould never be able to live in peace, by reaſon of the mutual diſguſts and animoſities that were between them. The Duke of *Bouillon* he could not endure, becauſe he refuſed to ſell him *Sedan*, or to exchange it for other Lands; and he looked upon the Benefices of the Duke of *Guiſe*, which amounted to four hundred thouſand livres a year, to be too rich and valuable a ſpoil to be neglected.

* Ibid. l. 2. p. 371.

It was reported up and down, that they had concluded a Treaty with *Spain*, altho they had made not the leaſt ſtep to it as yet, but to oblige them to do it, he was reſolv'd to attack *Sedan*; becauſe as theſe Princes were by no means in a condition to defend themſelves with their own Forces, ſo they would be moſt infallibly conſtrained to have immediate recourſe unto *Spain*. He knew the Count was too much obliged to the Duke of *Bouillon*, to quit his party, nay that theſe two had ſigned a writing, whereby

whereby they promis'd never to ſeparate their Intereſts; ſo that he hop'd to ruin them both at one blow, by attacking *Sedan*. He ſent word to the D. of *Guiſe*, that the King having received advice that the Count and the D. of *Bouillon* had entered into a Treaty with *Spain*, it would be his beſt way to diſengage himſelf from that faction, and come and beg pardon for his fault; that if the Duke fell into this ſnare, his confeſſion might ſerve to condemn the other two. 1641.

Not long after, the Cardinal ſaid publickly, that the King had certain proofs that the Princes had concluded a Treaty with the *Spaniards*, by the means of the Abbot *de Mercy*, and laſtly by Don *Michael de Salamanca*, Secretary to the Cardinal Infanta, with whom the Duke of *Bouillon* had perſonally conferr'd near *Sedan*. The Counteſs of *Soiſſons* being inform'd of what the Miniſter had thus affirm'd, went to ſee him with the Duke of *Longueville*, to endeavour to juſtifie her Son, and to obtain for him a prolongation of the permiſſion he had to reſide at *Sedan*. The Cardinal return'd no poſitive anſwer to the Counteſs's complaints, under a pretence of conſulting his Majeſty before-hand, but ſome days after, ſending for the Duke and Dutcheſs, he told them, "That the King "and he were willing to believe that the Count was "not guilty, altho they knew that the Duke of *Bouil*-"*lon* had treated with Don *Michael de Salamanca*, "upon the frontiers of the Principality of *Sedan*; "and that it was hardly to be imagined that the "Count, who had ſo particular a friendſhip for the "Duke of *Bouillon*, knew nothing of the matter: "That if it were true, that he was wholly ignorant "of it, he ought to leave *Sedan*, and diſengage him-"ſelf from the Duke's Intereſts: That he might go "to *Venice* or to *Neufchatel*, or to any of his Country "houſes: That it was extremely ſcandalous for a "Prince of his Birth, to live united with the enemies of "the Kingdom, where his deſcendants might one day "ſit upon the Throne; that, in fine, it was not ſuffi-"cient for him to be innocent, but that he ought to "be exempt from all ſuſpicion. The Counteſs excuſed "her Son as far as ſhe might, and complain'd that upon

1641. on bare ſuſpicions they had ſuſpended him from the exerciſe of his Office of Grand Maſter of the Kings Houſe, and ſtopt his Penſions: But all ſhe could draw from the Cardinal was, " That if the Count was inno-" cent, he ought to quit *Sedan*; and if he was guilty, " both he and the Duke of *Bouillon* ought to confeſs " their fault, and they ſhould be pardoned: That he " would do well to reſolve with all ſpeed to do one of " theſe two things, becauſe his Majeſty would no " longer be uncertain of his fidelity.

Some of the Count's friends adviſed him to retire from *Sedan*, and give way to the Miniſters indignation, who would otherwiſe deſtroy him; but he could not endure to hear any talk of it, and continued firm in his reſolution to run the ſame fortune with the Dukes of *Bouillon* and *Guiſe*. As none of theſe three were in the humour to rely upon the Cardinals good nature, they at laſt concluded their Treaty with *Spain* to furniſh them with ſufficient Forces. They likewiſe raiſed others in the Country of *Leige*, and hoſtilities began on both ſides, by plundering and carrying away every thing that enter'd the Principality of *Sedan* or *Champagne*, ever ſince the beginning of *April*. The Cardinal ordered ſome Troops to advance on that ſide, under the Marquis *de Sourdis*, till the Mareſchal *de Chatillon* could put himſelf at the head of an Army, which was deſigned to act againſt them.

At this time the Princeſs *Ann de Gonzaga*, whom the King had forbidden to remove out of *Burgundy*, paſs'd into *Champagne*, with a deſign to reſide in *Sedan* near her Lover: But the Vicount *de Tavanes*, who commanded ſome Troops in that Province, being informed of it, cauſed her to be ſtopt till ſuch time as he receiv'd an Order from Court what to do. The Courier whom he ſent, brought him word, that he was not only to ſuffer this Princeſs to paſs on in her journey, but likewiſe to furniſh her with as many Coaches and Horſes as ſhe might have occaſion for. It was believed that ſhe would only help to perplex the Duke of *Guiſe*'s affairs; but the principal reaſon why they ſuffer'd her to paſs on, was becauſe the Cardinal deſir'd that the Duke might marry her out of hand, that ſo his Benefices might come to be vacant.

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In the mean time, theſe Princes order'd their men to work night and day upon the Fortifications of *Sedan*, and made Magazines of all things neceſſary to make a vigorous reſiſtance, in caſe they were attackt. The Cardinal, who had really reduced them to theſe extremities, by accuſing them before they had done any thing, and by ill uſing them, began now to fear in his turn, that he had embarked in a very dangerous affair. If they beſieg'd *Sedan*, they might happen to come off with the worſt, this place being defended by deſperate people; and if it was not attackt, it was to be feared, that as ſoon as theſe Princes had an Army, they would make excurſions into the heart of the Kingdom. In caſe they gain'd any advantages at firſt, it was reaſonable to apprehend that vaſt numbers of people would flock to them, and ſo their party become very formidable.

Theſe conſiderations made the Cardinal appear extremely irreſolute and full of diſtruſt. Sometimes he talked of giving no quarter to the Kings Enemies, but entirely deſtroying them; at other times he ſeem'd not unwilling to enter into ſome compoſition, and ſeem'd to repent that he had provok'd ſo many people to deſpair, who were really in a better caſe to make themſelves be fear'd, than he at firſt imagin'd. Thus when the Ambaſſador of the States General ſpoke to the Cardinal of the Mediation of his Maſters to accommodate this affair, by reaſon of the intereſt which the Prince of *Orange* had in the Duke of *Bouillon*'s preſervation, he was at firſt liſtned to by the Miniſter with great attention.

Another thing happen'd at this time, which gave him a great deal of diſturbance. He learnt of the King, that *Bullion*, the Superintendant of the Finances, had told him that all the Money for the Marine and the Artillery was ſpent: (The Cardinal was Intendant of the Marine, and his Couſin, the Mareſchal *de la Meilleraye*, Grand Maſter of the Artillery) That the Cardinal was the Author of this War, and only kept it up for his private ends: That he knew not

1641. not where to find any more Money to support it; but that if he would be pleased to grant a few years Peace to his Kingdom, he would take care to lay up such considerable summs, that they should be sufficient to carry on any design whatever, in which his Majesty had a mind to engage himself. At last, *Bullion* begg'd of his Majesty not to speak a syllable of this to his Eminence, because if he came to know of it, he would never suffer him to dye in his Bed. The King gave him his promise, and believing what he told him was true, kept his word with him, and said nothing of it to the Cardinal till the Superintendant was dead. The haughty Minister answer'd the King, *That he was sorry his Majesty cited a dead Witness*; and the King replyed, That he had forborn to speak of it while *Bullion* was alive, because the latter told him, that if the Cardinal knew of it he should certainly be destroy'd.

The Negotiation of the Ambassador of the States came to nothing, not from the Cardinal's being inflexible, but because the Duke of *Bouillon* rejected the propositions which the Ambassador made. Whether he was of opinion, that it was to no purpose to reconcile himself to a man, whose hatred was never extinguish'd but only in appearance, or whether his vanity kept him from making any submissions to his Enemy, as it was proposed to him, he resolved to see whether he might not gain some advantage by force of arms, before he made an Accommodation. * The Mareschal *de Chatillon*, went to put himself at the head of the Army of *Champagne* in *May*, and the King advanced as far as *Abbeville*, to be nearer *Artois*, where he design'd to besiege *Aire*, as we have already taken notice. Here the King published a Declaration bearing date on the 8th of *June*, * wherein, after he had observ'd that the Princes who were at *Sedan*, had committed several hostilities and joyned themselves to *Spain*, he order'd all his Subjects to take them for declared Enemies, if they did not within a month acknowledge their fault, and submit themselves to his Majesty's Clemency.

* *See an Abridgm. of the Campagne of 1641. in* Aubery's Mem. T 2. p. 135.

* *See it in the Mem. of* Montresor p. 365.

In

In answer to this Declaration, the Princes made a long Manifesto dated the 2d of *July*, but it did not appear in public till after the Battel of *Sedan*, which put an end to this Affair. However, as it was purposely contriv'd to serve as a Foundation for a longer War, I will give the Reader an Abridgment of it, before I proceed to the relation of that Battel. It was entituled * *a Manifesto for the satisfaction of the Princes of the Peace*, tho the Count of *Soissons* only speaks. After he had said that his Conscience obliged him to publish the ill designs of the Cardinal, which he had so long forborn to do, that his Majesty might have the entire Glory of chastising this imperious Minister, who had assumed upon him the Royal authority, he continues, "That it was four years since he had been obliged to retire to *Sedan*, to live there in security, and that "he had refused to go any where else, that he might "not give the Cardinal an opportunity to accuse him "of being an Enemy to *France*: That nevertheless the "Cardinal had fought all imaginable means to destroy "him, and to make himself master of *Sedan*, altho "the D. of *Bouillon* had not done any thing which ought "to deprive him of his Majesty's protection: That "no ways had been left unattempted to acquaint "the King with the ill conduct of his Minister, but "that this had produced no other effect, but the imprisonment and ruin of those persons who had done "it: That consequently there was a necessity to employ the noise of arms, that equity and reason might "be heard: That after several deliberations, in concert "with the Dukes of *Guise* and of *Bouillon*, and several other Princes, and Officers of the Crown, he "declared the Cardinal to be the greatest and most "dangerous Enemy of the King and State: That he "had made himself master of the strongest places of "the Kingdom, and seized the Mouths of the principal Rivers, Ports, and Islands in the Ocean, and "in general all the securities of *France*: That to maintain himself in this Usurpation, he ruin'd the rest "of the Kingdom by War, to put the people out of "a condition to recover what he had usurped: That "he designed to deliver the King into the hands of

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* Ib. 373.

"those

1641. "those to whom he was allied (*he means the Duke of* "Enguien, *who had lately married one of his Nieces*) "and that he endeavour'd to approach the Crown, "altho it was the interest of *France* to keep him at a "distance from it: That if he could not accomplish "this design, he was in a condition to give his Rela- "tions the Keys of the Realm, to open and shut the "gates of Traffick, and starve the great Cities when "they pleased: That the King and Monsieur perceiv- "ed it well enough, but durst not speak of it, and "that the Count of *Soissons* affirmed it in the name of "the whole Royal Family: That this design of his e- "vidently appear'd, in that he had made the best years "of the Duke and Dutchess of *Orleans* barren: That "there was reason to fear that he design'd to secure "himself from the power of his Majesty's Justice, that "so he might not give an account of his unjust misap- "plication of the Finances, and the suppression of so "many innocent people: That he had rashly engaged "the reputation of the King, dissipated his Treasures, "prodigally thrown away the Blood of the Nobility "and Souldiers, and reduced the people to the last "misery, to satisfy his passions, and carry on his own "particular quarrels: That the only reason why he "had declar'd the War, was to support his own au- "thority, which he thought he should never be able "to preserve but in times of trouble: That he had "rendred all those whom he design'd to destroy, sus- "pected of High Treason, in order to turn them out "of their places, which he either took into his own "hands, or conferr'd upon those that promised to "maintain him in his Tyranny: That he had ruin'd "the best Families in the Kingdom, to raise his own, "and had reduced several good Houses to misery to "inrich persons of no merit, birth, and fortune: "That he drained *France* of its Money, to send it in "*specie* to foreign Countries, and fill'd the Kingdom "with Money of a base allay: That he had bought at "too excessive rates, both of the *Swedes* and others, "places which he was not able to keep, as *Philipsburg*; "or must, when a Peace comes, surrender without "reimbursement, as *Brisac* and others: That he had "in-

"indiscreetly squander'd away the Finances in *Italy* to 1641.
"acquire himself friends, whom he afterwards ruin'd;
"and thus render'd the protection which his Majesty
"had given to the Dukes of *Mantua*, *Parma*, and *Sa-*
"*voy* contemptible, and of no effect: That he had
"made some attempts in *Spain*, which only tended
"to the dishonour of *France*, and gain'd some Con-
"quests in the *Low Countries*, which were a charge
"to the State, and only proper to render the War
"everlasting: That he had burthen'd the Kingdom
"with an infinite number of Officers, and dryed up
"the ordinary sources of the Finances, by selling, or
"engaging the Demeans and Aids to so high a price,
"that a man could not make up his Money again,
"without committing a great deal of injustice: That
"he had forced several Orders to elect him for their
"General, as the *Cistercians*, the *Clarevallenses*, and
"the *Præmonstratenses*; by imprisoning abundance of
"the Religious, who would not give him their Votes:
"That as for the other Orders, he had engag'd them
"by a thousand artifices to elect Vicar Generals in
"*France*, that they might have no more communi-
"cation with *Rome*, and that he might make himself
"Head of the *Gallican* Church for Spirituals as well
"as Temporals: That the King had no Allies that
"could assist him, as being all a charge to his Ma-
"jesty, and only able to make feeble diversions at the
"expence of *France*: That those whom the Cardinal
"thought capable to oppose his arbritary proceeding,
"had been delivered into the hands of the Executio-
"ner, after they had been condemned by wicked, cor-
"rupt Commissioners of his own nomination, or rot-
"ted in Prison, or were banish'd the Court: That he
"with inhuman ingratitude had turn'd out the Queen
"Mother, and treated all the Princes and Noblemen
"of the Kingdom in a most arrogant manner: That
"he had violated or annihilated all the Laws, and all
"the Ordinances of the Kingdom, under the specious
"pretence of the absolute will and authority of the
"King: That he had robbed the Provinces, and com-
"munities of their ancient Franchises, and vacated
"the contracts they had made with former Kings:

"That

1641. "That he had grosly abused the Princes, Dukes, "Peers, Mareschals of *France*, and other Officers of "the Crown: That he had caused several innocent "Noblemen to be Condemned by Commissioners de- "pendant upon himself, and imprison'd them without "any form of process: That some Bishops had been "judg'd contrary to the known Laws of the Land, o- "ther Ecclesiastics depriv'd of their Benefices, and all "of them obliged, besides the ordinary tenths, to pay "prodigious sums, and more than one third of their "revenue, to maintain a company of Pyrates at Sea "that were commanded by an Archbishop; and by "Land, an Army of sacrilegious Russians that pillag'd "Churches, and were set on by a Cardinal: That he "had treated in a most extreme ill manner the two "Archbishops, Presidents of the last Assembly of the "Clergy, for representing to him the miserable con- "dition of the Ecclesiastics of *France*, who had gi- "ven five millions and a half, above the ordinary "Tenths. That several Noblemen had been severely "fined, forced to the *Arriere-ban*, and deprived of "their employments, meerly because they were not of "his Faction. That the Presidents and Counsellors of "the Soveraign Courts had been suspended, turn'd out, "and imprison'd, when they spoke for the real advan- "tage of the King and People, or oppos'd his inno- "vations, which tended to the disgrace and ruin of the "Kingdom: That several Officers of Justice, and the "Finances, had been undone by researches and new "regulations: That the City of *Paris*, after all the "extraordinary Aids they had given his Majesty, had "been severely taxed like other Towns, and that its "Burghers had been taxed at discretion, under the "pretty name of *Benevolences*: That all the rest that "had been exempt from such burthens, were to pay "the same, so long as the War lasted, that is to say, "so long as Cardinal *Richlieu* continued in the Mi- "nistry: That great impots were laid upon merchan- "dise, and that they levied the twentieth penny up- "on the most necessary things belonging to humane "life: That the Country was desolated by Soldiers, "and the keepers of Salt, which reduced the poor "Peasants

"Peasants to the Cord and hard Lodgings of Beasts, 1641.
"or forced them to dye of Famine, or to take Arms, or
"to beg; that agriculture was flopt, which infinitely
"incommoded the Ecclesiastics, the Nobility and
"the Burghers.

These were the complaints brought against Cardinal *Richlieu*, the greatest part of which were without question very well grounded. The mischief was, that the world believ'd, that if the King would direct his conduct with so much reason had been us'd to take his place, they would have commended the same violences, and yet had not been capable to envy it him, with a quarter of that good management which the Cardinal discovered.

Least these discontented Princes and Lords should be branded for being Traitors to their Country, they said that they had no other design but to oblige the Emperour and King of *Spain* their Kinsmen to lay down their Arms along with them, to facilitate by this only commodity a free and honourable Peace, which they believed could not be durable without it. The Cardinal had power to break it, as he had to make the Treaty of *Ratisbon*, and as being as every one knew the only cause of their not enjoying what of right did belong to him. That they took up Arms with no other prospect but to obtain a lasting peace, which the Cardinal himself was obliged to desire, but did not for his safety. That it was but natural they should defend themselves as much as they were able, against the violent and extraordinary proceedings of the Minister. In fine, that the [illegible] three Estates of the Kingdom to [illegible] for that [illegible] had done in this, [illegible] all they [illegible] and declared the Cardinal [illegible] Enemies of the King, [illegible]

[illegible]

1641. the Mareschal *de Chatillon* enter'd into the Principality of *Sedan*, before the Enemies were in a condition to take the Field, without doing any thing remarkable there. But *Lamboi* having joyn'd these Princes at the beginning of *July*, they marched together on the 5th of that month, with eight thousand Foot, and two thousand Horse, to fight the Mareschal, who had a thousand Horse and a thousand Foot more than they had. * The Mareschal had positive Orders not to hazard a Battel, and he only propos'd to himself to hinder them from passing the *Meuse*, and entering the Kingdom, according to the instructions he had received. But the Enemies having passed the River, within a quarter of a league of his Camp, before the Mareschal's Guards perceiv'd it; as he marched the next day towards the River, expecting the Enemy might attempt to pass it, he found to his surprize that their Army marched towards him, near the Wood of *Marfee*. He immediately put himself in Battel array in very good order, while the Enemy did the same, in a place too narrow, and much less advantageous, so that in all probability they would be beaten. The Mareschal's Right Wing began the Battel with some advantage, but the Cavalry of the Left Wing, possest by I know not what sort of a pannic fear, turn'd back upon their own Foot, whom they put into disorder; so that the Royal Infantry being attackt by the Princes, was broken after some resistance, and fled with the Horse, which it was impossible to perswade to rally again. This movement carried away the Right Wing, and the Mareschal was oblig'd to retreat as the rest had done. Whilst the other part of the Army fled in this manner, the Regiment of *Rousillon*, and two Companies of Horse of the Queen Mother, with that of Monsieur, who were in a manner the only Troops that did any service, pierced to the very place where the Count *de Soissons* was. This Prince seeing his men give way, marched directly to the Enemy, to sustain the shock; and as he expos'd himself like a common Souldier, he was wounded with a Pistol-shot in his Face, which penetrated his Head, so he fell down dead at his Horse's feet. Some say it was

*Siri Mer. T. 1. l. 2. p. 418. The *Relation of the Battel of Sedan in the Mem. of Montresor p. 398.*

1641. was a Souldier belonging to the Company of Monsieur, who shot him without knowing him; others, that it was one of the Count's own Guards. However it was, these three Companies of Horse, that had the bravery to combat a victorious Enemy, were intirely cut in pieces. The Royal Army lost five hundred men, the rest escaping with that haste into the neighbouring Woods, that the Enemy could not follow them. Nevertheless there were two thousand taken Prisoners, and among them several Officers of note. The Malecontents did also gain the Cannon, all the Baggage, and lost but very few men. But the death of the Count *de Soissons*, which dispirited the whole party, was infinitely more fatal to them, than the victory was advantageous. The Mareschal *de Chatillon* retir'd to *Rethel*, where he stayed to pick up the remainder of his Army, and the Mareschal *de Brezé*, to whom he was by no means well affected, was * sent to command with him, in order to mortify him, because he had transgressed his Orders. In the mean time *Lamboi* took *Dunchery*, which made a gallant resistance, but being not fortified, was obliged to surrender. The Royal Army being reinforced by several Bodies, was on the march, when the King arrived thither, to retake this place, which he * reduced in two days, *Lamboi* not daring to oppose him. At last, as they put all things in readiness to go and attack *Sedan*, unless the Duke made an accommodation suddenly, he thought it not convenient to wait the consequences of a Siege. The King granted to the Duke and to all those of his party, * Letters of Pardon, and a neutrality to the principality of *Sedan*, that it might not be exposed to the excursions of the *Spaniards*. However *Lamboi* went to joyn the Imperial Army near *Aire*, as I have already observed. The Duke came in person to *Dunchery*, to make his Obeisance to his Majesty there, and 'tis reported that the Cardinal so highly esteem'd his conduct in this whole affair, that he said, "That if it had not been a Rebellion, he would have preferr'd it to all the undertakings of the famous *Spinola*. Thus our fortunate Minister saw a terrible storm, which threatned his

* *The 15 of July.*

* *The 31 of July.*

* *See it in the Mem. of Aubery. T. 2. and the Article of the Commendation in Siri Mer. T. 2. p. 15.*

1641. head, and which broke out at first in a signal victory, to scatter of it self by the death of one of his greatest Enemies. But notwithstanding this the Duke of *Bouillon* did not become his friend, as we shall see in the history of the following year.

1642. * Siri Mer. T. 2. l. 1. p. 362. The Bishop of *Nice* * and the other Agents of the Cardinal of *Savoy*, and Prince *Thomas* his Brother, obtained, after a long negotiation, at *Madrid*, that better care should be taken to assist these Princes than had been done the last Campaign. They granted to the Cardinal provisions of all sorts, as much as should last a year, for the County of *Nice*, together with the pensions they had promis'd him and his Brother. Particular Orders were dispatched to the Count *de Sirvela*, Governour of *Milan*, to furnish these Princes exactly with what they had promis'd them. But as Prince *Thomas* was to be General in Chief of the *Spanish* Army, and to share authority with *Sirvela*, the latter, who envied the great advantages of this Prince, forgot nothing which might render him suspected to the Court of *Madrid*, not remembring the Interests of the Crown, which required that this Prince should be well used, who was able to do a great deal of mischief to *France*, and was the only person capable to command the *Spanish* Army in *Italy*. The Governor of *Milan* sent his accounts to *Madrid*, by which it appeared that the Princes of *Savoy* were much in debt to the Treasury of *Milan*, so far was he from putting the Court in mind of the arrears of their pensions. Altho Count *Masserati*, Agent to Prince *Thomas*, very plainly discover'd the gross falsity of these accounts, yet the Count-Duke prepossest in *Sirvela*'s behalf, would not listen to him. The Princes of *Savoy* having received this news from *Madrid*, thought now of accommodating themselves in good earnest with *France*, and to do it the more handsomely, they sent to acquaint the Count *de Sirvela*, that the King of *France* was ready to surrender all the places he held in *Piedmont* to the Duke of *Savoy*, provided the *Spaniards* would do the same on their side. The Count made answer, that he had no power to treat about an affair of that consequence; which gave the Princes a plausible

plausible occasion to renew all the complaints they had made against the Ministers of *Spain*, and to say particularly, that the *Spaniards* had a design to strip the House of *Savoy*, and not to assist it against *France*, as they had pretended. 1642.

Several Negotiations passed upon this, and some other difficulties between the Princes of *Savoy* and the Count, but at last the *Spaniards* not giving them that satisfaction they demanded, they made their accommodation with *France*, and with the Dutchess of *Savoy*, which was concluded at *Turin* * on the 14th of *June*. To effect it with more security, they caus'd a report to be spread before hand, that the *French* went to besiege *Trino* in *Montferrat*, and pray'd *Sirvela* to send some men thither with all possible speed. The Count suffering himself to be intrapt, drew out the *Spaniards* that were in *Verce*, to march that way, but afterwards Prince *Thomas* would not let them come in again. The Cardinal of *Savoy* likewise turn'd *Tuttavilla*, who commanded the *Spanish* Troops, out of *Nice*, making him embark by himself, without suffering him to speak to any one, in a Brigandine, under pretence that they had received advice that he design'd to surprize the Castle of *Villa Franca*. After this it was no difficult matter to turn out the Troops that were destitute of their Leader, so that the Cardinal found himself in a condition to conclude with *France* and his Sister-in-Law, without running any hazard. He afterwards married his own Neice, daughter to the Dutchess of *Savoy*, altho there was a great disparity between their ages. * Ib. 615.

The Duke of *Longueville* was ordered to command the Army in *Italy*, and Prince *Thomas* concerted measures with him, to regain the places which the *Spaniards* still held in *Piedmont*, and to attack the *Milanese*. This they began to perform with great success, while *Italy* was embroil'd in the War of the *Barberines* against the Duke of *Parma*, as I shall hereafter observe.

The States General of the * *United Provinces* having resolved to act only upon the defensive this year, the *Spaniards* had no occasion to oppose them with a considerable Body of men. So they turned the whole forces * Ib. 310.

1642. forces of the *Low Countries* against *France*, and attackt *Lens* on the 17th of *April*, with an Army of twenty five thousand men, commanded by D. *Francisco de Mello*, Governor of the *Low Countries*. D' *Anisy*, who was Governor of the place, acquitted himself so ill in his duty, that the Enemy took part of the Outworks without any resistance, and enter'd into it by composition on the 19th. The Count *d' Harcourt*, who commanded ten thousand men in *Picardy*, being inform'd of his Cowardice, condemn'd him by a Council of War to have his Head struck off, if he could be taken, or to be executed in Effigies in the Market-place at *Peronne*, in case they could not aprehend him. Upon the news of *Lens* being besieg'd, * the Mareschal *de Guiche*, with a small Army which he had to cover *Champagne*, marcht to the relief of the place; but when he heard it was surrender'd he went to *Peronne*, which was the rendezvous of the Count *d' Harcourt*'s Army, whom he was to joyn.

* Antoine de Grammont *who was made Mareschal of* France, *the* 22 *of* Sep. 1641.

A few days after the taking of *Lens*, D. *Francisco de Mello* went to lay Siege to *Bassee*, a small place, well fortified by the *French* since it was in their hands. The *Spanish* General needed not many Pioneers to work on the Circumvallation, because it was cover'd by the River *Lis*, and several Canals into which the Country is cut, except on one side for the compass of a league, where he made his Retrenchments so strong, that it was impossible to force them. The *French* sent fifteen thousand men to observe them, but durst not attack them; and altho the Siege went on slowly, by reason of the brave resistance of the Garrison, nevertheless the *Spaniards* carried the Outworks by little and little; so that *Bourdonne*, Governor of the place, having no hopes to be relieved, surrendred it on the 13th of *May*, upon very honourable conditions. The Garrison, which had been at the beginning three thousand strong, had not then above two thousand four hundred, several of which were sick or wounded.

The *Spanish* Army stay'd within their Lines till the 24th of *May*, after which they separated in two bodies, to oblige the *French*, who were weaker than they,

they, to do the same. The Count *d' Harcourt* went 1642. to encamp near *Hedin*, at the Abbey of *Cercamp*; and the Mareschal *de Guiche* near *Catelet*, at that of *Honnecourt*. The latter had intrench'd himself slightly enough near a Wood, which he thought to be impenetrable by an Army, and therefore had not made any Retrenchments on that side. Whether D. *Francisco de Mello* was inform'd of it or no, he march'd directly to him with the greatest part of his Forces. * While they attackt the Retrenchments on one side, on the other they entred the Wood, by dislodging some of the *French* that were there, and put themselves in Battel between the Wood and the Camp. Altho the *French* fought with a great deal of Bravery, and return'd several times to the Charge, yet being much inferiour in number, they were at last obliged to give way and fly. They lost fifteen hundred men, and left above two thousand Prisoners in the hands of the *Spaniards*, who likewise gain'd the greatest part of the Colours, and an hundred thousand Crowns in Money, which was design'd for the payment of the Army. They on their side lost but very few men, and might almost have taken the whole *French* Army Prisoners, if they had pursued them with more vigour. The Mareschal, grown desperate to see himself defeated, stay'd a long time in the Abbey on purpose to be made a Prisoner, and it was not without a great deal of difficulty, that he was perswaded to leave it.

* The 26 of May.

After the loss of this Battel, *Picardy*, which was destitute of forces sufficient to defend it, expected to be pillaged in a few days, because the King was then in *Rousillon*, as I shall observe anon, and could not put things in order there. But the *Spanish* General, instead of making the best advantage of his Victory, stay'd a long time to deliberate whether he should march into *Germany* to fall upon the * Mareschal *de Guebriant*, or else enter *France* to oblige the Armies which attackt *Rousillon* and *Catalonia*, to come and defend their own Kingdom. It was believed that D. *Francisco de Mello* would not fail to do the latter, at least after he had repos'd himself a few days; but

* The King made him Marechal de Nabor, as well as Houran-court.

1642. he did not resolve what measures to take, pretending that he had receiv'd Orders from *Madrid*, not to engage the Army in any considerable enterprize, because the Court of *Spain* had thoughts to employ them upon another occasion, which I shall mention anon, but was already past, and the Governor of the *Low Countries* knew nothing of it.

The Cardinal was at *Frontignan* when he receiv'd the news of the Mareschal's defeat (who had married one of his Relations) and how much he took it to heart: So he writ him this Letter, which I thought it not amiss to set down. *Men may do all that prudence, and the present occasions suggest to them, but the event is in the hand of God. The best Captain in the world may lose a Battel; and when such a misfortune befalls him, he ought to comfort himself, if he did all that he could and ought to do. Take heart therefore, my poor Count, and omit nothing that lies in your power, to hinder this accident, which has happen'd to you, from being attended with any ill consequences. If I had a strong Arm, I would offer it to you, but in whatever condition I am, be assured that I am entirely yours. The 6th of* June, 1642. The irresolute proceedings of D. *Francisco de Mello* deliver'd the Mareschal out of his apprehensions; and this blow, which rightly manag'd, might have destroy'd the Cardinal himself, did not shake his authority in the least.

* Siri Mer. T. 2. l. 2. p. 886.

At last, the designs of the * Master of the Horse, of which I shall speak immediately, being discover'd, and the Duke of *Bouillon* apprehended, the *Spaniards* imagin'd that if they advanced towards *Sedan*, the Dutchesses of *Bouillon*, Mother and Wife to the Duke who was now a Prisoner, would, to revenge his quarrel, open the Gates of this important place to them, or at least grant them a free passage into *Champagne*. But the Dutchesses considering that the Duke's life depended upon their good conduct, absolutely refus'd it, so that he retir'd to *Mons*, where General *Bec* lay. In the mean * time, D. *Andre Cantelmo* made an irruption with six thousand Foot and twelve hundred Horse, into the *Bolonnois*, where he seiz'd upon several Forts and important Posts between the Cities of *Grave-*

* *In the month of* August.

Graveline, *Calais*, and *Ardres*. But the Count *d' Harcourt* having immediately sent the Marquis *de Seneterre*, with two thousand Foot and six hundred Horse, he follow'd soon after himself, and so they presently put a stop to the progress of *Cantelmo*. The Count regain'd in the space of four and twenty hours, and that with the greatest ease imaginable, all that *Cantelmo* had been gaining with difficulty in six days. The Country suffer'd exceedingly by this invasion of the *Spaniards*; however they did not divert the forces that were employ'd against them in *Rousillon* and *Catalonia*, and attempted nothing more considerable in the *Low Countries* for the rest of the year. Thus the ill conduct of the Count-Duke, and of the other Ministers of *Spain*, made that Crown lose the best opportunity they could have desired, to humble *France*, by carrying the War into the heart of the Kingdom, as the *French* endeavour'd to do in relation to *Spain*. One may remark upon this occasion, as upon several more, that the great incapacity of the Count-Duke made the conduct of the Cardinal-Duke to be so much admired; which had frequently appear'd but very indifferent, had he been to deal with people that had been Masters but of common prudence and discretion.

1642.

To come now to the affairs of *Rousillon* and *Catalonia*; ever since the beginning of this year, it had been resolved to undertake the Conquest of *Rousillon*, which was absolutely necessary, either to cover the Frontiers of *France* on that side, or to support the Rebellion of the *Catalonians*, to whom it would be a difficult matter to send relief, if they were not in possession of *Rousillon*. Besides, *France* pretended to have a right to that Country, which is the reason why she has not surrendred it since. Over and above * these reasons of State, the Cardinal, who perceiv'd that the King was grown somewhat cold towards him, was willing to engage him in some considerable enterprize, which as long as it lay upon his hands, he should not be in a condition to part with him. This Prince, who had began to fall into a languishing distemper, of which he died some * months after the Cardinal, was unwilling at first to make this Voyage, as contrary to his health. The Chief

* Siri Mer. T. 2. l. 2. p. 566.

* *The* 14 *of* May 1643.

1642. Chief Physician was of the same opinion, and the Master of the Horse seconded him in private before the King. But the Cardinal so order'd matters that the Chief Physician soon after chang'd his discourse, and his Majesty resolv'd to go thither. It seems the Cardinal only design'd that the King should go to *Languedoc* *, without coming in person to the Siege of *Perpignan*, at least he testified as much afterwards.

* *See the King's Letter to the Chancellor, in* Aubery's *Mem. T. 2. p. 842.*

This resolution being taken, the King order'd twenty two thousand effective men, of the best Troops in the Kingdom, to march on the side of *Narbonne*, and these were to be joyn'd by the other forces that were already in *Languedoc* and *Dauphine*, besides abundance of Volunteers. In the mean time the Mareschal *de Breze*, Vice-roy of *Catalonia*, and *La Mothe Houdancourt* had orders to observe the *Spaniards* upon the Frontiers of *Arragon*, to hinder them from sending any relief into *Rousillon* through *Catalonia*.

Before the King parted for *Languedoc*, all possible care was taken for the security of the other Frontiers of the Kingdom, during his Majesty's absence. Orders were given to the Count *de Guebriant*, who still commanded the remainder of the Duke of *Weymar*'s Army, not to stir from the *Rhine*, near which he was posted, in the Electorate of *Colen*, lest the Armies of the House of *Austria* should attempt any thing against *France* on that side. The P. of *Orange* sent him one party of his Horse, at the earnest instances of the Cardinal, who threaten'd the States to take away the Regiments from them which the King entertain'd in their Army, if they would not assist the Count in this occasion, where the *Spaniards* had sent fourscore Troops of Horse to act upon the *Rhine*. Care was also taken to send three thousand men to Count *d' Erlach* in *Alsatia*, for the defence of those places which he there held for *France*. *Du Hallier* commanded in *Lorrain*, and the Count *de Grancey* in *Burgundy*. The Duke of *Bouillon* was to go and joyn the Army in *Italy*, to command it with the Duke of *Longueville*: and provision was made for *Picardy*, *Artois*, and *Champagne*, as I have already observ'd.

All

All things being disposed after this manner, the 1642. Cardinal advised the King to carry the Queen and Duke of *Orleans* along with him, lest there should be any caballing against his Ministry in his absence. He was of opinion too that the Children of *France* should be left at *Bois de Vincennes*, under a good Guard, where they could run no manner of danger. These strange counsels, which suppos'd that the State was in danger, unless the persons that were most concern'd in its preservation were under the eyes or guard of the Minister, gave his enemies an occasion to say that he endeavour'd to destroy the King, and make himself Regent of the Kingdom. Perhaps he had no such design in his head, but his austere and haughty way of treating the most eminent persons at Court, did every day increase the number of his Enemies, and made them say some things, which otherwise they had never spoken. The Queen broke this design which the King had form'd to carry her with him, by telling him all in tears, that she could never endure to be separated from her Children; and, as it was not thought advisable to expose them to so tedious a Journey, the King gave her leave to stay with him at *St. Germains*. The Prince of *Conde* was left at *Paris* with the Title of Regent, during his Majesty's absence, and two hundred men assign'd him for his Guard.

Towards the beginning of the year, the Troops march'd on the side of *Lyons*, and were follow'd by the Mareschal *de la Meilleraye*, who was to command them, and by the Vicount *de Turenne*, who had the quality of Lieutenant General. The Duke of *Rouillon* likewise arrived at *Paris* on the 22d of *January*, there to receive the command of the Armies in *Italy*. He went afterwards to see the King at *St. Germains*, and the Cardinal at *Ruel*, where he was extremely well received. However, 'tis reported that the Cardinal advis'd him to take care, never to engage himself in any design for the future, which tended to embroil the Kingdom; telling him that a relapse would be mortal. The Duke did not much regard this advice, as what follows will discover; and the Cardinal's prediction was accomplish'd.

Be-

1642. Before the Generals parted from *Paris*, the Cardinal regaled them magnificently at his Palace, with Monsieur, and several of the Nobility. In the same Hall there was a second Table for the Ladies, which was serv'd with the same magnificence. The Repast was follow'd with a Comedy, which was expressly acted for this occasion.

After *Candlemas* the King began his Journey, accompanied by the Cardinal, and both of them flatter'd themselves that they should be able to carry the War into the bowels of *Spain*, and overthrow that Monarchy, by causing a general insurrection of its Subjects, after the conquest of *Rousillon*; but neither of them knew that Death would soon put an end to all the unjust projects which the Master and his Disciple (for what fitter name can we give them) had laid for so many years; the one through weakness, the other through ambition. The King being at *Lyons*, made a review of his Troops that were quarter'd about that City, and amounted to fifteen thousand Foot, and four thousand Horse.

The *Spaniards* receiving advice of the great preparations made by the King of *France*, his Catholic Majesty issued out * Letters of Pardon to the *Catalonians*, if they would return to their duty, promising to give them all manner of satisfaction as to their complaints, and to maintain them in all their Rights and Privileges. But this remedy, which might have been effectual at first, did not produce the effect intended, because the *Catalonians* durst not rely upon it. * The Ministers of *Spain* were likewise inform'd, about the beginning of the Year, that there was so great a scarcity of victuals at *Perpignan*, that it would be a difficult matter for them to hold out a few weeks longer. So they sent provisions to *Collioure*, which were to be guarded by six thousand men as far as *Perpignan*. The Mareschal *de Breze* being posted upon a small River called *Baranco*, with seven thousand Foot, and eight hundred Horse, put himself in a posture to hinder them from entring the Town. However, the Marquis *de Torrecuse*, who commanded the *Spanish* Troops, found means in the night time to send forty Mules laden with provi ions

* The 4 of January. Siri Merc. T. 2. l. 1. p. 50.

* Ib. l. 2. p. 133.

provisions into *Perpignan*, and the *French* knew nothing of the matter. A few days after, * *Torrecuse* conducted more relief and victuals into the place, notwithstanding all the efforts of the Mareschal to prevent it, but this was not done without coming to blows. The *French* had almost always the worst in three or four rancounters; and the Marquis, after he had placed some Regiments in *Perpignan*, carried the rest of his Troops back to *Collioure*, without loss, altho the *French* pursued him. From thence, leaving the Marquis *de Mortare* Governor of the place, he went to *Castile*, where his conduct was extremely commended. In the mean time, *La Mothe Houdancourt* surpriz'd a Quarter of the *Spanish* Troops, commanded by the Marquis *d'Inyosta*, within a few leagues of *Valz*, and oblig'd him to retire to *Tarragone*. Not long after, the Mareschal *de Breze* made a solemn entry into *Barcelona*, and on * the 23d of *February* swore, in his Majesty's name, to preserve the Privileges and Franchises of the *Catalonians*.

1642. * Towards the end of January.

* see the Act of it in Siri Merc. T. 2. l. 1. p. 137.

The King parted the same day from *Lyons*, and * took the way to *Narbonne*. Being at *Valence*, he gave with his own hands a Cardinals Cap to *Mazarine*; who from that time wholly devoted himself to the service of the Crown. The King, altho he was somewhat indisposed, yet he pursued his Journey to *Narbonne*, through all the inconveniences of Frost and Snow; and there on the 23d of *March* created two Mareschals of *France*, the Count *de Guebriant*, and *La Mothe Houdancourt*. Nor did the rigour of the season retard the motion of the Army, which on the 17th of *March* went to besiege *Collioure*, a place of great consequence, defended by the Marquis *de Mortare*, with three thousand men in garrison. This Port was necessary to the *French*, both to hinder the *Spaniards* from relieving *Rousillon*, as also to make use of it themselves. The Count-Duke knowing the importance of it, sent orders to *D. Pedro de Arragon*, Marquis *de Povar*, who commanded the Army in *Catalonia*, to advance with all his Cavalry to *Collioure*, and to hazard all in the relief of the place. The Marquis

* Ib. 313.

1642. quis represented to him how difficult it was to march through *Catalonia*, a mountainous uneven Country and full of defiles, in spight of *la Mothe Houdancourt*, who guarded all the passes with extraordinary care. Besides this, it was the highest indiscretion imaginable to hazard the only Horse which *Spain* had on that side for its defence. But the Count, who was positive and inflexible, and naturally affected to have sentiments particular to himself, did not change his opinion, but dispatched Orders afresh to the Marquis, who now prepar'd to see them executed, whatever they cost him. After he had made some movements, the better to conceal his march from the Enemies, he took the road from *Ville-Franche* to *Martorel*, with three thousand five hundred Horse. But on the 26th of *March* he could not hinder the Mareschal *de la Mothe*, who suspected his design, from cutting part of his Rear in pieces at the pass of the River *Herbergue*. Two days after, *la Mothe* gave another attack to the *Spaniards* at the pass of another River, pass'd it after them and oblig'd them to retire into a Wood, after he had killed abundance of their men; so that *D. Pedro d' Arragon* resolv'd at last, in spite of the reiterated Orders from *Madrid*, to return to *Tarragone*. As he took but small store of Victuals along with him, thinking he should be able to cross *Catalonia* in a few days, they now began to fail him, and the *French* on the other side keeping his Army perpetually in breath, his Troops were extremly fatigued without being able to perform any thing. At last on the 31st of *March*, being surrounded on all sides by the *French* and the *Catalonians*, without any possibility of making his escape, *D. Pedro d' Arragon* surrendred himself prisoner of War to *la Mothe Houdancourt* with about two thousand Horse. Thus the principal Troops which *Spain* had for its own preservation, were destroyed by the ill advice of the Count-Duke, who engaged them in an enterprize which any one else would have found extremely difficult, but was absolutely impossible for the Marquis *de Povar* to effect. The *French* Generals immediately set the *Portugueses* at liberty, because they were in war with *Spain*,

Spain, and all the rest were sent to *Languedoc* and *Pro-* 1642.
vence. The Marquis *de Leganez* was accused to have advis'd the Count-Duke to send *D. Pedro d' Arragon* into *Roussillon*, and perhaps he did it with a design to let the *Spaniards* see, that he was not the only bad General that commanded their Armies, and how difficult a matter it was to surprize the *French*.

In the mean time the Mareschal *de la Meilleraye* had made himself Master of the Town of *Collioure*, and nothing now remain'd but the Castle, situated upon a Rock, which they despair'd to reduce by force. But a Mine, from which they expected scarce any effect, because the Rock hindred them from carrying it far enough, as it play'd fill'd up the pits of the Castle, which was supplied with no other Water, and obliged the Garrison to surrender, when they the least thought of any such thing. It capitulated on the 10th of *April*, and the Castle of *St. Elme*, which stands upon an inaccessible Rock above the Port, was likewise comprehended in the capitulation, altho it might have held out several days longer.

At last the Army march'd to *Perpignan*, and his Majesty having receiv'd information that the place was but slenderly stored with provisions, designed to reduce it by Famine rather than by Force. Besides the scarcity of provisions, which was confirm'd by all the Prisoners that were taken, there was a powerful Garrison within, and the Cittadel especially was so strong by its natural situation and by art, that it was not possible to take it by force, without losing a world of men. *D. Flores d' Avila* was Governor of it, and had for his Lieutenant *D. Diego Cavalliero*, and they seem'd inclin'd to defend it to the last extremity. However the King came thither in person, and ordered the Lines of Circumvallation and Countervallation to be made, which he marked out himself.

At this conjuncture *Spain* found it self in a great perplexity, without Money, the Sinews of War, without a disciplin'd Army, and without Generals to command it, while on one side the *Portugueses* withdrew themselves from its Obedience, and kept all the neighbourhood in perpetual alarms, and on the other side,

1642. side, *France* made continual inroads into *Rousillon*, and *Catalonia*. The Ministers of the Catholic King met every day, but were not able to come to any conclusion; some of them were of opinion that the King should go in person to the Kingdoms of *Arragon* and *Valentia*, to assemble the States there, that so he might at a nearer distance provide for the pressing necessities of *Catalonia*. The Count-Duke opposed this motion under-hand, lest the King who saw nothing but by his Eyes, should now of himself perceive what little care his Favorite had taken in all places, to remedy the present disorders. The Nobility and People did every where loudly complain, that the Count-Duke made the King fruitlessly lose time in deliberations, at the best season of the year, altho the King of *France* had open'd the Campaign in person, before the Winter was over. The Count-Duke was by no means qualified to take any vigorous resolutions, and much less to put them in execution with that speed which the present face of affairs required, and thus the King began to be sensible somewhat of the latest for the Interest of *Spain*. At last, he resolved to go into *Arragon*, notwithstanding all the artifices of his Favourite; but he ought to have made this Journey the last year, before so great a number of *French* Troops came into *Catalonia* and *Rousillon*.

The Mareschal *de la Mothe* having at the same time received a new reinforcement of men, thought to prevent the King of *Spain*, and with that design enter'd the Kingdom of *Valentia*. But after he had besieg'd *Tortose* for several days, and lost a great many of his Souldiers before the place, he was constrain'd to raise the siege. Soon after he took *Tamarith*, and having broke into the Kingdom of *Valentia*, he besieged *Monzon*, and * forced the place to surrender by Capitulation.

* *The 5 of June.* Siri Mer. T. 2. l. 2. p. 683.

In the mean time their provisions daily diminish'd at *Perpignan*, and each Souldier receiv'd only a few ounces of Bread every day, with a small quantity of Horse-flesh. The *Spanish* Nation, which is naturally sober and patient, bore this way of living quietly enough; and the Mareschal *de la Meilleraye*, who was

was of advice that force should be employ'd against the besieged, began to grow impatient, and weary of this long blockade. He maintain'd, that by attacking the place, the Governour would be oblig'd to distribute the victuals more liberally among the Souldiers, to give them strength and courage: But the King still continued in his first sentiments, to spare the blood of his Subjects. The *Spaniards* had got together the greatest body of men they were able, and had already near *Tarragone* ten thousand men under the Marquis *de Leganez*; and six thousand Foot and two thousand Horse under the Marquis *de Torrecuse*. The last of these was to come by Sea to *Roses*, and relieve *Perpignan*; and the other was to fight the Mareschal *de la Mothe*. The *French* being inform'd of these projects, took all imaginable care to fortifie and guard all the posts, by which *Rousillon* might be enter'd either by Sea or by Land: and the Mareschal *de la Mothe*, after he had put eight hundred men into *Monzon*, that so he might always have an open passage to the Kingdom of *Arragon*, return'd to *Lerida*, to observe the *Spaniards* in *Catalonia*, and to oppose their designs.

1642.

At last, the Catholic King parted, on the 24 of *April*, with a very small train of Coaches, and without any Troops. The Count-Duke, who ought to have taken care that some of the most experienc'd Officers in the Army should have attended on his Majesty, and entertain'd him about the affairs of the Campaign, provided him with a Company of Players, in order to retard his Journey as much as was possible; and, in effect, he spent the months of *May* and *June*, to reach so far as the Frontiers of *Valentia*, altho the Marquis *de Leganez* press'd him to draw near, because his Army was unprovided of every thing, and the people of this Kingdom would not contribute to the maintenance of it. At last he advanced to *Molina*, upon the Frontiers of *Arragon*. Several Councils of War were held there, and it was concluded that the Marquis *de Torrecuse* should be sent by Land to *Rousillon*, through *Catalonia*, while the Marquis *de Leganez* and *de Tavara* amused the *French* and *Catalonians*.

1642. About the beginning of *July*, an engagement happen'd on the Coaſts of *Catalonia*, between the Fleets of *France* and *Spain*, which laſted two days, without any great loſs on either ſide; however it proved extremely prejudicial to the *Spaniards*, who could never hope to ſave *Rouſſillon* without beating the *French* Fleet. The latter retir'd to *Barcelona*, and the other to *Majorca*. The fight had ſcarce begun, when a man, pretending himſelf to be ſent by the Duke *de Cindad-Real*, Admiral of the *Spaniſh* Fleet, took poſt to carry the news to the King, that the Duke had gain'd an entire Victory, and taken from the *French* ſixty Ships, and ten Gallies. In his way thither he happen'd to communicate his deſign to one *Perazza*, a Captain in the Regiment of *Mortare*: This laſt, to get the Royal Preſent, which the carrier of ſo good news would undoubtedly receive from the King, cunningly got there before him, and filled the Court with joy before the other arrived. Soon after he arrived, and paſt for a new Courrier, who confirm'd what the former had ſaid. The King and the Favourite, tranſported with joy, without condeſcending to examine the bearers of this news, diſpatch'd *Dominic d' Herrera* to the Queen, to give her advice of this Victory, and ſhe preſented him with three hundred Crowns, and a Golden Chain. At the ſame time orders were ſent to the Marquis *de Torrecuſe*, who was upon his march, to ſtay where he was, till he receiv'd freſh orders, becauſe the Victory which the Fleet had gain'd, open'd a paſſage by Sea to the *Spaniſh* forces; and thus they made him loſe the opportunity of relieving *Perpignan*.

Not long after a Bark arrived at *Veneros*, which brought a true relation of the engagement; and they no ſooner heard the news at Court, but they were in a ſtrange confuſion, for having ſo ſlightly believ'd a thing of that importance, and diſperſing wrong informations all over the Kingdom. From extremity of joy the King paſt to extremity of ſorrow, and ſent a ſecond order to the Marquis *de Torrecuſe*, wherein he expreſsly forbid him to hazard a Battel upon any terms, till he had received a freſh reinforcement.

He

afterwards joyn'd the Marquis *de Mortare*, who 1642.
me from *Saragoſſa*, and they marched together to
rragone, to the number of four thouſand Horſe,
d twelve thouſand Foot. The King ſtill tarried
me time at *Molina*, and afterwards went to *Sara-*
ſſa, where he ſtay'd till *September*; and as nothing
as reſolv'd upon in relation to the War, the Army
Rouſſillon continued undiſturb'd in their poſts about
rpignan, till ſuch time as the place ſurrendred.

It may with reaſon enough be affirm'd, that part
the loſſes which the Crown of *Spain* ſuſtain'd, and
e greateſt part of the advantages which *France*
ain'd over her, were the effects of the prudence and
aſt abilities of the Cardinal-Duke. However, he
arrowly eſcap'd being aſſaſſinated, or at leaſt to ſurvive his Prince's favour, in the midſt of ſo many events that were ſo extremely advantageous to the Crown.

The Maſter of the Horſe, being as we have already ſaid, become an Enemy to the Cardinal, thought of nothing elſe but how to deſtroy him. To compaſs this deſign, he believed there was a neceſſity of having the aſſiſtance of Monſieur, who as he never had any real kindneſs for this Miniſter, ſtill hated him, notwithſtanding all the ſeeming reconciliations that had been made between them. It was no difficult matter for *Cinq-Mars* to gain him, * by repreſenting to him that the Cardinal, finding the King was indiſpoſed, endeavour'd to get himſelf nominated Regent of the Kingdom in his Will, exclusively of all others that might better pretend to it. The Duke, who deſired nothing ſo earneſtly as he did this, and knew the great ambition of the Miniſter, was eaſily induced to believe it, and had ſeveral ſecret conferences with the Maſter of the Horſe, to contrive means to ruine him. But as the Duke of *Orleans* was none of the fitteſt men at finding out expedients, the Maſter of the Horſe thought it would be his wiſeſt courſe to get the Duke of *Bouillon*, who was engaged in the ſame affair, to come and meet him at *Paris*. He ſent a Meſſenger to deſire him to come thither, at the ſame time that the Cardinal diſpatched a Courrier to him

* *Se' Nri Mer. T. 2. l. 2. p. 571.*

1642. to oblige him to come before the King's departure, on purpose to receive his Orders to go and command the Army of *Italy*. Accordingly he came and saw the Master of the Horse at *Paris* and *St. Germains*,* where they concluded that it was absolutely necessary to treat with *Spain*, that they might have an Army sufficient to cover *Sedan*, and to give battle, as the year before, without which it was impossible to defend *Sedan* against the Armies of *France* that were in *Champagne*, in *Picardy*, and *Artois*. It was also agreed between them that they should treat with the King of *Spain* in the name of Monsieur, who gave Letters, and necessary instructions to *Fontrailles*, to address himself in his name to the Count-Duke. This Messenger arrived safely at *Madrid*, and * concluded a Treaty with the Count-Duke, whereby the King of *Spain* promis'd to give Monsieur twelve thousand Foot, and five thousand Horse of old Troops, besides four hundred thousand Crowns in ready Money, to raise more. Monsieur promised to be ready at a place of security, which was *Sedan*, to put himself at the head of this Army, and enter *France*, with a design to oblige the Cardinal to consent to a Peace between the two Crowns, which was pretended to be the end of this Treaty: But at the bottom 'twas only to turn out the Cardinal, by raising a Civil War in *France*; the Duke of *Orleans* no more troubling himself about the welfare of the people, than the Minister of the King his Brother.

* See the Relation of Fontrailles concerning the Assassination of Monsieur.

* Signed by the Master of the Horse. See Siri. Ibid. p. 572.

The Cardinal easily perceived that the Master of the Horse was contriving some mischief against him, but he knew none of the particulars of his designs. A report was spread about that the affection which the King had for his Minister, was sensibly diminished, and that *Cinq-Mars* had much the greater share of his Majesty's favour. The Cardinal fearing lest this report, which his enemies industriously spread about in all places, might become true, if it was not so already, resolved not to lose the King out of his sight, in his Journey to *Roussillon*. They lodged all the way in the same places, altho they were very much straitned for want of room, and that heretofore they were

were always accustomed to lodge in different places. Besides this, the Cardinal never fail'd to see the King every morning and evening, to dissipate by his presence all the contrivances that might have been used to prepossess his Majesty against him; and as the Master of the Horse fell infinitely short of the dexterity of the Minister, in the art of managing a Prince so difficult as he was, the Cardinal easily broke and frustrated all the measures of that Favorite.

1642.

'Tis reported that the latter had more than once* design'd to kill the Cardinal, but that neither the Duke of *Orleans*, nor *De Thou*, to whom he had spoke about it, would give their approbation or consent to that attempt. *Others say that the Master of the Horse had agreed with Monsieur to execute this Project in their journey to *Languedoc*, but that having found an opportunity to do it at *Briare*, he durst not put it in execution in the absence of Monsieur, whom the Gout hinder'd from following the King. He had the same design at *Lyons*, when a great number of the Nobility of *Auvergne* came to see him, and he * propcsed it to the King, who rejected it with detestation, altho on the other hand he sometimes seem'd to be displeas'd with the Cardinal, and would suffer *Cinq-Mars* to speak ill of him. In the mean time the Duke of *Orleans* endeavour'd to bring the Duke of *Beaufort* over to his party, who was lately come back from *England*, and then resided to *Vendome*. But the Duke, who knew that the Abbot of *la Riviere*, Chaplain to Monsieur, never endeavoured to engage his Master and his Friends in any dangerous affair, but only to make his own advantage by betraying them, would not listen to it.

* Some in the Duke's Secret. * See Siri. p. 577.

In the mean time the Master of the Horse, who ought dextrously to have managed and kept up the good inclinations which the King had for him, by complying with all his desires, and applauding every thing he said, took a pleasure to contradict him, and kept away from the King's person, at those times when his Majesty did most desire to have him near him; when his Friends represented to him that he would infallibly ruine himself by this ill conduct, he

1642. told them that he was not able to endure the unsavory smell of the King's breath After so prodigious a stupidity as this was, what wonder is it if the Cardinal was able to destroy a young man so insupportable arrogant and indiscreet? And therefore it was visible at *Narbonne* that the affection which the King had for him was considerably lessen'd.

At this time the Cardinal fell extremely ill in this City, of a distemper in his arm, which he formerly had been troubled with, and two imposthumes that were form'd in his breast, as I shall observe when I come to his last sickness. His Relations took him to be dead, and he made his Will, which he was not * able to sign, on the 23d of *May*. 'Tis commonly said, that the Master of the Horse, fearing lest the coldness he discovered in the King, should prove the forerunner of his disgrace, had absolutely resolved to dispatch the Cardinal out of the way; but that being informed by his Physicians, that he could only linger a few weeks more, he thought it better to let him dye of his distemper, than to hasten his death by a violence, which in all probability would be fatal to the person that committed it. In the Camp at *Perpignan* the whole Army was divided into two Factions, one of them named *Royalists*, the other *Cardinalists*, but it seems the bravest men in the Army declared for the former.

* *See towards the end of the Cardinals Life by Aubery.*

The King being in the Army fell dangerously ill there, but his illness did not last long. In the mean time, the Master of the Horse assured himself of the Guards and *Swisses*, and made the Officers promise to serve the Duke of *Orleans* in the dispute that would arise between him and the Cardinal, concerning the Regence. The Mareschals *de Schomberg*, and *de la Mailleraye*, were Heads of the contrary party; but if the King had died, in all probability they would have tack'd about. In the mean time, the favour of the Master of the Horse daily diminished, and now there remain'd little more than a feeble appearance of it, which he preserved as long as he was able: The King had no more any of those long Conferences which he used to have with him when he was in Bed. This great

great alteration occasioned *Cinq-Mars* to press Monsieur incessantly to retire to *Sedan*, while the King importun'd him to come to *Perpignan*. But the Duke neither moved for the one nor the other: He did not obey the King, under pretence of his Gout, for which reason he was advised to go to the Waters of *Bourbon*; and he did not go to *Sedan*, because he could not do it without an order in writing from the Duke of *Bouillon*, to the Governor of that place, which he had forgot to ask him for, before he past the Mountains. He was therefore obliged to send for it, and he intrusted *Montmor* with this Commission, to whom the Duke of *Bouillon* refused to give the order he demanded, because he did not know him. So after him was sent the Count *d' Aubijoux*, one of Monsieur's Domestics, who departed in the habit of a Capuchin. 1642.

In this interim, the Cardinal being still sick at *Narbonne*, and the King before *Perpignan*, the Minister received advice from *Spain*, that a certain *Frenchman* was seen in the Count-Duke's Anti-chamber; and it was every where discourse, that the Cardinal's enemies had made a Treaty with *Spain*, but at that time the Minister was not able to procure a Copy of the Treaty. This kept him in a perpetual inquietude, and he desir'd the King to come to *Narbonne*, under a pretence of entertaining him about some matters of the greatest consequence. But he desir'd it to no purpose, the King being obstinately resolved not to quit the Blockade of *Perpignan*. The Cardinal likewise observed, that the King enquired very negligently after his health, which made him apprehend, that his Enemies had gain'd an entire ascendant over the King's inclinations. He did not imagine himself safe at *Narbonne*, so pretending that the Air of that City did not agree with him, and that his Physitians advised to go to the Waters of *Tarescon*, he departed from thence, and when he took any road he caused a report to be spread before, that he went another way; he often changed the road, and embarked at *Ayde* to go part of the way by water, that so in case of necessity he might retire into *Italy*. Nay, 'tis said that he had

1642. had got all his Money ready, to be carry'd away with the firſt order, as well as his Jewels.

At this time a report ran that he would infallibly fall into diſgrace; but we find a * Billet of the King, dated the ; of *June*, wherein he aſſures him, *That whatever reports were ſcattered abroad to his diſadvantage, he loved him more than ever; and that they had been now too long together, to think of parting, which he deſired all the world ſhould know.* This Billet was ſufficient to remove all his ſuſpicions, but the indiſcreet conduct of the Maſter of the Horſe, who neither knew how to conceal his deſign, nor to preſerve himſelf in the Kings favour, gave him a greater ſecurity.

* Aubery Mem. T. 2. p. 841.

Thus while Monſieur and the Maſter of the Horſe were deliberating upon what they had to do, without coming to any reſolution, the Cardinal receiv'd a Pacquet, wherein he found a Copy of the Treaty of *Madrid*. Some people ſay it was the Nuncio in *Spain* that ſent it to him: Others name other perſons. If the *Spaniards* were ſo unwiſe as to let a Copy be taken of it, they committed an unpardonable Soleciſm; and if this Copy came from the Conſpirators, the fault was ſtill the greater. However it came about, the Cardinal no ſooner procured it, but he ſent *Chavigny* to the King to ſhow it him, and to deſire him to cauſe *Cinq-Mars* to be apprehended. *Chavigny* had all the trouble in the world to make his Majeſty reſolve to deliver this Criminal into the hands of Juſtice. He fell down upon his knees, and pray'd to God to inſpire him with the beſt reſolution, and ſent for F. *Sirmond* a Jeſuite, and his Confeſſor, to ask his advice. The Father Confeſſor was not backward to tell him, that after ſo enormous a crime as this was, the King need not ſcruple to order his Favourite to be apprehended. According to the cuſtom of *Lewis* XIII, to apprehend any one for a crime againſt the State, and to put him to death, was in a manner the ſame thing; as if it had been unlawful, once in his life, to have ſhown mercy to ſome of the Cardinals Enemies.

As it was a nice and difficult matter to apprehend the Maſter of the Horſe in the Army, where he was extremely beloved, the King was reſolved to go to *Nar-*

Narbonne, under a pretence that he had an Ague, altho he could never be perſwaded to go to that City, while the Cardinal was there. At that time he deſired to confer with him about the affairs of *Picardy*, which ſeem'd to be in danger, after the defeat of the Mareſchal *de Guiche*. Being therefore arrived at *Narbonne*, while the Cardinal was at *Taraſcon*, the Maſter of the Horſe, whoſe place would not give him leave to be from the King, follow'd him thither, altho he was before-hand inform'd that his deſigns were diſcovered. Thus he was apprehended on the 14th of *June*, altho he hid himſelf, and the houſes were once ſearch'd to no purpoſe, the King having given orders before that the City gates ſhould be ſhut. *De Thou* was likewiſe apprehended the night before, with one *Chavignac* a *Hugonot*, and ſome of their Servants. Theſe two laſt were afterwards carried under a ſtrong Guard to *Taraſcon*, and the other to the Citradel of *Montpellier*.

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In the mean time, *Oſſonville*, Lieutenant of the Guards to the Duke of *Bouillon*, who ſent him to attend upon the Maſter of the Horſe, being inform'd that he was apprehended, took poſt to carry this news to the Duke, that ſo he might take his meaſures accordingly. He paſt through *Monfrin*, a Town of *Languedoc*, over againſt *Taraſcon*, on the other ſide of the *Rhine*, where the Vicount *de Turenne* was, to whom he thought he was oblig'd to tell this news. The Vicount, who knew nothing of the whole intrigue, and who thought the Cardinal knew no more of it than himſelf, believ'd he would take it kindly to be inform'd of it; ſo he ſent to acquaint him, at the ſame time that he receiv'd this news from *Oſſonville*, who was going into *Italy*. The Cardinal no ſooner underſtood it, but he immediately diſpatch'd a man with neceſſary orders to ſtop *Oſſonville*, whom he apprehended at *Valence*, and there impriſon'd him. * Orders had been ſent before to *Aiguebonne*, *Du Pleſſis Pralain*, and *Caſtelan*, Mareſchals *de Camp* of the Armies in *Italy*, to apprehend the Duke of *Bouillon*. * This order was executed at *Caſal*, altho the Duke upon the firſt notice conceal'd himſelf, at the time when *Conconges*, Governour of the place, was gone to

* Dated from the Camp before Perpignan. the 12 of June. Aub. Mem. T. 2. p. 759.

* The 23 of June.

1642 to fetch the Kings order to ſhew it him. Thus the Duke and the Maſter of the Horſe were taken, without any proſpect of eſcaping, partly through their own imprudence, and partly through that peculiar good fortune of the Miniſter, from whom very few of his Enemies eſcaped, while he luckily withdrew himſelf from the moſt eminent dangers. The Duke was for ſome time kept under a Guard in the Citadel of *Caſal*, but was removed in *Auguſt* to *Lyons*, and lodged in the Priſon of *Pierre-Anciſe*.

The Duke of *Orleans* receiving advice that the Maſter of the Horſe was apprehended, inſtead of finding out means to ſave and retrieve his friends, relapſed into his uſual weakneſs, and thinking himſelf diſcover'd, ſent the Abbot of *la Riviere* from *Moulins*, where he then was, to the King, to confeſs his fault, and beg his pardon. He writ at the ſame time Letters, *dated the 25th of *June*, to the King, to the Cardinals of *Richlieu* and *Mazarine*, and to *De Noyers* and *Chavigny*, Secretaries of Eſtate, full of mean ſubmiſſions and lyes, either to beg mercy, or to deſire Cardinal *Mazarine* and the two Secretaries to aſſiſt him to obtain it. However, the Duke burnt the Original of the Treaty, which *Fontrailles* had brought him from *Spain*, and only kept one Copy of it, which he might likewiſe have burnt had he ſo pleaſed; ſo that if he had been maſter of any reſolution, it had been impoſſible to have convicted him of any thing. The King pardoned him, after this indiſcreet diſcovery, upon condition that he would go to *Niſy* in *Savoy*, a Houſe of the Duke of *Nemours*, where he was to reſide, with a penſion of 200000 Livres; the reſt of his Revenues being ſtopt to ſatisfie his Creditors. Monſieur deſir'd to ſee the King before he went thither, but the King refuſed him that favour, and the Marquis *de Villeroy* had orders to accompany him. *At firſt they had ſome deſigns to ſend him to *Venice*, as it appears by ſeveral Letters, but at laſt they changed their reſolution. Neither did he go to *Niſy*, ſo that 'tis probable the true reaſon why they pretended to make him leave the Kingdom, was only to oblige him to diſcover all he knew.

* *See them in the Mem. of* Montr. p. 162.

* Ib. 171, 175, 195.

In

In the mean time the Secretaries of State were not 1642. wanting to incenſe his Majeſty againſt the Priſoners; and the Abbots *d' Effiat* and *de Thou* expreſſing a deſign to intercede for their Brothers, he ſent them word that he would not ſee them. The King ſtill continuing to be indiſpos'd, and being now reſolved to return to *Paris*, the Cardinal prevail'd with him to order himſelf to be carried to *Monfrin*, within a league of *Taraſcon*, that he might there ſee him. To this end, in the Chamber where the Cardinal lay, another Bed was prepared for the King, which was ſet up at his arrival. None but *de Noyers* and *Chavigny* were preſent at this viſit. 'Tis reported, that the Cardinal, after he had with great vehemence ennumerated the ſervices he had done the Crown, reproached the King for countenancing the Conſpiracies againſt his perſon, by ſuffering the Maſter of the Horſe to be with him, after his Majeſty knew what deſigns he had formed againſt him. This diſcourſe drew tears from the King, who recounted to the Cardinal all that had paſt in his diſadvantage, which he knew of, and promiſed to leave the Conſpirators to Juſtice. At laſt, the King took the way to *Lyons*, and the Cardinal ſtill continued at *Taraſcon*, got the *Secretaries to ask him, *Whether in important and preſſing affairs he might give orders as he ſhould judge expedient, for his Majeſty's Service, as he had frequently commanded him to do.* In caſe the King conſented to this propoſal he deſired he would write to him, as from his own proper motion. The King was ſoon prevailed upon to do what he deſired, and writ to him a *Letter on the laſt day of *June*, wherein he tells him, that being conſtrain'd by the conſideration of his own affairs, as well as the Cardinal's preſent indiſpoſition to leave him in *Languedoc*, his intention was, that he ſhould manage all matters there which concerned the State, with the ſame authority as if the King himſelf was there in perſon, and that he ſhould provide for all urgent affairs, without ſending to him for directions. The Cardinal return'd this *anſwer to the King, that as he had never abuſed the honours he had been pleaſed to do him, ſo he would uſe

* Ib. 161.

* Aubery *Mem.* T. 2. p. 841.

* *The 2 of* July, Monrref. 181.

1642 use that power, with which his Majesty had entrusted him, with all due moderation.

The Duke of *Orleans* had indeed confest at first, in general Terms, that he had kept a very particular correspondence with the Master of the Horse, and the Duke of *Bouillon*, and promis'd to inform the Cardinal of all the particulars, but they desired that he would give them the detail in writing: There was
* Ib. 211. some difficulty to obtain it, but at last he made a * Declaration on the 7th of *July*, wherein he discover'd all that he knew. It is dated from *Aigueperce* in *Auvergne*, where he had leave given him to stay, instead of going to *Savoy*. In fine, he engaged himself to do every thing they would have him, to convict his friends of this conspiracy, provided they would suffer him to live in the Kingdom, privately, and without any retinue but such as the King would be pleased to allow him.

The Duke of *Bouillon* being informed that the Duke of *Orleans* had confessed all, was induced to own all his engagements with the Master of the Horse, and their designs against the Cardinal, only he denied that he gave his consent to the Treaty of *Madrid*. To carry on this process and pronounce sentence against the Criminals, the Cardinal, according to his custom, nominated some Commissioners who appeared at the places assign'd, and performed all the necessary formalities. The Chancellor was the Chief of them, and the rest were *Laubardemont*, *Marca*, *Miraumes*, *Nil*, *De Paris*, *Champigny*, Counsellors of the Councils of his Majesty; *De Chaze*, and *De Leve*, likewise Counsellors of the King, and Masters of the ordinary Requests of his Household.

While this Process was preparing, the Cardinal, who continued still at *Tarascon*, received advice that the Q. Mother, his ancient Benefactress, and for several years one of the principal objects of his hatred, died at *Colen* on the third of *July*. He caused a Magnificent service to be celebrated for her in the Collegiat Church, as if he design'd to make her some reparation after her death, for all the evil he had done her while she was alive. 'Tis said his Majesty was extremely

extremely grieved at this News, and that his natural affection began but too late to revive, when he came to consider that through his own want of tenderness, and to satisfy a rigorous inflexible Minister he had suffer'd his Mother to dye in banishment and indigence, and never would hearken to a reconciliation with her, altho she so earnestly desired it. 1642.

The Cardinal still tarried at *Tarascon*, when finding himself somewhat better, he began to think of returning to *Paris*. As he was not entirely restored to his health, and apprehended lest he should renew his distemper by being jolted in a Coach, he caused a sort of a Litter to be contrived wherein was his Bed, with a little Table and a Chair for one person to discourse and confer with him. It was cover'd with Damask, with a Wax covering over that, to serve in time of rain. This Litter was to be carried by eighteen men, and the Cardinal had resolved to choose Peasants for that Employment, but his Guards offer'd their service to him, and relieved one another by turns, as heretofore *Alexander*'s Souldiers did upon a like occasion. When they were upon this duty, those that carried the Litter walked with their heads uncovered. As this Litter was too large to enter the Gates of some Towns, they were forced to beat down the walls of all those places through which the Cardinal was minded to pass, as well as the walls of the Houses where he lodged, and brought his portable Chamber. Nay, the Roads must be enlarged when ever they happen'd to be too narrow, and levelled where they were too uneven. Thus our ambitious Minister travell'd about two hundred Leagues in this Triumphant Bed, and if I may be allowed the expression, enter'd every where through a breach, after he had equally ruin'd his private enemies, and destroy'd all the priviledges of *France*.

To return to the Conspirators, *Cinq-Mars* having been * carried to *Lyons* and examined, resolutely maintain'd at first that what Monsieur deposed against him was false. He showed the same constancy when he was confronted with the Duke of *Bouillon*, tho he was extremely surprized at it. What perplexed the Judges

*Siri Mer. T. 2. l. 3. p. 1182, &c.

1642. Judges upon this occasion, was that having only one Copy of the Treaty, it was a difficult matter to condemn the Master of the Horse without his confession. They used all imaginable means to extort the truth out of *de Thou*, whom both Monsieur and the Duke of *Bouillon* affirmed to know the whole affair, except only the League with *Spain*, but he protested that he knew nothing of what they asked him, and that the only reason why he had endeavoured to cement a friendship between the Duke of *Bouillon* and *Cinq-Mars*, was upon some particular considerations which were not in the least criminal. It was discoursed, that the Duke of *Orleans* was to confront the Prisoners, but he so earnestly begged of the King to exempt him from it, and so positively declared that he would rather fly to the end of the world, than be brought to so scandalous a pass, that contrary to all equity and justice, his bare testimony was to go for valid without any personal appearance, provided he would answer to the interrogatories of the Chancellor in the presence of seven Commissioners. In the mean time *Cinq-Mars* having declared he would confess all, if they would promise him his life, the Cardinal sent *Laubardemont* the Register of this Tryal to him, who promised it him upon condition, he would speak the truth against *De Thou*, who had, as he pretended, deposed against him. He fell into this Snare, and being interrogated on the 12th of *September* by the Chancellor and the other Commissioners, he confessed all, and as for what related to *De Thou*, deposed that the Treaty with *Spain* had been communicated to him by *Fontrailles* at *Carcassonne*, but that he protested against this design, and heartily condemn'd it: Nay, that he had said more than once, that if he were not afraid of the great credit of the Criminals, he would go to discover all to the King, and that he had endeavour'd to dissuade the Duke of *Bouillon* from this attempt, which he thought would miscarry for several reasons. Not long after, *De Thou* was brought to his examination, who at first denied all, but being confronted by *Cinq-Mars* confessed all, only he added, that he had done all that lay in his power

power to make the Master of the Horse quit this enterprize; that he had frequently quarrelled with him for coming to these extremities, without considering what might be the consequence of them; and lastly, that being but very imperfectly instructed in this affair, and having no proofs of it in his hands, to convince the Criminals before the King, he therefore did not look upon himself obliged to reveal all he knew of the matter, especially since the Conspirators were not in a condition to make it succeed. *De Thou* thought it the best way to confess all, without suffering himself to be farther prest, for fear of being put to the Rack, which he extremely dreaded, but could have avoided it by no means, if he had continued to deny the fact. 1642.

The Kings Attorney General was of opinion, that both of them ought to suffer for their crime. All the Judges agreed that the Master of the Horse ought to dye, for making a Treaty with the Enemies of the Crown. *De Thou* was likewise found guilty of High Treason, because he did not discover this Treaty as soon as he was made acquainted with it; and for some violent presumptions that he had made it his business to engage the Conspirators in this union, against the welfare of the State. There were only two of the Judges that voted against their being put to death; but *Laubardemont* urged an Edict of *Lewis* XI. upon this occasion, by which those that knew of any design levell'd against the Government, and don't reveal it, are declared to be guilty of High Treason. Thus they were condemned to have their Heads struck off in the Market place at *Terreaux*, and the same day Sentence was executed; left the King, who had a great kindness for the Master of the Horse, and might be induced to have some compassion for *De Thou*, who was no farther a Criminal than as he had declined to accuse his Friend, should pardon them. The Cardinal still kept to his beloved Maxim, never to destroy any one by halves, and therefore prevented the Clemency of *Lewis* XIII. by a speedy execution. After all, there is no question to be made, but that the Accused were really guilty of designing to

* See their Trial in the 2d Tome of Merc. and an Account of their Death.

1642. to get the management of affairs into their own hands without the Kings consent; and if they had accomplished their intentions, the people had not been happier than they were under the Cardinal, and in all probability the Enemies of *France* had only become more formidable by it. Neither the King, nor they, according to the common opinion, were in a condition to sustain the weight of affairs with such a resolution and conduct, as the Cardinal had all along shown. They were influenced by a principle of ambition and envy, and did not act for the real good of the people; and it was better for *France*, that an Ambition, supported by so little Conduct, should prove fatal to the accused, than to behold the greatest Minister she ever had, perish by their intrigues; and the King made a Slave to some persons, who were more unfit to govern than himself. However, if the King had had the Courage to have pardon'd *De Thou*, who was the least guilty among them, he had won the applauses of the whole Kingdom, and had not in the least sinned against the rules of good policy.

Chavignac, a *Hugonot* Gentleman, who had served under the Duke of *Rohan*, and whom the Master of the Horse had got to be recalled to the Court, to employ him in his designs, was freed and acquitted, because he refused to be concerned in this matter, altho he openly profest himself to be an humble servant of *Cinq-Mars*. 'Tis certain his innocence appeared very clear, since he so fortunately escap'd those Judges, who, as the world reported of them, were ready to find all people guilty, that the Cardinal had a mind to destroy.

The Duke of *Beaufort* was accused for having receiv'd a visit from *De Thou*, who would have fain perswaded him to embark in this affair; and the Cardinal, who desired to discover all the Accomplices, sent for him to Court, and got the King to write to him upon that score. The Duke made answer that he knew nothing of the matter; but altho his Majesty writ to him thrice to come to him, he judg'd it more advisable to pretend an indisposition, and at last withdrew into *England*.

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As for what concerned the Duke of *Bouillon*, the King pardon'd him, upon condition he would deliver up the City and Castle of *Sedan*, to be annexed to the Crown, without insisting on any other terms but his Life and Liberty; and that he should intirely trust the Kings generosity, as for what he might be pleased to give him by way of exchange. * He obtain'd Letters of abolition, dated the 15th of *September*, at the end of which month Cardinal *Mazarine* went to take possession of *Sedan*, with eleven Companies of the Guards. As soon as he was set at liberty, he took post to *Montargis*, where the Cardinal then was, to whom he made a visit; after which, without seeing the King, he retir'd into *Champagne*, to the Count *de Rousi*, his Brother-in-law, where the Dutchess of *Bouillon* was; and from thence to a Castle which he had in *Perigord*. This Prince was generally condoled for the loss he sustained; but every body was surpriz'd, that he should so easily be drawn into this design, immediately after he had fortunately got out of another.

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*Siri Mer. T. 2. l. 3. & Aubery Mem. T. 2. p. 766, &c.

Thus the Cardinal defeated this Conspiracy, with great glory to himself, and very advantageously for the Interest of *France*. Altho those that envied his authority were not, properly speaking, enemies of the State, yet as they could not destroy this Minister but by embroiling the Kingdom, by the help of its real enemies, they furnished the other party with a plausible pretence to accuse them with designing to betray their King and Country. The Cardinal receiving the news of the death of *Cinq-Mars* and *De Thou*, almost at the same time that advice was sent him of the reduction of *Perpignan*, writ a Letter to the King, which began after this manner: *Sir, your arms are in* Perpignan, *and your Enemies are dead.* In the compass of one month, *France* got possession of two Places, that were of the last importance to her, particularly so long as she was engaged in a War with *Spain*. *Perpignan* secured *Rousillon*, and put her in a condition to preserve *Catalonia*, in case she persisted in that resolution, and *Sedan* hindred the *Spaniards* from entring *France* on that side, whereas before if

1642. they gain'd the Duke of *Bouillon* over to their party, which was no difficult matter, they might easily enter it, when ever they pleased. On the other hand the affairs of *Spain* went every day worse and worse.

John IV. having been proclaimed King of *Portugal*, not only resolved to preserve the Crown, which was so lately put upon his head, but likewise to regain all that it formerly possest in *Afric*, *America*, and the *Indies*. The Government of the *Castilians* was become so odious every where, where the *Portugueses* had formerly been, that this design succeeded no less happily, at a great distance from *Spain*, that it had about the *Tagus*. The *Portugueses* received with extraordinary Joy the News of the re-establishment of the House of *Braganze*, to which they generally submitted in spight of the *Spaniards*. In the mean time, the new King finding that the *Castilians* were unable to preserve their usurpations, not only beat them out of the ancient bounds of *Portugal*, but likewise enter'd into the dominions of the Catholick King, and advanced as far as *Salamanca*. He besieged several Towns in *Gallicia*, *Estramadura*, and *Andalusia*, nay he had certainly made these Provinces the Theatre of the War, by causing his Army to subsist there, if there had been any strong places, or such as were in a condition to be fortified, to retire into in case of necessity.

Thus *Spain* was reduced to an extreme weakness thro the great indiscretion of the Count-Duke, and the discontents of some Princes, and several great Lords. The Kingdoms of *Valentia* and *Arragon*, that possest great privileges, could not without a sensible regret see them daily infringed. *Catalonia*, which had so lately call'd in the *French* for that very reason, furnished them with a very bad example, and might perhaps influence them to do something of the like nature, if things were not regulated in good time. The Intrigues of the Duke *de Medina Sidonia*, and of the Marquis *d' Ayamont* put *Andalusia* into a tottering condition; which Province was besides incensed at the change which had lately been made in the Money, which after it had been made to go

go at an excessive high rate, was at last cried down. 1642.
Those of *Biscay* had assassinated a Farmer who had been sent thither to introduce marked Paper against the Franchises of that Country, and were exceedingly concern'd at the punishment of the principal Malecontents, who had been wheedled to *Madrid* by the Count-Duke under a promise of being pardoned there, and altho this had happen'd many years before, yet they still deeply resented that perfidious usage. In short, the excessive poverty of *Gallicia*, which besides was inviron'd almost on all sides by *Portugal*, made it incapable to contribute much to the expence of the War. Add to this, that the Catholick King had sustain'd great losses in *Catalonia*, without making any advances there, thro the ill conduct of his Generals, and that his *America* Fleet was destroyed, so that he was forced to borrow Silver Plate of private persons, to Coin it into Money. The greatest Governments and Offices had for a long while been only bestow'd upon the Creatures of the Favorite, without any regard to their capacity and merits, and those that were best able to serve the State were turned out of Court, because they could not submit to his imperious haughty temper.

In the mean time he caused forces to march from all parts, at an incredible expence, to endeavour the relief of *Perpignan*, and 'tis very observable, that in six months time, after he had used his greatest efforts, he could bring no more than thirty thousand men into the field. To compleat his misfortunes, they arrived too late; for the place which had long suffer'd the utmost extremities of Famine, and which no one took any care to relieve, was obliged to surrender, on the 7th of *September*, *Don Flores d' Avela* delivered it up to the Mareschal *de la Meilleraye*, wholly destitute of Victuals, but extremely well stored with Ammunition: It had an Arsenal sufficient to arm twenty thousand Foot and Horse, sixscore pieces of Cannon, and three thousand pounds of Powder, with all other things necessary for its defence. The Mareschal gave the government of it to *Varennes*, Mareschal *de Camp*, till such time as

1642. the King should provide otherwise for the place.

This Conquest gave no little joy to the Court of *France*, by reason of the mighty importance of the place, which covered their Frontiers on that side, and made them Masters of *Rousillon*. On the contrary, the King of *Spain* was exceedingly concern'd at it, and could not dissemble his resentments, while the Count-Duke affected a certain Gayety, which surprized all the World. He imagined by so doing to keep the King in heart, who seemed to be strangely dejected, and to put courage into the Army and People, who were alarm'd at the progress of the Enemy. He used all diligence to get together as great an Army as he could, and the Grandees of *Spain* strove who should contribute the most towards the raising, and maintenance of it, in these urgent necessities of the State. But instead of placing a General at the head of them, who was able to raise the hopes of *Spain*, he caused the Marquis *de Leganez* to be nominated to command them, against the general expectation; because this Marquis had not been able to obtain leave to come to Court, but was as it were banished into *Valentia*, by reason of the great complaints of the Allies and the Subjects of *Spain* against him; but altho he was thus ill used in outward appearance, the Count-Duke had given him private hopes that he should be suddenly advanced. While he was putting himself in a posture to march, *Don Benito Henriquez de Zuiregà*, surrendred *Salse* to the Mareschals *de Schomberg* and *Meilleraye*, on the 30th of *September*, for want of provisions. Part of the *French* Army, which had been employ'd in the blockade of *Perpignan* and *Salse*, marched afterwards into *Catalonia* to reinforce that of the Mareschal *de La Mothe*, who put himself in readiness to oppose the *Spanish* forces, which were now upon the confines, and hoped to repair the loss of *Rousillon*, by some considerable advantage. *Lerida* was particularly threatned, and while *Leganez* marched thither on one side, the Marquis *de Torrecusa*, an *Italian*, advanced on the other, so that the Mareschal that followed the latter, was not able to retard his march. He was of opinion

opinion to attack the place immediately, without 1642.
staying for the coming up of *Leganez*, but the *Spaniards* that commanded under him opposed this motion. This so mightily provoked him that he threw up his Command to the Marques *d' Aitona*, who was one of them that had contradicted it the most. This *Spaniard*, that had not conduct enough to make his best advantage of the present conjuncture, quitted the post where he was, for fear lest the *French* should cut off his provisions, and so led his Troops to joyn *Leganez*. The latter, instead of following the advice of *Torrecusa*, who was infinitely more capable to command than himself, constrained him to leave the Camp, and go to meet the King at *Saragossa*; nay, he publickly own'd, that tho he could conquer *France*, if he follow'd the counsel of this *Italian*, yet he would refuse to do it. The *Spanish* Army consisted of seventeen thousand Foot, fifteen hundred Dragoons, and six thousand Horse, and had forty pieces of Cannon. Almost all the Nobility of *Spain* was there, and particularly a great number of persons that had formerly served in the Armies belonging to that Crown; so that they had reason to promise themselves good success. The Army of the Mareschal *de la Mothe* consisted of no more than about eight thousand Foot, and four thousand Horse, but the experience of the General made amends for the small number of his Troops. There was also this difference between the *Spanish* forces and those of *France*, that the latter intirely relyed upon their General, whereas a great part of the *Spanish* Army lost their courage, when they saw the Marquis *de Torrecusa* leave them, who was generally esteemed by all those that knew him. The Armies being in this condition, *Leganez* thought it his best way to attack *La Mothe*, and marched towards him in order of Battel, on the first of *October*. On the seventh the Armies came in sight of one another, and the *French* being sensible of the great inequality of their Troops, endeavour'd to get the advantage of the ground, by posting themselves upon imminent places, where they had placed their Cannon; so that there was no coming to them

1642. without sustaining the whole shock of their great Guns. In the mean time the *Spaniards* advanced with extraordinary bravery, and having given a vigorous onset, immediately disordered the Cavalry of the Right Wing, and put them to flight, but they were beaten back on the Left, where the Mareschal commanded in person. The *French* Horse on the Right Wing abandon'd three pieces of Cannon to the *Spaniards*, and *Laganez* fearing to lose them again, gave orders to his men to carry them off from the place, to joyn the *Spanish* Artillery. In this interval his Van-guard which had gained them, instead of continuing to charge the *French*, stopt short till the three pieces of Cannon were carried off, so that the Mareschal had time to rally his Cavalry, and lead them on again to the Charge. In a short time they return'd the like to the *Spaniards*, and pursued them in disorder towards the body of their Army, which they put into confusion. The inequality of the Troops and the coming on of the night, hindred the Mareschal from making his advantage of it, and having sounded a retreat, he retired to his Camp; but being soon after informed that the *Spaniards* had wirhdrawn, he came back to the Field of Battle, where he passed the night to let the Enemy see that the advantage of the day belonged to him. *Leganez* on his side writ to the Court that he had obtain'd a signal Victory over the *French*, and that he had taken their Cannon. However the loss was in a manner equal, and it was computed that about five hundred men fell on both sides, but the small number of the *French* rendred their advantages the more considerable, besides that they had done what they at first proposed, since by this means they hinderd the *Spaniards* from forming the siege of *Lerida*. The Court of *Spain* made great rejoycing for this pretended Victory, and 'tis an ancient custom in that Country to feed the people with Chimerical News, by dissembling or extenuating their losses, and representing their Victories to be infinitely greater than in reality they are. The *Spaniards*, who seldom travel out of their own Country, and scarce keep any correspondence with Forreigners,

reigners, cannot inform themselves of the truth but 1642.
by Officers of their own Nation, who serve in the
King's Armies, and as they are not unacquainted
with the Maxims of the Court, take care not to publish their losses. Thus it is generally believed in *Spain*, that the King's Forces are victorious in all places, and that the remote Provinces in his possession still continue intire, till the Treaties of Peace make them discover the contrary. After all, the particulars arrive to the knowledge but of a few persons, and the Commonalty are still lulled asleep in their ancient errors.

Leganez ended the Campaign by the taking of some small Castles in the neighbourhood of *Alompoſte*, and took so little care of provisions, that his Army was obliged for the space of three days to feed upon Ales Flesh and mouldy Bisket, which occasioned a great sickness among the men, and forced them all to disperse in *November*. This secured the *French* in the possession of *Catalonia*, and encouraged the *Catalonians* in their Rebellion. At last the King's Eyes were opened, and he perceived that they had imposed upon him, when they excused the conduct of *Leganez*. The management of this Campaign sufficiently perswaded him that the complaints which the *Italians* had made against him so long ago, were but too true. The Artifices of the Count-Duke, who began to sink very much in his credit with the King, availed nothing: So *Leganez* was deposed from his place of being General, sent at first to Prison, and afterwards as it were banished to his House in *Madrid*, being forbid to stir out of it, as well as to receive any visits. *Don Philip de Silva* who had served a long while in the Armies of *Spain*, without obtaining any honour there, was put into his place, after he had been disgraced for not relieving of *Arras*. All *Europe* was surprized at so strange a choice, but the scarcity of persons fit to command, was at that juncture so great in this Country, that they could not tell upon whom to pitch.

While *France* obtained these advantages over the *Spaniards*, the House of *Austria* was still as unfortu-

1642. ful in *Germany*. * *Leonard Torstenson*, General of the *Swedes*, defeated them twice in the course of this Campaign. In *Silesia*, he cut to pieces the Emperors Army, commanded by *Francis Albert*, Duke of *Saxe-Lawenburg*, and took him Prisoner; and he defeated the Arch-Duke *Leopold* near *Leipsic*. He took several considerable places, and got several other advantages over the *Imperialists*.

* *See the 14 Book of Pufendorf. Hist. Rer. Suec.*

The Count *de Guebriant*, with some *French* Troops, and the remainder of the Duke of *Weymar*'s Army, which he commanded ever since the departure of the Duke of *Longueville*, contributed mightily to these Victories, altho he was at a great distance from the *Swedes*, because he obliged a considerable Body of the *Imperial* Troops to be upon the *Rhine*. Towards the beginning of the year he * entered into the Archbishoprick of *Colen*, with seven thousand Men, and five pieces of Cannon. The Count *de Herbestein* joyn'd him with four thousand men of the Troops of the Landgrave of *Hesse*, and nine Field pieces. They besieged *Ordingnen* together, and took it by Capitulation, altho *Lamboi* was within three Leagues of the Place with twelve thousand men. But whether he believed the Town would hold out longer, or that he was minded to stay till General *Hazfeldt* joyned him, he made no movement. The Count *de Guebriant* receiving advice that these two Generals designed to joyn one another, resolved to attack *Lamboi*, altho he was entrenched in a very advantageous place, and was full as strong as himself, that he might not have them both upon his hands at a time. He divided his Army into three Bodies, one of which was composed of *French* commanded by himself, the other of *Hessians* commanded by their own General, and the third of the Troops of the Duke of *Weymar*, under General *Tubadel*. In this order, he attacked the intrenchments of the *Imperialists*, and after a long resistance beat them on three sides, and put *Lamboi* to the rout, notwithstanding all the efforts he made to rally his men. This General, grown desperate at the defeat of his Army, return'd to the Charge with a small reserve, and after he had given great

*Siri Mer. T. 2. l. 1. p. 4, &c.

great proofs of his bravery, was oblig'd to surrender 1642.
himself Prisoner. He lost three thousand men upon
the spot, besides fourteen hundred Prisoners, among
whom were the principal Officers, as well as the Ge-
neral. After this the Count *de Guebriant* * took the
Town of *Nuys*, and several other small places in the
Electorate of *Colen*, where he committed great ravages.

* *The 26 of January.*

There was a hot discourse this year of a place of Congress, to treat of a general Peace, and Passports for the Ambassadors that were to meet there. The * *Spaniards*, for their particular, desired to conclude a Truce for two years with *France*, hoping in that time to make new preparations for carrying on the War; but *France* was in too formidable a posture to consent to it, and the Cardinal declared he would listen to nothing but a Peace, by which he pretended to keep some places, to make a descent upon *Germany* or *Flanders*, whenever the King pleased.

*Siri Mer. T. 2. l. 2. p. 1064.

The unnatural disorders in *England* still continued, and the King being necessitated to declare War against his two Houses of Parliament, engaged himself in those unfortunate Broils, which he was never able to master, and in the end proved fatal to him. He was suspected in *France* to be inclined to *Spain*, and in *England* to have a leaning towards *France*. The Ambassador of this last Crown having addressed himself to the Parliament, after the King had broke with them, this Prince was extremely offended at it, and sent great complaints of this procedure to the Court of *France*. *Lewis* XIII. answered that it was without his orders, and to convince the *English* Envoy that it was so, he promised to call this Ambassador home, which was accordingly performed soon after. However several persons were of opinion, that he durst never have appeared in a matter of this consequence, at least without an order from the Chief Minister, who for his part was not sorry to have these disturbances last longer; it being to be feared that *England*, jealous of the Grandeur of *France*, would declare for *Spain* as soon as their troubles were over. The *French* Ambassador nevertheless protested to the King of *England*, that he had done nothing

1642. thing but with a design to induce the Parliament to a Peace; and it was said in *France* that it was not the Interest of that Crown to suffer the authority of the Parliament to encrease too much, because that Calvinism would be then more strongly established in *England*, and that this Religion might be of ill example to the Calvinists of *France*. But after all, nothing was done in favour of the King, to support him against the Parliament, and in the sequel *France* openly declared for *Oliver Cromwel*, Protector of *England*, for fear lest he should joyn with the *Spaniards*.

Italy, which perhaps would have concerned it self one way or t'other, and declared for the weakest side, was still strangely disordered. Notwithstanding the * intervention of most of the powers of *Italy*, to accommodate the Duke of *Parma* with the *Barberines*, the latter not only pretended to keep what they had gotten into their hands, but that the Duke should go to beg pardon of the Pope. They caused him to be cited at *Rome*, to make his appearance there at a certain time under pain of excommunication, and as the Duke was better advised than to venture himself there, the Pope brandished the Ecclesiastical Thunder against him on the 13th of *January*. Nay, they talked of putting his dominions under an Interdict, but as they were sensible that all the Powers, which had interceeded for that Prince, would declare for him, if things were carried to those extremities, they laid aside that design. In the mean time the Duke took all possible measures to secure himself of the fidelity of his Subjects as well of the Laity as the Church-men, and continued to make preparations of War necessary for his defence. The Pope did the same on his side, and it was feared that he would soon swallow up the rest of the Duke of *Parma*'s dominions. At last, * after several negotiations to no purpose, the Republic of *Venice*, the great Duke of *Florence* and the Duke of *Modena*, made a defensive League with the Duke of *Parma*, to oppose the progress of the Pope's Army, in case he attempted any new conquests, and to oblige him to surrender *Castro* to the Duke of *Parma*. The Troops of

* Ib. l. 1. p. 178.

* Ib. l. 2. & 3.

1642. of *Venice* and *Florence* were ordered to advance towards the Dutchy of *Parma*, the *Modenois* to move as the Popes Army should do, and the Duke of *Parma* was ready to make an irruption into the Ecclesiastical State. This was the face of affairs in *Italy* at the beginning of the Campaign in the year 1642. The *Barberines* being informed of the resolution of the Confederate Princes, ceased to threaten, as at first they had done, those that opposed their designs, and pretended that they were desirous to end this affair by the way of negotiation. *France* employ'd it self to pacify these commotions, at least in appearance; but the Duke of *Parma* perceiving that the *Barberines* only endeavour'd to gain time, took the Field on the 10th of *September*, with about four thousand Horse, which the Mareschal *d Estrees* commanded under him, in quality of Lieutenant General. His design was to go and attack the Pope's Army, commanded by *Don Tadeo Barberini*, and in case he defeated him to march strait to the walls of *Rome*, but if he was repulsed to retire into his own Territories, covered by the forces of *Modena*, and the Troops of the Confederate Princes: That if it so happen'd that the Army of the *Barberines* kept within their Camp, it would be easy for him to go up to *Rome* without any opposition, because being inferiour to him in Horse, it would not be possible for them to follow him.

The Pope's General being acquainted with the Duke's design, ordered the greatest part of his Troops to encamp near the Castle of *St. John*, to be in a condition to oppose the Enemy's march. However neither he, nor those that commanded under him, could imagine that the Duke of *Parma* durst strike so hardy a blow, as to enter the Territory of *Bologne*, by leaving Fort *Urban* behind him, and venturing himself between that City, and the Pope's Army. Being thus lull'd asleep, they were extremely surprized at the Duke's boldness, when they were not in a condition to oppose him. Their Troops were seized with terror, and as soon as those of *Parma* appeared, they fled on all sides. Thus this Army, which had given the

1642. the Alarm to all *Italy*, was in a short time made unable to oppose a small body of Horse, without Artillery, and supported by no Foot. On the other hand, the Duke of *Parma*'s Army advanced as far as *Castiglione del Lago* in *Romagnia*, and struck a terror into *Rome*. At this time the * Negotiations were set on foot afresh, the Duke offering to withdraw, provided that *Castro* was put into the hands of the Confederates, with a promise to deliver it up to him in a short time. The *Barberines* being in a great fright, had recourse to the Ministers of *France*, and desired them to interpose the authority of the King, to bring this affair to some accommodation: Altho they were not sorry in *France* to see these disorders and broils in *Italy*, yet they were afraid lest the Confederate Princes, seeing the happy success of the Duke of *Parma*'s enterprize, might form some designs disadvantageous to the rest of *Italy*. For this reason they were glad of any opportunity to stop the progress of the League, and they did it effectually, by beginning to negotiate afresh. The Ministers of several Princes, and those of the Pope, met at *Castel Georgio* for this purpose; but after abundance of proposals on both sides, nothing was concluded upon, and yet the Duke of *Parma* withdrew his Troops out of the Ecclesiastic State. This was the only thing which the *Barberines* desired, and perhaps the other Powers helped them to deceive the Confederate Princes.

* Ib. T. 2. l. 3.

However, 'tis certain, that during these divisions, Prince *Thomas* of *Savoy*, General of the *French* Troops in *Italy*, took *Nice de la Paille* from the King of *Spain* by composition, dated the 3d of *September*. On the 20th of the following month, the Marquis *de Pianezza* re-took *Verrue*; the taking of which place was of consequence for the time to come; and Prince *Thomas* made himself master of the City of *Tortone* at the beginning of *October*, and of the Castle on the 25th of *November*. The King, to recompence the services of this Prince, made him a present of this Town, and the Territory belonging to it; and after this manner the Campaign ended. The *Spaniards* had in vain attempted to relieve it, but could not hinder the taking of it: and the succours which they threw into the Castle, did not defend it with more success. Thus the projects of *France* were almost every where fortunate under the Conduct of the Cardinal-Duke, while the Count-Duke saw the King of *Spain* come by the worst in all places, through his want of dexterity. Another misfortune happen'd to him about the end of the year, as he endeavour'd to make some attempt before he return'd to *Castile*. The Catholic King sent some Troops to reduce the City of *Monzon*, which the *French* possessed upon the frontiers of *Arragon*, and from whence they made frequent excursions into the most fertile part of that Kingdom; but a furious tempest happen'd, which broke down the Bridge of *Fragnes*, over which they must pass, and entirely dissipated that small remainder of men which the *Spaniards* had. And soon after, the King, who was provoked to see that nothing but ill success attended all his undertakings, disgraced the Count-Duke, after he had been fully convinced that this Favourite was in no respect to be compared with the Chief Minister of *Lewis* XIII.

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To return now to the Cardinal, and represent the last Scene of so busie a life; altho he had taken all imaginable care to recover his health, yet he continued in a languishing condition, ever since his return from *Roussillon*. The King being at *Fontainebleau* * in *October*, the Minister went to visit him there, altho he had still a pain in his Arm, and felt some approaches of an Ague. From thence he went to *Paris*, where having summon'd the Privy Councellors to wait upon him at his house, he fell upon several projects for the ensuing Campaign. Some were of advice to make a vigorous irruption into the Kingdom of *Arragon*, which might easily be effected, since the dissipation of the Army commanded by the Marquis *de Leganez*. But to this others objected, that it was to no purpose to advance so far, because the first Treaty of Peace would oblige them to surrender up all that they had conquer'd on that side; and besides, that this Country being at too great a distance from the heart of *France*, and the presence of the King, which

* The 17. Siri Mem. T. 2. l. 5.

1642. which is so necessary to animate and give life to all great undertakings, it would be impossible to perform any considerable action there. Others gave their opinion to make the chief effort on the side of the *Low Countries*; but then it was objected, that there were too many strong places on that quarter; and that experience had made them see, that they must spend a whole Campaign to take one Town; so that the advantage they got by any Conquest, did by no means ballance the expence they were at to obtain it. Some proposed *Italy*; but before it would be safe for them to advance thither, they must destroy the League, and principally disengage the *Venetians* from it, who seem'd to be the most zealous for the repose of their Neighbours, and would infallibly take the alarm, if they once saw a powerful Army on the other side the Mountains. At last, they talked of making an attempt upon the *Franche-Comte*, which was much more feazible than any of the rest. The Cardinal listen'd to these proposals, as a man that had several years to live, and flatter'd himself that he should make great Conquests in a few Campaigns.

However, to unbend himself from so many serious occupations, which insensibly impair'd his health, he caused a strange sort of a* Comedy to be represented at his Palace, which contained part of these thoughts that employed his mind. It was intituled *Europe*, and the principal person in it was a Lady of that name, who had several Lovers, that endeavoured to gain her good esteem and affection. The two chief Gallants were called *Iberus* and *Francion*; but in the conclusion the merit of the latter carried the fair prize away from his Rival. All the remarkable occurrences that happen'd ever since the opening of the War, to the conspiracy of *Cinq-Mars*, were recited in this composition.

* *The* 15 *of* Novemb.

However the King tarrying still at *S. Germains*, the Council came to no resolution in their Conferences about the War, so that the Cardinal judged it expedient to hold it before the King, but he would not go to *S. Germains*, which as he pretended was too open a place, and not secure enough for him, by reason that

that the King's Guards were infected with the designs of the Master of the Horse. He therefore proposed to his Majesty to come in person to *Paris*, or to go to *S. Maur*, or to *Bois de Bologne*, much after the same manner as one Soveraign Prince would treat with another. After he had seen that Prince tamely abandon his Favourite, and not dare to pardon any one for fear of offending him, he found nothing now that was above him, or that the King was not obliged to do in his favour. He demanded of this weak Prince, that he would cashier *Tillades*, *la Sale*, *des Effardi*, and *Treville*, Captains in the Guards, against whom he could alledge nothing, but only that they were not enemies to *Cinq-Mars*. But above all, he would have the last of these turn'd out, whom he knew *Cinq-Mars* had follicited against him, and that he had answered, he would do every thing that the King commanded him. Being a man of an undaunted, open Spirit, he look'd upon him to be capable to attempt any thing so soon as the King should mention it to him; and he was jealous of him, because he never apply'd himself to any one but his Majesty. As the Cardinal shar'd authority with the Prince, and had infinitely more resolution, conduct, and capacity, he imagin'd that all *France* owed no less to him, than they did to *Lewis* XIII. But tho the *French* have naturally a profound veneration for the person of their Kings, yet they hate their Ministers when they abase their power; so that if the Cardinal knew how to make himself be feared, yet he could never make himself be loved.

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At this time he made another request to the King, which had it been made to any other King, he would certainly have punished the unpardonable insolence of it; and it was as follows, that whenever he should go to see the King for the future, his own Guards might be introduced, and appear in an equal number to those of his Majesty. This Prince, who believed that all the good success of his Armies and Negotiations was fasten'd to the person of his Minister, and who had been long accustom'd to have an extraordinary kindness for him, receiv'd the Cardinal's proposal

1642. posal very mildly, which would have been High Treason in any one else. This dexterous Minister knowing perfectly well the Genius of his Master, and being resolved still to inhance his own value with him, at this time gave out that he would no longer concern himself with public affairs. He no longer gave access to the Ministers of foreign Princes at his own House, with a design, as he pretended, to disengage himself in a short time wholly from the Ministry. The King being inform'd of these discourses, was mightily alarm'd at the News, and was afraid that the Cardinal thought in earnest to quit that post, for the conservation of which he had levell'd so many considerable Heads, and committed so many acts of injustice, that I don't believe there had the like been done in several reigns, as during the 18 years of his Ministry. At this time a certain business happen'd, whether by accident, or by address of the Minister, which served not a little to encrease the King's inquietude upon this occasion. *D' Estrade* who resided at Court, from the part of *Frederic-Henri* Prince of *Orange* said that his Master had ingenuously own'd that he had listen'd to Propositions of a Peace or Truce with *Spain*, so soon as he heard that the Cardinal was gone from *Marbonne*, and that the favour of the Master of the Horse encreased, because he thought that if that Minister were once excluded from the public affairs, there could be no dependance for the future upon the steadiness of the conduct of *France*. The King was extremely surprized at this discourse, when it was related to him, and the Cardinal thought himself so much obliged to the Prince of *Orange*, that he writ to him, about six weeks before he dyed, by the abovementi-
on'd *D' Estrade*, who returned into *Holland*, in these
* Aubery *Mem.* T. 2. p. 844. terms. *He* (meaning *D' Estrade*) *can inform you how gratefully I acknowledge the advantageous opinion you had of me, both upon the score of my Sickness, and the impediments which some ill-disposed men would give his Majesty's affairs. I want words to thank you sufficiently for the great favour you have done me on these occasions, but I beseech you to believe that I will lose*

lose no opportunity to let you see with what sincerity I 1642.
am, &c.

However the King could not resolve at first to part with these Captains, of whose fidelity he had no occasion to doubt, but the Cardinal to extort it from him, dispatched *Chavigni* one of the Secretaries of State to him, with a writing wherein he desired his Majesty to grant him a discharge. Upon this the King, contrary to his custom, could not forbear to testify his resentments against *Chavigni*, forbidding him to come in his presence. Nay he added, that as he suspected several of those that were about the Cardinal, it was but just that the Minister should satisfy him likewise, and named *Chavigni* himself and *De Noyers*. He treated the latter very courtly, and did not soften till after the repeated instances of Cardinal *Mazerine*. But after he had vexed himself for some time, as one private man would do with his equal, he was appeased at last, and sacrificed the most zealous of his Servants to the Cardinal. Nevertheless he gave them permission to sell their Employs, and ordered that their Lieutenants should exercise them in the mean time, and that their pensions should be paid them, where-ever they thought fit to retire. He sent a Gentleman to *Travelle* to assure him that the King loved him as well as ever, and that his favour should never diminish by his absence.

The Court being thus purged from the rest of the Factious, as the Cardinal's Creatures express'd themselves, his authority appear'd in its full extent: But at the same time not only the King's health, who was extremely alter'd ever since the death of *Cinq-Mars*, but also that of the Cardinal began to lessen sensibly, and towards the end of *November* he found himself seized with an exceeding pain in his side, which was accompanied with a Feaver. He had been troubled for several years with the Hemorrhoids, and that distemper had frequently made him suffer a great deal of pain, till a Physician stopt them. But ever since that time, as if this too acid blood had thrown it self upon the upper parts, he had a defluxi-

1642. on upon his arm, to cure which he was forced to employ Cauſtics. However he paſt the year 1641 without any conſiderable inconvenience, but the year following having ſtopped the Ulcer in his Arm, it feeds the humour, which had an Iſſue there, made two impoſthumes above his Lungs, which ſhortned his days. 'Tis commonly the fate of great perſons to be the worſe ſerved, as for what relates to the cure of their Diſtempers, than ordinary men, for as none but Courtiers can have acceſs to them, who underſtand no profeſſion but that of Flattery, 'tis almoſt impoſſible for them to have good Phyſicians.

As it uſually happens, in ſuch diſtempers as the Cardinal was troubled with, that the Patients are ſometimes better and ſometimes worſe, the hopes of the Relations and Creatures of this Miniſter increaſed and diminiſh'd by turns, and ſometimes joy, and ſometimes ſadneſs was to be read in their countenances. 'Tis credibly reported that the King's rough manner of receiving his laſt pretenſions, altho at laſt he complied with them, did diſcompoſe him, as if the King had been obliged wholly to ſubmit himſelf to his deſires. However 'tis certain, that on the 29th of *November* the pain in his ſide increaſed extremely, ſo that he was blooded twice. It was likewiſe ordered that the Holy Sacrament ſhould be * expoſed in all the Churches of *Paris*, to endeavour to obtain his health of God; but theſe Prayers and Ceremonies were no more efficacious, than the intereſted vows of his Relations. The following day he ſeem'd to be better, and thoſe who deſired his preſervation began to ſay that God himſelf had appeared for it, but towards the end of the ſame day they were forced to alter their tone; for the pain in his ſide ſtill encreaſed, as well as his Feaver, which was accompanied with great difficulty of breathing, which made his Relations leave him neither by day nor by night. On the 2d of *December* a conſult of Phyſicians was held, the reſult of which was, that the Cardinal had but a ſhort time to live. The King being inform'd of the extremity he was in, made him a viſit, and ſpoke to him with a great deal of tenderneſs and concern.

* *The 30 which fell on a Sunday.*

The

The Cardinal told him among other things, "That 1642.
"he took his leave of his Majeſty, knowing that he
"was condemned to pay in a ſhort time the common
"Tribute which all men owe to Nature: That he
"ſaid this laſt adieu to his Majeſty with the entire
"ſatisfaction he felt, that he had never done any
"thing in his whole life contrary to his ſervice:
"That he left *France* in the higheſt reputation it e-
"ver had injoy'd in the world, and her Enemies on
"the other hand humbled; that he asked no other
"recompence of his Majeſty for all his toils and la-
"bours, than the continuance of his Royal protecti-
"on to his Relations, to whom he would not give
"his Benediction, but upon the condition they
"would always preſerve an inviolable fidelity to the
"King; that laſtly, he requeſted his Majeſty not to
"change the Miniſtry, ſince thoſe that were then
"concerned in the adminiſtration of publick affairs,
"were extremely fit and capable to ſerve the Crown.
To theſe he added ſome important inſtructions, conducing to the Grandeur of the Kingdom, which were never publiſhed, but 'tis ſaid they have been ſince followed. The King by his anſwers teſtified how much he was concern'd at the Cardinals condition, and promiſed him to protect his Relations, with whom as he ſaid he had other reaſons to be well ſatisfied. Afterwards two yolks of Eggs being brought to him, the King took them and gave them to him with his own hand. After this, he confeſt himſelf to *M. de Leſcot*, Biſhop of *Chartres* elect, from whom he received abſolution. At laſt, he asked the Phyſicians how long they thought he might live? who told him, that ſince they ſaw him ſo unconcern'd to dye, they would not diſſemble with him, that they did not believe his diſtemper as yet was deſperate, and that he muſt wait till the ſeventh day. However, finding himſelf much worſe towards the evening, he demanded the *Viaticum*, and the Curate of *S. Euſtachias* brought it to him. As he entred, he cry'd out: *Behold my Judge, who will ſoon pronounce my Sentence: I deſire him with all my heart to condemn me, if in my Miniſtry I have propoſed any other end to my ſelf than*

1642. *the good of Religion and of the State.* Next morning, *at break of day, he would receive the Extreme Unction, and the Curate having told him that it was not necessary for a person of his rank to pass through all the ordinary forms which others are oblig'd to do, he would not suffer himself to be treated otherwise than as a common man. Thus after he had recited to him the principal Articles of Belief, he said, *That he embraced them with a perfect Faith, and that he desired to have a thousand lives, to sacrifice them all for the Faith, and for the Church.* As he demanded of him, whether he forgave his enemies? he answer'd, *That he did it with all his heart, and after the same manner as he besought the divine justice to use him.* And being asked, that in case God would be pleas'd to grant him a longer life, whether he would employ it better in his service than the time past? he reply'd, *May God rather send me a thousand Deaths, if he foresees that I shall consent to one mortal sin.* He likewise recommended himself to the Prayers of the standers by, in a manner that sensibly affected them; and a man that had lived all along conformable to the precepts of the Gospel, could not have testified a greater confidence in God.

* *The 3 of December.*

Altho he was given over by his Physicians, and there was no likelihood for him to recover, an Emperic of *Troyes*, named *le Fevre*, being presented to him, and having boasted extraordinary matters of I don't know what sort of a Water and Pills he had, the Cardinal was willing to try the experiment, whether he knew more than the rest of his profession. The same day he took some of his Water and Pills before dinner, and seem'd to be somewhat the better for them; however he continu'd to take his leave of those that were about him, with a strong hearty voice, and a serene countenance, and appear'd not to have the least concern upon his mind. The King came to see him again after dinner, and express all imaginable marks of a real affection. About five a clock, having taken a new Pill, he fancied himself to be much better; and on the 4th of *December* in the morning, after he had taken some Physick, his Fever

Fever seem'd to be abated, and his Friends thought him out of danger. But in a few hours he fell into so great a weakness, that they easily perceiv'd him to be now in his last agonies. Then a certain Religious, whose name was *Pere Leon*, kneeling before his Bed, asked him, if, being now in the last moments of his life, when he was going to render an account to God of all his actions, and was upon the brink of Eternity, he would not receive the last Absolution. The Cardinal giving a sign that he desired it, the Religious replyed, that while the desluxion took away the free use of his Tongue, he ought to joyn in Spirit to what was said; and for a sign of his sincere repentance, he desir'd him to squeeze his hand, which he did. After this, the usual Prayers for dying persons were said, and they gave him every moment spoonfuls of Wine to support him. In the mean time a cold sweat seized him, and about noon, as he repeated *In manus tuas Domine*, he gave up the Ghost, without any struggling or violence. Thus died this great Minister, in the fifty eighth year of his Life, the eighteenth of his Ministry, and the ninth month of his sickness, after a Fever of six days continuance.

1642.

He had made his Will at *Narbonne* on the 23d of *May*, the several * Articles of which I shall not give my self the trouble to set down here: I shall only take notice, that besides the *Palais Cardinal*, and some other things, which he had given the King by way of Contract, he bequeathed to him eight suits of Tapistry, and three Beds, to serve as part of the Furniture for the principal Apartments of that Palace; the *Hotel* before it, which he design'd to have turn'd into a Square; and, what was more considerable, the summ of fifteen hundred thousand Livres, which he said had done him very good service in the greatest affairs of State; so that if he had not had that Money at his disposal, some designs which succeeded happily, would in all probability have miscarried; for which reason he begg'd of his Majesty to keep such a summ always ready by him, to employ it upon pressing occasions, when he had no other Money in his

* *See it in Siri's Mercure. T. 2. l. 5. at the end of his Life by Aubery.*

1642. Coffers. He likewise desired that his Library might be kept entire, and that the *Sorbonne* might name three persons, out of which number the Dukes of *Richlieu* might choose one, to be *Bibliothecaire*, with a pension of a thousand Livres *per annum*. Besides this, he rewarded all those that had served him, and with whom he was satisfied, unless he had otherwise recompenced them when he was alive. When a man compares his Legacies and his other Donations with those that abundance of Princes reward their Servants with, he fancies he reads the Testament of a King when he reads his, and that he sees the Wills of private persons when he reads those of some Princes. Tho he left a prodigious wealth to *Armand de Maille*, his Nephew, and his other Heirs, yet it may with justice be affirm'd, that he did not drain the Royal Exchequer to enrich them; that he scarce ever suffer'd the Kings Armies to want, and that he neglected no favourable opportunity, for want of being at some expence, which are the ordinary faults that most Ministers of State may be charged with.

His Body being open'd, the Doctors found two Impostumes, one of them had broke some time before, and the other kill'd him in the breaking. His Lungs were tainted, but the rest of his Entrails were sound. Those that have writ the History of his Life, have observed that the * *Organs of the Understanding were found double or treble in him*; but don't tell us what parts of the Brain they take to be the Organs of the Understanding: after which they add, that people attributed the vivacity of his mind, and the force of his Judgment to this. I leave it to the Anatomists and Philosophers to pass their judgment upon this remark. His Body lay exposed to publick view three or four days in his Cardinal's habit upon a Brocard Bed. A Duke's Coronet lay at his feet on one side, and on the other a Ducal Mantle. At the Beds feet stood a Cross, and several Silver Flambeaux adorn'd with lighted Tapers. On the 13th of *December* his Body was carried to the Church of the *Sorbonne*, upon a Chariot cover'd with a Pall of black Velvet, crossed with white Sattin, on which were his

* Aubery Tom. 1.

his Arms. This Chariot was drawn by six Horses, with coverings trailing on the ground of the same Stuff. His Pages marched on his side with Tapers of white Wax in their hands. An infinite number of people followed the Herse, some in Coaches, others on Horseback, and on foot. On the 28th of *January* a solemn service was celebrated for him at *Notre-Dame*, to which the Soveraign Courts were invited. The terms of the invitation were as follow: *Noble and devont persons, pray for the Soul of the most high, most powerful and most virtuous, the most illustrious and eminent Lord* ARMAND JOHN DU PLESSIS, *Cardinal of* Richlieu, *Duke, Peer, Grand Master, and Intendant of the Navigation, and Commerce of* France; *one of the Prelates, and Commanders of the Order of the Holy Ghost; Chief of the Council, and Principal Minister of State to the King; for whose Soul, Services and Prayers shall be kept in the Church of* Paris; *in which place next* Monday *after noon will be said the* Vespers *and Vigils of the Dead; and on* Tuesday *the day following his solemn service will be celebrated, at ten in the morning. Pray to God that he would be merciful to his Soul.* On the fourteenth of *February* another grand Service was kept for him in the Church of the *Sorbonne*, where *Isaac Habert*, a Divine of *Notre-Dame*, and afterwards Bishop of *Vabres*, made his Funeral Harangue.

1642.

Such was the Death, and such was the Funeral of the Cardinal of *Richlieu*, whose * description, both as to his body and mind, is after this manner. He had an agreeable air tho he was lean, he was of a delicate stature, and tall enough. He was of a tender constitution, and his unwearied application to business still made it weaker. As for his Wit, it was quick and lively, and at the same time piercing and vast, and capable of all affairs of State. His Judgment was profound and solid in these sorts of things. He could not bear an injury, and nothing was more agreeable and pleasing to him than Revenge. He was proud and choleric, yet at the same time affable and full of sweetness and civility. He discourted easily and with eloquence enough, a talent which he had

* Siri. Aub.

acquired and cultivated by ſtudy, as well as by practice. He was not deſtitute of Learning, which he had carried to a much higher pitch, if he had continued his ſtudies with the ſame warmth and induſtry as he began them. He was courageous and undaunted in time of danger where the State was concerned, and run great hazards, altho he is accuſed of fearfulneſs in his own private affairs. When they did not ſucceed he was caſt down and dejected, but when Fortune ſmil'd upon him, and he had compaſs'd what he deſired, nothing could be more haughty, more imperious, and inſulting. He loved Flattery in a moſt exceſſive manner, and complements never pleaſed him heartily, but when they were gigantick and extremely Hyperbolical.

Beſides a world of Political Maxims obſerved by this Miniſter, which may eaſily be found out in the peruſal of this Hiſtory, and conſequently need not to be repeated in this place, * 'tis ſaid he had three beloved ones, which are worthy of obſervation, and were principally learnt from himſelf. I. He ſaid, that in matters of great importance, he had frequently experimented it, that perſons of the leaſt wiſdom oftentimes gave the beſt expedients. For this reaſon he concluded that a man ought always to take advice. II. He ſaid, that thoſe reſolutions which he had taken up in a heat and paſſion, had always ſucceeded ill with him, and that he had heartily repented of them. III. He has been heard to ſay, that men of Quality ought to take great care that the Servants they keep in their Chamber, or about their perſons, be not too penetrating, becauſe it may ſo happen, that by the leaſt word, nay, even by the leaſt ſign, they may in ſpite of themſelves diſcover their moſt ſecret ſentiments, and their moſt hidden deſigns.

* Siri Mem. Rec. T. 8. p. 670.

Thoſe who were Favourites of the King, after the * Conſtable *de Luines*, as for example, *Baradas* and *S. Simon* were content to enjoy his Majeſty's favour, without concerning themſelves with State affairs; but the Cardinal was no ſooner taken into favour, but he undertook the adminiſtration of every thing. He was arbitrator of all the deliberations in reſpect of Peace and of War, Maſter of the Finances, and diſpenſer of all the King's favours. He diſpoſed of the ſtrongeſt places belonging to the State, and of all Offices that depended upon the Court; ſo that the greateſt perſons ſtrove for his favour with no leſs zeal and application than even the meaneſt.

* Siri Merc. T. 2. l. 8.

The King had an extraordinary affection for him at firſt, but this friendſhip was mightily leſſen'd in his latter years, through the too aſſuming behaviour of the Cardinal, who often treated him as his equal. Nevertheleſs the natural fearfulneſs of *Lewis* XIII, and the great ſervices of this Miniſter hindered him from finding any ill effects of this coldneſs. The King had more than once ſhown himſelf ſomewhat inclined to diſcard him from all publick buſineſs, eſpecially when he ſent him word by the Duke of *Angouleme*, as ſome report, that he thought it proper for him to diſmiſs his Guards, which had been granted him for his ſecurity: To which the Cardinal made anſwer, that he was ready to obey his Majeſty in that and every thing beſides, but that while the King made uſe of his perſon, he would pretend to live in ſafety, and to preſerve himſelf from thoſe Conſpiracies which ſome factious perſons might form againſt him.

For fear of being overwhelmed under the weight of public affairs, which the weakneſs of his conſtitution would not ſuffer him to attend perpetually, he aſſigned certain hours for recreation, where he would not hear the leaſt mention made of any thing that demanded too much application. For this reaſon he kept *Boiſrobert* about him, who diverted him with a thouſand agreeable ſtories, and told him all the news of the Court and City, proper to make him laugh. Among his other amuſements, we may reckon the great pleaſure he took to ſpeak of the *French* Language and Poetry. The Author of *the Hiſtory of the Academy* has related ſeveral conſiderable

ble ſtories to this purpoſe, which I ſhall not ſet down here, becauſe I have propoſed to my ſelf to write the Hiſtory of the Cardinal's Miniſtry, and not of his private diverſions. The Reader may conſult the above-mentioned Author, as for what he ſays of our Miniſter, upon the occaſion of his eſtabliſhing the *French* Academy. Nay, he gave orders that no difficult affairs ſhould be propoſed to him but one after another; and he employ'd both for his own in particular, and for thoſe of the State, *de Noyers*, *Bouthillier*, and *Chavigni*, altho there were ſome which he only communicated to the King.

After he had taken ſuch meaſures as he judged neceſſary for the preſervation of his own perſon, he thought of nothing with more application, than how to maintain himſelf in this eminent poſt; which it was no eaſie matter for him to do, by reaſon of the great numbers of envious and diſaffected people whom he had made. Daily endeavours were uſed to poſſeſs the King with ſuſpicions to the diſadvantage of our Miniſter; and 'tis certain, that this inconſtant, diſtruſtful Prince, whoſe dark Genius was ſo hard to be found out, gave him no ſmall trouble. And therefore, to hinder his Majeſty from being prejudic'd againſt him, before he could be able to juſtifie himſelf, he took care to remove all thoſe perſons from about him whom he in the leaſt ſuſpected, and only left ſuch near him as depended abſolutely upon himſelf. As he ſaw that the King was ſcrupulous, and that the fear of doing ſomething againſt his Conſcience, held him ſometimes in a long deliberation, prejudicial to the affairs of the State, he would be the director of his Conſcience, and eaſe him of thoſe ſcruples which embaraſs'd him. He pretended that the Kings Confeſſor ought to follow his Maxims, and got Father *Cauſſin* the *Jeſuit* to be diſmiſſed, becauſe he would not be obedient to him.

The greateſt ambition of this Miniſter was to reign, and make a noiſe in the world; to which end it behoved him to preſerve himſelf in his poſt, and to render himſelf abſolutely neceſſary to the

the King. This he effected, by engaging him everlaſtingly in ſome new enterprize or other, becauſe it was an infallible Maxim with this Prince, never to part with any Miniſter, till he had concluded the affairs which he had begun; and beſides, he did not look upon himſelf to be able to govern the State of himſelf. He ſaw that the King on one ſide was but indifferently affected to the Houſe of *Auſtria*, and on the other very much inclined to a Peace. To ſatisfie theſe two inclinations, he promis'd to humble that Crown ſo effectually, that this ſhould produce a laſting and ſecure Peace to *France*. The King, altho of a ſoft and peaceable diſpoſition, yet he was no enemy to what might obtain him a reputation in the world, provided the undertaking would not give him too much trouble; and the Cardinal took care to propoſe ſuch projects to him as were proper to make a noiſe, and engaged for the ſucceſs of them. Thus he made himſelf Maſter of the King's mind, and did what he pleaſed under his name.

For his own glory, he voluntarily engaged in mighty deſigns, and as he was fortunate enough in his Wars, ſo he loſt no opportunity to make new Conqueſts, and employ'd all ſort of artifices to accompliſh them. He laid the foundation of an Univerſal Monarchy, and did not deſpair of compleating it by the ruin of *Spain*, to which he gave two dangerous blows, by ſupporting the Rebellion of the *Catalonians* and *Portugueſes*.

To facilitate the execution of theſe vaſt projects, it was neceſſary before all things to ſecure *France* from the invaſions of her Neighbours, and to put her in a condition to pour down her Forces where-ever ſhe ſhould ſee convenient. This he began to perform with a great deal of ſucceſs. *Paris* lying too near the Frontiers of the *Low Countries*, and having been terrified more than once by the incurſions of the Enemy, ever ſince the time of *John de Worth*, the Cardinal endeavour'd to enlarge the Frontiers of the Kingdom on that ſide, which he did by the Conqueſt of *Artois*, and which he had continued by the reduction of ſeveral places, which would have ſerved as a Rampart

to

to *France*, if he had lived. He colour'd theſe deſigns with a pretence of recovering what had formerly belonged to the Crown. The ſame reaſon made him undertake the Conqueſt of *Rouſſillon*, which if once in her hands, would ſecure *France* on the ſide of the *Pyrenees*. For the ſame conſideration likewiſe, he adviſed the King to get ſome place or other upon the *Rhine*, whatever it coſt him; and this made *France*, after the Death of the Duke of *Weymar*, ſeize *Briſac* with that greedineſs. And it was for this proſpect alſo, that the King could never be brought to ſurrender *Pignerol*, that ſo he might be in a condition to act in *Italy*, whenever he pleaſed; for at that time he only made War there for the Reputation of his Crown, and for the Support of his Siſter and his Nephew, againſt the *Spaniards*. After he had employ'd *Bellievre* in vain, to engage the Princes of *Italy* in a League againſt *Spain*, he no longer thought of making any Conqueſts there, for it was his opinion, that ſuch an enterprize could not ſucceed, without the aſſiſtance of at leaſt one half of thoſe powers, between whom *Italy* is divided.

Amidſt theſe projects, relating to the Grandeur of the Crown, and to ſatisfye his own Ambition, he took care to provide himſelf a ſecure retreat, in caſe any misfortune ſhould oblige him to retire. For this end he always kept a conſiderable ſumm at *Havre de Grace* to ſerve him in time of neceſſity; nay, he had purchaſed a Soveraignty upon the *Meuſe*, by buying *Chateau-Renaud* in the King's name, and making himſelf Maſter of *Charleville*. He likewiſe cauſed a Royal Fort to be built at ſome diſtance from *Sedan*, upon a Mountain, with a deſign to make himſelf Maſter of that City, when time ſhould ſerve, and not incorporate it to the Crown. For this reaſon he forbore to attack it with all the Forces of the Kingdom, in the beginning of the troubles, raiſed by the Duke of *Bouillon*, as otherwiſe he might have done. His deſign being to buy it for himſelf, ſo ſoon as he found a favourable opportunity.

Setting this aſide, 'tis certain that he made the King abſolute Maſter of his dominions, by changing the

the Governments, which generally laſted for life before; that ſo the reſpective Governours might not come to be too powerful; and by puniſhing Rebellions ſeverely; whereas the method formerly was to grant the Malecontents ſome rewards, in order to oblige them to lay down their arms. Under his Miniſtry he made no Treaty, by which any more was granted to thoſe that had raiſed any commotions, than a bare impunity; but he never permitted them to have the leaſt ſhare in public affairs afterwards.

By a ſtrong, a ſteady and equal conduct, he knew how to make the beſt advantage of all the occurrences of that time, and turn'd the greateſt tempeſts into calms, where he peaceably enjoy'd the fruits of his labours. In ſhort, after he had triumphed over his own private Enemies as well as thoſe of the State, he died in the higheſt pitch of glory, and in an extraordinary eſteem with his own Prince.

An

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