







THE  
LIFE AND TIMES

LOUIS THE FOURTEENTH.

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AUTHOR OF

'RICHELIEU,' "DAENLEY" "MÉMOIRS OF THE BLACK PRINCE,"  
&c &c.

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# CONTENTS

## OF THE SECOND VOLUME.

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### CHAPTER I.

State of Paris after the Peace.—Condé gained by the Fronde.—Libels, &c.—Negotiations between Mazarin and Vendôme.—Exactions of Condé.—Private quarrels and affrays.—De Retz gains the credit of bringing back the Court.—Reception of the Court by the Parisians.—Terrors of De Retz.—He regains his influence.—Affairs of the Rentiers.—The Joliade.—The Joliade renforcée.—Conduct of the Petits Maîtres.—Condé and De Retz at enmity.—Marriage of the Duc de Richelieu.—Arrest of Condé, Conti, and Longueville.—Insurrections. . . . . Page 1

### CHAPTER II.

Proceedings of the Insurgents.—The young Princess de Condé makes her escape from Chantilly.—Proceeds to Bordeaux with Bouillon and Rochefoucault.—Her courage and presence of mind.—Conduct of Mazarin.—Treaty with Holland.—Movements of Turenne.—He advances towards Vincennes.—Efforts to release the Prisoners.—Siege of Bordeaux.—Death of Richon and Canoles.—Bordeaux capitulates.—Proceedings in the North.—Rhetel taken.—Battle of Rhetel.—Total defeat of Turenne. . . . . 72

### CHAPTER III.

La Rivière driven from the Court.—De Retz rules the Duke of Orleans.—Objects and plans of De Retz.—The Court refuses him its nomination to the Conclave.—He treats with the imprisoned Princes.—Leads

on the Parliament, to commit itself anew against Mazarin. — Drives Mazarin from Paris. — The Princes liberated by the Cardinal. — Their treatment of him. — He retires to Cologne. . . . . 98

## CHAPTER IV.

State of Parties on the liberation of the Princes. — Assembly of the Nobles. — They demand a Meeting of the States-general. — Thwarted by Condé. — Condé separates from the old Fronde. — Rules the Court. — Overawes and wins the Duke of Orleans. — Sudden transition of Parties. — De Retz affects to retire from political cabal. — Condé's new exactions. — Conduct and foresight of Mazarin. — De Retz called to the aid of the Queen. — His measures against Condé. — Stormy Meeting of the two Factions in the Parliament. — Danger of Paris. — Alarm of all Parties at their own acts. . . . . 132

## CHAPTER V.

The King attains his majority. — Procession. — Conduct of Condé. — Changes in the Ministry. — Conduct of the Duke of Orleans. — Revolt of Condé. — His plans. — Negotiations. — De Retz affects love for the Queen, — is outwitted. — The Court quits Paris. — Plots against De Retz. — Bouillon and Turenne gained by the Court. — Military operations against Condé. — Successes of Spain. — Success of the Royal arms. — The Duke of Orleans supports Condé. — Vacillating conduct of the Parliament. — Mazarin returns. — Angers taken. — Two new armies on foot against the Court. — Beaufort and Nemours join, — they quarrel. — Condé traverses the country in disguise. — Turenne joins the Court. — Orleans excludes the King. — Hocquincourt defeated. — Turenne saves the Court. — Anecdotes of the young King. — The armies near Paris. — Tumults. — Skirmishes. — The Duke of Lorraine marches to the aid of Condé. — Driven back by Turenne. — Battle of St. Antoine. — Massacre of the Hôtel de Ville. — The Court gains strength. — The Parisians grow weary of anarchy. — The Duke of Lorraine returns. — Mazarin once more exiled. — Manceuvres of Turenne. — State of Paris. — Turenne's skilful retreat. — Condé retires from France. — The King returns to Paris. — The Duke of Orleans banished. — The Royal authority fully restored. . . . . 174

## CHAPTER VI.

Situation of the Queen.—Condé declared guilty of High Treason.—Turenne forces Condé to evacuate France.—Military successes of Turenne.—Mazarin joins the army.—Severe, but glorious winter campaign.—Conduct of De Retz.—He is arrested.—Fouquet appointed superintendent.—Mazarin returns to Paris.—His reception.—State of affairs in Guienne.—D'Estrades sent thither.—Successful military movements against Bordeaux.—Negotiations of Gourville.—Treaty with the Rebels.—Bordeaux submits.—Execution of Dureteste.—The Spaniards driven from the Gironde. . . . . 292

## CHAPTER VII.

Affairs of Naples.—Spanish government of that kingdom.—The Viceroy Los Arcos.—Tax on fruit.—Revolt of Naples.—Masaniello—his rise, reign, and death.—Duke of Guise in Rome.—Puts himself forward in the affairs of Naples.—Conduct of Mazarin.—The Prince of Massa heads the Insurgents.—Don Juan of Austria arrives.—Negotiations.—Attacks the town by sea and land.—Repulsed.—The Prince of Massa murdered.—The Duke of Guise throws himself into Naples.—Terrible state of that city.—The Duke endeavours to gain the Nobles.—French fleet arrives.—Disappointment of Guise.—Aversa taken.—Dissensions amongst the Nobles.—Treasons of Annese.—Astrological predictions.—Guise attacks Nisita.—During his absence the enemy are admitted into the city.—He is taken prisoner.—His fate. . . . . 324

## CHAPTER VIII.

State of Condé.—Siege laid to Rhetel.—Condé and the Archduke enter Picardy.—Obliged to quit it.—Conduct of the French and Spanish governments.—Arrest of the Duke of Lorraine.—Harcourt reduced to obedience.—Stenay attacked.—Surrenders.—Siege of Arras.—A whole regiment destroyed by an explosion.—Forcing the lines of Arras.—Farther successes of Turenne.—Change in the affairs of Condé.—The Archduke and Fuensaldaña recalled.—Valenciennes besieged.—French lines before Valenciennes forced by Condé.—Fine retreat of Turenne.—Farther successes of Turenne.—Treaty with Cromwell. . . . . 391



## CHAPTER IX.

Rejoicings on Mazarin's return.—His Niece married to the Prince de Conti.—Attempt upon his life.—Condé condemned for High Treason.—Coronation of the King.—Louis reprimands the Parliament.—De Retz escapes from prison.—Pursuits of the young King.—Olympia Mancini.—Treason of Hocquincourt.—Treaty between Mazarin and Cromwell.—Secret negotiations at Madrid.—Spain nobly asserts the interests of Condé.—Death of Pomponne de Bellièvre.—Marie Mancini.—Christina of Sweden.—Murder of Monaldeschi. . . . . 423

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State of Paris after the Peace.—Condé gained by the Fronde.—Libels, &c.—Negotiations between Mazarin and Vendôme.—Exactions of Condé.—Private quarrels and affrays.—De Retz gains the credit of bringing back the Court.—Reception of the Court by the Parisians.—Terrors of De Retz.—He regains his influence.—Affairs of the Rentiers.—The Joliade.—The Joliade renforcée.—Conduct of the Petits Maîtres.—Condé and De Retz at enmity.—Marriage of the Duc de Richelieu.—Arrest of Condé, Conti, and Longueville.—Insurrections.

No sooner was the peace concluded, no sooner was the declaration verified by the parliament, than the gates of the city flew open, and the two parties which had so lately held their swords to each other's breasts began to mix together again in amity. There was much, however, remembered and much to be forgotten on both sides; and, to use the expressive words of Guy Joly, "The peace which had been concluded was, properly speaking, nothing

but a suspension of arms; and in no degree a suspension of intrigues and cabals." That suspension of arms, however, had been accompanied by an amnesty, as we have said, including all persons except the coadjutor; who knowing that the enmity of the court was not really abated towards any of its opponents, resolved rather to appear as the open enemy of Mazarin, and thus retain undiminished his whole influence with the people, than accept the apparent friendship of the minister, and thus lose his true prop for the empty shadow of court favour. At the same time, he did not wish to close all doors against reconciliation; and therefore, while he maintained towards the court the outward appearance of stern reserve, he kept up an indirect communication with various persons attached to the regent, which furnished the means of opening more important negotiations whenever he thought fit. Such skilful conduct had of course its effect, and while he continued to be feared sufficiently without being feared too much, De Retz was well treated.

The other personages who had played a part in the insurrection of Paris, and who now proceeded to visit the court, were by no means warmly received by the queen, though Mazarin himself displayed nothing but mildness and humility. However, partly from doubt as to the reception the court would meet with in the capital, partly for the purpose of keeping up that state of suspense and

apprehension which the absence of the king occasioned, till the city was completely reduced to tranquillity, the cardinal, without directly refusing the repeated entreaties of the metropolis, deferred from time to time the return of the king to Paris. The Duke of Orleans and the Prince de Condé, indeed, visited the city; and the first was received with great applause by the people, who attributed to his counsels the pacification of which all parties had stood so much in need. The Prince de Condé, whose warlike spirit had not only aided in stirring up the war at first, but would have protracted it still farther had his advice been listened to, was not looked upon with the same eye by the Parisians; but nevertheless the parliament sent deputations to them both on their arrival in the city, to compliment them on their efforts for the restoration of peace.

During the visit of Condé to Paris, his reconciliation took place with his fair sister, the Duchess de Longueville. The violent language which he had used towards her on various occasions, the imputations which he had cast upon her character, and the extreme counsels which he had given to her husband against her, were all forgotten, and she resumed her ascendancy over his mind so completely as in a very short time to detach him entirely from the side of Mazarin, and to lead him, before he quitted Paris, to speak publicly of the minister in the scornful and contemptuous manner in which

he was usually treated by the leaders of the Fronde.

Madame de Longueville herself remained as strongly opposed to the cardinal as ever; but, though she still retained towards Anne of Austria that dislike which she had always felt, and which the sense of an inferiority of station greatly augmented in a woman of a haughty and ambitious character, she found herself obliged, in common propriety, to appear at the court of the queen on the conclusion of the siege of Paris. The first visits of her husband and herself to the court, after the insurrection, were rendered remarkable by the extraordinary degree of embarrassment and timidity shown by two such bold and fearless persons. The Duke de Longueville arrived first, coming from Normandy; and was followed by a very numerous and splendid train, as if he rested for mental support upon the number of his retainers. The queen received him in the midst of her court, with Mazarin standing beside her; and every one crowded round to hear what excuses the duke would offer for abandoning the royal family at the moment of their greatest need. Longueville, however, approached the regent with a troubled and embarrassed air, attempted to speak, became first deadly pale, and then as red as fire, but could not utter a word. He then turned and bowed to Mazarin, who came forward, spoke to him, and led him to a window, where they conversed for some

time together in private; after which, they visited each other frequently, and became apparent friends.

The reception of the duchess was not so public, but was not less embarrassing. The queen had lain down on her bed to rest when the duchess was announced, and, as was customary in those days, received her in that situation. Madame de Longueville was naturally very apt to blush, and the frequent variation of her complexion added greatly, we are told, to the dazzling character of her beauty. Her blushes however on approaching the queen became painful: all that she could utter was a few confused sentences, of which the queen could not understand a word; and those were pronounced in so low a tone, that Madame de Motteville, who listened attentively, could distinguish nothing but the word *madame*.

While the leaders of the Fronde were thus displaying the somewhat degrading appearances of embarrassment and timidity in their reconciliation with the court, the people of Paris, who had no apologies to make, and were not put to the difficulties of justification, proceeded in their usual course with a degree of consistency which might have read a lesson to their leaders. Mazarin, the queen, and even the parliament, had hoped and expected that the animosity of the populace would have gradually subsided, and that the jests, the songs, the satires, the epigrams, the lampoons, the pasquinades, the libels from the most refined and searching to the

end routed, after having been severely maltreated. The criminal lieutenant himself led the flight, wounded and bruised from the blows he had received, leaving in the hands of the people the prisoner Marlot, who was set at liberty, and effected his escape from the city.

All these events might well testify to the queen and her minister that the root of the evil still remained, and that—though the parliament might give force and direction to the popular discontent, might rouse it and stimulate it when it slumbered, and keep it up when it was excited,—that body was not at all competent to allay it before it naturally decreased.

The only persons who seemed to have influence sufficient to calm the storm when it was once aroused, were the Duc de Beaufort and the coadjutor De Retz; and Mazarin determined to employ all his arts to gain the latter, at least so far as to induce him to tranquillize the people before the return of the king. In this he was not indeed unsuccessful, holding out to De Retz the prospect of the cardinal's hat, which, notwithstanding his disavowal, was clearly, even at this time, the great object of the coadjutor's ambition. In the mean while, however, the conduct of the Prince de Condé gave no slight uneasiness to Mazarin. Reunited to his sister, the Duchess de Longueville, Condé was not content to demand favours and benefits for himself, and for those who, like himself, had supported

## OF LOUIS THE FOURTEENTH.

the party of the court, but he also supported the exorbitant demands of many of the leaders of the Fronde, especially those of his brother the Prince de Conti, and his brother-in-law the Duke de Longueville. Every day some new application was made; and his whole tone and demeanour showed that he considered the services he had rendered the court, in the war of Paris, to be such as the most extensive compliance with his demands could hardly repay sufficiently.

Some of the memoirs of the time declare that the minister, in order to arrive at the real sentiments of the prince, and to ascertain precisely what was the extent to which he carried his claims, invited him to an entertainment, where he not only endeavoured to make him drunk, but so far accomplished that purpose as to throw Condé off his guard, and draw him into several bursts of bitter and poignant raillery, in regard to the terror which he, Mazarin, had displayed upon various occasions; raillery which the minister did not forget when an opportunity of vengeance presented itself.

Matters too were broached, about the same time, which tended still farther to divide the cardinal and the prince. We have mentioned, in another place, the refusal of the post of high admiral, or superintendent of the seas, which Condé had demanded upon the death of the Duc de Brézé. Now, however, imagining that there could not be a more opportune moment for renewing his applica-



tion for that high office, Condé again insisted upon his right, and again was met by refusal and evasion.

It would appear, from comparing all the various accounts of these transactions, that Mazarin had from the first destined that office to serve the purpose of a bribe to induce some man of high rank to espouse one of his nieces; and overtures had already been made towards the Duc de Mercœur, the eldest son of the Duc de Vendôme. During the siege of Paris, Vendôme had testified strongly his disapprobation of the conduct of his second son, the Duc de Beaufort, and had thus left open constantly a door of reconciliation between himself and the court.\* Mazarin had gladly availed himself of the opportunity, and immediately after the conclusion of the blockade, the Duc de Vendôme presented himself once more at the court, where he had not appeared since the days of the Importants. One of the first questions agitated between him and the minister was the marriage of his eldest son with Mademoiselle de Mancini; and on whichever part the proposal was first made, it is very clear, not only that Mazarin himself led to it, but that the post of high admiral was to form a part of the dowry of the bride. It was not, indeed, arranged that the office should be assigned to the Duc de Mercœur; but there can be no doubt that it was now fully determined the admiralty should

\* Madame de Motteville, vol. iii. p. 266.

be conferred upon the Duc de Vendôme in the first place, with the reversion to the Duc de Beaufort.

While these matters were in progress, however, Condé still continued his pretensions; and those pretensions were but the more strongly urged upon Mazarin when the prince became aware of the purposes of that minister towards the family of Vendôme. On his first joining the court, a number of concessions had been made to Condé; and the crown had stripped itself of so much, that now, urged by his demands on one side, and restrained by its poverty on the other, it had no means of paying his services but by ingratitude.

It would seem, indeed, that Mazarin endeavoured as far as possible to avoid coming to an open rupture with the prince, and had recourse to the expedients which had succeeded before, in order to diminish his power without seeming to do so. He thus endeavoured, according to the account of the Count de Brienne, to raise the jealousy which naturally existed between the house of Condé and that of Orleans into open enmity; but, in the mean time, Condé, pressed by his brother and sister, displayed his discontent more openly every day. After remaining with the court a short time, although his presence was still of the greatest importance, he caused it to be signified to the cardinal that he must no longer reckon upon his friendship unless he gave up entirely the purpose

of uniting his niece to the Duc de Mercœur; and then, without waiting for any decided reply, took his departure for Burgundy, of which province he was governor.

In the mean while, the court proceeded to Compiègne, instead of returning to Paris, upon the pretext of watching and directing the movements of the army in Picardy, but in reality to keep the populace of Paris in suspense, and to insure from the fears of the capital full submission on the king's return. Such a result was now probable, for the negotiations of Mazarin had continued with De Retz, and the coadjutor had suffered himself to be gained sufficiently to employ means for tranquillizing the people, or rather to suffer them to fall back into that quiescent state from which it had been his business to rouse them. Still, however, the fears and apprehensions of Mazarin made him pause long ere he executed the design of returning: and certainly the transactions which were taking place from day to day in Paris were not such as to give any great encouragement to the royal family to make it their abode, though the lower orders might be restored to tranquillity. One or two of these events must be related, as showing the state of the French metropolis at this period.

Shortly after the signature of the treaty of peace, a number of young men attached to the court took upon themselves to go into the capital, and to en-

deavour, by a display of the same sort of swaggering insolence which characterized the cavaliers in England, to browbeat the leaders of the Fronde, whom they had so often defeated and laughed at in the field. Dressed in the most splendid manner, and giving themselves airs of the greatest importance and authority, a multitude of these gay nobles, headed by the Duc de Candale, of the house of Epernon, by Boutteville, afterwards famous under the name of Luxembourg, St. Mesgrin, Jerzé, and various other light and daring spirits, daily paraded in the gardens of the Tuilleries, laughing and jesting at the leaders of the Fronde, and more especially at the Duc de Beaufort, and declaring that, since the peace, the pavement of Paris was open to all.

On one occasion in particular, while they were walking in the principal alley of the gardens, the Duc de Beaufort was seen approaching, with a party of his friends. Either from a prudent wish to avoid the folly of personal encounters after the conclusion of a general peace between the court and the Fronde, or on some other account, Beaufort took the arm of one of his party, as if desirous of speaking with him in private, and led the way into one of the lesser alleys. Jerzé, attributing this conduct to apprehension, shouted aloud, asserting that the royalists had dared the Fronde on their own ground, and that the Fronde had left them the field of battle. During the evening he spread the

tale from house to house with every aggravating addition, and tidings of his boasts were of course carried to the Duc de Beaufort.

For some time the Frondeurs took no notice of this conduct; but it having been reported that Candale and the rest were about to give a grand supper in the gardens of a famous *traiteur* named Renard and publicly drink to the health of Mazarin, De Retz and the Duc de Beaufort determined to take the matter up, and arrangements were accordingly made for troubling the festivities of the evening. As the Frondeurs were not desirous of causing bloodshed upon the occasion, especially as a number of the highest nobility in France were implicated on both sides, it was determined to fix upon Jerz , whose offence was the most glaring, and whose birth was by no means of the highest class, and publicly to insult him at the supper-table, making his inferior rank an excuse for refusing to fight him if he demanded satisfaction. The persons fixed upon to execute this plan were Beaufort, La Mothe, Brissac, Vitri, Fontailles, and the Duc de Retz, who assembled a hundred or a hundred and fifty gentlemen, and proceeded to the gardens of Renard as soon as they knew that the opposite party were at table.

The Archbishop coadjutor could not, of course, be present; but he had made the whole party promise positively to follow his directions, which were, to address themselves at once to Jerz , and tell him,

that if it were not for the respect they entertained towards the Duc de Candale, and others present, they would throw him over the ramparts, to teach him not to boast for the future.

These directions were of course very ill executed in the haste and passion of the moment. The Duc de Beaufort, who was personally inimical to the Duc de Candale, got into a passion, as usual, and approaching that nobleman, told him with a scornful laugh that he had come to enjoy himself with him and his companions with that liberty which every one now had upon the pavement of Paris. The Duc de Candale replied sharply; upon which Beaufort immediately seized the end of the tablecloth, and threw the whole that covered it, soup, and wine and bread, amongst the guests.

A scene of the most tremendous confusion ensued. Leizé was not alone insulted, but injured, and received several wounds; the Duc de Candale and Boutteville sprang towards the pages who held their weapons, drew their swords, and were about to risk their lives against the multitude which opposed them, but some persons more prudent interfered, and the parties were separated without farther bloodshed. The Duc de Candale immediately quitted Paris with the design of challenging the Duc de Beaufort, and sent St. Mesgrin the next morning to demand immediate reparation from that nobleman. Beaufort replied, that he would not accept such an invitation from his cousin-

german; that he was willing to give him any other satisfaction in his power; and that if that would not content him, the Duc de Candale must attack him in the streets, when he would defend himself to the best of his ability. St. Mesgrin instantly pointed out the absurdity of the latter expedient, as to attack the Duc de Beaufort and force him to fight in the midst of the people who adored him, would be seeking nothing better than immediate death. He could obtain no other answer, however, and Beaufort, affecting to believe that Candale and his friends would really attack him, went about the city, surrounded by a vast train of friends and attendants, with pistols, swords, and led-horses, as if in a country teeming with enemies. A good deal of laughter was excited by this conduct, but in the end the Duke of Orleans undertook to reconcile the two cousins, and a formal apology was made by the Duc de Beaufort.\*

The next scene exhibited was of a different kind. Scarcely had the bustle and fracas, caused by the supper in the gardens of Renard, subsided, when the Duc de Beaufort was seized with a violent cholick, which he at once attributed to poison administered to him by order of Mazarin. He applied in the most pompous manner to the physicians of Paris for an antidote; and the rumour of his illness spreading, caused a commotion amongst the lower classes. Though the leaders of the Fronde only

\* Madame de Motteville, vol. iii. p. 318.

laughed at the idea of poison; and doubted perhaps the whole story of his illness, the populace continued to flock to his gates. The Hôtel de Vendôme was surrounded morning, noon, and night, by immense crowds; and so great was the concourse, so impatient the anxiety of the people, that the doors were obliged to be thrown open, the curtains of his bed drawn up; parties of the populace were admitted to see him, like a corpse lying in state; and many of them, casting themselves on their knees by his bed-side, wept pitifully, calling him the saviour of his country.

Such scenes as these were of daily occurrence in the capital, and Mazarin hesitated still, knowing very well that the derangement of the finances placed him in such a position that the parliament might at any moment find new causes of complaint and exaction, and that, seeing itself still supported by the people, it probably would do so as soon as the return of the king to Paris put the court once more in its power.

The Maréchal de Meilleraie had been able to do nothing to improve the state of the revenue, and the minister most anxiously desired the return of Emery, in whose genius for finance he saw the sole resource of the government. Too timid to recall, on his own authority, a man who was odious both to the people and the parliament, he had recourse, as usual, to subtle intrigues, in order to accomplish by the means of others that which he dared not



propose himself. Far from ever naming Emery, he affected to support the interests of the president De Maison, who had become a candidate for the portfolio of finance. At the same time, however, he induced the Duke of Orleans to oppose that officer's pretensions, hoping that by excluding all others, without appearing to exclude them, he would cause Emery to be recalled by the rest of the council, without seeming to take any part in his return. In this business, however, he was overreached; for after having assured the president De Maison that he regretted deeply the opposition of the Duke of Orleans, he suddenly found that Gaston had been induced to change his views in a moment, and that so far from opposing the president, he was now eager to support his interests. Mazarin found it difficult to go back from his words, and, after hesitating for some time, De Maison obtained the post to which he aspired.

In the mean time, however, the military affairs of France went ill: Ypres was taken by Spain, on the 8th of May; St. Venant, on the 10th; and though the Count de Harcourt gained some slight advantages over the enemy in the course of June, he was obliged afterwards to raise the siege of Cambray, leaving the greatest advantages of the campaign on the side of the Spaniards. It was in vain that Mazarin led the court from Compiègne to Amiens, in order to encourage the troops. All paid, mutinous, and disobedient, they embar-

rassed all the movements of their generals, and frustrated the best measures of the Count de Harcourt, although the army amounted to thirty-two thousand men, and carried with it eighty pieces of artillery. The principal discontent appeared amongst the Weimarian troops; and it was suspected that Turenne, who had so long commanded them, and who was not yet fully reconciled with the court, entertained a secret intelligence with their leaders, and excited them to revolt.

Under these embarrassing circumstances, the long absence of the court from Paris became displeasing both to the Duke of Orleans and to the Prince de Condé, and the latter determined to use all his influence to bring the king back to the capital. But no sooner was information brought to De Retz that such was the determination of Condé, than he resolved to obtain for himself the credit of effecting an object so much desired by the Parisians. In order to bring this about, he caused it to be insinuated to Mazarin that the Frondeurs entertained great apprehensions of the king's return, instead of desiring it; and he endeavoured to engage the Duc de Beaufort as an instrument, but found it more difficult to do so than he had imagined. He proceeded however, in person, to Compiègne, and had a long interview with the queen, in the course of which he gained all his objects: he persuaded her to return to Paris; he raised himself higher than ever in the estimation of the people, by

an appearance of daring and independence; and he deprived Condé of the honour of bringing back the *king to the capital, though the act was in reality his*. Throughout these transactions, he affected to take no notice whatever of Mazarin, and refused to visit him, although the Queen urged him strongly to do so: but Joly informs us that he had a secret interview with Mazarin during the night, in which all the particulars of the king's return were arranged.

Condé, too, had pledged his head that the court should enter Paris in safety, and, on the double assurance of that prince and De Retz, Mazarin resolved to run the risk, though he still considered it as great, rather than remain absent from the capital, suffering greater inconvenience from the want of those resources which could alone be found in the metropolis than any remote advantage could compensate.

The state of the court, indeed, since the commencement of the siege, had been most miserable. No money was to be procured, and the officers of the crown, as well as the soldiers in the field, were unpaid and discontented. The gentlemen of the king's privy chamber, destitute of all salary, were obliged to discharge the pages whom they could no longer maintain; the crown jewels were in pawn; the carriages of the queen and the court were falling to pieces, from long journeys and want of repair; the sheets upon the young king's bed

were so full of holes, that his feet passed through to the blankets; and he was obliged to content *himself during the whole summer with a green velvet dressing-gown, lined with fur, which he had so far outgrown as not to be half covered by it.\**

No hope of obtaining any funds existed but in returning to Paris, and Mazarin was at length driven to do so at all risks. Before executing this resolution, however, he proceeded to the frontier of the Low Countries, in order to hold some communications with Count Peñaranda in regard to peace between France and Spain; † and on his return, he found Condé prepared to lead the court back to Paris. Notwithstanding all the fair showing of the writers of the Fronde, and the affectation of daring which De Retz both assumed at the time and asserts in his memoirs, it would appear that the leaders of the faction were very much alarmed and embarrassed by the approaching return of the king, and did not well know how to demean themselves on the occasion, either to the court or the people.

The Prince de Conti himself hastened to Compiègne, perhaps for the purpose of maintaining his brother Condé in that state of opposition to the minister in which he had placed himself since the peace of Paris. But the Parisian generalissimo was obliged to make many submissions to the cardinal; and the queen; 'whose courage made light of the difficulties, around her and taught her to

La Porte.

† Madame de Motteville.

sport with the embarrassment of her adversaries, *laid a plot for carrying back Conti into Paris, at one of the doors of the carriage of Mazarin, and thus exposing the doughty commander of the Frondeurs to the laughter of the people of the capital.* Conti, however, was made aware of her design, and taking a hurried leave of the court, got back to Paris as fast as he could. About the same time, the Duc de Beaufort sought permission to visit the court, but was sternly refused, and, of course, was rendered a more implacable enemy than ever.

Madame de Chevreuse was better treated, though she was received with some degree of coldness: but it is very evident that the whole party of the Fronde now began to comprehend that the king's return might cause a strange revolution in the feelings of a novelty-loving people like the Parisians, and that their house, being founded in the sand, might soon lose its unstable basis, and fall about their ears.

On the 18th of August, however, the royal family returned to the capital; and Mazarin, with Condé, appeared at the same window of one of the king's carriages. Notwithstanding all the libels which had been circulated—notwithstanding all the grievances of which the people had complained—notwithstanding the recent war, and all the evils which it had brought upon Paris,—the people flocked in immense crowds to see the entry of the royal party, rent the air with acclamations and benedictions, and pressed so close to behold those against

whom they had so lately drawn the sword, that the *procession could scarcely advance upon its way*. No dissenting voice was heard through all the mass of people—no sound of upbraiding or of reproach met the ears even of the minister, and the gratulatory shouts of the multitude were only interrupted by cries of “Look! look! there is the Mazarin.”

Some exclaimed, “How handsome he is!” some shouted to him, that they loved him well; some stretched forth their arms to shake hands with him; and some told him they were going publicly to drink his health.

Had any other spirit moved the people at that moment but joy and satisfaction, they might have exercised their will unopposed; for the King, the Queen, Mazarin, and Condé had been separated by the immense crowd from the royal escort almost immediately after they had entered the gates. The men-at-arms, the light horse, even the ordinary royal suite were all far behind, and the carriage of the king moved slowly on amongst the populace, stopping from time to time, but meeting with nothing but gratulation and applause. Mazarin had, indeed, received various intimations that his life was in danger if he trusted himself in the hands of the Parisians; but attributing these warnings to the right source, and judging that the monitory letters he received were rather from the hands of enemies than of friends, he displayed a calm and tranquil countenance; and if he felt at first some

apprehension, it was soon dispelled by the demeanour of the people.

De Retz makes light of this reception, and would fain hide from the searching eye of history this new example of popular instability and vacillation. He says, in his Memoirs, that the acclamations by which the king was received, signified nothing but in the eyes of those who chose to flatter themselves; and he adds, that a little lawyer bribed twelve or thirteen women to cry "*Long live his eminence!*" when Mazarin appeared. But we have the testimony of eye-witnesses to show what was the real disposition of the people; and the agitation and anxiety displayed by the coadjutor on the following day, evinced that at the time he himself attributed much greater importance to these popular demonstrations than he thought fit to acknowledge.

On the morning of the king's arrival, he presented himself at the head of the clergy of the capital, to congratulate the regent on her return. Mazarin stood beside the Queen when she received him; but De Retz, no longer haughty and self-possessed, instead of a long and bold oration, such as he was accustomed to make, addressed the queen in few and unequal words: his eloquent voice faltered and shook, his bold face turned pale as death, his frame trembled, and the demagogue, taught to doubt the durability of his power and to feel the feebleness of his support, shook before those he had so often insulted and injured.

The comment of Anne of Austria upon the demeanour of the turbulent prelate is both curious and striking. After asking some of her attendants whether they had remarked the agitation of De Retz, she exclaimed, "How beautiful a thing is innocence!"

The parliament and all the different corporations followed the example of the clergy, and De Retz, *finding it impossible to resist the stream*, on the following day returned to pay a public visit of compliment and congratulation to Mazarin. The minister treated him well, and held out as an inducement for him to remain tranquil and at peace with the court, the prospect of a seat in the conclave, which he had long ardently desired. De Retz professed every intention of serving the court, but he took care to stipulate, that he might be permitted to appear opposed to it, in order to preserve his influence with the people.

In truth, however, the populace of Paris were, for the time, tired of the domination of the Fronde. The very friends and supporters of De Retz themselves had tended to sink the party he had formed in public estimation. They were all debauched in the most excessive degree, scarcely one of his partisans, male or female, having the slightest pretensions to virtue of any kind; and this the public well knew. But, as the preponderance of immorality in his party was not very striking when compared with the amount of vice on the other—though the court



was certainly more moral than the faction—the people, puzzled between two libertine bodies, would not have taken any very accurate account of the licentious manners of the Fronde, had not a number of De Retz's supporters, after having got rid of every other virtue, shaken off the last thin covering of decency, and made an ostentatious display of impiety, irreligion, and vice.

The strange and almost frantic scenes of debauchery in which they indulged, cannot, of course, be detailed here; but every care was taken that they should not be concealed at that time, and we may judge of the indecency of all parties, from two facts—from the Archbishop-coadjutor of Paris having seized the Princess de Guimené, one of his former mistresses, by the throat, on her return to Paris, because she had run away in a fright at the beginning of the siege; and from the Princess de Guimené throwing a candlestick at the head of the archbishop, because she found he had become unfaithful to her, and entered into an intrigue with Mademoiselle de Chevreuse.

The notorious Fontrailles, Matha, and other well-known supporters of De Retz, followed his example, and went far beyond him, displaying their debauchery in the very streets of Paris. They were seen proceeding from orgie to orgie, and excess to excess; and evil was it with any one who met them in these moments of frantic licentiousness, for butchery and cruelty were added to their other

crimes: On one occasion, they encountered a party of the king's pages, and, knowing them by their dress, attacked them without the slightest provocation, wounding several of them, and bidding them carry that to their master. On another occasion they met a funeral in the streets, preceded, as usual in Roman Catholic countries, by a man bearing a large crucifix. No sooner did they see it, than they drew their swords, shouting out, "The enemy! the enemy!" and attacking the priests and mourners, drove them before them down the street. Having exhausted every other sort of ribaldry, Matha, Brissac, Vitri, and Fontailles had recourse to blasphemy for their daily amusement, and in their licentious songs at table, did not even reverence the name of God himself. All these things became known; and the people grew weary of such scenes, and anxious for some power which could restrain them.

The very lowest and least educated classes—the classes most apt to break into disorder—have an innate perception of the beauty of order, and a desire for its permanence while present, and its restoration when destroyed. They seldom seek disorder for the sake of disorder, but rather for the sake of some separate gratification incompatible with it; and as soon as that gratification is obtained, their inclinations tend naturally to restore that state, the very absence of which is sure to make its excellence felt by all parties. This, with the na-

tural love of change, produced the temporary popularity which the court now obtained. That popularity, it is true, was somewhat excessive; and its very vehemence should have taught the regent to doubt its permanence; but still it continued for some time rather increasing than diminishing.

On the Saturday after the royal family's arrival, Anne of Austria proceeded, with the young King, to hear mass at Notre Dame; but in passing through *the streets, immense crowds flocked round the carriage*, principally composed of the people of the markets, who had covered her with such rank abuse upon former occasions, and had saluted the Duc de Beaufort with such wild joy. They now, however, pressed round the queen with more extravagant demonstrations of attachment than they had ever displayed towards that prince: they stopped the vehicle; they nearly dragged out the young king and the queen; they expressed their joy at seeing them again, their grief for having vilified and opposed them, and mingled together such cries and tears, and transports of delight, that the queen and those who were with her were unwilling to attribute the change which they beheld to anything less than a miracle. They then followed her in troops to the church; and so great was the commotion, that, notwithstanding the sacred solemnity of the place, Anne of Austria was obliged to cause the young king to be lifted up above the heads of the people, in order that all might see the monarch

whom they had so lately driven from amongst them.

Mazarin followed the same course as the queen, and took opportunities of showing himself to the populace, passing through the streets with scarcely any attendants, and meeting everywhere a favourable reception from the people. The young King also, now arrived at his eleventh year, proceeded to the Church of the Jesuits on the day of St. Louis, mounted on a splendid charger, accompanied both by Condé and Conti, and followed by a brilliant train of nobles. Everything, in short, was done by the court that a knowledge of mankind could suggest, to gain, or rather to preserve, the good will of the Parisians. But the parliament, finding its importance diminishing by the popularity of the royal family, soon showed its disposition to trouble the tranquillity of the court, and scarcely had the king returned to Paris when the disturbances existing in Provence and Guienne served as a pretext for proposing anew the general assembly of the different courts. Other seeds of dissension also existed, which seemed likely soon to spread out: the union of Condé with his family was every day becoming more and more strict, and that family was still discontented.

For that discontent there was some cause; as Mazarin, in order to obtain peace, had not scrupled to make promises to all men, which were either difficult or impossible to perform. Amongst the

rest, he had promised to the Duke of Longueville possession of the Pont-de-l'Arche, which would have given him the entire command of the Seine, in its course through Normandy and have placed that rich province completely at the disposal of the governor, who already held therein a greater share of power than was compatible with the just authority of the crown. This, as well as many of his other promises, Mazarin now endeavoured to evade, forgetting that he might, by neglecting to fulfil such engagements, bring on a more disastrous state than even that from which he had extricated himself by undertaking them.

Condé stormed and threatened upon the subject of the Pont-de-l'Arche, in regard to which he had in some degree become security to the Duke of Longueville; but Mazarin evaded and temporised, and argued and procrastinated, till at length the Prince threw himself openly into the arms of the Fronde, and notified to Mazarin that he must thenceforth look upon him as an enemy. For some time Mazarin viewed his discontent with indifference, as he knew that no one was more hated by the Frondeurs than Condé; and the overtures made to the court by the Duchesses of Chevreuse and Montbazou induced him to believe that a schism might take place in the opposing faction, in consequence of the prince having joined it. He imagined, it would appear, that a part of the Fronde would come over to the court, while the part that remained with

Condé would never be sincerely attached to him, and that thus the division of his enemies might produce his own security. The tone assumed by the prince, however, and the number of young, talented, and daring men who ranged themselves around him, soon awakened the fears of the minister, and, after various negotiations, the Pont-de-l'Arche was given up to the Duke of Longueville, and a temporary reconciliation was effected between Condé and Mazarin, by the intervention of the Duke of Orleans.\*

\* There is scarcely one act of any of the parties during the whole course of the Fronde, of which there are not accounts by eye-witnesses diametrically opposed to each other. It would require too much space to enter into discussions in this book as to my reasons for adopting those authorities which I have adopted, and rejecting those I have rejected; but as there are many persons who may see accounts opposite to those which I have received, without knowing how strongly they are contradicted by others, I give the following extracts, to show how completely authorities are at variance upon every point. The following passages from the Duchess de Nemours and Madame de Motteville, strange as it may appear, refer precisely to the same transaction:—

“Le cardinal se voyant presque seul de son parti, haï de tout le royaume, et prévoyant bien qu'il était perdu s'il ne s'accommodait avec M. le Prince, commença à entrer en négociation.

“Madame de Longueville, qui haïssait mortellement la Fronde depuis la guerre de Paris, s'entremet avec plaisir de cet accommodement, et on prétend même que Marsillac en eut de l'argent. Le Duc de Rohan-Chabot l'acheva, et les conditions furent que l'on donnerait le Pont-de-l'Arche à M. de Longueville; que l'on romprait le mariage de la nièce du Cardinal avec M. de Mercœur; que celle-là non plus que toutes les autres nièces ne se marieraient point sans le consentement de M. le

Still, however, there were causes of dispute existing, some of great importance, some regarding mere trifles, which were held in readiness as pretexts for the renewal of dissensions. The conduct of Anne of Austria herself was not always of the most conciliatory kind; and she lost no opportunity of mortifying the leaders of the Fronde, when she could do so without the appearance of intentional offence. A curious instance of the petty spite in which she indulged, to the detriment of her own interests, took place very soon after the return of the royal family.

Prince; que l'amirauté demeurerait encore vacante; que l'on ne donnerait aucune charge, aucun gouvernement, ni aucun bénéfice considérable sans sa participation, et qu'on ne ferait point commander d'armes à personne, qu'il n'en approuvât le choix, jusqu'aux moindres officiers. On fit deux doubles de ce traité, qui furent signés de la Reine, de M. le Prince, et de M. le Cardinal; dont l'un fut donné à M. le Prince, et l'autre demeura à M. le Cardinal."—*Mém. de Nemours*.

"Monsieur le Prince répondit à cet ambassadeur, qu'il le pria d'aller trouver Monsieur le Cardinal, pour lui dire qu'il ne veut plus être son ami; qu'il se tient offensé de ce qu'il manque de parole, et qu'il n'est pas résolu de la souffrir; qu'il ne le verra jamais que dans le Conseil; et qu'au lieu de la protection qu'il lui avait donné jusques alors, il se déclarait son ennemi capital. Sur cette réponse, le Cardinal manda à Monsieur le Prince, que cela était bien étrange, qu'il se laissât gouverner par Madame sa sœur et par le Prince de Conti son frère, après ce que lui-même lui avait dit de l'un et de l'autre; et que pour lui, il serait toujours son serviteur. Cette harangue déplut à Monsieur le Prince; il ne voulut pas qu'on pût croire de lui qu'il se laissât gouverner: mais elle fut agréable à Madame de Longueville; ce fut une marque certaine et publique du pouvoir qu'elle commençait d'avoir sur Monsieur le Prince."—*Madame de Motteville*.

On the 5th of September 1649, Louis XIV. completed his eleventh year; and the city of Paris gave a grand ball upon the occasion at the Hôtel de Ville, when the King and all the principal members of the royal family and the court were present. The orders of the Queen were received in regard to all the arrangements, and every person of distinction was invited by her command except the Duchess de Longueville. That princess, influenced by discontent, it is supposed, at the reception of the royal family in Paris, had remained at Chantilly, on the pretence of drinking some mineral waters in the neighbourhood. The Queen seized the same pretext not to invite her, replying to those who pressed her to do so, that she would not withdraw her from the pursuit of health; but at length the Prince de Condé himself demanded that she should receive a summons; and his support was of too much consequence, and the bonds which attached him to the court too slight, for the Queen to trifle with his request.

To the surprise and dissatisfaction of most persons, however, Anne of Austria commanded that the ball should take place by daylight; acknowledging in her own immediate circle, that it was in order to mortify the ladies attached to the Fronde, the principal part of whom employed methods of increasing their beauty and heightening their complexion, to which the searching eye of day was very inimical. Human malice, of course,



took care that the Queen's motive should be communicated to all the circles of Paris; and as vanity is not only a much more pugnacious passion, but a much more pertinacious adversary than any other, the words of Anne of Austria rendered many opponents irreconcilable, who might otherwise have been gained to her cause.

The family of the Prince de Condé was amongst the number, and day by day that Prince became more strongly attached to the faction which opposed the court. Feeling his own importance, determined to rule, quick, impetuous, and harsh in his manners, he took a pleasure in insulting the minister and embarrassing the queen. Satisfied in regard to the Pont-de-l'Arche, and having at Compiègne signified to the minister that he would no farther oppose the marriage of the Duc de Mercœur with Mademoiselle Mancini, it was difficult for him to find any pretext for again quarrelling with the minister. Nevertheless, he urged anew his pretensions to the office of high-admiral;\* and though he did not formally declare that his

\* Anquetil has given a wrong view of this matter altogether: he states the Prince of Condé's claim upon the admiralty at this period as if it had never been made before, and declares that the Queen had taken that office upon herself on the death of the Duc de Brézé, in order to keep it from the family of Vendôme, which had possessed it in former years, and to whom she was inimical. I have shown before, however, on the authority of persons attached to the Prince de Condé himself, that he had applied for it immediately on the death of the Duc de Brézé, and that it was to keep it from him that the Queen

opposition to the marriage was also renewed; he went so far as to declare that anything which broke it off would give him the greatest satisfaction. His ideas of his own value became so great, that a thousand wild and extravagant schemes seem to have entered into his head; and it would appear that, at one time, he entertained the purpose of raising an army of adventurers, and attempting, on his own account, the conquest of Franche Comté, which lay in the immediate neighbourhood of his government of Burgundy.

Having been turned from that object by the arts of Mazarin, he fixed his eyes upon the principality of Montbéliard, which belonged at that time to a prince of the house of Wurtemberg, who was desirous of selling it, and demanded that it should be bought for him. Mazarin, who had first called his attention to it in order to divert his mind from

took it upon herself—not to keep it from the house of Vendôme, which had not the slightest claim upon it whatever, having been long deprived of it, and having no prospect of obtaining it. My own opinion is, that the far-seeing minister had even at that early period projected the marriage between his niece and the Duc de Mercœur, and destined the office of high-admiral to be the price of that alliance; but that in order to keep it from Condé, to be used for such purposes at an after period, he caused the Queen to assume it herself, not daring to give it to another while the claims of that celebrated general were strong upon it. In this view I am fully borne out by Bussy and various other contemporaries: but, at all events, the statement of Anquetil is equally wrong, as it was Condé who demanded the office on the death of the Duc de Brézé, and not the house of Vendôme.

more dangerous schemes, employed Hervart, the financier, to negotiate the purchase; but at the same time he gave him secret directions either to retard the whole business as much as possible, or to cause it to fail altogether. It would seem, from the account of De Retz, that Hervart betrayed the secret of his instructions to the prince, and that Condé was naturally irritated at the perfidy of the minister.

Thus, at the end of a few weeks, Mazarin, though restored to Paris, saw himself threatened by three different parties: the first of which was that of the parliament, which had for a pretence the complaints of the provincial parliaments of Provence and Guienne; the second was that of the old Fronde, headed by De Retz and Beaufort; and the third was the party of Condé, which was composed of a number of bold, high-spirited, arrogant, and swaggering young men, who gave themselves an air of commanding everything, and consequently obtained a name which has come down to the present day, though applied in a very different sense. It was that of the *petits maîtres*, by which designation we shall distinguish them throughout.

The safety of the minister consisted in the number of parties that opposed him, and in inherent causes of dissension between them, which existed in all. In regard to the Fronde, it was separated from the great body of the parliament by the violence of its purposes, the danger of its designs, and

the individual selfishness of its members. The parliament, like a lion that had tasted blood, had, by the enjoyment of popularity and authority, acquired a longing thirst for deeper draughts thereof; but it had learned during the time of the siege that the Fronde used it as an engine, and its purpose was to rule, rather than to be ruled. The chief of the *petits maitres* did not forget that he was a prince of the house of Bourbon, and he neither desired to shake the stability of the throne on which his family were seated, nor diminish the authority of a crown which very probable chances might cause to fall upon his own head. With the parliament he had ties of interest in some respects, while he had causes of dissension in others. Thus, while he supported strongly the parliament and people of Guienne against their governor, the Duke of Epernon, he espoused with the same fire and vehemence the cause of the Count Alais against the parliament and people of Provence. The overbearing impetuosity and domineering spirit of his whole party, too, rendered it always ready to throw down the gauntlet to any of the other factions; while the interests of the prince, as a member of the royal family, made him scrupulous in attacking the government, though he did not hesitate to harass and annoy the minister.

Such was in some degree the state of parties in Paris towards the close of 1649; and so long as they could be kept nearly equally balanced, Maza-

rin saw that he could retain in his own hands the power which they all sought to snatch from him. The insolence, however, and outrageous vehemence of Condé overcame even the placable disposition of the cardinal. The prince made that minister his laughing-stock; he held him up to the ridicule of the Parisians, and he did not even scruple to insult him in person, charging him with cowardice, falsehood, and perfidy. On one occasion, when Mazarin had been dilating somewhat too largely on some military transactions, Condé left him in fits of laughter with the words, "Adieu, Mars:" and about the same time he publicly addressed a letter to him, "Al illustrissimo Signor Faquino." All this, of course, irritated the mind of the cardinal to a great degree, but all the wisest and most prudent members of the government felt themselves personally offended also by the rude and violent demeanour of the faction of *petits maitres*. The court thus alienated, Condé proceeded in the same reckless spirit to offend the whole of the high nobility of the realm, about a trifling point of etiquette concerning the stools given to certain ladies in the circle of the queen. He determined to procure for the wife of the Prince de Marsillac the privilege of having one of these seats at the court: a number of the other nobility asserted that their claims were equal; and demanded the same honour. Condé, however, opposed them, and, in consequence, made himself a crowd of enemies.

The nobles who had any claim called together the rest of the nobility in general assembly, to oppose the pretensions of the Prince de Marsillac; and this assembly called in again the clergy and deputies from the sovereign courts, to prevent the innovation which was attempted. Daily the number of those who attended the meetings increased, and it soon became perceptible both to the queen and her minister, that if they did not put a stop to such proceedings, the States-general of the kingdom would be in fact assembled before the government was aware or willing that such a meeting should take place. Anne of Austria, therefore, though very willing to see Condé and the nobility in opposition to each other, commanded the clergy not to obey the call of the nobles. The clergy abstained, Condé was obliged to withdraw his demands, and the matter was thus terminated, leaving the Prince embroiled with a number of the nobles, amongst whom were many partisans of the old Fronde itself.

With that faction, however, the *petits maîtres* had established other causes of enmity. Condé in his first quarrels with Mazarin had, as we have seen, a disposition to throw himself into the arms of the Duke, and De Retz with his friends had hurried on eagerly to propose a general incorporation of the two parties, which could then have dictated what terms they pleased to the queen and her minister. In the eagerness of the moment, and

under the presumption that Condé was irretrievably severed from the court, De Retz had suffered the extent of his views to be too plainly visible to the prince. He had proposed changes in the government which alarmed Condé for the stability of the royal authority; and had so distinctly pointed to the result of a civil war, that Condé, replying, he was not one to act the part of the famous Balfré Duke of Guise, had hastened with the greater rapidity to conclude that reconciliation with the court of which we have spoken before. He expressed his thanks to De Retz, however, for his good wishes, and De Retz affected to regard him as before; but there can be no doubt that the coadjutor never forgot or forgave the rejection of his advances. The enmity of the two factions, however, was yet to be developed by a transaction, in the course of which were displayed in an extraordinary manner, the advantages that Mazarin derived throughout the civil war from his superior subtilty, which constantly frustrated De Retz's superior daring, and turned the arms of the coadjutor against himself.

The manœuvres of Mazarin for the return of Emery had at length proved successful, and he had been called back to the post of superintendent of finance, preparing the way for his own return by the distribution of large sums amongst the people, so judiciously managed as to change general odium into a very fair share of popularity. To counteract

this, the leaders of the Fronde, whose enmity towards the superintendent still existed, took every measure in their power, and Emery himself soon gave them an opportunity, of stirring up a great body of the people against him, by appropriating to the exigencies of government a fund which had been destined to discharge the rentes of the Hôtel de Ville. The holders of these rentes were thus left unpaid; and finding that the sheriffs and the *prévôt des marchands* did not espouse their interests, in opposition to the court, with that degree of zeal and fidelity which they expected, they held general assemblies of their own body, and chose syndics from amongst themselves, in order to support their claims, and defend their rights.

Amongst these syndics, was a famous partisan of the Fronde, and counsellor of the Châtelet, the well-known Guy Joly, who, in addition to his other qualities and capacities, was one of the most daring and impudent intriguers of the day. The assembly of the rent-holders of the Hôtel de Ville, however, did not please the parliament any more than it pleased the court. It was indeed illegal, as they formed no corporate body; and the choice of their syndics was also an unlawful act. The parliament consequently interfered, and the various chambers separately gave decrees both against the meetings, and against the election of officers by an unrecognized body. De Retz and his faction, however, tried to turn the very proceedings of the parliament



for the suppression of acts encouraged and directed by the Fronde, to the unexpected result of uniting the parliament and the Fronde once more. They therefore urged on the parliament towards a general assembly of the chambers, well knowing that the majority of the Fronde in the lower chambers was sufficient to overpower the friends of tranquillity in the upper courts. The syndics, who were principally lawyers, were taught to assert that their office could not be attacked by any of the chambers separately, and that to deprive them of it required a general assembly of the whole. Some of the chambers supported their pretensions, and it required all the skill and vigour of the chief president to stem the torrent, which would certainly have borne him away with it in the end; but, in the mean while, both the court and the syndics proceeded to unwise acts.

Mazarin, with the parliament on his side, prepared to arrest the refractory syndics; and Joly imagined and executed, under the direction of De Retz, one of the most impudent impositions on record. De Retz affects to deny any share in a transaction which proved as unsuccessful as it was disgraceful; but his own account, compared with that of Joly, leaves no doubt of his participation. In order to force the chambers to assemble, it was determined to enact a false attempt upon the life of one of the syndics, and Joly offered himself for the object. A gentleman of the name of Estainville,

attached to the House of Noirmoutier, was fixed upon as one of the actors, on account of his skill in pistol-shooting; and everything having been arranged on the night preceding the appointed day, the pourpoint of Joly was placed upon a log of wood. Estainville took aim at it, and hit it, wounding the passive garment in the arm. Exactly underneath the spot where the ball had pierced his pourpoint, Joly effected a wound in his flesh with the flint of a pistol.

On the following morning, at half past seven, the carriage of Joly was seen rolling slowly down the Rue des Bernardins, while Estainville watched its approach, with a pistol in his hand and a horse saddled near. The moment Joly saw him, he slipped down into the bottom of his carriage; Estainville fired with a sure aim, and pierced the vehicle exactly where the syndic should have been sitting. Though all Joly's lackeys had been purposely sent away, the people ran up at the report. Estainville mounted and galloped off; but his horse fell in passing over the slippery stones, and he was nearly taken. He contrived, however, to reach the Hôtel de Noirmoutier, where he concealed himself during the day, and at night sent back the horse to the Marquis de Fosseuse, who had lent it, and who now brutally caused it to be poisoned lest it should be recognized.

The balls fired at Joly's carriage, as fortune would have it, were picked up by the advocate-

general Brignon; and Joly having been carried in haste to an ignorant surgeon in the neighbourhood, exposed the incision in his arm, which was treated as a real wound, and the seal of medical ignorance was thus put upon the imposture. The news of what had happened spread through the town; the people, the rent-holders, and the parliament took fire. The cry became general, that Mazarin and the court had attempted to assassinate one of the syndics, and every art was employed by the Fronde to draw the greatest possible advantage from the farce which had just been performed. Information was immediately laid before the parliament of the act that was alleged to have been committed; great agitation manifested itself in that body, the *chambre des enquêtes* proceeded at once to the grand chamber, and everything was going on as the leaders of the Fronde could have desired, when either the over-zeal of a foolish friend, or the contrivance of an artful enemy, produced another act in the comedy, which left nothing but ridicule for the result.

The Marquis de la Boulaie, who had served the parliament faithfully during the siege, either imagined that he could push the affair of Joly into an absolute revolt, or was induced by the court to create a tumult in order to throw discredit on the whole affair. In the midst of the proceedings which were taking place in the parliament, he rushed into the great hall, and endeavoured to excite, not only

the people, but even the courts themselves to take arms, declaring that the attack upon Joly was but the commencement of a general massacre, and that the next victims would be the coadjutor and the Duc de Beaufort.

It was the favourite maxim of a great and extraordinary man, that from the sublime to the ridiculous there is but a step. De Retz immediately perceived that the step had been taken, and he proceeded to do all that he could to counteract the ill effects of La Boulaie's proceedings. The cold water, however, which the leaders of the Fronde were obliged to throw upon the too fierce flame that some of their party had excited, served, of course, to extinguish in a great degree the fire which they themselves had kindled. The chief president and a great many other members seem to have suspected the truth at once: the proceedings of the chambers, instead of fierce and tumultuous movements in favour of the syndics, were carried on in the spirit of calm investigation; the parliament showed itself a court of law, and not a popular assembly; and while the whole plot was thus in train for being exposed, the *prévôt des marchands*, proceeded to assure the queen of the attachment and fidelity of the city. Frustrated in the first effect, the views of the Frondeurs were still more completely obscured by the farther movements of La Boulaie, who, gathering together a body of horsemen, paraded the streets, creating

agitation and confusion; and ere night, by the co-operation of drunken butchers and carters, he contrived to cause a sedition in the Place Dauphine and on the Pont Neuf, of which Mazarin skillfully took advantage.

While the cavaliers of La Boulaie still continued to occupy the Place Dauphine, Mazarin applied himself to persuade the Prince de Condé, who was at that moment at the palace, that a design had been formed against his life. The prince accompanied the Queen to hear mass in the afternoon; but after his return, and immediately on quitting the council, an equerry came to him in haste from his intendant Perault, to inform him that one of the citizens had given intimation of a plot to assassinate him. The equerry, who had come in one of the prince's carriages, had been fired at in the Place Dauphine,\* and the news of the conspiracy against Condé spread like lightning through the whole court. The Queen entreated him in an earnest manner not to attempt to return to his own house; Mazarin besought him in the most moving terms not to expose a life so valuable to the state in a situation of unnecessary danger; and Condé, after persisting for some time in his design to go and investigate the affair himself, at length permitted a carriage to be sent across the Pont Neuf, with servants habited in his liveries. Several other vehicles followed, and on their ar-

\* Madame de Motteville.

rival at the place where the mob was assembled, the carriages were not only attacked, but in the confusion one of the lackeys was killed by a pistol-shot.

In the midst of the tumult which followed, a thousand rumours of course arose, which have so troubled the stream of truth in regard to this affair, that it is impossible to see with any distinctness what really took place: but it would appear, from the confession of Joly himself, that it was in reality the Marquis de la Boulaie who attacked the carriage of the Prince de Condé, fully believing that he was actually in it. Joly distinctly says, "If the prince had been therein, it is certain he would have run a very great risk."

Whether La Boulaie was or was not instigated by the court for the purpose of turning the tables upon the Fronde, the act was attributable to him, and he was known to be attached to the Duc de Beaufort and De Retz. Some persons even declared that they had seen him fire the pistol by which the servant was either killed or wounded, and that immediately afterwards, he fled at full speed, taking refuge in the hotel of the Duc de Beaufort. At all events, Condé became fully convinced that a design had been formed to assassinate him by the leaders of the Fronde: a great part of the court believed such to be the case; the accusation spread from house to house, and from person to person; the inferior agents of the Fronde them-

selves, knowing of how much their leaders were capable, gave credit to the story also; and in four and twenty hours De Retz and the Duc de Beaufort saw themselves avoided by every one but their most intimate connexions, who, trembling for their lives, besought them to seek safety in flight. The court took care to encourage such fears and such purposes, as nothing was wanting to the success of Mazarin's schemes but the evasion of the two popular demagogues.

The Duchess de Montbazon, terrified both for herself and for the Duc de Beaufort, her avowed lover, proposed to the coadjutor to take refuge in Peronne, and to carry with him his mistress, Mademoiselle de Chevreuse. The exhibition of a demagogue archbishop-coadjutor of Paris in such a situation, running away with his mistress to Peronne, in order to avoid being tried for attempting to assassinate a prince of the blood royal, would certainly have been as edifying as Mazarin could have wished; but De Retz was a great deal too wise to put himself in such a condition, although it is not to be concealed that the position in which he actually stood was extremely dangerous. He took, however, the very best means to pluck out the heart of the peril by exposing himself to it without flinching. He went at once, attended by a single servant, to the hotel of the Prince de Condé, to beseech him to do him justice, and to believe that he was incapable of the crime of which he

was accused. Condé treated him coldly, and haughtily laid his formal complaint before the parliament; and, while Mazarin, delighted to see him committed with the leaders of the Fronde, procured him witnesses, and the chief president Molé, in hopes of withdrawing the attention of the agitators from the proceedings of the government, prepared to give the accusation every attention, and to conduct the investigations with all those forms and ceremonies which would spread them over a long space of time, Condé pursued his charges against De Retz and the Duc de Beaufort with much unnecessary ostentation, joined to his usual impetuous vehemence. He never went to the palace of the parliament without being accompanied by from five hundred to a thousand officers and gentlemen; he insulted the leaders of the Fronde by look and word whenever he met them; and he affected to believe that the greatest precautions were necessary to defend his life from the dagger of the assassin.

In the mean while, however, public opinion began to change towards De Retz and the Duc de Beaufort. The real particulars of the attack upon Joly were suffered to transpire, probably with the connivance of the leaders of the Fronde themselves; for in thus drawing down a certain degree of ridicule upon their own plot, they excited a suspicion that the alleged attack upon the Prince de Condé was nothing but a counterplot, and covered over the



stern features which the affair had at first assumed with the grinning mask of ridicule. They gave to the story of Joly the title of *La Joliade*, and the attack upon the Prince de Condé soon received the name of *La Joliade renforcée*. The disposition to jest thus excited, burst forth with shouts of laughter as soon as the names of the witnesses who were to appear against De Retz and Beaufort were made known. Canto, Pichon, La Comète, Macassar, Gorgibus, provoked the risibility of the people of Paris, and rendered the opinion general that the whole business was of the manufacture of Mazarin.

Laughter, however, gave way to indignation, when it was found that the witnesses brought forward against the archbishop-coadjutor of Paris and the grandson of Henry IV. were forgers, pickpockets, and swindlers; that some had been condemned to be hanged, that others had been more than once tried for robbery, and that all of them had been employed as spies by the government, and furnished with letters of licence not only to frequent the meetings of the rent-holders, but to use whatever means they thought fit to excite them to sedition and illegal acts, without being themselves responsible for their own part therein.

No sooner did De Retz find the turn which public favour had taken, than he seized it to brave the Prince de Condé. He brought up a number of the discontented nobility from the country, he gathered round him all who were attached to the

Fronde in Paris, and speedily presented himself in the halls of the parliament with an escort as brilliant and almost as numerous as that which accompanied the victor of Rocroi and Nordlingen.

The meeting of two such hostile parties in the very sanctuary of justice was likely not only to obstruct the execution of the law, but to deluge those very halls with blood, and render Paris the scene of a general massacre. Every moment some vehemence or recrimination took place between Condé and De Retz: the prince demanded that the coadjutor and the Duc de Beaufort should not be permitted to sit in that body which was to judge them; and De Retz boldly replied, that if they were to descend from their places, Condé should descend also as their accuser. The leaders of the Fronde even forced the first president to quit his chair, alleging that he had always shown himself inimical to them. Molé denied the accusation; but the parliament entertained it so far as to deliberate upon it, and during that time he was obliged to abandon the seat he had filled so nobly, quitting it with tears, which neither danger nor sorrow had ever caused to fall from his eyes before. He was immediately recalled, however, the chambers having decided that there was no ground for the charge of partiality, and the trial proceeded.

That trial, indeed, as far as jùridical decision went, was a mere farce; the real business of the stage was enacted by the two factions:

Every one sought the Palais de Justice, armed with poniards; and even De Retz himself appeared there, with the hilt of a dagger protruding from his pocket. It was first observed by his own party, and the Duc de Beaufort, pointing it out to the rest, exclaimed in ridicule, "Lo! the breviary of our archbishop." All the others, however, were armed likewise; each was ready to shed his neighbour's blood, and a single rash word or act might have been the signal for a general massacre. Such was the apparent course of public events; but underneath all this was concealed one of those sudden but total changes which were peculiar to the epoch,—one of the harlequin tricks of the Fronde.

In the first acts of the drama, the court had supported Condé in pursuing the destruction of the Frondeurs; and Mazarin, with keen policy, instigated the prince to every act that could widen the breach between him and the faction. Whichever succeeded, the party that succumbed was inimical to the minister; and in their divisions was his strength. But the impetuosity and pride of Condé were about this period excited to such a degree by opposition and irritation, that it approached to frenzy, and, unable to overpower at once the leaders of the Fronde, the vehemence of his nature spent itself upon those who were in reality supporting him. He still scoffed at, and openly insulted Mazarin; he accused the government of not giving

him sincere assistance against the Fronde. He every day made enemies amongst the nobility by his overbearing conduct, and his rash, and often illegal acts; and at length the disgust and indignation of the whole court was roused to put a stop to a tyranny which could no longer be borne.

\* Anne of Austria long hesitated as to what she should do to deliver herself from the domination of a man whom she feared without loving; but at length an aggravated insult to herself, and the councils of a woman of a bold and daring character, removed her irresolution. The Duchess de Chevreuse had been absent from France during the greater part of that period in which Condé had principally distinguished himself, and she did not share in the awe of the Parisians towards him. She still kept up what De Retz calls an incomprehensible union with the queen, notwithstanding all her intrigues; nor did she scruple to hold out to Anne of Austria a direct prospect of gaining the support of the Fronde itself in favour of her government, if that government would aid in avenging the Fronde upon the Prince de Condé.

Anne of Austria was unwilling to take a step which bordered upon ingratitude, although the late conduct of the prince might well be supposed to cancel the obligation of his former services. Neither could anything be done against him without the consent of the Duke of Orleans; who, though jealous both of the power, the talents, and the pre-

tensions of Condé, did not forget that the veins of that prince were filled with the same blood as his own, and feared perhaps to set an example which *at an after period might be used against himself.* Two events, however, occurred about this time, the one of which tended, as we have said, to remove the irresolution of the queen; and the other had no slight, though a remote effect upon the Duke of Orleans. The latter event shows in a most extraordinary degree, in all its features and in all its circumstances, the utter absence of every consideration of morality amongst the French nobility at that time; and as it is not only necessary to touch upon such a subject, but imperative on the historian to display the want of moral feeling that then existed in its true light, a more favourable opportunity of doing so without inconvenience could not be found than in the story of the young Duc de Richelieu's marriage, the details of which are not offensive, though they fully illustrate the state of society in the French capital. That young nobleman had been left under the tuition of his aunt, the Duchess of Aiguillon, niece of the Cardinal de Richelieu, to whom had descended a considerable portion of her uncle's vigorous intellect and decision of character. In looking round for a suitable match for her nephew, she had fixed her eyes upon the beautiful Mademoiselle de Chevreuse, who, in addition to her personal charms and graces, was the heiress of very large estates. She was, it is

. true, notoriously and openly the mistress of the celebrated De Retz, archbishop-coadjutor of Paris; but such a temporary connexion formed no objection whatsoever in the eyes of the matron aunt of the young duke.

The Prince de Condé, however, resolved not only that Richelieu should not be attached to the Fronde by taking upon himself the honourable post of husband to the coadjutor's mistress, but that the citadel of Havre, which was in the hands of the young duke, should be transferred to himself, in order to strengthen his power in that quarter. A marriage was accordingly determined upon between him and Madame de Ponts, daughter of the celebrated Madame de Vigean, the intimate friend of the Duchess of Aiguillon.

In face, Madame de Ponts, who was the widow of a poor gentleman of high rank, was by no means handsome; though her figure was extremely beautiful, and her manners graceful and engaging. This combination of qualities had gained for her at the Parisian court the title of the "*ugly Helen*;" and she employed her fascinations to such effect upon the young duke, that she found no difficulty in carrying off his heart from Mademoiselle de Chevreuse. She was, Madame de Motteville tells us, by nature, *libérale de douccurs*; and the Duchess of Aiguillon, though she perceived the growing attachment of her nephew for Madame de Ponts and did not perhaps judge that it was quite of a platonic kind,

imagined that, according to the custom of the day, it was not of a character to prevent his alliance with any one else.

Madame de Ponts was united in strict friendship with the Duchess of Longueville, and through her the influence of the Prince de Condé was brought to bear upon the marriage. The whole business was conducted with great secrecy; the marriage took place in the country, without any one at the court being informed of it. The Prince de Condé acted the part of father on the occasion, and no sooner had he seen the young duke united to his Helen, than he despatched the bridegroom with all speed to take possession of Havre, which his aunt had hitherto held as his guardian. No sooner did the queen and the Duchess of Aiguillon hear of the marriage which had taken place, than the first despatched an officer to seize upon Havre, and the latter a courier to command the governor she had placed therein to refuse an entrance to the young duke. Neither arrived in time; but De Bar, the officer despatched by the queen, obtained an interview with the Duc de Richelieu in the citadel, and persuaded him to cast off his connexion with Condé, and instead of giving up the castle to that prince or the Duc de Longueville, to hold it himself for the queen.

It would appear that the price of this concession was the recognition of his marriage by the court; for his aunt threatened vehemently to annul the act,

which, in consequence of his being still a minor, was illegal. The animosity of the Duchess of Aiguillon, however, towards the Prince de Condé was excited to a degree incapable of being appeased; and the haughty manner in which he informed her that a marriage celebrated in his presence should never be annulled, only served to aggravate her resentment.

An opportunity soon presented itself of taking vengeance upon Condé, which she did not fail to use. One of the maids of honour to the Duchess of Orleans, named Mademoiselle de Soyon, had captivated the heart of the inconstant duke, and had proved not insensible to his affection. Repentance, however, for having injured her royal mistress caused her for a time to retire into a convent of Carmelites, and declare that she would take the veil. The Abbé de la Rivière, habitual favourite of the Duke of Orleans, ventured to display the satisfaction that he felt at being delivered from a female rival; but the Duke of Orleans was in despair, and sought to bring back Mademoiselle de Soyon to the Luxembourg by every means in his power.

The words in which the tale is related are sufficiently indicative of the depravity of the age. "He employed the royal authority, that of the parliament, his own, and the counsels of all the friends of Mademoiselle de Soyon," we are told, *to withdraw his mistress from the convent of the Carmelites, and bring her back to the same palace with his wife.*



The person who succeeded in this delicate, decent, and moral enterprise, was the Duchess of Aiguillon; and the inferior instrument which she employed in the pious task of persuading the unhappy girl to return to her seducer, was her confessor, the Father Léon, a Carmelite monk, who found means, Madame de Motteville says, "of quieting the conscience of the young lady, and bringing her back to the court, with the hope of soon becoming Lady of the Bedchamber to the Duchess of Orleans!" The gratitude of the Duke of Orleans towards the Duchess of Aiguillon was very great, and we shall soon see how she employed her influence to aid in the ruin of the Prince de Condé. That gallant and impetuous prince had in the mean time, however, added a new insult to those which he had already offered to the queen.

Jerzé,\* of whom we have already had to speak, was foolish enough about this time to fancy himself in love with Anne of Austria, and impudent enough to give himself the airs of a favoured lover. The Queen endeavoured to correct him by mild means, but in vain; and his boldness increasing, she gave him so severe a reprimand in public, that the marquis retired in confusion and dismay. He found, however, a friend and protector in the Prince de

\* This name is spelt, by contemporaries, in every different sort of way that it is possible to conceive; sometimes Gersé, sometimes Jarsay, sometimes Jarsé, sometimes Jerzai; but what was the true orthography of his name does not much signify.

Condé, who had the insolence to demand that the queen should receive him again to her presence, even on the very day when she had forbidden him for ever to present himself before her.

Mazarin endeavoured to change the prince's views, representing to him that Jerzé had ventured even to send a love-letter to the queen; and that after such insolence, no one could oblige the lowest woman in the world to receive the person who had committed it. The prince merely replied, as we are told was his custom, that nevertheless it must be so, for that he willed it; and the Queen was in consequence obliged to support the presence of a man who had so grossly insulted her.

All these acts drove Anne of Austria and Mazarin to take advantage of the hints which had been given them, that a union might be effected with the Fronde. Madame de Chevreuse was sent for, and, in a conversation with Mazarin, promised the co-operation of the coadjutor through the influence of her daughter, of whose intrigue with the prelate she made no secret. The Queen even wrote to him with her own hand, desiring an interview; and De Retz having consented immediately, a private meeting took place between Anne of Austria and the coadjutor. The minister followed her to the conference, and gave positive promises of obtaining for De Retz the nomination of France to the first vacant cardinal's hat; and it was finally determined between them to arrest the Princes of Condé

and Conti, and the Duc de Longueville. Mazarin demanded, however, that the plan should be concealed from the Duc de Beaufort; and to compensate for such want of confidence, it was arranged that on the marriage of his brother with the niece of Mazarin, the reversion of the office of high-admiral should be positively secured to him on the death of his father the Duke of Vendôme.

Minor rewards were assigned to the other leaders of the Fronde, and the only difficulties that remained were to gain the consent of the Duke of Orleans, and to prevent a prince who had never been capable of keeping a secret in his life from imparting the dangerous one which was now of necessity to be confided to him, to his faithless favourite the Abbé de la Rivière. The Duchess of Aiguillon accomplished this difficult undertaking. The influence she had obtained through Mademoiselle de Soyon was exerted to induce the duke to coincide in the vigorous measures about to be employed against the princes; and he was easily led both to believe that La Rivière had impeded the return of his mistress from the Carmelites, and to resent such conduct by withholding from him the secret of the queen's designs.

All this having been secretly arranged, and the temporary union of the Fronde and the court complete, a curious picture was offered by the amalgamation of the most opposite parties, and the sudden change of position in all the actors of the day.

Those who had drawn the sword a few months before mutually to cut each other's throats, went now hand-in-hand to destroy three men who had each at different times acted the most different parts; and those who had been sworn friends and supporters were now bent upon mutual destruction.

The enterprize which the queen had undertaken was not without great difficulty. It was absolutely necessary to arrest Conti and Longueville, as well as the prince, in order to avoid a ruinous civil war; but the three were seldom found together in any place where they could be seized without resistance. Warning had been given them that their enemies were busy; the Duc de Longueville kept at a short distance from Paris, and when two were present at the council, the third was almost invariably absent. At length, however, a cause was to come on for hearing\* before the council, in which they all took an interest; and Mazarin secretly instigated the parties concerned to beseech the Duc de Longueville to be present in the council-chamber. He promised to be so; and as soon as his resolution was known, measures were taken for arresting all three.

In the morning, the Prince de Condé had nearly discovered the design by some of those accidents which so often betray state secrets. He visited the

\* Madame de Motteville says that it was the cause of one nobleman, and the memoir of Artagnan of another; but the result was the same.

palace, conversed with Mazarin, and approached Lionne, one of the secretaries, who was at the very moment busily engaged in writing the necessary orders for his arrest. The secretary shuffled the papers hastily under the table cover, and replied to the prince's questions with as unembarrassed a countenance as he could assume. During the same interview, Mazarin, who in the midst of the most imminent dangers could not resist an Italian love of pleasantry, played off upon Condé, one of those practical sarcasms of which his countrymen, but more especially the Venetians, are still so fond. Some days before, after having taken measures to remove every chance of his enemy La Rivière being raised to the Conclave, he had persuaded the Abbé that his elevation was near, and had induced him to try different shades of scarlet, to see which would suit his complexion best when raised to the dignity of cardinal. He now informed the Prince de Condé that a prisoner, a witness of great importance to the trial of the Frondeurs, was likely to be rescued in being brought into Paris; and he persuaded the prince to sign an order with his own hand for a body of gendarmerie and light horse, to convey to Vincennes whatever prisoners should be placed under their charge.

On the appointed day, the 18th of January 1650, the Queen affected to be indisposed, and went to bed, ordering herself to be called on the meeting of the council. She was visited, however, during

the morning, by her friend the Princess Dowager of Condé; and her heart was torn by the kind and affectionate interest which the mother of Condé displayed in regard to an illness which was assumed to cover the proceedings against her own sons. Although Anne of Austria played her part steadily and resolutely, she could not help suffering a certain degree of emotion to appear, and the Princess de Condé went away with some suspicion of a design being formed against her family. She communicated her doubts to Condé, but they were not attended to; and he proceeded to the council evidently without the slightest apprehension on his own part.

After conversing for some time with the queen, who still remained in bed, and holding a conversation with the Abbé de la Rivière, in the course of which the precautions that had been taken for the purpose of excluding the ordinary crowd of courtiers from the Palais Royal had nearly betrayed the designs of the court, Condé proceeded, with the Duc de Longueville and the Prince de Conti, who had arrived after him, to the gallery in which the councils were ordinarily held, and where all the ministers were by this time assembled. The Duke of Orleans was absent, his timid nature not permitting him to witness the act which he approved; but the Queen had ordered herself to be summoned as soon as the other members of the council were ready, and a notification to that effect was imme-

diately conveyed to her. She then instantly gave orders to Guitaut, the captain of the guard, and Comminges his nephew, to arrest the Prince de Condé, with his brother and brother-in-law; and, taking the young king by the hand, she retired into her oratory to pray.

Everything having been prepared beforehand, Guitaut entered the gallery, and approached the prince, in whose opinion he stood high. Condé received him with a smiling air, imagining that he came to ask some favour at his hands; but Guitaut, addressing him in a low voice, so as to be unheard by the rest of the party, informed him that he had an order to arrest him, with the Duc de Longueville and the Prince de Conti.

“Me! me!” cried the prince, and immediately demanded eagerly to see the queen. Guitaut could not, of course, permit him to quit the gallery; but he carried a message from the prince to the queen. She refused, however, to see him, and Condé was forced to acquiesce. Escorted by a party of musketeers, he was led through several of the passages of the Palais Royal, proceeding with a bold demeanour, and all his usual presence of mind about him. He asked Guitaut to what prison he was to be conducted, adding, jocularly, that he hoped it was to some warm place: and seeing amongst the soldiers some of those who had served under him, he said, “My friends, this is not the battle of Lens.”

Though those words might well be considered

an exhortation to revolt, the soldiery remained faithful to their duty. Passing, however, through a small and somewhat obscure room, a momentary apprehension was brought across the mind of the prince by the sight of all the preparations which had been made for his arrest, and by the tortuous ways through which he was conducted to the spot where the carriage waited for him. The fate which had befallen the Duke of Guise and his brother presented itself to his memory, and turning to Guitaut, he said, "*This resembles too much the States of Blois.*"

"Fear nothing, my lord," replied Guitaut. "I am not a man to undertake such deeds."

The Prince de Conti and the Duc de Longueville followed at some distance; the former displaying a degree of quiet indifference which could hardly have been expected from him; and the latter plunged into a state of depression and grief which was naturally to be looked for in his character.

After having entered the carriage which was destined to conduct them to Vincennes, and met the escort which, under the express order of Condé himself, was to guard him to prison, nothing of any great importance happened. The vehicle, indeed, upset, and Condé, apparently imagining that the accident had not occurred without some design in his favour on the part of those who conducted him, made an effort to escape;\* but when he found that

\* M. de Motteville.



*such was not the case, and that they exerted themselves to secure him, he acquiesced at once.* In the prison itself no beds were found, and Condé, with his relations, passed the night in playing at cards, and disputing about the truth of astrology as a science, with so much wit and playfulness, that Comminges, who remained to guard the princes, declared he had never passed more pleasant moments than those he spent in Vincennes.

The sensation produced in Paris by the arrest of the princes was, of course, very great. Boutteville, afterwards Marshal Duke of Luxemburg, galloped through the streets, with a small train, crying out to the people that they had arrested Broussel, and some commotion took place in consequence; but it was soon calmed by De Retz and the Duc de Beaufort, who went forth on foot and told the populace the truth. No sooner did the Parisians hear that Condé was arrested, that he who had blockaded the city and treated the rabble of the capital with unconcealed contempt had been doomed to imprisonment by the very court he had served, than the loudest acclamations rent the sky; and Paris blazed with bonfires during the whole night.

Madame de Longueville was sent for by the queen; but, divining that it was the intention of the court to arrest her, she made her escape into Normandy. The Princess Dowager of Condé, overwhelmed with grief and indignation, received an

order to retire to one of her estates; and all the friends and adherents of the prince looked with apprehension for the next act of a government which had shown a degree of vigour that no one expected from it. The sincere grief of the queen, however, for the act of severity which she had been already obliged to perform, the calm and humble tone of Mazarin, and the frank openness of conduct displayed by the whole court, reassured very soon all the inferior connexions of the house of Condé; and even Chavigny, who had attached himself strongly to the prince, and was supposed to be acquainted with all his secret purposes, openly declared that Mazarin had acted wisely in arresting a man who, had he been suffered to go on, would have effected his destruction.

Nevertheless, the relations of the imprisoned princes did not fail to raise the standard of revolt against the queen. Madame de Longueville, in Normandy, indeed, met with a reception by no means agreeable: the parliament of Rouen insisted, in civil terms, upon her quitting that town; and the Duc de Richelieu refused to receive her in Havre. She then betook herself to Dieppe, where she endeavoured, as far as possible, to raise the country in behalf of her husband; and in some degree was successful. The castle of Dieppe was in her hands, and the Pont-de-l'Arche, which commanded the course of the Seine, was held by an officer of the Duc de Longueville.

On the other hand, the Duc de Bouillon fled under just apprehensions of being arrested, and took refuge at Turenne ; and Turenne himself, who since the peace had attached himself strongly to the Prince de Condé, cast himself into Stenay, which had been given up to the prince by Mazarin. The Prince de Marsillac, after having aided Madame de Longueville to make her escape from Paris, hastened to his own estates in Poitou ; and in Burgundy, which province had been under the government of the Prince de Condé, a number of that prince's officers announced their determination of holding out the towns in which they commanded, on behalf of Condé.

Against all these symptoms of insurrection Mazarin took instant and vigorous measures. A letter was sent to the parliament, justifying the conduct of the court towards the princes ; and as soon as it was known that the Duchess of Longueville and the rest had fled with the purpose of taking arms, the king published a declaration which was duly verified by the parliament, commanding all the fugitives to return within fifteen days, on pain of being considered disturbers of the public peace and guilty of high treason. The two Princesses of Condé received an order to retire to Chantilly, with which the young princess complied at once, while her mother-in-law laboured eagerly to effect by mild means the liberation, of her son.

About the same time, Mazarin led the court into

Normandy at the head of a small body of troops. The Pont-de-l'Arche, and almost all the other places which were held by officers of the Duc de Longueville, surrendered with scarcely any resistance to the royal forces, and the Duchess, whose situation in Dieppe was anything but safe, took ship, and made her escape to Holland, whence she proceeded to Stenay and joined Turenne. From Normandy, Mazarin led the royal family and forces into Burgundy, where some slight resistance was offered by different towns, especially Bellegarde, into which several celebrated commanders had thrown themselves; but their defence of that place was not equal to their reputation; and the whole of Burgundy was very soon reduced to obedience. The Prince de Condé was then formally dismissed from the government of that province, and the Duc de Vendôme was nominated to fill the vacant post.

After these exploits, which were made the most of by the court party, Mazarin returned triumphant to Paris, and the moderation which he had at first displayed gave way to a certain degree of presumption. That presumption, however, was not well founded; for although he had extinguished the flame of revolt in Normandy and Burgundy, Stenay still adhered to the party of the princes on the frontiers of Champagne; the Duc de Bouillon was making head at Turenne; the Duc de St. Simon declared openly for them in Blaye;

Marsillac was in arms in Angoumois and Poitou ; and behind him again, the discontented populace and parliament of Bordeaux, already almost in a state of revolt, showed the seeds of rebellion rapidly sprouting up, and promised a fine harvest to the hands of the nobles, who were ready to reap it immediately. The first efforts of the rebels, however, in all parts of France, were unsuccessful against the fortunes of the court. One of the earliest attempts was that of the Prince de Marsillac, who by the death of his father became, about that time, Duc de Rochefoucault. Having gathered together a number of gentlemen, to the amount of about seven hundred, he hoped to obtain possession of Saumur, and to form in it the nucleus of the general insurrection which he proposed to raise throughout the province. But in this purpose he was disappointed ; for in the internal wars of France, Mazarin took care to make use of what the famous Frederick the Great used to call his yellow hussars ; and the minister thus obtained possession of Saumur by a private treaty with the governor.

Disappointed in all his efforts in Angoumois, La Rochefoucault, well knowing the necessity of union under the circumstances in which the party of the Prince de Condé was placed, proceeded to confer with the Duc de Bouillon, and a plan was arranged between them, which, as we shall see, rendered that insurrection most formidable, which, had

it been opposed with the same vigour Mazarin had displayed in Normandy and Burgundy, might have been more easily put down than even the resistance of those provinces. A number of other noblemen and gentlemen joined themselves to Bouillon and La Rochefoucault; and the civil war which ensued, and which troubled France for several years, now proceeded in two separate streams, from Guienne on the one side, and from Stenay on the other. These two streams we shall proceed to consider apart, in order to avoid the chaotic confusion which the constant changes of all the partisans produced during this part of the wars of the Fronde.

## CHAPTER II.

Proceedings of the Insurgents.—The young Princess de Condé makes her escape from Chantilly.—Proceeds to Bordeaux with Bouillon and Rochefoucault.—Her courage and presence of mind.—Conduct of Mazarin.—Treaty with Holland.—Movements of Turenne.—He advances towards Vincennes.—Efforts to release the Prisoners.—Siege of Bordeaux.—Death of Richon and Canoles.—Bordeaux capitulates.—Proceedings in the North.—Rhetel taken.—Battle of Rhetel.—Total defeat of Turenne.

IN the meetings between the Dukes of Bouillon and Rochefoucault, it had been determined to take advantage of the discontent of the people of Guienne, to assemble as large a force from amongst the nobles who were attached to the Prince de Condé as possible, to call the young princess, with her infant son, into the South, in order to put her at their head, and taking possession of the city of Bordeaux, to render it the capital of the insurgent districts.

Gourville, who had faithfully served both Rochefoucault and Condé, was despatched in all haste to Chantilly, in order to confer with the princess dowager, and induce her to send her daughter-in-law to lead the malcontents in Guienne. But the

princess had been already applied to by a man attached strongly to Condé, the counsellor Léné, who besought her to send the young princess into Burgundy, in order to excite that province to display greater vigour and determination in the revolt which it had commenced. His application, indeed, had not been successful, but Gourville found the princess still undecided as to what course she should pursue.

Claire Clemence de Maille Brézé, Princess of Condé, was at that time young, lively, graceful, and though not handsome, interesting as well as engaging. She had never obtained her husband's love, nor had she possessed any authority or consideration in his family; for, married to the young prince against his inclinations under the iron rule of Richelieu, she had brought to the haughty house of Condé nothing but the blood of a simple gentleman and the protection of the all-powerful minister. She now, however, showed her determination to exert herself vigorously in behalf of her husband; and in the efforts she made for that purpose, she acted with greater wisdom, prudence, and foresight than could have been expected from one so little experienced in the affairs of the world. For some time no opportunity of action had presented itself; and it was not till the arrival of Léné, who hastened from Burgundy to give his advice at Chantilly, that her character began to appear in its true light.



*At first the princess dowager carried on all the negotiations which took place regarding the Prince de Condé, and his wife took but little part therein ; while love and amusement seemed to be the whole occupation of the small court that she held at the palace of her husband. But this external semblance of tranquillity and dissipation was the best calculated to cover whatever designs were formed at Chantilly, and the court, which took care that the relations of Condé should be closely watched, was deceived, and contented itself simply with giving an order for Lénét to retire from Paris, well knowing his intriguing nature, and doubting the effects upon the calm household of the Princess de Condé.*

The endeavours of the princesses, for a time, were restricted to an attempt to divide the parties at the court, and break up the unnatural alliance which existed between Mazarin and the Fronde ; but as soon as the invitation was received from Bouillon and Rochefoucault, the prospect of the revolt in Guienne was so attractive, that it was determined immediately to profit by it. The only difficulty was, how to effect the passage of the young princess across the country ; but the journey nevertheless was executed without risk, for, as Gourville himself observes, in those days things could be accomplished easily which a very few years afterwards men would not have believed to be possible.

It had been determined in the secret councils of Chantilly, that the princess dowager should proceed to Paris, in order to present a petition to the parliament in regard to her children, while her daughter-in-law effected her escape. But before these purposes were executed on either part, Mazarin, having gained some intimation that intrigues of a dangerous character were going on at Chantilly, caused some troops to advance in order to invest that place; and at the same time he despatched an officer of the name of Vouldy, with letters to the two princesses, commanding them to retire into Berry, notifying also that Vouldy had received orders not to lose sight of them.

In fact, they were to consider themselves as honourable prisoners, and the command to retire to Berry was judged by them rightly to be merely a pretext for sending Vouldy with them into the strong place of Montrond, which they held for the Prince de Condé, and upon which Mazarin was naturally anxious to seize. Information of this messenger's approach, however, had preceded him, and Lénét had immediately adopted measures for deceiving him.

The young princess, who was ill in bed, was made to rise, and an English girl, one of her maids of honour, who resembled her, was ordered to take her place, with directions to counterfeit her mistress. The gardener's son, about the same age

with the young Duke d'Enguien, was dressed in his clothes; and the dowager duchess, who was not sick at all, went to bed and affected severe illness.

The young princess was concealed by the curtains of her mother-in-law's bed when the messenger from the king was brought into the presence of the dowager princess, and listened while the letters were read, the contents of which we have already detailed. The dowager princess found an excuse for not obeying at once the will of the government in the sickness with which she pretended to be afflicted. The messenger showed no opposition to her proposed delay, and was conducted from her presence to that of the pretended Princess de Condé, where, with the windows half closed and the curtains drawn, the young English girl performed the part assigned to her so well, that the officer of the king was completely deceived, and was detained at Chantilly for more than seven days by the pretended illness of the two princesses, thinking that he daily saw the mother, the wife, and the son of Condé long after the two latter had made their escape.

As soon as he had gone to bed on the night after his arrival, a consultation was held as to the means to be adopted for conducting the flight of the young princess and the Duke d'Enguien in security. It was at length determined that it should be done by means of a carriage, which had been prepared beforehand, and which was brought to a place

appointed in the forest of Chantilly. Harness for four horses was sent out to the same place in an ordinary carriage from the *château*, and the four horses themselves were led forth unharnessed, as if to drink, but never returned.

At eleven o'clock at night the young princess took leave of her mother-in-law, and, accompanied by three ladies and her husband's physician, a man of great courage and determination, proceeded on foot through the forest to the spot where the carriage awaited her. They were followed by some attendants appointed to carry the young Duke d'Enguien in their arms, and to defend him in case of being attacked in the forest; and Lénét himself, with a party of servants, took another path, in order not to attract attention by the number of persons collected.

The ladies and their immediate attendants found the carriage, and proceeded in it without interruption to Paris; while Lénét and the servants followed to the city by another road. A fresh carriage with a relay of horses was sent on, and at four o'clock in the morning the whole party were on the road from the capital to Montrond.

Every precaution was taken not to excite suspicion. One of the ladies of the princess, taking a false name, assumed the character of the mother of the family in the carriage; Lénét and the rest, though they never lost sight of the princess's party, affected to be in no degree connected with it,

lodged at different inns, and treated the members thereof as perfect strangers. As they approached Burgundy, however, the matter became more easy, *and instead of going into the great towns, they went from house to house belonging to the friends and partisans of the Prince de Condé, till at length they arrived in safety at Montrond towards midnight on the 14th of April.*

In the mean while, the king's officer at Chantilly remained completely deceived; and on the first reports which were spread in Paris of the evasion of the princess, he assured Mazarin that they were false, informing him that he saw the wife and son of Condé every day. After spending some time at Montrond in arranging their plans for the future, and in negotiating with the different noblemen attached to the party of Condé, the young princess proceeded to Turenne, to confer with the Duke of Bouillon, and then, with an escort of several hundred men, went on to Bordeaux, in order to execute the enterprise which had been before laid out.

From the negotiations which had previously taken place, neither Bouillon nor Rochefoucault, who accompanied the young princess, had any idea that the parliament or city of Bordeaux would object to receive the whole party within the walls. A great body of persons within the town, however, headed by the most influential citizens, were not at all disposed to admit so large a force as that which accompanied the princess. To herself and

her son they willingly gave admission, and promised protection, though they showed considerable disinclination to compromise themselves any farther *with the court*; but the two dukes, with their friends, were obliged to remain without the walls for some time. They were allowed to enter every day, indeed, unattended by their retainers; and by flattery and fair speeches they at length so far obtained the confidence of the citizens, as to be permitted to bring in their troops, which being done, they proceeded of course to endeavour to rule the city that had given them refuge.

The provincial parliament of Bordeaux had through all its conduct shown a disposition to waver between loyalty and revolt, the spirit being that of insurrection, but the forms those of obedience. It entertained, however, at the present moment, great apprehensions lest by its treatment of the princess and her partisans, it should bind itself to their cause in so formal a manner as not to be able to disentangle itself. The object of Bouillon, Rochefoucault, and the rest, was of course to drive it to the very acts it feared to commit; for which purpose it was determined to rouse the populace of the city in favour of the princess, and induce it to force the parliament to promulgate such decrees as would commit it with the court, and compel it to remain attached to the cause of Condé. Means were taken to effect that object; but either from those means not having been so

judiciously employed as by De Retz in Paris, or from the Gascons being of a more excitable nature than the Parisians, the tumult became far more serious than had been expected or desired: many of the members of the parliament, becoming alarmed, sought to fly from the hall in which they were assembled, but were driven back by the people with blows and insults, several of them were wounded, and consternation spread through the whole body.

Notice, however, of the situation of the parliament was given to some of the principal citizens; the burghers flew to arms in order to deliver the magistrates, and the two parties met before the Palais de Justice, with all their passions inflamed, and ready to massacre each other. A shot or two had been fired, and a sanguinary scene of strife was about to be enacted, when the princess, who had also been informed by the parliament of its situation, appeared upon the steps of the palace with some of her women, and by a motion of her hand at once stopped the hostile movements of both parties. Then advancing towards them, she exclaimed aloud, "Let those that love me follow me," and turned towards her own dwelling, accompanied by the whole body of the people, shouting loudly, "Long live the Princess!"

This, however, was not the first occasion on which Clemence de Maillé, had shown those talents and that presence of mind which are of so much importance in such transactions as those in which

she was engaged. In her transactions with the parliament of Bordeaux, she had from the first displayed qualities which nobody had attributed to her : she had employed every means to move that body, and excite it in favour of her husband, tears, prayers, supplications, persuasions, mingled with all those little graces and turns which are so well calculated to captivate and attract the multitude.

While the parliament of Bordeaux hesitated and temporised, and the princess and her friends exerted themselves in the strongest manner to increase the number of their partisans in the town, and to draw from without all the scattered adherents of the house of Condé, so as to assemble round her a sufficient force to command, if prayers should fail, Mazarin was pursuing in Paris the very course which Condé could have desired.

The cardinal was not what the Scripture emphatically calls “ a free-giver ;” he never could bear to grant anything, or to make any concession that was not absolutely wrung from him ; liberal in promise, he was parsimonious in performance, and as soon as he had obtained his object, the price which he had engaged to pay for it became so greatly magnified in his eyes, that he could not bear to keep his word. Thus, when negotiating with the Frondeurs to ensure their concurrence in the arrest of Condé, he had promised all things that they could desire with the utmost facility ; and immediately after the event was consummated, he



had reiterated those promises with every mark of gratitude and sincerity. After returning triumphant, however, from Normandy and Burgundy, his good fortune, to use the words of De Retz, got into his head; and an inclination to delay, if not to evade, became manifest to the eyes of all.

At the same time, the plan which had been agreed upon between the two Princesses of Condé was executed on the part of the princess dowager. She proceeded to Paris, and presented a petition to the parliament, demanding to be taken under its protection, and to be ensured permission to remain in the capital, in order to pursue the justification of her sons, without running the risk of being arrested. The parliament agreed to protect her till such time as the Duke of Orleans could be consulted upon the subject; and that prince was brought unwillingly to take his seat. But at the door of the great chamber he was encountered by the princess, who threw herself at his feet, and besought his countenance and support. She addressed also the Duke of Beaufort and De Retz in terms of deep humility; causing in the bosom of the coadjutor, if we may believe his word, feelings such as he seldom experienced. He had nearly died, he says, of shame.

The duke and the coadjutor, however, were still determined not to suffer any application in favour of Condé to be effectual; they obtained from the parliament that the Princess's petition should be

refused; and an order was sent her to quit Paris immediately, and to retire to a distance from the city. She was forced to obey, but fell ill on the road; and in the mean time Mazarin proceeded to irritate De Retz, by refusing or neglecting to grant the amnesty which had been promised, by quibbling upon the words of his bargain, and by supporting Emery in various pitiful attempts to strip the fundholders of the Hôtel de Ville of some part at least of their dues. While by this dirty policy, however, the cardinal was raising up enemies against himself in the capital, he was taking measures for suppressing the revolt of Guienne: and seeing that a civil war was still likely to be the consequence, he was endeavouring to create a diversion in favour of France in her struggle with the Spaniards, by entering into a treaty with the young Prince of Orange. This was concluded by the famous Count d'Estrades, and the prince managed to break the existing peace with Spain and with England. Great efforts were to be made by the allies: every means were to be used to establish Charles II. on the British throne: the town of Antwerp was to be attacked by the allied troops; Bruges and Mons were also to be assailed; the town of Antwerp was to be left in the hands of the Prince of Orange; and fifty Dutch ships were to be maintained by Holland, in the narrow seas, from the 1st of May to the end of November in the following year.

While guarding himself on that side, however, a storm more serious even than that which was gathering at Bordeaux, menaced Mazarin from the north. Turenne had fled from Paris, shortly after the arrest of the Prince de Condé, having previously refused various tempting offers which Mazarin made to him; and had thrown himself into the town of Stenay, which, together with Jamets and some other places on the frontiers of Champagne, held out in favour of the princes. He there sold all his silver plate, and the Duchess of Longueville, who soon joined him, all her jewels, in order to raise troops; and every effort was made by Turenne and the duchess to seduce the forces which had served under him in Germany, but with so little effect that only two regiments and part of a third joined them at Stenay.

Surrounded by troops attached to the monarch, Turenne was likely to be overwhelmed, and he consequently applied eagerly to the Spaniards for the purpose of obtaining armed assistance in his revolt. Alarmed by such tidings, Mazarin renewed his offers to Turenne, but he did so in vain; and the negotiations with the Spaniards, after some delays and difficulties from a certain grasping spirit upon their part, were concluded. Turenne, now at the head of a Spanish and French army amounting to about eighteen thousand men, advanced to the frontier, and took Le Catelet, Guise, and some other places.

The movements, however, of Du Plessis Praslin, who at the head of a small army of French troops, threw himself between the Spaniards and their supplies, forced them to raise the siege of the citadel of Guise, and, abandoning that enterprise, they returned towards La Capelle, which immediately surrendered.

Turenne now wished to march straight upon Paris, but the Spaniards would not consent to such a movement, and that great general was obliged to content himself with the capture of Rhetel, and of some other towns in that neighbourhood. Carried away by a probable hope of delivering the imprisoned princes by a *coup de main*, he then left the Spanish army on the banks of the Aisne, and advanced with three thousand horse direct towards Vincennes.

In the mean time the fate of the prisoners themselves had been but little varied since the night of their arrival at the place of their imprisonment. The Prince de Conti, on finding himself enclosed within the sombre walls of Vincennes, had asked for the famous work called the "Imitation of Jesus Christ;" and his bolder brother, gazing around, and already meditating his escape, demanded, on the contrary, "an imitation of the Duke of Beaufort," who, it may be remembered, had contrived to drop from the walls not long before. No means, however, presented themselves to Condé of following his example; and when news was brought him,

that his wife had raised the standard of revolt in Guienne, he turned from some flowers which he found a pleasure in cultivating, exclaiming, "Who would have thought that my wife would be making war upon my enemies, while I am watering my carnations!"

Beside the general efforts of their friends to effect their liberation by force of arms, various enterprises were undertaken for the purpose of enabling the prisoners to effect their escape: the first of these enterprises was conducted by Gourville, whom we have had more than one occasion to mention. He had been godfather to one of the children of a corporal of the guard, named Franceur, who was at that time on duty at Vincennes, and through him he now established a communication with the other soldiers.

The princess dowager furnished money to smooth the way for the deliverance of her sons; and promises, which may be considered as the paper-money of gratitude, were showered liberally amongst the soldiery of the prison: privates were to become officers, corporals captains, serjeants colonels. Two hundred thousand livres were to be distributed amongst the conspirators, and a vague train of spectre advantages was seen beyond, if the prison doors could but be opened to Condé. What between enthusiasm for the great hero of the age, and the real and imaginary benefits with which their hopes were tempted, almost all the soldiers

of the guard were gained over to the purposes of Gourville, and it was determined that the liberation of the princes should be effected on the following Sunday, at the hour of vespers. De Bar, the governor, was in the habit of going to church at that time with all the officers of the garrison, and the soldiers had determined to cause bars to be made by which the doors of the church could be shut upon them while the liberation of the princes was effected.

The whole plan was so feasible, and the soldiery so completely determined, that joy and satisfaction spread through the family of Condé. The princess dowager, however, thought it necessary to entrust the secret to four gentlemen attached to the person of her son, that they might aid in the enterprise. One of them took fright upon the eve of executing the project, and, pretending to go to confess himself at Nôtre Dame, he informed the grand penitentiary that he had committed a robbery, and wished by his means to make restitution. To that purpose he handed him a packet, in which he said the name of the person robbed would be found; but when, on reaching his own house, the grand penitentiary opened the paper, instead of what he expected to meet with, he found written, "On Sunday next, at three o'clock, the princes are to be set at liberty: there is an understanding in Vincennes to that effect."

The penitentiary immediately carried the note

to the coadjutor, who, as well as the Duke of Beaufort, was at that time in strict union with the court. Beaufort at once mounted on horseback, put himself at the head of some troops of cavalry, and scoured the country in the neighbourhood of Vincennes, in order to arrest any accomplices who might be lurking about to favour the enterprise. He found no one, indeed; but his appearance in the neighbourhood spread consternation amongst the conspirators, who immediately perceived that their project was discovered. Gourville communicated the fact to Francœur, and he to his companions. Amongst themselves the secret was admirably well kept; Gourville made his escape immediately into Poitou, the guard at Vincennes was changed, but no discovery of the conspirators was made, and the enterprise only ended in disappointment. Other efforts were not wanting, however, for the purpose of liberating them; and while they were at Marcoussi, to which place they were soon after transferred, the Duke of Nemours formed a similar design, which would almost inevitably have set them at liberty, had they not been suddenly removed to Havre.

Through the whole time of their imprisonment, the skill and industry of their friends found methods of carrying on with the prisoners a constant correspondence. One of the means employed was ingenious, and succeeded in completely deceiving the vigilance of De Bar. Reading and gaming, and

the cultivation of his flowers, were the only amusements afforded to the great Condé; but the prisoners were suffered to receive, from time to time, sums of money, which, probably, might be agreeable to the governor and his satellites under various points of view; for the enjoyments and conveniences which prisoners can procure are so few, that they are always willing to pay for any little indulgence which money can obtain. The sums sent to them consisted in large crown-pieces; and amongst these their friends contrived to slip small silver boxes exactly modelled like the coin, and containing in their hollow centre any information that might be necessary to give them. They found means to convey their answers back, either by throwing the hollow crowns from the windows beyond the moat, or by gaining the officers of the prison to their views. So easy, indeed, had their communication with persons without become, that even swords and daggers were furnished to them. Other enterprises were afterwards framed for the purpose of delivering them from Havre when they had been conveyed to that place; but as it would have been necessary to have used force for the purpose of effecting their evasion from the strong citadel in which they were confined, and a risk to their own lives would thereby have been incurred, the attempt was altogether abandoned. They were at Vincennes when the movements of Turenne took place; and it was the appearance of a design upon



that prison which alarmed Mazarin, and caused him to remove the princes from their first place of imprisonment to the castle of Marcoussi. Turenne soon found that he would be frustrated in *the object of his enterprise*; and, retiring across the Aisne, he rejoined the Spaniards.

It was a part of Mazarin's policy, on all occasions, by exciting the hopes of his enemies to paralyze their exertions; and at this time he not only carried on negotiations with the Prince de Conti, in which he endeavoured to regain the princes to his interests by marrying Conti to one of his nieces, but he entered into communication also with the Spanish government, holding out a prospect of peace upon easy terms. These proceedings kept the army under Turenne in a state of inactivity for some time, till, finding that the vague hopes afforded by Mazarin were not likely to be realized, the Spanish force advanced, and invested Mouson, which did not surrender for several weeks. It being, by the time that place had fallen, the middle of November, the principal part of the Spanish forces retired into Flanders, leaving Turenne with about eight thousand men upon the frontier.

In the mean while the insurgents in Bordeaux had taken every possible means of strengthening their position. A number of experienced officers had joined the princess; negotiations had taken place with Spain, the government of which country did everything that it possibly could to sup-

port the revolt; and various small, but important, places in the neighbourhood had been occupied by the insurgent forces. The Duke of St. Simon, however, after having given the princess every reason to believe that he would join her party, had, on the contrary, declared for the queen, and greatly annoyed the insurgents from his strong post at Blaye.

The posture of affairs at Guienne had now become so menacing that Mazarin judged it necessary to lead the court towards the scene of action; and while the Maréchal de Meilleraie advanced upon Bordeaux with a small army, the king, the queen, the minister, and the whole court followed as far as Bourg. At the same time the Duke of Epernon and the Chevalier de la Valette had gathered together all the forces that they could muster, and, acting in union with Meilleraie, threatened Bordeaux with immediate investment.

The principal part of the troops of the Dukes of Bouillon and Rochefoucault had been posted at Blancford; but they were soon driven in: and at the same time the royal forces attacked the castle of Vaire, on the Dordogne; and the governor,\* having surrendered at discretion, was immediately hanged as a rebel. Bouillon and Rochefoucault, however, knowing the danger of suffering such a

\* His name was Richon: the Princess of Condé herself was present when judgment was pronounced upon Canoles, who was hanged in reprisal. The name of the latter is sometimes written Canot.

precedent, ordered the Baron de Canoles, who had been taken some time before, for immediate execution; and such a prompt and decided measure of reprisal immediately put a stop to this kind of slaughter in detail.

The siege of Bordeaux then commenced; and the defence of so indefensible a place, surrounded by large and scattered suburbs which the generals were not permitted to destroy, without any regular defences, and only a scanty body of disciplined troops and a crowd of citizen partisans, who more frequently impeded than accelerated the operations of their commanders, added greatly to the military reputation of the Duke of Bouillon, who took the lead in all the proceedings for the maintenance of the place.

The principal attack was made upon the Porte Dijaux, and by the Fauxbourg St. Saurin. An open suburb, and a mere city gate without one outwork to protect it, except a large dunghill out of which Bouillon and Rochefoucault had attempted to construct a half-moon, appeared to the royalist generals a very easy conquest; but they found themselves mistaken. A severe contest took place for the suburb, which cost the royal army near eight hundred men in the attack; and, even when they had obtained possession of it, the half-moon before the Porte Dijaux offered so vigorous a resistance, that, as Ramsay observes, it was wonderful to see a mere dunghill become the principal defence of an important city.

Mazarin, however, whenever he was forced to carry a sword in one hand, was sure to carry a roll of parchment in the other; and, while his generals were thus vigorously attacking the city of Bordeaux, he was as vigorously negotiating with the inhabitants. Some deputies from the parliament of Paris, to which body the parliament of Bordeaux had applied for support and assistance, had followed the court rapidly to the south, and, after a short interview with the Queen and Mazarin, they proceeded to Bordeaux, where they persuaded all parties to strive for peace. Deputies were sent out from the insurgent town to confer with the court at Bourg; a truce of six days was concluded; and at length, on the 29th of September, a treaty of peace was signed, in which the rebels were certainly treated more mildly than they had any right to expect.

The principal item of the treaty was full pardon to the citizens of Bordeaux; but by others it was agreed that the Princess of Condé and her son should retire to Montrond, that the Dukes of Bouillon and Rochefoucault should pledge themselves never to bear arms again against the King, and that the court should take possession of the city only accompanied by the ordinary guard. This being all happily concluded, the rebel leaders went out to visit their offended sovereign; on which occasion, to make use of the few, but meaning, words of Ramsay, the Queen received them graciously,

and the cardinal gave them their dinner. In the course of their interview with Mazarin, Bouillon and Rochefoucault underwent temptation from all the cardinal's powers of persuasion, which were used to induce them to join the court, and abandon the interests of the princes; but it would appear that they skilfully availed themselves of a plan, which had been before laid, for dividing the court from the Fronde. They listened to Mazarin sufficiently to increase the jealousy which De Retz and his fraternity began to feel towards the cardinal, without pledging themselves to any thing farther than that which had been stipulated by the terms of the treaty. They also had in view to cause dissensions between Mazarin and the Duke of Orleans; and that prince's daughter, who had accompanied the court to Bourg, did not fail to mark and notify to her father the long and private conversations which the two dukes had with the minister. The suspicions which were thus insinuated, were soon strengthened in the mind of the Duke of Orleans by the after conduct of Mazarin, who showed a determination, which nothing could shake, not to trust the imprisoned princes either in the hands of Gaston, or in those of the leaders of the Fronde.

After a hasty visit to Bordeaux, the court returned once more triumphant to Paris; and Mazarin, as we shall very soon show, forgot the line of policy which he ought to have pursued towards the

Fronde, and, once more called its redoubtable enmity upon himself. Successful, however, in his operations against the insurgents of Guienne, he determined to see whether he could not crush the forces of Turenne on the side of Champagne; and having joined to the small army which followed him from Bordeaux, some other troops drawn from the Flemish frontiers, a force was formed of about sixteen thousand men, which was placed under the command of Du Plessis Praslin, with orders to attack the strong town of Rhetel.

A vigorous resistance was made by the garrison which Turenne had placed therein; and that general himself advanced rapidly with all the troops he could collect, in order to force Du Plessis to raise the siege. Anxious, however, for success, Mazarin set out from Paris in person, and, arriving at a critical moment, it would appear, decided that an attack on one of the suburbs should be made, in regard to which Du Plessis had hesitated. The attack was successful, and the town almost immediately surrendered.

In the mean while Turenne had hastened forward, but arrived too late. After remaining in presence of the adverse army all night, that great general attempted to effect his retreat. Du Plessis, however, followed him during the night of the 14th and 15th of December, and came up with him at day-break near Genneville. Turenne, however, still continued his march along some heights which

form one side of a valley, while Du Plessis followed the heights on the opposite side, and a thick fog prevented either army from seeing the other.

Towards twelve o'clock the mists dispersed; and Du Plessis immediately took measures to force Turenne to fight. Finding that it was not to be avoided, although his force was very inferior to that of the royalists, Turenne determined to give up the advantages which the heights afforded him, and attack Du Plessis in a plain, which that general now occupied, rather than suffer the whole of the royal forces to come up. Both armies ranged themselves in two lines; and Turenne on the left, at the head of some squadrons of Lorraine cavalry, attacked the right of Du Plessis' army with such vigour as to overpower all resistance, and penetrate to the cannon which were behind the first line. In the mean while, the Maréchal de Hocquincourt, who commanded the left of the royal forces, had defeated the right of Turenne, and now advanced to support Du Plessis. Turenne, with his left wing, fought with desperation; but Du Plessis, bringing up the second line, nearly surrounded the small force opposed to him, and the troops of the revolted general began to fly in every direction.

Turenne maintained the struggle as long as possible, but at length found himself in the midst of a party of Germans in the pay of the king, with but one of his own officers near him. Several of the Weimarians, who had served under him, knew him,

and strove to take him prisoner; but he and his companion cut their way through. They were still, however, in the midst of the French, and had more than once been nearly captured: but, asserting that they were of the royalist party whenever they were stopped, they effected their escape, gathering together as many of the fugitives as possible. The rout was so complete, however, that only a hundred and fifty horse accompanied Turenne to Bar le Duc.

About one half of his whole army was all that could ever be re-assembled, and with it he took refuge in Montmedi rather than in Stenay, in order to prevent the archduke from suspecting that he was about to abandon the Spanish cause. That prince, however, acted towards Turenne with the most generous consideration, and, instead of attributing to any fault of his the misfortune which had befallen the Spanish army, he requested Turenne himself to fill up the vacancies occasioned by the deaths which had taken place in the late battle, sending him at the same time a large sum as an instalment upon the subsidy promised by Spain. Tidings, however, had by this time reached the French general from Paris, which afforded a fair hope of his speedy reconciliation with the court; and he consequently sent back the money untouched, informing the archduke of the cause, but promising not to lay down his arms till fair terms of peace had been offered to Spain.



## CHAPTER III.

**La Rivière driven from the Court.—De Retz rules the Duke of Orleans.—Objects and plans of De Retz.—The Court refuses him its nomination to the Conclave.—He treats with the imprisoned Princes.—Leads on the Parliament to commit itself anew against Mazarin.—Drives Mazarin from Paris.—The Princes liberated by the Cardinal.—Their treatment of him.—He retires to Cologne.**

WHILE these events had been taking place in Guienne and Champagne, the wheels of the great complicated and irregular machine in Paris had been moving round, and producing new combinations amongst all the figures which appeared upon its face. Immediately after the imprisonment of Condé, the Abbé de la Rivière, who had so long governed the Duke of Orleans, finding that his favour was at an end, made one or two faint struggles to regain his ascendancy, and was then driven from the court. Gaston had never yet been without a domestic governor, and his subjection to some one had become second nature. Mazarin and De Retz were both aware of this fact; but the minister failed to take those steps which were necessary to supply the vacant place of favourite by

a creature of his own, and the coadjutor of Paris, a more dignified and talented, but not a more disinterested or unambitious ruler, took the government of the Duke of Orleans into his own hands.

During the contest in Guienne and the first attempts of Turenne in the North, the coadjutor had acted upon the principles which might be expected from him. His object in supporting the court had never been to strengthen the power of Mazarin : his ancient hatred of that minister continued, and he perceived that the popular enmity towards the cardinal, which had been slightly mitigated by the arrest of Condé and his relations, but was reacting with greater force than ever, would soon afford him the means of hurling him from the height of power to which he himself had aided in raising him. On the other hand De Retz had lost a considerable portion of his own influence, and had greatly weakened the party of the Fronde by his temporary coalition with Mazarin. This had happened from two causes : the cardinal himself had gained some of the partisans of the Fronde, and the people had learned to distrust a faction which seemed as fickle in its purposes as the multitude itself. For the loss of adherents and of reputation, indeed the acquisition of the favour of the Duke of Orleans made some compensation ; and De Retz now took advantage of it to the greatest extent, attaching himself closely to a prince who had always been doubted and feared by the cardinal.

We must remember that De Retz evidently, though not avowedly, aimed through his political life at three great objects, each subservient to the other: first, to gain entire command over the populace; secondly, by his popular rule to obtain a cardinal's hat; and thirdly, having acquired that rule and that dignity, to found thereupon a claim to the post of minister itself. The popular rule he had fully gained; and now, before he proceeded to recover any little ground he had lost, and to overthrow Mazarin in order to make way for himself, he strove for his second object—a seat in the conclave, and endeavoured to drive the minister to give him the formal nomination of the court of France to that high dignity, as Mazarin had promised him upon their reconciliation. To effect this purpose he proposed various means: first, he sought to get into his own power the imprisoned princes; by which he would have increased his authority to an extraordinary extent, and would also have deprived Mazarin of all the advantages which might be derived from setting them at liberty, after making his own terms with them. He, secondly, determined to excite the jealousy of the Duke of Orleans against Mazarin, and to force that prince to demand from the minister the actual nomination of his favourite to the conclave; by which demand one of two great objects would be gained: either the high dignity itself at which he aspired, or an open rupture between Mazarin and the Duke of

Orleans. That rupture, sooner or later, De Retz had resolved to effect, well knowing that it would restore to him all his credit with the people, and that the strength of the Fronde would be increased in a tenfold degree by having as its apparent head the lieutenant-general of the kingdom.

The various minor intrigues, negotiations, and tergiversation of the time form an inextricable mass of confusion; the only clue to which, if clue indeed it can be called, is to remember that there were now three parties in the state: that of the court, that of the Fronde, and that of the princes; and that each of these parties was striving to confuse and divide the others. It must not be forgotten either, that the party of the princes had from the very first been labouring to create a division between the Fronde and the court, in order to weaken both; nor that the court had been striving to put down the party of the princes, to render it irreconcilable with the Fronde, and to sap the power of the one while it crushed the other. The same was the policy of the Fronde towards the court and the princes; and added to its purposes of the kind, was the design to create an irreparable breach between the minister and the Duke of Orleans.

In pursuit of these objects, the coadjutor laboured to have the princes brought from Vincennes to the Bastile; but he was frustrated by their being withdrawn to Marcoussi; which manœuvre was

effected fully as much for the purpose of removing them from the neighbourhood of De Retz, as for that of guarding them against the attempts of Turenne.

Mazarin was generally too wise to let any of his cards appear before the whole game was played; but the old keeper of the seals, Chateauneuf, who was now restored to some degree of power, suffered the true motives of the court to appear, by exclaiming openly, after the removal of the prisoners, "The coadjutor must not talk so loud any more."

De Retz took his revenge, and regained a great deal of his popularity, by harassing all Mazarin's movements in Guienne, by stimulating the parliament of Paris to take part with the parliament of Bordeaux, and by holding out such menaces of a close union between the two cities, as to force the minister to grant an amnesty to the rebels upon much easier terms than he otherwise would have done. None of these measures were concealed from the court, and Mazarin, flushed with success, returned to Paris, openly venting his indignation against the coadjutor, and attributing to him every difficulty he had met with in his late undertakings. By this time, however, the suspicions of the Duke of Orleans had been excited against the cardinal to fully as great a degree as De Retz could desire. His daughter, usually called Mademoiselle, had accompanied the court to Bourg, and her report of

the demeanour of the minister towards the partisans of the prisoners combined with all the rumours, the reports, the intrigues, and the representations which, upon a concerted plan, issued forth from Chantilly and from the hotel of the Princess Palatine, and induced the Duke of Orleans to believe that Mazarin intended to make good terms with the princes on his own and on the queen's account, and then to leave him, the Duke of Orleans, exposed unsupported to their whole enmity.

After its return from Bordeaux, the court proceeded to Fontainebleau; and Mazarin, who saw that the princes were still too near Paris, determined to remove them at once to Havre, if he could obtain the consent of the Duke of Orleans. For that purpose he induced the queen to invite her brother-in-law to Fontainebleau, in order to detach him from the friends and advisers who gave him some degree of strength and consistency of character. The invitation was so strongly pressed that it could not be refused with decency, and De Retz was obliged to suffer the duke to depart, very doubtful what that weak and vacillating prince would do during his absence from the capital.

With the assistance of the other leaders of the Fronde, the coadjutor had tutored him in regard to all his proceedings; and, having determined now to make that attempt, which, if it succeeded, would wring from the unwilling hands of the minister all those concessions upon which he had fixed his mind,

or, if it failed, would place the minister in an obnoxious position with regard to the parliament, the people, and the Duke of Orleans,—he obtained a promise from Gaston to grant nothing to the court without demanding the nomination of the French court to the Roman purple in favour of him, François de Gondi.

In this disposition the Duke set out for Fontainebleau ; but Mazarin was far too artful for him to deal with, and the minister evaded the question of the cardinal's hat till he had wrung from the Duke his consent to the proposed transfer of the imprisoned princes to Havre. The question of the hat was then brought on before the council, and the nomination of De Retz was strongly supported by Mazarin. He had previously found means, however, to induce almost all the other members of the council to oppose most vehemently the coadjutor's claim, to display in the most glaring light all the evil conduct of De Retz, and to beseech the queen openly not to raise to the highest clerical dignity a man who had already made such a bad use of his powers. The Duke of Orleans found himself both duped and disappointed, and returned to Paris in high wrath and indignation. It is more than probable that De Retz had foreseen all that occurred ; and, at all events, he was prepared to take advantage of the favourable circumstances of his situation, many of which had not been perceived by Mazarin himself.

That the friends of the princes would rather have received their liberation from the hands of the court than from those of the Fronde there can be no doubt; but with Mazarin and De Retz, Condé stood in a very different position, and all the advantages were in favour of the latter. It was evident to all men, and to Condé himself, that in consenting to his imprisonment, De Retz had been actuated solely by the motive of self-preservation: he had violated no strong ties of gratitude to the prince, and there was no impediment, in any degree insurmountable, to an entire reconciliation between them. With Mazarin the case was very different. He had been despised and insulted by Condé, and after having been by his support restored to power and delivered from imminent danger, he had contrived and executed the imprisonment of that prince. In the way of any sincere reconciliation between him and Condé there were a thousand barriers, and Mazarin could never believe that Condé would sincerely pardon or frankly support him.

No sooner, then, did the Duke of Orleans return to Paris, bearing the refusal of the Queen to nominate De Retz to the cardinalate, than the coadjutor determined to labour for the liberation of the princes. The parliament had often expressed a desire that they should be liberated; but in order to give that desire effect against the will of the court, the cooperation of De Retz and the Fronde had always been wanting. That co-operation, joined to



the sanction of the Duke of Orleans, was quite sufficient to overthrow the minister ; but before it could safely be granted, it was necessary to consider the interests of all the various leaders of the Fronde, and to reconcile those interests with the interests of the Prince de Condé and his party, in order to insure to the Fronde that his liberation would be beneficial, and not detrimental to it.

The person who managed the negotiation on the part of the princes in Paris, was the celebrated Anne de Gonzaga, widow of Edward Prince Palatine. She had been through life the intimate friend of the mother of Condé, and she now laboured with skill, wisdom, and perseverance for the liberation of her friend's son. With her De Retz treated directly, and in the whole course of the negotiations, she displayed a degree of penetration which baffled all the subtlety of the coadjutor ; and while she foiled his arts against herself, she directed them aright against their mutual opponents. By her activity and energy five or six separate treaties were drawn up and signed between the different personages whose interests were concerned, each in general ignorant of his comrade's participation.

The most important of these treaties were the general treaty between the party of the Fronde and that of the princes, the treaty between Condé and the Duke of Beaufort, and that between the princes and the Duke of Orleans. By the first, mutual assistance was stipulated, on condition of the mar-

riage of the Prince de Conti with Mademoiselle de Chevreuse. By the second, Beaufort engaged to use all his influence with the Duke of Orleans and with the people to procure the liberation of the princes; and to this, De Retz, in order to blind any one who might obtain a knowledge of that document, added an engagement on the part of the Duke of Beaufort to break with the coadjutor himself, in case he opposed the objects of the contracting parties. Condé, in return for the aid of Beaufort, gave up to him all pretensions to the post of admiral. The third treaty was that of the princes with the Duke of Orleans, by which a marriage was stipulated between the young Duke d'Enguien and Mademoiselle d'Orleans, and the union of the Prince de Conti and Mademoiselle de Chevreuse was again mentioned. The cardinal's hat was likewise promised to De Retz, and mutual co-operation agreed upon.

Few of these personages were at all aware, as I have before said, of what was taking place with the others; and the only persons who were fully informed were De Retz and the Princess Palatine. A great deal of confusion was thus avoided; but the principal difficulty was to obtain the signature of the Duke of Orleans, who never could bear to take any decided step, however fond he might be of all the preliminary bustle. Like the leading ram of a flock of sheep after the shearing, one might bring him easily to the brink of the stream;

but then it was necessary to push him over. Thus, when his signature was demanded, he hesitated, evaded, delayed, till at length it was requisite to force it from him. Caumartin, the confidant of De Retz, laid wait for the Duke in a passage between two doors, with the treaty in his hand; presented it to him, with a pen full of ink; offered his own back for a writing-desk; and the Duke, afraid of being caught by some one in the very act, signed the document at once to get rid of it, "as he would have signed," said Madame de Chevreux, "the protocol of a meeting of devils, if he had been afraid his good angel would catch him amongst them."

Everything having been settled to the satisfaction of De Retz, he proceeded to set all his engines in motion, for the purpose of uniting the parliament, the Fronde, the people, and the Duke of Orleans in one general effort to liberate the princes, and to overthrow the minister. In this, likewise, he was successful, although he had need of all his skill and dissimulation to conceal from the parliament that he was united with the party of Condé, which would have infallibly produced a strong opposition on the part of the first president, and all the older and more influential members of that body.

The first step, after his full arrangements had been made with the partisans of the princes, and after every method had been concerted for the purpose of gaining their liberation, was to cause a

petition to be presented from the young Princess of Condé,\* praying the parliament to interfere in behalf of her husband, and to have him removed from Havre, which was represented as a residence detrimental to his health.

The younger members of the chambers clamoured loudly for the reception of the petition; and the chief president, fancying that the leaders of the Fronde would be vehemently opposed to the liberation of a man with whom he thought them at deadly enmity, merely objected to receive the document on account of its being informal, inasmuch as the young Princess de Condé did not appear to be furnished with a formal authorisation from her husband.

This defect was immediately supplied: a regular authorisation from Condé was manufactured in a few minutes; and though the forgery was gross and apparent, the document was held to be good, and a time was appointed by the parliament for taking into consideration the application of the Princess. No sooner was intelligence of these proceedings communicated to the court, than a message was sent down, forbidding the parliament to deliberate upon the petition at all. The parliament instantly rose into resistance in defence of its rights and privileges; and that body and the court, as De Retz

\* The Princess Dowager of Condé had died shortly after her petition had been rejected by the parliament,—it is supposed, of grief and indignation.

had expected, were once more placed in direct opposition to each other.

While these proceedings were taking place, all eyes were turned from time to time towards Champagne; and Mazarin himself, then absent, as we have seen, with Du Plessis, could only guide the proceedings of the court from a distance. In the midst, however, of the disputes between the parliament and the queen, arrived the tidings that a great battle had been fought near Rhetel, between the royal forces and those of Turenne; and the cardinal returned to Paris, full of triumph in his new success.

Consternation spread amongst the partisans of the princes, and through a great part of the Fronde and the parliament. But De Retz well knew that there is a particular stage of general discouragement when some bold and daring action will suddenly change the current of all feelings, and rouse from the lassitude of despondency into energy, activity, and even violence. He determined, then, to attack the minister in the very moment of his highest success, and to make that very success itself the motive and pretext for so doing.

In the previous meeting of the parliament at Martinmas, the chief president had besought the chambers to conduct themselves prudently and tranquilly, in order not to embarrass the proceedings of the government in opposition to the declared enemies of the country. No sooner, then, was the

battle of Rhetel gained, the army of Turenne annihilated, and Mazarin raised to the height of confidence, than De Retz, who had throughout the preceding occurrences displayed much moderation and gentleness, rose, and said, that now the enemies of the country were completely crushed, no farther reason existed for his refraining from calling the attention of the parliament to the internal government of the country, and he found it his bounden duty to beseech the chambers to take notice of the shameful and perilous system of mismanagement which was daily producing new evils in the state. He then moved that a remonstrance should be made to the regent, simply upon the disorders of the government; but at the same time he managed the most difficult part of the whole manœuvre with a degree of skill which rendered it completely successful.

It was necessary to take some notice of the situation of the imprisoned princes; but still, if he appeared eager for their liberation before the parliament had absolutely committed itself to restore them to freedom, De Retz felt certain that an opposition would be raised up, which might frustrate all his purposes; and therefore, though in the end of his discourse he proposed a petition to the king to remove the princes from Havre to some more healthy spot, it was couched in such feeble and obscure language, that the chief president himself was deceived, and fancied that the coadjutor was only

embarrassed by the necessity of saying something in their favour, and his personal enmity towards them.

The petition proposed by De Retz was not only agreed to, but moulded into much stronger language; and a decree was ultimately pronounced, with the sanction of the chief president himself, directing a humble remonstrance to be made to the queen, with the express view of effecting a reconciliation between the various members of the royal family, of inducing her majesty to set the princes at liberty, and of securing to their relations the right of remaining in the capital, in order to solicit their enfranchisement.

From this there was no retreating: it was the first decided step the parliament had taken in favour of the princes; but when taken, it was so decided, that all parties felt it could never be retracted, and De Retz was satisfied that he had gained his object with the chambers. It was his design, however, not only to liberate the princes, but to destroy Mazarin also, and for this purpose he resolved once more to excite the people to clamour, if not to tumult.

It happened about the same time that the carriage of the Duke of Beaufort was attacked at night in the streets of Paris, and one of his attendants killed; and the demagogues, of course, applied the event to their own purposes. De Retz affected to be alarmed for the safety of the leaders of the

Fronde, the assassination was attributed to Mazarin, and a thousand wild reports and base calumnies were spread of the minister.

The Duke of Beaufort affected to take all kinds of precautions for his safety, as if he were constantly dogged by murderers; and De Retz never moved out after dark without posting sentinels in the most ostentatious manner, and causing himself to be accompanied by a crowd of armed attendants. The coadjutor, in the mean time, carried on the war against Mazarin in the parliament,—not, indeed, with his own lips, but through the instrumentality of a number of the younger members of that body, who, day after day and hour after hour, brought forward the most outrageous and extravagant proposals against Mazarin.

De Retz well knew that none of these proposals would be entertained for a moment, and that the parliament would reject them as soon as they were uttered; but nevertheless each left its trace upon the record; the chambers themselves became accustomed to hear the most violent and extraordinary calumnies put forth against the minister, and to deliberate upon the most severe resolutions against him. Such calumnies and resolutions, again, found their way to the people without; and the general effect both upon the people and the parliament was a deep impression that the cardinal was the enemy of the public peace, and the source of all the ills under which the country laboured.



Perceiving the machinations that were going on against him, and anxious to withdraw the Duke of Orleans from amongst the host of his enemies, Mazarin induced the queen to summon the duke to the Palais Royal; and there, in a long conversation, the minister exposed to that prince the real character and designs of De Retz. The Duke of Orleans, of course, attempted to defend the man who had now become his favourite; but Mazarin and Anne of Austria each committed a great fault in their conversation with Gaston. Mazarin poured forth a thousand curses against the parliament, and compared it to that of England, which had just sent the sovereign to the scaffold; while the Queen joined in the discourse, and in the heat of argument forgot her temper, launched forth into invectives both against the duke and the coadjutor, and in the end so completely gave way to passion that Gaston quitted the palace, vowing he would never enter the presence of that rabid fury again.

He was now irrevocably separated from the government of the regent, and cast into the arms of the Fronde; and De Retz, seeing that the time was come for bold and open measures against Mazarin, prepared to throw off the mask, avow his designs in favour of the princes, and demand the dismissal and exile of the minister. Mazarin, however, thought it yet possible to strike a blow in his own favour before complete success crowned

the efforts of his enemies, and he attempted to influence the parliament by a bold and violent accusation of De Retz, brought down to the chambers by the chief president in the name of the queen. It has always appeared to me that the real design of the minister, in this proceeding, was to afford Matthew Molé, the first president, an opportunity of treating De Retz as a person formally accused of crimes cognizable by the parliament, and consequently to remove him from his place in that body till he had undergone some kind of trial. The scheme itself, if such were really the purposes of the court, was not ill conceived; but it certainly was ill executed.

The declaration against the coadjutor sent down by the Queen was coarse, violent, and absurd; the shouts of the people without intimidated the members of the parliament attached to the government, and De Retz chose the very moment of Mazarin's accusation, to propose the decisive measure which he had long contemplated against the minister himself. He treated the declaration of the queen with cutting contempt, passing it over as a thing which had only served to interrupt the more serious avocations of the parliament for a moment; he thundered out into a tirade against the misuse of the king's name; he forged a Latin quotation to suit his purposes so dexterously, that it was sought for amongst the Roman historians for some days; and he ended by saying, "I beg

pardon for the liberty I have taken in quitting by these few words the original subject upon which we met to deliberate. My proposal now is, to make humble remonstrance to his majesty the king, and to supplicate him to send immediately a *lettre de cachet* for the liberation of the princes, with a declaration in their favour, and to drive from his person and his councils the Cardinal Mazarin. My opinion is, farther, gentlemen, that the parliament should take the resolution of meeting again on Monday next, to receive the reply which his majesty may please to make to the deputies sent with this remonstrance."

The whole train of policy which De Retz had been so long following in darkness was displayed even to his enemies by this bold language. To every one of the principles developed in his resolution the parliament had already committed itself, and it could not now refuse to give them utterance.

A remonstrance to the queen was therefore determined upon almost in the terms which De Retz had dictated. But the court learned all that passed, and before this edict could be carried into execution, the Count de Brienne, one of the secretaries of state,\* presented himself to the

\* It is extraordinary that Brienne himself makes no mention of these events; but the concurring testimony of Madame de Motteville and De Retz leaves no doubt with regard to the facts.

parliament, and besought the Duke of Orleans to proceed to the Palais Royal, and give the queen his counsel and opinion upon the state of her affairs at that moment. The chief president also entreated him to do so; many of the wisest and most influential members of the parliament joined their voices to that of Brienne. Omer Talon, the advocate general, made one of the most splendid extemporaneous orations upon record, and went upon his knees before the duke, beseeching him to save the state.

The duke himself hesitated, and would very likely have yielded, had not De Retz, who well knew the weakness of his tool and the power the queen possessed over him, stepped in, and putting a false interpretation upon the words which the Duke of Orleans had at first employed, induced him to send back a message to the queen, purporting that the duke would offer her his humble respects as soon as the cardinal Mazarin was banished from her councils and the imprisoned princes set at liberty.

It would appear that now, for the first time, Mazarin and the Queen really believed that the Duke of Orleans and the Fronde were sincere in their proposals for liberating Condé. They had known, indeed, that the duke and the faction of the coadjutor were both opposed to the minister. The personal quarrel of Gaston with the queen had excited their alarm to the utmost; but still Mazarin had hoped to sow divisions

amongst his enemies, and, by procrastinating, to work out his own deliverance from their machinations. In vain the Princess Palatine, who was much more anxious that the imprisoned princes should be liberated by the court than that they should owe their enfranchisement to the Fronde, had represented to the minister, even while she was treating with his enemies, that if he did not set the prisoners at liberty, he was lost; that he would see such a coalition against him as he little expected, and that the very ground on which he trod was hollow beneath him.

In vain various other friends of the princes gave him the same intimation, and did all that they possibly could, without divulging the negotiations which were taking place, to show him his danger, and to induce him to take a step, while there was yet time, which would at once have frustrated the designs of his enemies, and have set the princes free without binding them to the party of the Fronde. Nothing would convince Mazarin that either the Frondeurs or the Duke of Orleans and his friends were sincere in their wishes for Condé's liberation, till it was too late to take advantage of the knowledge; and the decree of the parliament in favour of the princes and against himself, proposed by De Retz and sanctioned by the Duke, was the first thing that thoroughly opened the eyes of the minister.

While these events were going on, and the two

parties struggling for rule were proceeding step by step against each other, the court and the city were in a state of agitation and confusion scarcely possible to describe, and a thousand collateral occurrences were taking place hourly which added to the difficulties of the queen and her minister. The Duke of Orleans from time to time showed a disposition to have recourse to force against the court. He sent to the captains of the quarters, forbidding them to obey any orders but his own, and to be ready to take arms at a moment's notice. He applied with the same view to the *prévôt des marchands*, and to different officers of the town, as well as to the various generals and marshals of France in the capital, and to a number of the servants of the king.

The hearts of all men became divided; but the military, in general, sided with the court, and urged it to have recourse to arms against the turbulent people that resisted its authority. A multitude of celebrated officers came voluntarily forward and proffered their services to Mazarin: but such offers, as well as all promises, vows, and engagements whatsoever, were known by the queen and her minister to be in those times more empty and unmeaning than the whispers of the wind. A number of the subordinate ministers themselves were labouring for Mazarin's destruction; Chateàuneuf was eagerly seeking for his place, and doing all that he could to ruin him; and even those who

were really endeavouring to serve him for the moment, could never be depended upon for two days together, so weak and unstable had the general tone of men's minds become in the French capital. Every relation too had been rendered so complicated by different interests and different passions during the multifarious changes which had lately taken place, that the court, the council, the parliament, the city,—great bodies, small parties, distinct factions, and private families—were all divided amongst themselves; and while the parliament and the Fronde assailed Mazarin and the court, the Duke of Mercœur challenged his brother the Duke of Beaufort, who afterwards, again, killed his brother-in-law the Duke of Nemours, when new changes had produced new enmities.

Many persons, after the decree of the parliament against Mazarin, advised the queen to bring the army into Paris, to canton it in the neighbourhood of the Palais Royal, and once more to reduce the refractory city to obedience by force of arms. The queen, however, would not consent to such a measure, for fear of the consequences which might ensue to the royal family; and Mazarin, bitterly regretting that he had not taken warning in time, and removed the young king from the capital while it was yet possible, saw no alternative but either to abandon a post which he could no longer maintain and quit the government, or to make such concessions to his opponents as would disarm their

hatred. For a day or two he attempted the latter expedient, and the chief president did all that he could to afford him time by delaying the proceedings against him as far as possible. But, betrayed by the agents he employed to negotiate with the Duke of Orleans, pressed by the parliament, which was urged on by the Fronde, and advised by every body, of almost every party, to retire for a time and let the storm pass by,—Mazarin at length determined to quit the capital, in which his life was no longer in safety, and to see whether he could not gain something in compensation for all he lost by liberating the princes with his own hand.

Having obtained the queen's permission, and an order to De Bar, who held Condé and his relations in prison at Havre, Mazarin prepared to effect his flight from Paris on the 6th of February 1651. During the greater part of the day, he behaved with calmness and fortitude, maintaining a serene aspect, and concealing from every one but those to whom it was absolutely necessary to reveal it, the purpose which he had determined to execute on that night. The mortification and irritation which he felt, however, could not be entirely subdued, and he broke forth to the Count of Brienne in a manner which showed what were the real feelings concealed beneath the external calmness which he assumed. In a conference with that nobleman, in the presence of Anne of Austria, he communicated to him his intention of quitting Paris and liberating the



princes ; but he could not refrain from reproaching Brienne, on account of some expressions which had been used by that nobleman's daughter, the Marchioness de Gamaches. Brienne of course defended his child ; and Mazarin, giving way to all the violent passion which in calmer moments he more studiously concealed, told Brienne furiously that he regarded him less than the earth on which he trod. The count replied, " You should know, sir, that I am a man of honour, and you should not be ignorant that you are not speaking to a scoundrel ; but, after having given way in the manner in which you have done, I would have you learn that, were it not for the respect which I entertain for the queen, you should not quit this town quite so easily as you came into it."

To cover his discomposure Mazarin afterwards endeavoured to soothe Brienne ; and he, as well as the queen, maintained during the rest of the day an appearance of serenity which completely deceived those who surrounded them. Every one saw, indeed, that the minister would be obliged to fly ; but no one believed his flight to be so near. He took his place at the queen's council as usual, stood beside her in the circle, and listened, apparently amused, to the buffooneries of the Count de Nogent. The passions of the people, however, had been gradually excited to a high pitch during the last two days ; and while Mazarin still remained, to all appearance unmoved, in the midst of the court,

cries were heard from the street of "To arms! to arms!" mingled with imprecations upon his government and threats of violence towards his person. About the same time, intelligence reached him that some of his servants, whom he had directed to quit Paris, and precede him on his journey to St. Germain, had been attacked and nearly killed by a mob in the neighbourhood of the Tuileries; and seeing that no farther time was to be lost, he ordered horses to be held in waiting for him in a different direction, and bade the queen adieu in a few words spoken with a low voice.

He then retired to his own apartments, disguised himself in a red coat and a plumed hat, and, followed by two of his gentlemen, made his escape by the Porte de Richelieu. He found his horses prepared, and reached St. Germain in safety: but there, free from the apprehensions which he had entertained in Paris, he lingered for some days while the queen made various efforts to soften his enemies, and the parliament publicly returned her thanks for his dismissal. Anne of Austria also endeavoured to persuade the Duke of Orleans to return to her councils, but in vain. De Retz took care to prevent that prince from falling again under the influence of the queen, and the duke refused to go to the palace till Condé and the rest were at liberty. As soon as it was known that Mazarin remained at St. Germain, and thence governed the queen as easily as when in Paris, his

enemies in the parliament began to raise new outcries against him. Des Landes Payenne proposed that an edict should be pronounced, forbidding any cardinal to meddle with affairs of state in France, inasmuch as, having sworn fidelity to the Pope, they could not properly serve another master; and, on the 9th of February, a declaration having been agreed to by the court, pronouncing the imprisoned princes innocent of all the crimes with which they had been charged, the parliament took advantage of its terms to pronounce a decree against Mazarin to the following effect:—

“ In consequence of the said declaration and will of the king and of the regent, within fifteen days from the publication of the present decree, the said Cardinal Mazarin, with his relations and foreign domestics, shall quit the kingdom of France, and all lands and places under the dominion of the king; and in default thereof, the said time being passed, extraordinary proceedings shall be held against them, and the commons and all others shall be permitted to hunt them down; without their being allowed to return upon any pretexts, causes, employments, or occasions whatsoever. And farther, prohibition shall be made, the said time having passed, for all the governors of provinces, mayors, and sheriffs of towns to receive them.”

In regard to many of the measures which had been lately employed, the queen now perceived that her servants and her counsellors had de-





ceived and betrayed her; and though she bore up with magnanimity and courage, she could not help feeling, when she looked round upon the cold, the heartless, and the faithless, that filled her court, the dejection natural in such a situation. She concealed it from the greater part of those who surrounded her; but it burst forth towards her faithful attendant Madame de Motteville in these bitter words:—"I could wish that it were always night; for although I cannot sleep, the silence and the solitude please me, because during the day I behold nothing but people who betray me." Her situation was indeed painful in the extreme, and she now contemplated a step which might have been taken before with effect, but was no longer practicable. This was to carry the young king out of Paris, and, rejoining her minister, to retain the princes in Havre, to straiten Paris as before, and not to lay down her arms or to grant the liberty of the princes till she had effected such a treaty with them as would establish her authority upon a firmer basis. Some one, however,—it is supposed the Maréchal de Villeroy,—gave notice to the Duke of Orleans that it was the queen's intention to execute this design during the night between the 9th and 10th of February.

De Retz was alive to his danger, and had everything in readiness to frustrate such a scheme: he roused the people, he called them to arms, the

Palais Royal was surrounded, the gates of the city were seized, and the queen and the royal family were completely in the hands of the party of the Fronde. It is supposed that on this eventful night, De Retz advised the Duke of Orleans to take the most violent measures against the queen; that he proposed to him to seize upon the person of the young king, to assume the regency, and to place Anne of Austria in a convent. These vehement measures, however, were not for the timid spirit of the Duke of Orleans; it was impossible to obtain from him even the order to surround the Palais Royal, and that which was ultimately acted upon was signed by his wife in his name.

The queen, obliged to abandon her purpose, and surrounded by dangers, had caused the young king to go to bed; and when at length she found herself invested in her palace, Louis had fallen into a sound sleep, in which state she showed him to the captain of the guard of the Duke of Orleans. That officer went out, and assured the people that everything within the palace was tranquil; that there was no sign whatever of any intention of flight, and that he had himself seen the young king in bed and asleep. This, however, would not satisfy them; a species of disloyal loyalty had seized them, which would not suffer them to depart without beholding the young monarch with their own eyes. The queen instantly commanded some of the attendants to open the doors and suffer a part of the

multitude to enter. They were brought at once to the bedside of the young king, who in the sweet slumber of innocence slept on amidst all the tumults and anxieties of that night. The frank demeanour of the queen and her courageous confidence—the sight of the handsome boy, born to high rule, and plunged so deep in slumber while the doors of his palace were assailed by the tumultuous multitudes and the apparent tranquillity of everything within the royal dwelling, reassured the people. Many were much moved by what they saw; and all, retiring satisfied that no design of carrying off the king existed, loaded him with blessings as they went.

To put an end to all doubt upon the subject, the queen ordered the keys of the city gates to be given up to the citizens; and a night which might have well been expected to end in a general massacre, passed off without any act of bloodshed.

The insult offered to the royal authority, however, was so great, that the Duke of Orleans felt ashamed of the part he had played therein, and still more of the use that others had made of him. On his going down to the parliament to justify his conduct, De Retz found it necessary to console him by exciting the mob both to applaud his actions, and to free him from difficulty by intimidating those members of the parliament who might have dared to censure him. Matthew Molé, however, was not to be intimidated, and he boldly reproached the



Duke of Orleans for all the evils of the preceding night, asserting, truly, that the king was a prisoner in his own capital. The Duke of Orleans, however, who never acted wisely, always spoke well; and his eloquence was of that kind which, seizing the passions of the hearers rather than their judgments, carried them away at once, without giving them time to reflect. No one attempted to support the chief president in his censure of the duke, and Gaston replied at once, "The king has been a prisoner in the hands of Mazarin, but thank God! he is so no longer." The people took up the cry that the king was a prisoner no longer, and everything passed as the duke would have wished it.

The news of these events reached Mazarin at St. Germain,\* and seeing that there was no chance whatever of effecting his immediate recall to Paris by means of negotiation, he took the determination of proceeding at once to Havre and setting the princes at liberty. It has been suspected that he intended to seize upon the citadel, in hopes that the queen would be able to make her

\* Madame de Motteville says, in her *Memoirs*, that Mazarin had set out for Havre before these events took place: but it appears to me that such could not be the case, and that the account of all the other writers who represent the cardinal's retreat to Havre as having been hastened by the tumults in Paris must be accurate. The very dates would seem to show that such was the case; the tumults took place in the night between the 9th and 10th of February; Mazarin, though travelling with all speed, did not arrive at Havre till the 13th. The distance is about one hundred and thirty miles.

escape from the capital : but it would appear that De Bar, who commanded in Havre, would not permit him to enter with more than two attendants. He had full powers, however, from the queen to set the princes at liberty ; and he was immediately conducted to the presence of the Prince de Condé, whom he informed that the gates of his prison were open without any conditions whatsoever.

During the whole course of his imprisonment, the prince had maintained the same equanimity which he had displayed at first. He had never lost his spirits, or suffered himself to be in any degree depressed ; and even on being removed from Marcoussi to Havre, at the very moment he was about to put in execution a plan which had been arranged by the Duke of Nemours for his escape, he did not suffer the disappointment in any degree to affect him. Thus when the Count of Harcourt, who had undertaken the disagreeable task of escorting the princes from Marcoussi, took his place in the carriage with them, the only expression of anger or scorn which broke from the lips of Condé was the well-known stanza which he composed upon the occasion :

“ Cet homme gros et court,  
Si connu dans l'histoire,  
Ce grand Comte d'Harcourt,  
Tout couronné de gloire,  
Qui secourut Casal et qui reprit Turin,  
Est maintenant recors de Jules Mazarin.”

Which may be translated,

“ That man so fat and short,  
 So much renown'd in story,  
 The famous Count de Harcourt,  
 All blazing forth with glory,

Who succour'd Casal at its need, and who retook Turin,  
 Is now turn'd bailiff's follower to Julius Mazarin.”

The prince, nevertheless, was not insensible to the evils of imprisonment. When Mazarin appeared to open for him the gates of that prison in which he had remained for thirteen months, Condé received him politely,\* and in the first joy of his liberation made use of some expressions of regard towards the prelate himself, which might have filled him with false hopes. The cardinal, however, dined with the princes, and before they set out on their return to the capital, he had abundant opportunity of seeing that nothing was to be expected from his enforced liberation of Condé. Gradually, as the first joy of the intelligence he had received wore off, the prince became more and more cool towards the fallen minister, and scarcely took any notice of him, when he, with his fellow-prisoners, set out for Paris. He evidently saw, and was not displeas'd at the mortifi-

\* We are told by Joly that Mazarin cast himself at the feet of Condé, with tears and entreaties; but Madame de Motteville, who certainly was not friendly to the minister, and La Rochefoucault, who was certainly inimical to him, give a more dignified representation of the cardinal's conduct: and they had far better opportunities of learning the truth than the factious impostor of the Rue des Bernardins.

cation of Mazarin, observing to those about him, that Lionne, who stayed behind, "remained at Havre to console the cardinal."

Convinced that nothing was to be hoped from Condé, Mazarin, with a train of about one hundred horsemen, set out for Picardy, and reached Dourlens, where he was hospitably received by the governor, although the inhabitants of Abbeville had refused him passage through that town. From Dourlens he was soon driven by the proceedings of the parliament against him; and although it would appear that many of the officers commanding in the towns of the frontier offered him protection and support against his enemies, he showed no disposition to play so hazardous a game. He next retired to Sedan, where he took counsel with his friend Fabert, and thence proceeded to Cologne, being treated with the utmost distinction and hospitality in all the foreign towns through which he passed.

In the mean time, the Duke of Orleans, according to the promise he had made, proceeded to visit the queen; and the princes, immediately after their arrival in Paris, followed his example. Coldness and dissatisfaction pervaded both these interviews; and Anne of Austria, little better than a prisoner in her own palace, waited like her minister for time to bring about that which policy could not effect, and to work her deliverance from her enemies by dividing them amongst themselves.

## CHAPTER IV.

State of Parties on the liberation of the Princes.— Assembly of the Nobles.— They demand a Meeting of the States-general.— Thwarted by Condé.— Condé separates from the old Fronde.— Rules the Court.— Overawes and wins the Duke of Orleans.— Sudden transition of Parties.— De Retz affects to retire from political cabal.— Condé's new exactions.— Conduct and foresight of Mazarin.— De Retz called to the aid of the Queen.— His measures against Condé.— Stormy Meeting of the two Factions in the Parliament.— Danger of Paris.— Alarm of all Parties at their own acts.

WHILE everything looked so unprosperous to the regent, the small and scarcely perceivable changes of passions and feelings which went on underneath the turbulent waves that foamed and fretted on the surface of events, were gradually producing an amelioration in her position, of which for some time she was scarcely conscious herself.

To understand the future proceedings of all parties clearly, we must for a moment cast our eyes over the general state of affairs immediately after the liberation of the princes. In the first place, the Princess Palatine, who had laboured so effectually for the emancipation of Condé and his relations, had kept a promise, which she had made long before to the queen, of ranging herself on the side of the court as soon as she had gained her object

in favour of the princes. She still kept up some communication, however, both with the old Fronde, headed by De Retz, and with different members of the new Fronde, as the party of the princes was now called. In this respect, as well as on account of her distinguished talents, firmness, and decision of character, her counsel and assistance were highly important to the queen.

A separation of interests too took place ere long in the old Fronde, by the defection of the Duke of Beaufort and Madame de Montbazon, both of whom, offended deeply by the want of confidence shown by De Retz on various occasions, soon attached themselves to the party of the Prince de Condé, and brought with them thereunto a very great accession of popularity.

La Rochefoucault, also, we must remember, though acting with De Retz on various occasions, following his dictation, and often serving his purposes, hated him with that degree of enmity which, perhaps, can only be known by two men of wit towards each other. He had great influence over Condé, and still greater over the Duchess of Longueville; and, consequently, his attachment to the party of the new Fronde added to the tendency to separate entirely from the old Fronde which already existed therein.

At the same time, the powerful and important family of Bouillon were easily to be gained in favour of the government by the final adjustment of the

question regarding Sedan; while Turenne, the brother of the duke, defeated at Rhetel, and heartily sick of commanding a Spanish army, had seen the last ostensible cause of his opposition to the court removed by the liberation of the princes, and was eagerly desirous of wiping out the memory of a rebellion which had tired and disgusted him even more than it had done the court, by exerting himself vigorously in the service of his king.

At the same time, a number of the governors and officers commanding on the frontiers of Picardy, Artois, and Champagne were strongly attached, not alone to the queen, but even to her minister; and with him, though now in exile at Brühl, near Cologne, a constant communication was kept up, while his three creatures, Servien, Le Tellier, and Lionne, known by the name of the under-ministers, continued to obey all his commands, furnished him with information of everything that took place, and enabled him to rule France as completely, from the banks of the Rhine, as if he had remained in the Palais Royal. All these circumstances were strongly in favour of the queen's party and views; but at the same time there was a transaction going on which she might well look upon with an eye of apprehension.

During the latter period of the imprisonment of Condé, great assemblies of the nobility of France had been held in the chief hall of the Cordeliers, for the purpose of effecting the liberation of the

princes. Their discussions, however, soon embraced a wider range, their numbers increased, their proceedings assumed a more regular form and more important character, and their assemblies were protracted after the object for which they first met had been obtained. Such transactions, as in a former case, were likely to go on till they produced the assembly of the states-general of the kingdom, a body in which the preponderance of the commons, when headed by a judicious leader, might always be employed to purposes the most dangerous to the royal authority. All things were tending rapidly to such a result even when the princes were liberated; and the same proceedings went on afterwards, step by step, till nothing remained to be done but to issue mandatories for the election of deputies of the third estate.

The clergy offered to coalesce with the nobles to effect this object; and the Fronde, headed by De Retz, who dragged the Duke of Orleans at the heels of his triumphant ambition, was very well disposed to bring about an assembly, all the acts of which were sure to be dictated by itself.

In the midst of these proceedings on the part of the assembly of the nobles, and while the various political parties were rapidly assuming the position I have represented, Condé, Longueville, and Conti arrived in Paris; and nothing but embraces, gratulations, and thanks took place between them, the Duke of Orleans, De Retz, and Beaufort. The



people, who had celebrated the arrest of Condé by acclamations and bonfires, now by bonfires and acclamations celebrated his liberation; and those persons even who hated him most pressed eagerly to salute and congratulate him: "for so," says a writer of that day, "the comedy of society would have it."

The Frondeurs, to show the utmost degree of generosity and candour towards the princes, gave up the treaties which had been made with them during their imprisonment; and Condé, to evince his gratitude and good faith, renewed all the promises and pledges which he had previously made. The fountain of generosity, however, in factions, furnishes but a scanty stream, which, though gushing forth with apparent abundance, soon sinks again into the sands which surround it. Scarcely were fine professions made and solemn pledges given, when the inclination to break the latter was experienced on all sides, and feelings of old distrust and hatred rose up to do away friendship, attachment, and gratitude.

Of these circumstances, the Queen, under the direction of Mazarin, skilfully availed herself. The first injunctions of the minister were, to gain the Prince de Condé in preference to everything; and the cardinal himself laboured for that purpose by means which proved very efficacious. Rochefoucault, as we have said, hated the coadjutor, and through all the preceding transactions he had coun-

elled Condé strongly, rather to strive for his own liberation, by uniting with the court, than by treating with the Fronde. He had even gone so far as to confer with Mazarin, and to warn him of his approaching danger; and the exiled minister now found no difficulty in engaging him to labour with all his energies for the purpose of separating Condé from the old Fronde, if not of bringing him back to the party of the court.

La Rochefoucault and the Duchess of Longueville both apprehended, and not without reason, that the empire they had obtained over the mind of Condé might be destroyed by the influence of the coadjutor, especially if the marriage of the Prince de Conti and Mademoiselle de Chevreuse took place according to the terms of the treaty; and Condé, who was by no means partial to De Retz, was soon led to take measures which induced that prelate to oppose, rather than to court him. One of the first steps in the parliament after Condé's return was to issue a decree against Mazarin, excluding him for ever from the ministry, on account of his being a cardinal. Old Broussel immediately proposed that the terms of the edict should be made such as to affect for ever all cardinals, even should they be French by birth. It was well known that De Retz sought the cardinal's hat with no less avidity than he strove for the prime minister's portfolio; and his enemy the chief president therefore now eagerly advocated a measure calculated

to mortify him so greatly, while Condé took no pains to conceal that he was well satisfied with it also. But the matter in which the hostility of the prince towards De Retz was brought into action more than on any other occasion, regarded the assembly of the nobles to which I have already alluded.

The nobles had proceeded to the last step in the course which they proposed, and in distinct terms demanded the assembly of the states-general. It was a demand which the queen could not have resisted, had the Duke of Orleans and Condé united with the nobles and the clergy in their application.

Mazarin, however, took alarm, and pressed the queen anxiously to employ every kind of influence with Condé, in order to put a stop to all such proceedings. Nor was Condé ill disposed to meet the wishes of the cardinal in this respect; for in the assembly of the states-general, the part which he would have had to play would have been quite secondary to that of the Duke of Orleans, and the pride of Condé could ill brook that a man whom he felt to be so inferior to himself should take a leading share in transactions by which the rights and privileges of the princes of the blood might be greatly affected. The assembly of the states, indeed, would have given the Duke of Orleans a great accession of power and influence, and De Retz, by whom he was entirely ruled, took care that all the motives which could influence Gaston should

be laid open before his eyes, in order to induce him to urge on an event so favourable to his views. But at the same time the Duke of Rochefoucault and Madame de Longueville, anxious to cause a rupture between Condé and De Retz, urged the prince eagerly to dissuade the Duke of Orleans from uniting with the nobles ; and Condé soon contrived to terrify Gaston, by vague pictures of dangers to the state, and especially to the royal authority, which might accrue from the assembling of the states at such a moment.

De Retz, however, from some cause which he does not seem to explain with his usual candour, did not display in all these transactions the fiery activity which characterised him in general. Either from forbearance, or from one of those fits of apathy which will fall at times upon the most active minds, he would take no offence from Condé, and refrained as far as possible from putting himself in any position which might bring him into a disagreeable collision with the prince.

In the present instance, he tamely suffered Gaston to be terrified by the suggestions of Condé ; and that prince led the duke away to the assembly of the nobles for the purpose of persuading them to desist from their demand. There the two princes, after some discussion, became guarantees of a promise made by the queen, to the effect that the states-general should be assembled without fail when the king attained his majority, an event

which was rapidly approaching; and though such promises and guarantees were all illusory, and many of the nobles felt and declared them to be so, the assembly broke up promising to wait patiently for the appointed time. This was the first service that Condé rendered to the court after his liberation; and Anne of Austria, eagerly solicited him to come frankly and sincerely to her aid. The prospect which such conduct might have opened to the prince's eyes was certainly very tempting. "What power might he not have," demands a writer of the day, "who could unite the royal authority freed from Mazarinism, with the party of the princes freed from faction?"

Such might have been the position of Condé; but his very first demands were high. He required that the seals should be taken from Chateauneuf, who had sat in judgment upon his gallant uncle Montmorency, and should be given to the first president, Molé, who had always defended his cause; and he demanded that Chavigni, who had suffered much in his service, should be recalled immediately to the council. The Queen consented to all: Chateauneuf was hateful to her as an enemy and rival of Mazarin; and the recall of Chavigni, who was abhorred by the Duke of Orleans, would, she imagined, embroil that prince with Condé, — which was one of her great objects.

To set the prince at variance with the old Fronde was even of still greater importance; and she de-

manded of Condé, as the price of the changes he required, that he should break off the promised marriage between his brother Conti and Mademoiselle de Chevreuse. The mind of Condé was already well prepared for such a step: Madame de Longueville, who had been long jealous of the beauty and graces of Mademoiselle de Chevreuse, could little bear to contemplate the probability of her being raised to a rank even more elevated than her own, and still less, that she should obtain the great influence which such a person was likely to acquire over both her princely brothers. She had, therefore, exerted all her influence over Condé, and with him had been quite successful: but Conti was still in the height of his passion for the beautiful and fascinating girl who had been promised to him during his imprisonment; he supped every evening at the Hôtel de Chevreuse, and his affections, as well as his honour, were fully engaged. The reputation of the fair lady, however, afforded a means of attack which Condé employed with success upon his brother. The Prince de Conti soon received proof that she was not by any means so immaculate as he had believed: her scarcely doubtful connexion with the coadjutor was placed in its true light, and, convinced that the object of his passion was unworthy of the love of a man of honour, he began to look upon her with horror. The changes in the council, and the rupture of the marriage between Conti and Mademoiselle de Chev-

reuse, took place almost at the same time; for though the actual declaration of Conti's intentions was subsequent to the change, his coldness had been perceived and his purpose divined before.

On the morning of the 3rd April 1651, the Duke of Orleans, on arriving at the Palais Royal, was informed by the Queen that she had sent for Chavigni out of Touraine. The Duke reproached her for having taken such a step without consulting him; but she answered haughtily, that he had taken many more important steps without consulting her. He instantly quitted the palace, and the news of the other changes followed him. At his own dwelling he found Madame de Chevreuse and her daughter, with the coadjutor; and he was followed speedily by the Prince de Condé, Conti, Beaufort, and a number of others belonging to the party of the princes. Every one being ignorant that the blow came from Condé himself, a council was instantly held to ascertain what the Duke of Orleans was called upon to do on the occasion. The most violent expedients were suggested, but Condé threw cold water upon every proposal that was made; Beaufort rudely checked De Retz for speaking in his name, as had usually been done before; and the Duke of Orleans, with the leader of the old Fronde, soon perceived that Condé and his friends were the authors of the affront which the lieutenant-general had received.

After some time passed in sharp discussion, the

Duke retired into the apartments of his wife with De Retz; and there a brief consultation ensued, in which the Duchess of Orleans, Madame de Chevreuse, and the coadjutor endeavoured to persuade him to arrest the leaders of the opposite party and rouse the people to insurrection. The Duke of Orleans was in some degree moved; Condé, Conti, the Duke of Beaufort, and others, had retired into the library; and Mademoiselle de Chevreuse, springing towards the door, exclaimed, "Nothing is wanting but a turn of the key! It would be a fine thing indeed for a girl to arrest a winner of battles!"

The impetuosity of Mademoiselle de Chevreuse, however, alarmed the timid Duke of Orleans. Had he been brought to it by degrees, he might have consented to the act; but her movement towards the door startled him, and he began to whistle,—which, as De Retz observes, was never a good sign. Then declaring that he would consider of the matter till the next morning, he walked placidly into the library, and suffered the guests to depart in peace whom he had been so sorely tempted to make prisoners. In the course of that morning's conversation, however, two or three words had been spoken by different persons, which showed that the characters of the great movers in these events was becoming far better known to themselves and to each other than had been the case in the commencement of the Fronde.

More than one person present treated the pro-



posals of De Retz as exhortations to carnage; and when the Duke of Orleans tried to stimulate Condé to act with him in opposition to the Queen, Condé replied, that he would willingly raise troops in the country for the service of his royal highness,—but that he felt himself to be a thorough coward in popular tumults, and understood nothing of the war of *pôts-de-chambres*. Such words were not easily forgotten; but the very next morning a more unpardonable affront was offered to the leaders of the Fronde, by Condé and Conti sending the President Viole to Madame de Chevreuse, in order to announce that the proposed marriage between her daughter and the Prince de Conti could not take place.

The incivility of the manner was more galling than the act itself, and though Mademoiselle de Chevreuse laughed when she heard of the loss of her deformed lover, the determination of taking vengeance was deeply fixed in the hearts of all those concerned. Scarcely, however, was the announcement made, when intimations were conveyed to De Retz—who, as usual, was present at the toilet of Mademoiselle de Chevreuse — of various important events which were taking place at the palace of the Luxembourg.

The agents of the Queen and of Condé had been closeted with the Duke of Orleans during the whole morning; messages had even passed between him and Chavigny; the seekers of court favour had

fled from the friends of De Retz as from persons just showing signs of a pestilence; and everything, in short, announced to the coadjutor, that intimidated by the coalition of the Queen and Condé, the weak Duke of Orleans was only embarrassed by the confidence which he had hitherto reposed in him, and by the connexion which he had thereby formed with the Fronde.

Knowing that feeble and treacherous prince to the heart, De Retz was well aware that the Duke of Orleans would become at once his enemy, and would lend himself to the most severe means against him if he continued to embarrass him by urging consistency in conduct, energetic exertion, courageous resistance, or the assumption of any of those qualities which he did not possess. He therefore determined upon his conduct in a moment; and still hoping, after a time, to regain his ascendancy over the Duke, if he did not incur his hatred by attempting to strengthen his feebleness, he resolved to retire apparently from political life, and free the Duke of Orleans from the importunity of his presence and his counsels.\* He proceeded im-

\* Anquetil makes a mistake in regard to these facts, which becomes important by offering a false picture of the spirit and character of the times. He gives one to understand that all these changes took place slowly, and says, "that time and the solicitations of the Queen" operated on the mind of the Duke of Orleans, and produced the events which we have just related. Such, however, was not the case: the whole of this transaction is one of the most striking exemplifications of a

mediately to the Luxembourg, and announced to Gaston, without either reproaches or menaces, that having served him in the two great objects of expelling Mazarin and liberating the princes, he had determined to retire altogether from political life, and dedicate himself entirely to the duties of his profession.

“It is impossible to express,” says De Retz, “the joy that appeared in the eyes and on the counte-

peculiar feature in the spirit of that age, viz. the extraordinary rapidity with which the greatest revolutions of feeling and changes of combination were effected in the Fronde. The whole of these events took place in the short space of one day. On the morning of the 3rd of April, the announcement of Chavigny's return was made to the Duke of Orleans; he was informed of the changes in the ministry; he held that council with the princes and others, in which it was proposed, in order to gratify his rage and animosity against the Queen, to call the populace to arms, and take the seals by force from him to whom she had confided them: he discovered that the blow had come from Condé and his partisans; he heard and deliberated upon the proposal for arresting them; and before the next morning, at the hour when Mademoiselle de Chevreuse was dressing herself, he had been completely gained over to the party of the Queen and Condé, and was only embarrassed by shame at breaking his connexion with De Retz and the Fronde. By the same hour, Condé and the leaders of the new Fronde had finally separated from the party which had really delivered them from prison, and the Duc de Beaufort had gone over openly to the side of that prince who, not long before, had accused him of conspiring to murder him with the very men whom he now abandoned. All this took place in less than four-and-twenty hours; and it affords an extraordinary picture of the versatile character of the factions in those days, which is entirely lost if the rapidity of the transition is not marked.

nance of the duke." But that joy had all the effect which De Retz intended: It preserved the prince from becoming infected with the hatred towards him which a weak man always feels towards those he has injured. Secret means of communication were arranged between the duke and the coadjutor ; and the latter next turned his steps to the hotel of the Prince de Condé, in order to announce his resolution there also. Condé laughed at his purpose, but did not seem to divine his object. Conti congratulated him on his conversion, and on taking leave of him, exclaimed laughing, " Adieu, good brother hermit." On all sides he was met by ridicule and jest ; but he held his resolution steadily, and retiring to the archbishopric, dedicated himself, in all appearance, with the utmost sincerity and devotion, to execute those sacred functions which he had so long neglected for political cabal.

Various intimations which he received, a knowledge of the faithless fickleness of the Duke of Orleans, and a consciousness of no great credit with either the Prince de Condé or the Queen, induced him to believe that an attempt might be made to arrest him before the people could gather together to give him assistance. To prevent so fatal an event, he collected a number of determined soldiers, principally from amongst the exiled cavaliers, whom the iron rule of Cromwell still kept at a distance from their native land ; he fortified the archbishopric ; he changed the neighbour-

ing houses into barracks, and he turned one of the towers of the cathedral into a magazine. Arms, ammunition, and provisions were laid up in abundance; and he was thus always prepared to make good his resistance against any attempt to seize him till the people could rise for his deliverance.

Whether the Queen and Condé did or did not mistake his ambitious nature so far as to believe that even for a time he was reduced to tranquillity, or whether the struggle which immediately succeeded between them diverted their attention altogether from the coadjutor, till they needed his assistance, does not appear; but towards him, Anne of Austria was soon obliged to turn her eyes, as the only one who could give her aid in circumstances of the utmost need. Once more Condé began to play the part which he had enacted before his imprisonment; and his exactions knew no bounds. But there was this striking difference between his former and his present conduct: he now rested upon the parliament for support, and politicly made the measures which he contrived against Mazarin, in co-operation with it, the means of wringing from the queen all the concessions which he desired. Everything that was granted, however, produced a new demand; and, at length, the pretensions of Condé extended to the following articles, in addition to the governments, places, and posts which he already enjoyed:—that the government of Guienne and Provence should be assigned to

him ; that he should have in those provinces a degree of authority which almost annulled that of the king ; that a number of towns and fortresses in the neighbourhood should be given up to him ; that a body of troops should be kept up therein, paid by the king, but under his command ; and that all his friends, followers, and retainers, should have something, either in governments, money, or offices, from the general pillage of the crown which was then taking place.

He had already his own garrisons and officers in the towns of Clermont, Stenay, Bellegarde, Mouson, and Dijon ; and that which he demanded would have made a kingdom in itself, resting under the Pyrenees, and embracing the mouths of the Rhone and of the Gironde. Champagne and Burgundy were almost equally at his disposal ; and on both sides he could have stretched out his hands to Spain in case of any opposition from a king of France.

Whether or not the suspicion is well founded which many writers have entertained, that Condé was gradually lured on by the regent to make such extravagant demands in order to open the eyes of the parliament and the people to his ambition, it is certain that Servien and Lionne, the two creatures of Mazarin, treated seriously with Condé upon the subject, and afterwards assured De Retz that they acted with perfect good faith in the whole business.

Very differently, however, did Mazarin behave; and one of his letters is extant in which his clear foresight is as strongly displayed in regard to this negotiation as in any other transaction of his life. No sooner did he hear that it was proposed to grant the exorbitant demands of the prince, than he wrote to the queen, remonstrating in the strongest terms. "You are well aware, madam," he said, "that the greatest enemy I have in the world is the coadjutor: make use of him, madam, rather than yield the prince the conditions which he demands. Make him a cardinal, give him my place, put him in my apartments; he will still probably attach himself more to the Duke of Orleans than to your majesty. But the Duke of Orleans does not wish to ruin the state; his intentions at the bottom are not bad. In a word, anything, madam, rather than grant the Prince de Condé that which he demands. If he should obtain it, there would be nothing left but to carry him to Rheims."\*

Thus authorised, the queen no longer hesitated to turn her eyes towards De Retz. Her anxiety to recall her minister had increased every hour since his departure, and she determined to see whether the influence of the coadjutor could not be exerted to facilitate the return of Mazarin. At all events, it might be employed to defend the crown against

\* The place where the coronation of the kings of France is almost always celebrated.

Condé, and the only doubt was how far that influence had been diminished by late events. The queen was too shrewd to suppose that De Retz had lost any part of his authority by the state of retirement in which he now lived; but the attachment of the Duke of Beaufort to the party of Condé might have diminished the power of the coadjutor over the people.

Anything was to be tried, however, which might deliver her from the exactions of Condé. He had already obtained the appointment he desired in Guienne: he was pressing more vigorously than ever for the satisfaction of his other pretensions; and in order to urge the queen to immediate compliance, he was daily declaiming in the parliament, both against Mazarin, and against all those in France who still continued to hold any communication with him. It was therefore absolutely necessary that Anne of Austria should either immediately grant his demands, or should find some support to enable her to resist them. She accordingly despatched the Maréchal Du Plessis to speak with De Retz, at the archbishopric, towards one o'clock in the morning; at which hour he generally returned from his nocturnal visits to Mademoiselle de Chevreuse. Du Plessis showed him the letter from Mazarin which we have cited above, and of which De Retz probably judged justly when he believed it to be partly sincere, and partly quite the contrary.



Mazarin might perhaps wish the queen to make De Retz prime minister, rather than yield to the Prince de Condé; but the cardinal was very sure that the coadjutor's seat at the head of the queen's council-table could not be of any long continuance. De Retz, however, was willing to seize the opportunity of avenging himself upon Condé, and he probably judged that he might do so without bringing about the return of Mazarin. He accepted, then, at once the queen's invitation to visit her in secret, and threw the letter of safe-conduct which she had sent him into the fire, in order to show his confidence in her promises. The following night, at twelve o'clock, he was brought into the queen's oratory by a back staircase, and a long conversation ensued between them, in which De Retz assured her of his willingness to serve her. He positively refused, however, the office of prime minister, which she pressed him to accept. He also refused in any degree to countenance openly the return of Mazarin, assuring her that the slightest appearance of such a design on his part would render his services perfectly useless to her, both with the populace and with the Duke of Orleans; and, at the end of a long harangue, during which the queen interrupted him impatiently more than once, he assured her that he had not come there to receive favours, but to merit them.

“What will you do, then?” demanded the queen, anxious to know in what all his vague eloquence would end. “What will you do?”

“Madam,” replied De Retz, “I will oblige the Prince de Condé to quit Paris before eight days are over; and will carry off the Duke of Orleans from him before to-morrow night.”

“Give me your hand on that,” replied the queen, “and the day after to-morrow you are a cardinal, and moreover the second amongst my friends.”

He afterwards adroitly insinuated to Anne of Austria, that, under certain circumstances, he might not be quite so much the enemy of the cardinal as he appeared; but it was then determined that somebody should be placed, *pro tempore*, in the vacant niche of Mazarin, in order to deprive the Prince de Condé of the power of saying that the queen still kept it open for her favourite. Many persons were suggested, but some objection existed in every case, and at length it was determined that Chateauneuf should fill that office. Though this transaction is represented with a great apparent difference in all the particulars by Madame de Motteville on the one hand, and De Retz on the other, yet, when their two accounts are accurately compared, it will only be found that Madame de Motteville did not know the whole, and that De Retz did not tell the whole.

The Duke of Orleans, though reconciled with Condé, had made it a point of honour to repeat his demand that the seals should be taken from the first president, to whom they had been given, and

that Chateaufort should be restored to power. It was to satisfy him, therefore, and to give him all that he in fact wanted—a fair excuse for quitting Condé and going over to the queen, that De Retz now proposed Chateaufort for the post of minister, well knowing that Condé must oppose his elevation, and the Duke of Orleans must support him. All the other particulars were arranged between De Retz, the Queen, and the Princess Palatine; and De Retz communicated to the Duke of Orleans all that had taken place. That prince was very well contented, and laughed with strange triumph at the idea of seeing Condé and the Fronde once more embroiled with each other.

The Princess Palatine and Anne of Austria both pledged their words that the coadjutor should be raised to the dignity of cardinal; and the worthy archbishop issued forth from his retreat, opposing his approach to the enemy he was about to attack by a cloud of the same libels, satires, and epigrams which he had always found so efficacious in prejudicing the people of Paris against any one whom he thought fit to hold out to popular odium. The presses of the French metropolis groaned under tracts and pamphlets setting forth the ambition of Condé, the extravagance of his demands, and the danger of granting him provinces situated in the immediate neighbourhood of Spain and Italy. Nor did his enemies fail to point out also the continual negotiations that were taking place between the

party of the princes and Mazarin, and the peril which the state ran from the constant recurrence of such transactions; and from the agitation and apprehension which the exactions of the prince produced in the public mind. At the same time a multitude of criers and hawkers were sent through the town, spreading, at the very lowest price, and amongst every class of people, all the sarcasms which had been composed at the Archbishopric in the morning, to render the conduct of Condé ridiculous, contemptible, and hateful in the eyes of the multitude.

At length, when the coadjutor believed that every thing had been sufficiently prepared, he made the palatine write to inform the queen that he was about to go to the parliament. Mademoiselle de Chevreuse was with the regent at the time she received this intimation; and the joy which it occasioned was so great, that the virtuous and pious Anne of Austria caught the archbishop's mistress in her arms, and kissed her more than once, exclaiming, with no very great regard for decorum, "You rogue! you are now doing me as much good as you have done me harm."

The coadjutor kept his word, and proceeded to the Chambers, accompanied by four hundred men. He found the Prince de Condé standing before the fire as he was going in; and the two who were about to enter the political arena in mortal conflict with each other, met with every appearance of deference and politeness. De Retz, however,

found Condé in possession of the ground; for neither the coadjutor nor the Duke of Orleans having for some weeks frequented the parliament, Condé had acquired a habit of commanding therein of which it was difficult to deprive him.

The long absence of the coadjutor had even brought the parliament to believe that his virulence against Mazarin had become in some degree softened; and, probably to put his purposes to the test, Condé no sooner saw him resume his seat, than he launched forth into new invectives against Mazarin, added bitterness and severity to all that he had before urged against the government of the queen, and showing plainly that Mazarin still continued to rule in France, from the banks of the Rhine, by the subserviency of the under ministers, Servien, Le Tellier, and Lionne, he demanded that they should be forced by the parliament to quit their places in the government.

De Retz was far too wise even to show moderation in regard to Mazarin; but he knew that a great number both in and out of the chambers were tired of the insolent tone with which Condé persecuted the regent, and he suspected that the Prince's animosity against the under ministers proceeded more from disappointment at their having drawn back from the concessions which they had at first made to his ambitious spirit, than from real disapprobation of their pliancy to the will of the cardinal. The coadjutor, therefore, while he outdid the prince

himself in bitterness against Mazarin, passed over his attack upon Servien and the rest, and gradually brought the parliament to feel that if the queen consented in good faith to the permanent exclusion of Mazarin, the choice of her inferior ministers should not be interfered with. A war of pens succeeded between the partisans of the two factions; and though that of the coadjutor had greatly the advantage, the progress made against Condé was so slow, that Mazarin, the Queen, and De Retz began to revolve more summary measures.

A cloud hangs over those measures; but that cloud is not so dark and impenetrable as to prevent us from seeing, within the shadow thereof, fearful and criminal purposes, to which even the more open vices of the age are light. The cloak which was spread over a worse design, was the necessity of once more arresting Condé; but that prince was now so much upon his guard, that there existed scarcely a chance of finding him unprepared for resistance; and his life, as well as that of many others, was of course likely to fall a sacrifice.

We are told by De Retz, that the Maréchal de Hocquincourt, with more frankness than the rest, proposed in direct terms to assassinate Condé; and Madame de Motteville informs us that the Queen consulted a priest upon the more severe means which were proposed to her for delivering herself from the prince. The priest, with facility more courtier-like than Christian, sanctioned the means

which the queen mentioned. What those means were the lady does not state; but De Retz supplies the vacancy, and clearly shows that Anne of Austria contemplated calmly the assassination of Condé. The coadjutor himself, however, Madame de Chevreuse, and other leaders of the Fronde, but above all Senneterre, who had about this time obtained a great share of the queen's confidence, opposed not only the bold crime proposed at first by Hocquincourt, but also all the schemes which he and others afterwards suggested, and which, though apparently more mild, were all likely to end in the same event. Anne of Austria remarked, that the coadjutor was not so daring as she had thought him; and the Maréchal Du Plessis declared that scruples were unworthy of a great man. Still, however, if we may believe De Retz, he held firm; and though he proposed to draw Condé to the Luxembourg, and arrest him there with the connivance of the Duke of Orleans, he resisted all schemes which might compromise the life of the prince.

At the first glance, it would seem that in these transactions the queen sought alone to alarm Condé, and to drive him out of Paris by the fear of imprisonment or death: and that supposition receives confirmation from the fact that her own ministers and servants, Servien and Lionne, were the first to communicate to Condé all that was devised against him. Such, however, is proved not to have been the case, by the transactions which followed,

in the course of which, Condé having been induced to quit Paris, was eagerly solicited by the queen to return.

That Lionne betrayed both the queen and the cardinal in some degree, and, fancying that the faction of Condé might ultimately predominate, cultivated underhand the good will of the prince, there can be little doubt; but during the absence of Mazarin all was confusion; the ties seemed to be cut which had held the various parties together, and whereas the leaders had in former times striven for their own interests by combining together, each individual now sought his own purposes in his own individual path.

Couriers were still going daily between Paris and Cologne; treaties between the Fronde and Mazarin, bearing strong signs of authenticity, were intercepted or forged, and published in the capital; the post of prime minister remained unfilled, notwithstanding the arrangements for placing Chateaufort in that office; and the Duke of Mercœur, notwithstanding all the thunders of the parliament, set out publicly for Bruhl, with the purpose of marrying the niece of Mazarin. All, in short, announced that the banishment of that hated minister was but temporary; and yet the people of Paris no longer listened to the declamations of Condé against him with any degree of pleasure.

The situation of the prince was now dangerous: his negotiations with the court had been made



public; all his proceedings had been clearly traced to ambition; he no longer found himself supported by the parliament; the populace were more or less inimical to him; his enemy Mazarin was absent, and enjoyed all the advantages of absence with a fickle and unstable people; and, day by day, Condé received warnings, which proved to him that enterprises were in preparation against his liberty or his life.

At length intimation was given him that the purposes of the queen were on the eve of execution, and that a strong body of troops had been ordered quietly to take possession of the streets and gates in the neighbourhood of his house. He immediately sent out one of his attendants to ascertain what were the real facts, and found that two companies of the guards were in motion, though it would appear that their movements had some totally different object.

Condé, however, saw therein a confirmation of the news he had received, and, at two in the morning of the 6th July 1651, quitted the Hôtel de Condé, and proceeded to his house at St. Maur. His flight was not only justified by his danger, but also by policy, and it served to regain for him at once almost all that he had lost. A large body of the high nobility instantly went out to join him, amongst whom were Bouillon and Turenne, whose peace had been made with the court after the liberation of the princes. As soon as he had

placed himself in security, he sent messengers to the Duke of Orleans and to the parliament, to announce the cause of his sudden departure, politically assigning both the danger which he himself ran, and the continual communication with Mazarin, which was kept up in spite of the prohibition of the parliament and which placed the fate of every French prince in the hands of an exiled and vindictive foreigner.

The queen and her friends became alarmed; and the Duke of Orleans, who, notwithstanding his suddenly renewed co-operation with the queen, had kept up the outward semblance of friendship towards Condé, pressed her to take some steps to recall him. The Duc de Grammont was, accordingly, despatched to St. Maur, to act in their joint names; and it was very evident that the prince was tired of the factious character he had assumed, and anxious, if he could do so with advantage, to reconcile himself with the queen. She on her part showed a disposition to receive him again into favour; and the weak Duke of Orleans, fancying that Anne of Austria was about to abandon him to the enmity of Condé, outran all discretion in his offers to the prince.

De Retz on the other hand, there can be no doubt, saw with pleasure new obstacles rising up to the return of Mazarin, and did all that he could to induce the queen to break off every communication with her former minister. He longed, undoubtedly,

to see a place effectually vacant that there was every probability of his filling himself, if the statesman to whom the regent clung so pertinaciously could be removed beyond the possibility of recall. He therefore represented to Anne of Austria that there was no possible means of delivering herself from Condé on the one side, and the Duke of Orleans on the other, and of regaining that portion of the royal authority which she had lost, except that of taking some step which would convince the people of the sincerity of her repeated declarations that Mazarin was dismissed for ever. He also attempted to show her that the suspicions which all men entertained with regard to his own views upon the ministry were absurd, inasmuch as no man could ever attempt to force himself into a government by factious movements against the head thereof. But De Retz, while he used such an argument, knew its fallacy, though he was the first man perhaps in Europe who put in practice the system, since so frequently adopted, of obtaining power in the state by convulsing the state, and reaching authority by opposing those who actually possess it.

The Queen, however, contrived to temporise, and though Condé for some time continued to demand, as the preliminary to his return, the expulsion of the three under ministers, he was at length induced to come back to the capital, upon the express guarantee of the Duke of Orleans, extorted from that *strange lord*, as Anne of Austria was

accustomed to call him, at the very moment that he was the most inimical to Condé himself. The return of the prince to the capital was the signal for renewing all the intrigues that had been going on before; and, the period of *patent witnesses* being over, what may be called the period of *salaried hooters* commenced. Each party had a paid mob at its disposal, which acted from any impulse given it from above, and was ready to hiss, insult, pelt, or applaud any person pointed out to it at the will of him whose iniquitous wages they received.

Thus, the Duchess of Chevreuse and her daughter having gone down to the parliament house to hear the proceedings, the Prince de Conti seized the opportunity of insulting the woman he had so nearly made his wife; and his salaried mob assailed them, as soon as they appeared, with every sort of insult, and drove them home to their own hotel, with hissing, hooting, shouts, and obscenity. The principal topic on which the rabble assailed these ladies was, the somewhat too great intimacy between Mademoiselle de Chevreuse and the coadjutor; and De Retz resolved to avenge himself and them by the same means that had been used against them. His mob, being swelled by inclination as well as by hire, far exceeded in strength that of his opponents; and, catching the Prince of Conti as he quitted the Palais de Justice, it treated him even more severely than he had treated the Duchess and her daughter, and forced him to pass

before those ladies, bowing low to them, as he went, with every sign of humility and deprecation.

All sort of decency and propriety was at an end in Paris; and those first fine bonds that attach men to civil order having been cut in every direction, it wanted but an accidental word or blow to have changed the saturnalia which reigned in the French capital into a chaos of bloodshed and crime.

The chief scene of this period of the Fronde was now rapidly approaching. A sort of compromise had been effected with regard to the under ministers; but Condé not only soon renewed his pretensions, and his demands for their expulsion, but was tempted, in reckless weariness of the sickening struggle into which he had plunged, to enter into negotiations with Spain, in order to secure himself a refuge in case of an irremediable breach with the court.

The particulars of this transaction have never been made very clear; but it is evident that such negotiations took place. At the same time, he separated the troops which were attached to himself from those of the king; he sent his wife and child to Montrond; and the aspect which he assumed was so threatening, that Anne of Austria conceived herself justified in sending down to the parliament a distinct accusation of high treason against Condé. This occurred on the 17th of August 1651, and some very stormy debates ensued thereupon; but

the principal consideration of the question was delayed till the 21st, when a scene took place in the parliament house such as Europe had very seldom witnessed at that time.

The accusation of a great crime was before the parliament; a party had been made against Condé in that body; the coadjutor and the multitude which he led were prepared to move heaven and earth to put him down; and Condé, equally resolute, determined to meet his opponents on their own ground, and carry on the struggle with them, should it be necessary, with the sword. The populace and the parliament, the court and the citizens, were all divided in their opinions, and, without knowing that they were moved by such pitiful motives as court intrigue, and the selfish ambition of a few individuals, high and low, were lashed into a state of furious frenzy, which had well nigh deluged the whole capital in blood. The coadjutor, well aware that the success of his whole scheme must depend upon the event of that one day, and seeing, by the train which usually followed the Prince de Condé to the parliament, that recourse might be had at any moment to force, determined to forestall the measures of the prince; and, at an early hour on the day of the 21st, he caused all the halls, galleries, and cabinets of the Palais de Justice to be occupied by his armed retainers; he posted bodies at different spots, where they might

act with the greatest effect against the adherents of Condé; and he filled the closets with grenades and ammunition to be ready on a moment's notice.

The word given amongst his troops, for a great part of them were noblemen and officers high in the service, was "*Notre Dame*;" and Condé, who, well aware of what was taking place, marched to the court with two thousand retainers, gave out as the watchword of his party "*Saint Louis*." Thus, with that strange and absurd opposition which we so constantly see between pretences and actions, the two men who at the very moment were prepared for mutual massacre, who were bent upon objects contrary alike to law and to religion, and were advancing to stain the temple of Justice itself with gore, took for their rallying cries the Mother of the Lord of Peace, and the greatest lawgiver that France ever produced.

De Retz was first on the ground. The Palais de Justice was filled to suffocation; all men saw what was coming; all men, though they regarded the approaching storm with awe, prepared to take a sanguinary part therein: and, though no man forsook his post, many trembled and turned pale; while a wild and gaping sensation of expectation benumbed the senses of every one except that intrepid and extraordinary magistrate Molé, who presided calmly in the midst of every scene of horror and tumult, without one nerve shaken, or one bright perception diminished.

About an hour after the arrival of De Retz, Condé and his train appeared; and as soon as he had taken his place, he addressed the chambers, remarking upon the state in which he had found those halls and declaring, justly, that they looked more like a camp than the temple of Justice. He ended by repeating twice, in a menacing tone, as he looked upon De Retz, that he had not believed there was anybody in the realm so insolent as to dispute the walk with him. De Retz immediately replied, that there was certainly none so insolent as to dispute *the top of the walk* with him; but that there were many who neither would, nor could, on account of their own dignity, quit the walk, but for the King himself.

“ I will soon teach you to quit it,” replied Condé.

“ That will not be easy,” answered De Retz; and another word would have commenced a massacre in the halls of the Palace of Justice, which would only have been circumscribed by the walls of the capital, —perhaps not there. Molé, however, and several others threw themselves between De Retz and Condé, and besought them to remember the consequences of what they were doing. By their remonstrances they gained so much upon both, that Condé sent the Duke of Rochefoucault to desire his friends to retire from the outer halls, and leave him; while De Retz proceeded himself to dismiss his retainers also.



They both fulfilled their mission, desiring all parties who were armed to retire; but La Rochefoucault having done so rapidly, re-entered the hall in which the parliament was assembled, shutting the door in the face of De Retz, who followed him. The coadjutor knocked for admission, and the duke, partly opening the door, suffered De Retz to pass half way in, but then caught him between the two valves, and fixed them with an iron hook from behind the door, at the same time calling to some of his companions to kill the archbishop, whose head and shoulders were within the hall of the parliament, and the rest of his body amongst the rabble without. A number of his friends attempted to force open the door for De Retz, but in vain; and in the mean while the cries and the bustle at that spot caused the two parties in the outer halls to draw their swords: so that we may well believe the assertion of Madame de Motteville, that De Retz was not very much at his ease, having to fear that some of the many weapons drawn around him might find a sheath in his body, fixed immovably as he was, and half crushed in the doorway.

For the second time that day, the slightest indiscreet movement would have caused the four or five thousand swords that were drawn at that moment to be dyed in the blood of the opposite party. The first blow struck would have been the signal for a general rising through the town, for the whole

capital in arms was waiting the event of that sitting of the parliament: the Palais de Justice was surrounded by a countless multitude, agitated by passions which, though unreasonable and temporary, were not the less strong and violent; the graver citizens themselves, scarcely less moved than the mere populace, prepared to take their several parts on the very first alarm; and the palaces of the queen, the Duke of Orleans, and other members of the royal family, were filled with troops ready to act against each other.

Such was the state of Paris at the moment when those swords were drawn; and it is probable that had a blow been struck, or a shot been fired, ere night scarcely anything would have remained of Paris but ashes. By a chance almost miraculous, for a single moment no blow was struck; and the Marquis de Crenan, captain of the Prince of Condé's guards, seizing the opportunity with extraordinary presence of mind, exclaimed in a voice which was heard through the whole hall, "What are we about! We shall have both the prince and the coadjutor killed. Shame upon him who does not put his sword into the scabbard!"

A cry of "Vive le Roi!" burst from the multitude, and all weapons were sheathed as quickly as they had been drawn. In the mean time, Champlatreux—the son of the first president Molé, and a favourite officer of the Prince de Condé—seeing the situation of the coadjutor, rushed forward,

and, pushing back La Rochefoucault violently with severe and scornful reproaches, opened the door, and assisted De Retz to enter. The Duke de Brissac, Montessor, and the others who were around, covered La Rochefoucault with bitter and contemptuous taunts; and De Retz, having taken his place, reported to the parliament what had occurred.

It so happened that La Rochefoucault was placed between him and Brissac; and turning furiously to De Retz he said that if they had been in another place, he would have strangled them both. De Retz looked at him with the scorn he merited, and, applying to him a name which his real want of frankness and assumption thereof had gained him during the first war of Paris, replied, "Friend *Frankness*, do not be spiteful! You are a coward, and I am a priest; so that we shall not do each other any great harm."\*

The chief president and the more reasonable part of the assembly now busied themselves to restore tranquillity, and the retainers of the prince

\* La Rochefoucault slurs these events over in his Memoirs, as might naturally be expected; but the accuracy of the facts, as told by De Retz, does not rest upon his authority, nor upon that of his creature Joly. His statement is confirmed in every essential particular by Madame de Motteville, whose impartiality in narrating the event is put beyond doubt by her attempted justification of the Duke of Rochefoucault, even while she relates his ungenerous and disgraceful proceeding. Although her morality appears occasionally to have been of a somewhat distorted kind, her candour may almost invariably be relied on.

were induced to quit the Palais de Justice by one door, while those of De Retz issued forth by another. This being done and some degree of order obtained, the hour at which the assembly generally rose arrived, and that dangerous morning passed over without bloodshed. It was not, however, without its effect, for the reaction was most extraordinary.

All parties, from the highest to the lowest, throughout the capital, who at daybreak had been agitated by the most furious passions, and, under the excitement of those passions, would have hurried forward to crimes of the deepest dye, beheld the precipice from which they had escaped with horror and terror, and looked back upon the wild and furious course they had run with equal shame and regret. Paris awoke like a man from the delirium of a fever, exhausted, enfeebled, depressed, but most willing to take all those means for regaining a healthy state which in its frenzy it had so furiously rejected. Condé himself, when he thought over the events of the morning, exclaimed, "This day Paris had nearly been burnt to the ground! What a bonfire for Mazarin! and yet it was his two principal enemies that were about to light it."

The parliament, lately so eager to snatch at the royal authority, and to take cognizance of all things which were beyond its functions, were willing to resign the great office of judging between the Queen

and Condé, and decreed that all the papers on both parts should be laid before her majesty, with a prayer that she would bring about a reconciliation between all members of the royal family. De Retz—the fierce and turbulent De Retz, whose element was the storm and the tempest, now only sought how he might honourably avoid the recurrence of such a perilous scene as that which had taken place in the morning, and not risk the existence of the whole capital by another armed encounter with Condé. Anne of Austria, firm, determined, and unflinching as she was, trembled to think of the dangers just passed over, and was easily prevailed upon to forbid that De Retz should any more appear in the parliament on her behalf against the prince: and to Condé himself, she held out the positive assurance, that she was not only willing to receive him into favour, but even to grant that the three statesmen to whom he objected, though neither disgraced nor banished, should no longer appear in public as her ministers, on the sole condition that he would come to the court, and pledge himself to abandon all intrigue and faction for the future.

Condé hesitated, for he could not believe the queen sincere; and he demanded also that a formal declaration of his innocence should be made, and laid before the parliament in the name of the king. Anne of Austria, on the contrary, offered a simple disavowal on her own part without implicating the

king's name in the business. But this would not satisfy him; and representing that nothing could clear him from a charge of high treason but the king's own declaration, he at length induced her to consent that such a reparation should be made on the day of the king's attaining his majority, which was now rapidly approaching. That day, however, was destined to produce new mortifications to Condé, and a new epoch in the political contentions of those times.

## CHAPTER V.

The King attains his majority. — Procession. — Conduct of Condé. — Changes in the Ministry. — Conduct of the Duke of Orleans. — Revolt of Condé. — His plans. — Negotiations. — De Retz affects love for the Queen, — is outwitted. — The Court quits Paris. — Plots against De Retz. — Bouillon and Turenne gained by the Court. — Military operations against Condé. — Successes of Spain. — Success of the Royal arms. — The Duke of Orleans supports Condé. — Vacillating conduct of the Parliament. — Mazarin returns. — Angers taken. — Two new armies on foot against the Court. — Beaufort and Nemours join, — they quarrel. — Condé traverses the country in disguise. — Turenne joins the Court. — Orleans excludes the King. — Hocquincourt defeated. — Turenne saves the Court. — Anecdotes of the young King — The armies near Paris — Tumults. — Skirmishes. — The Duke of Lorraine marches to the aid of Condé. — Driven back by Turenne. — Battle of St. Antoine. — Massacre of the Hotel de Ville. — The Court gains strength. — The Parisians grow weary of anarchy. — The Duke of Lorraine returns. — Mazarin once more exiled. — Manœuvres of Turenne. — State of Paris. — Turenne's skilful retreat — Condé retires from France. — The King returns to Paris. — Duke of Orleans banished. — Royal authority fully restored.

ANNE OF AUSTRIA had evaded calling the states general till the majority of the King was declared ; and she had evaded giving to the Prince de Condé that public declaration of his innocence which he demanded till the same day, notwithstanding the pressing recommendations of Mazarin, who advised her to grant everything, except the dismemberment of the empire, rather than suffer Condé to break out into open rebellion. The nomination of the new ministry, which had been determined on, had also been delayed till that moment : for Anne of Austria felt strongly that, far from losing any portion of her power by the young king being de-

clared major, her authority would be greatly increased — the tender age at which the kings of France issue out of their minority not admitting the slightest chance of resistance to her will, while the fact of his being considered as reigning for himself placed the opponents of the government in much more difficult circumstances than before, and brought many acts under the law for high treason which before might be committed with impunity.

It is true that the difference existed in a mere fiction; but it was by such fictions that the parliament of Paris was ruled; and the very body which would insult or make war upon the regent, using the king's name and authority for perpetrating what was really high treason against himself, would with great difficulty be brought to such violence when, by a solemn declaration of the king's majority, it had bound itself up in the technicalities of those laws which it registered and administered.

At the same time, Anne of Austria calculated, and calculated rightly, on producing a considerable effect upon the public mind in general by a display of all the pomp and parade of royalty in the young monarch's procession to the palace of the parliament. All the old ceremonies were recalled, and the morning began by a visit of state, rendered by the Queen and the whole court, preceded by the master of the ceremonies, to her son in his bedchamber.

The royal party then took horse and proceeded towards the palace of the parliament, where the



King was about to hold what was called a bed of justice, in order to declare his majority. After a body of trumpeters, and what were called guides, to the number of fifty, habited in the royal livery, came a body of eight hundred noblemen on horseback, two by two, dressed with the utmost splendour, and followed by the light horse of the Queen, on whose steps again came the light horse of the King, at the head of which body appeared the Count D'Olonne, in a robe of gold embroidery, and bearing his sword in a baldrick of rich pearls. He was mounted on a white horse with scarlet housings embroidered with pearls, and wore a hat surmounted with a large plume of white, phillimot, and fire-coloured feathers, making altogether one of the most splendid figures in the procession.

Next followed the company of the Grand Prévôt, with the company of the Hundred Swiss, dressed in their peculiar and picturesque costume, and led by their lieutenants, bearing the eaglet plume in their black velvet caps, which they had won long ago in the service of the kings of France. These were succeeded by the lieutenants-general of different provinces, and the governors of fortified cities; and everything which their individual wealth could supply was lavished to increase the splendour of the procession. Heralds and trumpeters followed, preceding the master of the ceremonies, who was again succeeded by the Maréchal de Meilleraie, grand master of the artillery, leading all the mar-

shals of France, except the Count de Harcourt, who, as *grand écuyer*, advanced alone, carrying the king's sword, with the scabbard resting on his arm. Then came an immense crowd of pages and attendants, bareheaded and on foot, preceding the garde-du-corps, likewise on foot, who went immediately before the King.

At length appeared Louis himself, in the fourteenth year of his age, mounted on a fiery horse, which he managed with infinite grace and spirit, displaying to his people that person which, even at the early period of life that he had now attained, gave every promise of the strength and beauty for which he was afterwards so much distinguished. Round about the king were his esquires, and a number of the high officers of his household; and he was followed by all the princes but one, and all the high nobles who had attained the rank of the peerage. An immense crowd of guards, officers, and attendants came after without order, and the procession was brought up by the Queen and the ladies of her household in carriages surrounded by her own guards, and a company of gendarmerie.

The King, in the first place, heard mass in the Holy Chapel, and thence proceeded to the contiguous building, where he held the bed of justice, with the queen on his right hand. The members of his court filled up every vacant space, except that immediately before the king; and after all had been arranged and silence obtained, the young

monarch addressed the parliament with grace and dignity, announcing that he had attained his majority, and that he took the government of the realm upon himself. The chancellor next enlarged upon the king's speech; and the Queen formally resigned the royal authority into his hands. The young monarch and his mother then embraced; all present did homage to the king; and the doors of the hall being thrown open for the admission of the people as far as possible, various decrees were read as the first acts of the king on assuming the reins of government.

Amongst the most important of these was the declaration in favour of the Prince de Condé; but, to the surprise of many, and perhaps to the disappointment of the queen, the prince himself was not present, having retired to the house of the Duke de Longueville, at Tric, merely sending a letter of excuse, in which the offence of his absence was aggravated by the terms of his apology. Anne of Austria was now irritated beyond all control, and she declared aloud that Condé or herself should perish.\*

But, if his letter produced in her so violent a movement of rage, the changes which she made in the ministry, according to her previous arrangement with De Retz, were even more irritating to Condé.

\* It was precisely on this occasion that the Queen made use of the strong expression here attributed to her, and not, as is so generally stated, at a period long anterior.

He saw his friend Chavigny at once deprived of influence; he saw Chateauneuf, the hereditary enemy of his house, raised to the highest post under the queen; and he saw Molé, from whom he had snatched the seals, restored to office and loaded with honours.

Chavigny at the same time sought him at Chantilly, and, of course, did not fail to aggravate the indignation of his friend. A chance word too, dropped by the Duke of Orleans, who had said, on hearing of the new ministry, "This will not last longer than that of Holy Thursday," convinced Condé that the present was only a temporary arrangement, and that the real object of the court was to recall Mazarin without his consent.

Some letters passed between him and the Duke upon the subject; and the latter prince, as usual, attempted to deceive both the Queen and Condé. Delighted to see his gallant cousin on the eve of quitting the court for ever, he would have done anything in his power to have hastened his departure; but, for the very purpose of concealing that wish, he went into the other extreme, and offended the Queen in a manner that was never forgotten. He professed the utmost devotion to Condé; he entreated him on no account to retire from the court; and when he saw him absolutely on his way towards Guienne, he besought the Prince to halt at Angerville, and not to go on till he had seen or heard from him. But at the same time he

gave strict orders to the messenger he afterwards sent, not to arrive at Angerville till he was sure that the prince was gone.

Overtures were also made on the part of the Queen, and it was proposed to Condé to retire into Guienne, and there, with greater power than was usually granted to the governors of provinces, to wait in security and honour for the assembling of the states general, which Anne of Austria pledged herself should take place within a year. But Condé did not receive this proposal till he had reached Bourges-en-Berry, where the acclamations of the people and the devotion of the authorities had raised his expectations too high to admit of his listening to any reasonable terms. There can be no doubt, however, that from the first he had demanded far more than was now offered; and there can be also no doubt that before quitting Paris previous to the majority of the king, he had entered so deeply into negotiations with Spain, that it was scarcely possible for him to detach himself from the enemies of his country.

Gourville states distinctly that such was the case; and that Condé himself informed him, before he quitted Paris for the last time, that he had determined upon war. This account is confirmed by Bussy; and although it is possible that, as his family have ever since maintained, Condé did send reasonable terms of pacification to the Queen, which she accepted, but that the double policy of

the Duke of Orleans prevented her assent from reaching Angerville till the prince was gone, there can, nevertheless, be no earthly doubt that all his arrangements bespoke a strong inclination to appeal to the sword.

Having quitted Chantilly with the determination of hurrying into Guienne, he paused at Angerville, at the mansion of one of the officers of his household, the President Perrault, and there waited for some time impatiently the arrival of the promised messenger from the Duke of Orleans. He hesitated, perhaps, upon the eve of warfare, even when he had gone too far to retract; perhaps he longed for peace, after all the irritating intrigues through which he had lately passed. But he was surrounded by evil advisers, whose proper element was faction, and who hoped to gain by civil strife. A body of cavalry, sent out in all probability to watch his movements, was seen in the neighbourhood; the friends who had accompanied him now applied themselves to persuade him that he was about to be arrested, and to hurry him forward to some decided step. Condé hesitated a few minutes longer, and declaring that he drew the sword against his will and at their solicitation, warned them that it might be longer than they liked before he put it back into the scabbard.

He at length yielded, however, mounted his horse, and, followed by a large body of friends and retainers, hastened on to Montrond, where he had arrived

by the 15th of September, just one week after the declaration of the king's majority. His wife and child had been sent on thither some time before, and he was now surrounded by the Prince de Conti, the Duchess of Longueville, La Rochefoucault, Nemours, and many others of his boldest and most powerful adherents. But short deliberations were necessary, and every one at Montrond applied himself diligently to announce to all his friends the resolution of the prince, and to call to his aid all who were well disposed towards him.

Having despatched messengers for this purpose in various directions, Condé left several members of his family behind him, and advanced rapidly into Guienne. Everything had been prepared beforehand; he was received in Bordeaux with joy and acclamations, a numerous body of troops was raised at once, the royal revenue in that part of the country was seized to wage war against the king, ten thousand men were speedily levied to support his rebellion, and Spain eagerly hastened her preparations in order to feed a civil war in France which afforded so strong a diversion in favour of her own exhausted territories.

The plan laid down by Condé on quitting Chantilly is distinctly stated by La Rochefoucault, and it was followed as far as possible. The Prince de Conti, Madame de Longueville, and the Duke of Nemours were left at Bourges and Montrond, to raise troops, and keep possession of Berry and

the Bourbonnais; while Condé himself, followed by his wife and son, proceeded, as we have said, to Bordeaux, in order to keep up his communication with Spain, as well as to rouse Guienne. The Count de Doignon secured to him Brouage, the Isle of Rhé, and La Rochelle. The Duke of Richelieu exerted himself in his favour in Saintonge; La Force, La Rochefoucault, Montespan, and Arpajon\* raised troops and money in Poitou, Angoumois, Upper Gascony, and Rouerge; and an invitation was sent to the Count de Marsin, commanding the French troops in Catalonia, to desert the service of the King, and come over to the party of Condé. At the same time, Lenet was despatched to Madrid, with full powers to treat with the King of Spain, and to supply all that had been omitted in the treaty already carried on between the prince and the Count of Fuensaldaña.

There was one part of the plan, however, which could not be executed. Condé had confidently hoped to engage Turenne and his brother, the Duke of Bouillon, in his cause, and by giving up to them Bellegarde, Stenay, Clermont, and Danvillers, together with a large body of old troops who had long served under his own command, to enable them, aided by a corps of Spanish troops which had been promised from the Low Countries, to carry on the war in that quarter, while he him-

\* There would seem to have been a little double dealing in the conduct of Arpajon.



self directed all the movements in the South. Had his plan succeeded in this respect, the crown of France would have been at Condé's disposal; for, with a larger force in the North than any that the queen could bring against him, under so skilful a general as Turenne, the capital would have been almost at his command; and, at all events, the royal troops would never have been withdrawn from the neighbourhood of Paris, even for the purpose of reducing the South to obedience.

The views of Turenne, however, were very different from what they once had been. After having obtained from the court what he considered reasonable proposals of peace in favour of the King of Spain, having seen them rejected by that monarch, and having obtained a positive promise of full compensation for the principality of Sedan, he had rejoined the court with the full determination of never separating himself from it again. It is true that when Condé retired first to St. Maur, Turenne and his brother had visited him, with a number of other nobles; but not all the persuasions of Condé himself, nor the intrigues of La Rochefoucault, had been able to engage either Turenne or the Duke of Bouillon to anything but vague professions of attachment.

La Rochefoucault, indeed, asserts that they distinctly promised to join the prince if the parliament of Paris gave a decree in his favour; but there is every reason to believe that there was no

clear engagement on their part of any such kind; and the conduct of Tavannes, who, immediately on hearing that the prince was in insurrection, withdrew his forces from the royal army, under the Duc d'Aumont, and joined Don Estevan de Gamarra, without any reference to Turenne or Bouillon whatsoever, shows that Condé himself little calculated upon the house of La Tour. Turenne and Bouillon remained attached to their duty; and though at first they were somewhat suspected by the court, they nevertheless showed no disposition whatsoever to join Condé. The Duc de Longueville also remained cold and at a distance, having learned to consider the party in which his wife was engaged as anything but his own.

Thus, in the North public affairs went against Condé; though in the South, everything succeeded as far as he could desire. De Marsin, blockaded in Catalonia by the Spanish troops, had need of no farther effort than the announcement of his purpose of joining Condé to the Castilian general, to open a passage through the surrounding army. He thus passed across the Spanish camp with a regiment of French cavalry, and another of Swiss; and, without meeting the slightest obstruction, traversed the whole of Catalonia, and joined the prince in Guienne. Shortly before he arrived, the Baron de Batteville, a subject of the King of Spain, and native of Franche Comté, appeared in the mouth of the Garonne, with twelve

ships of the line, and some smaller vessels. He brought with him also a small body of troops, and, what was even of greater importance, a considerable supply of money. So strengthened, Condé determined to lose no time, and, though the season was far advanced, prepared to make himself master of those places in the vicinity of Bordeaux which were still held out by the loyalty of the king's officers. Thus commenced the disastrous civil war of Guienne.

In the mean time, the Queen and her ministry were not negligent of the measures necessary to put a stop to the progress of the revolted prince; but as she was animated by a very different spirit from that which moved her nominal minister Chateaufort, the method of negotiation which she first essayed was by no means likely to prove successful. In regard to the negotiations, which went on after the war had absolutely commenced, it will be only necessary to say, that she employed the Duke of Bouillon to treat with Condé in her name, and offer him great advantages if he would lay down his arms and give her his support. Chateaufort, at the same time, treated with the prince, and promised him almost the entire government of the state, if he would lay down his arms, join with him and maintain him in power. But the whole of this negotiation affords another extraordinary specimen of the thorough confusion of all things which reigned in those days; for the negotiations of the

queen and her minister were going on at the same time, and mutually destroying each other. The object of Anne of Austria was the immediate recall of Mazarin, the object of the minister his perpetual exclusion; and to render the affair, if possible, more absurd, the negotiator employed by both to carry on their several proceedings, at the same time, was frequently the same man — the well-known Gourville, who went backwards and forwards between Paris and Guicenne, burdened with all the most heterogeneous and contradictory negotiations it was possible to conceive.

We must now, however, turn for a moment to Paris, and before we proceed farther consider the scenes which were taking place on that great stage of faction and intrigue. De Retz's nomination to the cardinalate had been forwarded to Rome; but, as we have before stated, that dignity he only considered as a stepping-stone to the office of prime minister. The moment of Condé's revolt was favourable for his ambitious designs. Mazarin was absent and excluded from power by a number of decrees of the parliament; the Duke of Orleans, Condé, and the capital were all united in opposing his return; Chateauneuf was hated by the queen, and possessed no real authority; and Anne of Austria herself, shut up within the walls of Paris, was absolutely in the hands of De Retz.

Having learned that the determined nature of

Anne of Austria was not to be worked upon by faction and opposition, to choose a minister that forced himself upon her, and having made his influence sufficiently felt, both against her and in her favour, to show her how important his services were, De Retz determined now to seek her good opinion, and endeavour to win from her weakness as a woman, what he had not been able to force from her weakness as a queen. But he fell into the greatest mistake that ever politician committed. Women have often been able to render love subservient to policy, because it was a strife in which they made use of their natural arms: men have never been so successful, because they must necessarily employ therein arms of which their adversaries are more masters than themselves.

De Retz, one of the ugliest men in Europe, had been famous, or perhaps we may say notorious, for his success in criminal amour; and in those days such success might prove a recommendation even to a queen. He now conceived the hope of making an impression upon the heart of Anne of Austria herself; not perhaps believing that he should do so with the queen to the same extent which he had done in other cases — for, be it remarked, he does Anne of Austria justice, even in regard to Mazarin — but trusting that, at all events, he might so far win her good graces, by flattering her vanity, as to reconcile her to the idea of dismissing totally her former minister, and filling up the vacant place

with the eloquent and apparently love-stricken demagogue.

The idea of acting this part was first suggested to him by the Duchess de Chevreuse; and a doubt has crossed my mind as to whether, in making such a suggestion, that intriguing woman was really playing the game of De Retz and attempting to deceive the queen, or playing the game of the queen and thoroughly deceiving De Retz. It is scarcely to be conceived that Madame de Chevreuse, who so well knew all the paths of intrigue, could be unaware that De Retz, whatever success he had obtained in gallantry so long as the object and the means were the same, entered upon an art in which every woman was superior to him, the moment that he made gallantry a ladder for ambition. However that may be, as soon as Anne of Austria saw the views of the coadjutor, and found herself engaged with him in a game where she was his superior, she led him forward blindly with hopes which she had not the slightest intention of gratifying, till she bowed him entirely to her purpose. Night after night they held secret meetings for the arrangement of the different affairs of state which were to be concerted between them. De Retz sighed and languished, and gazed at the queen's beautiful hands. The queen blushed and bridled, and talked to his confidants of his beautiful teeth, which, it appears, afforded the only point that could possibly be praised in his appearance; and, in

the end, De Retz was persuaded ~~to suffer~~ her to take the young king out of Paris and ~~proceed~~ to Fontainebleau.

So long as the court had remained in the capital, it had been completely in the power of the coadjutor; but the moment that Anne of Austria had quitted the city, she felt that the chains by which she was enthralled were broken, and she began to act at once with authority and vigour. De Retz, as soon as he had fallen into the folly just mentioned, felt the oversight he had committed in the strongest manner; but, nevertheless, he hoped still to regain his ascendancy, by affecting to serve her even with great zeal and fidelity, while at the same time he played upon her fears and endeavoured to show her how necessary he was to the government.

But in the mean while, his own fate had nearly been changed entirely by one of those bold attempts to which perilous times give birth. The indefatigable, the energetic Gourville, after having raised himself from the lowest stations to such a pitch of confidence and respect, that whenever he appeared in the hall of the great Condé, the prince caused him to sit down at the same table with himself, now proposed to deliver his leader from one of his greatest enemies, by carrying off the coadjutor from the very midst of Paris. For this purpose he concerted his whole scheme with Condé; and having spent a short time in Angoumois, engaging

such persons as he could trust in the enterprise, he set out alone with but little money, and proceeded to a small town, where the collector of the king's taxes was then raising sums for the service of the court. As he went, Gourville engaged four men to assist him, and entered, pistol in hand, the little public-house in which the collector was seated.

“*Qui vive?*” demanded Gourville, as he entered. The collector, knowing him to be an adherent of Condé, exclaimed, “Long live the princes!”—“Long live the king!” replied Gourville, and immediately swept up all the money which had been collected, and boldly gave him a receipt in due form.

After a number of adventures, on which we cannot pause, he arrived safely in Paris, and was followed, one by one, by the confederates he had engaged. Having learned that the coadjutor, upon one pretence or another, visited the Hôtel de Chevreuse every evening, and never came away till after midnight, he lodged his bands in houses round the spot, and watched all the movements of De Retz, who generally sent away the greater part of his attendants, and returned home but slightly accompanied. Having fixed upon a particular night for the enterprise, Gourville posted fifteen or sixteen men in the shadow of a landing-place which led from the river to the quay. Of these men, two were to seize the lacqueys and put out the flambeaux, by which carriages were always accompanied in those



days, two to stop the horses, two to ~~seize~~ upon the coachman, and the rest to prevent any ~~one~~ escaping to give the alarm. Gourville himself, dressed as an exempt, was to march up to the door of the carriage with his staff in his hand, and arrest the coadjutor in the name of the king; and horses, a pillion, and stout horse-girths were prepared for the purpose of binding De Retz lightly to a trooper, and carrying him out of the city at full speed.

Everything having been thus prepared by eleven o'clock at night, and having learned to a certainty that De Retz had entered the Hôtel de Chevreuse, Gourville waited impatiently till a person he had placed to watch should bring him word that the coadjutor was coming out.

Towards midnight the man made his appearance; but it was only to inform his principal that five or six carriages had come out of the gates, but that he had not seen that of the coadjutor. After some hesitation, Gourville determined to knock at the door, and ask for De Retz. It was opened by the porter, half undressed, and he was informed that the archbishop had gone away in the carriage of Madame de Rhodes, which induced him to believe that some suspicion had been entertained of his design. Gourville determined to make another attempt, however; but it also was unsuccessful, the person he had stationed at the door of Madame de Poméruil having amused himself in getting drunk at a public-house, instead of keeping watch for the coadjutor.

After this second attempt and its failure, Gourville became more fully convinced than before that notice of his purpose had been given to De Retz, and he took measures for quitting Paris immediately. His suspicions, indeed, were correct, and his escape not an hour too soon; for although the fact of his having twice missed the coadjutor was in no degree connected with De Retz's knowledge of the enterprise, as that prelate had taken no precautions in consequence, yet the attempt had effectually got wind, and Talon, a relation of the advocate-general, had on both occasions given the archbishop intimation of the danger which he ran. After the second attempt, De Retz took more vigorous measures; and one of Gourville's companions, who lingered behind in Paris, was arrested, and confessed the whole scheme. De Retz himself, the Duke of Orleans, and others, imagined that the intention of Gourville had been to murder him; and the prisoner had very nearly, in accordance with the laws of those days, expiated on the rack a slight offence, because people suspected him of a greater crime. The coadjutor himself, however, interfered to save him, and after a few months' imprisonment in the Bastille he effected his escape.

During all the events which we have lately narrated, Mazarin had continued to direct the proceedings of the queen. Placed at Bruhl, in the neighbourhood of Cologne, he kept up a constant

correspondence with Paris, sometimes by means of couriers, sometimes through the good offices of his friend Fabert, who, in the government of Sedan, maintained the authority of the king, against the temptations of Mazarin on the one hand, and the Duke of Bouillon on the other. There is every reason to believe that to Fabert also was owing that arrangement which, by attaching the Duke of Bouillon and Turenne absolutely to the crown, placed between those noblemen and Condé an irrevocable barrier, insured to the queen a degree of support, which she could not have hoped to receive from any other quarter, and eventually enabled her to recall the minister in whom she confided from exile.

The two brothers, we are informed by De Retz, lived in Paris in the greatest state of retirement, Turenne unemployed, and Bouillon, though resisting the solicitations of Condé, evidently dissatisfied; that the vexatious question of the compensation for Sedan had not yet been settled. To both the queen and Mazarin, Fabert represented, in the strongest terms, both the absolute necessity of satisfying the claims of the duke and his brother, and also, of doing so at once, without any of those troublesome delays of which the cardinal was so fond.

In the difficult circumstances in which Anne of Austria was placed, she hesitated no longer; her consent and that of Mazarin's were given, that by

a solemn contract, the duchies of Albret and Château Thierry, the counties of Auvergne, Evreux, Epernay, Châtillon-sur-Marne, and some other territories, should be given to the Duke of Bouillon, in perpetuity, in exchange for his forfeited principality of Sedan. While the matter was yet incomplete, a Gascon of the name of Bertet was despatched to Paris by the Queen to inform the coadjutor, Bouillon, and Turenne, that she had fully determined on recalling her minister, and to endeavour to persuade them to agree to that step. De Retz, of course, refused, and Bouillon and Turenne hesitated, till Bertet, when the coadjutor had departed, informed them that he had got the contract, signed, in his pocket; after which they hesitated no longer, but made as much haste as they could to get out of Paris. They well knew that a storm would be called up in that city by the very first intelligence that Mazarin was about to return; and that the indignation of the parliament, the people, the coadjutor, and the Duke of Orleans would render a sojourn in the capital dangerous for any one who had consented thereunto. Even as it was, they ran more risk than they imagined; for before they set out, the Duke of Orleans, apprised of what had taken place, had given orders for arresting them, and they only escaped by a few hours.

In the mean while, the Queen put herself at the head of the army, which was found to be much

more generally faithful than had been expected, and advanced direct upon Bourges-en-Berry, which received her instead of resisting her, and testified almost as much joy on her entrance as it had shown on the coming of the Prince de Condé. At Bourges the court remained for some weeks; and here the army was divided into two unequal parts, the larger of which advanced under the Count de Harcourt, to oppose Condé in Guienne, while the smaller, under Pallnau, better known afterwards as the Maréchal de Clerambault, turned upon Montrond, and blockaded that place. The Duchess of Longueville and the Prince de Conti, with the Dukes of Nemours and Rochefoucault, had retreated from Montrond on the first approach of the royal army, and retired to Bordeaux with all speed. The Marquis de Persan, however, remained in command, and the city held out against a regular siege for nearly a year.\*

In the mean time, the army under the Count de

\* Anquetil, vol. xii. p. 30, declares, that the queen's troops kept the mother and the son of Condé blockaded in Montrond. His mother had been dead nearly two years, and his son was with him in Guienne. The gallant defence of Montrond has not been, I believe, noticed by any modern historian; but it is described in the *Memoirs of Artagnan*, vol. ii. p. 76: a very curious and important work compiled by Sandras de Courtitz, beyond doubt from the authentic papers of Artagnan himself. The writer attributes the skill and resolution displayed to an officer named Debas, who served under Persan. Charlotte Marguerite de Montmorency, Princess Dowager of Condé, died in 1650, at the age of fifty-seven.

Harcourt advanced to oppose Condé; and all accounts agree that the want of discipline and skill which existed amongst the troops of the insurgent prince were the causes of his doing nothing against a general greatly inferior to himself. The court followed the army as far as Poitiers, and Chateaufort would fain have hurried it forward to Angoulême, doing all in his power to render his administration agreeable to the queen, and to impede the return of Mazarin. But Anne of Austria was now free and successful: she was at the head of a victorious army, out of the reach of her factious capital; and the civil war having begun, to prevent which had been the purpose of Mazarin's expulsion, she had scarcely any object in continuing to exclude him. Even while Chateaufort was labouring so hard to keep his rival in exile, the messenger bearing his recall was on the way to Bruhl; and Hocquincourt, decorated with the colours of Mazarin, was hastening to join him, in order to raise an army to reconduct the cardinal triumphantly into France. Fabert, too, made every effort for a minister whom he had always served faithfully, notwithstanding some ill-treatment: the governors and commanders on the frontier were almost to a man attached to him; and a body of eight thousand excellent troops was speedily prepared to take the field under the green scarfs of the cardinal. Mazarin was eager to avail himself of the favourable moment, but the Spaniards paid him the com-

pliment of refusing him passports to return; and he was therefore obliged to make his way as best he could, across a dangerous and invaded country, to Sedan, where he passed Christmas-day with Fabert, and then leaving his nieces under that general's charge, advanced into France in the beginning of the year 1652.

Spain had not been idle on her part during the civil contentions of France; and while she supplied to Condé the means of carrying on the war for his own advantage, the Archduke, upon the frontier of Flanders, seized the opportunity afforded him by the occupation thus given to the royal armies, and obtained possession of a number of places which the French government could not afford to defend. Amongst these were Furnes, Bergues St. Winoc, Bourbourg, and several other towns. But the most important advantages gained by Spain were reserved for the following year, when Gravelines and Dunkirk, with a number of other places, fell into her hands, requiring much blood and treasure at an after period to recover them. In Catalonia also the successes of the Spaniards were very great; and that province might be considered lost to France from the day of Condé's revolt.

Nor was the ruin and destruction inflicted upon almost all parts of France by the civil dissensions of the times, an insignificant item in the list of evils produced by turbulence, disorder, and faction. We cannot dwell upon all the particulars of the

state of France during this period ; but any one who looks through the memoirs of contemporaries will find that commerce, arts, and sciences were almost put an end to ; that the industrious classes were reduced to the extreme of misery and indigence ; that the peasantry, especially near the scene of actual warfare and upon the frontiers, had become little better than robbers and marauders ; and that in many places utter misery and total demoralization had reached such a pitch, that the country people shot indiscriminately everybody they met, if unacquainted with their persons.\*

The result of Condé's revolt, even in the beginning, was not much more favourable to himself than to the country. After having seized upon some towns in the neighbourhood of Bordeaux, and strengthened himself in several posts, he attempted to take possession of Cognac ; but the town was relieved by the Count de Harcourt, in presence of Condé himself, who could accomplish nothing against him. Harcourt then bent his steps towards La Rochelle, which city had returned to its duty, with the exception of the towers commanding the port, in which was a garrison of the troops of Condé ; and the royalist general soon made himself master of those posts, the soldiery within having murdered their commander, after resisting gallantly for two days. Such success gave Harcourt courage to advance upon his great adversary himself, who

\* : See Memoirs of Gourville.



was obliged to retreat before him; and the news which the prince received about the same time of the formation of an army in the neighbourhood of Sedan, as well as the certainty that Turenne and Bouillon had joined the queen's party, showed him the necessity of despatching some faithful officer to put himself at the head of the troops attached to the insurgent cause in the North, and endeavour to effect some diversion upon that side. The Duke of Nemours was chosen for that task, and set out immediately.

But the progress of the king's arms had already discouraged the people of Guienne; and in the Agenois strong demonstrations were shown of a design to submit to the court.

The evils which Condé suffered in the South, however, were more than compensated, for the time, by the news which reached him from Paris. While almost in despair at the little effectual support he met with, the well-known Fontrailles reached his camp, despatched by the Duke of Orleans to inform him, that, having received certain information that the Queen had recalled Mazarin, the old party of the Fronde, with the coadjutor and lieutenant-general at its head, had determined to make common cause with him and his friends, for the purpose of excluding Mazarin. This had been brought about, as may be well supposed, in a great part by the influence of De Retz, who, finding that he had let slip the golden oppor-

tunity, was now gradually approaching once more that state of opposition to the court on which all his power was, in fact, founded.

Seguier, the Chancellor, and Molé, now keeper of the seals, had remained in Paris, together with Vieuville, who had become superintendent of finance, the Maréchal de l'Hospital, and some others, for the purpose of maintaining the queen's party in the capital against the machinations of De Retz and the Duke of Orleans; and a declaration of high treason had been carried through the parliament against Condé, in spite of all opposition.

The people, however, stirred up by the Fronde, assembled in multitudes in the streets; and, after having surrounded the Palace of the Luxembourg for some time, proceeded, by the malicious direction of the Duke of Orleans himself, to the house of Molé. The chief president was at that time in consultation with Vieuville, De l'Hospital, and others, and consternation took possession of almost every one of the party on hearing the shouts of the enraged multitude without. But, while they fled, the chief president, with the intrepidity which distinguished him, ordered all the doors to be thrown open, and presenting himself to the people, who cried out that they had come to kill him, reprimanded them severely for their violence, and in a stern tone ordered them to return peaceably to their homes. The influence of his great mind was felt as usual; the people dispersed without at-

tempting to injure him : but Vieuville and De l'Hospital, who had left him to his fate and retired home as fast as they could, had nearly been drawn out of their carriages and murdered by the way.

In the mean time, the parliament was agitated tremendously by the reported return of Mazarin : the Duke of Orleans declared himself furiously against him ; and in the embarrassment in which the court was placed, it would appear that a determination was taken to call the chief president, then keeper of the seals, the grand council, all the agents of finance, the secretaries of state, and, in fact, all the effective parts of the machine of government, to Poitiers, where the court then was, and to leave the capital to its fate, in the expectation that the state of confusion into which it would fall, like the fermentation of a vessel of new wine, would ultimately work it clear. The chief president immediately obeyed, as well as the rest, and Paris gave itself up to its hatred for Mazarin with a fury which strangely contrasted with its after conduct.

On the 29th of December, having learned that Mazarin had passed the frontier, the parliament gave a decree by which the cardinal was declared guilty of high treason ; he was placed beyond the pale of the law, the people were commanded to put him to death wherever he was met with ; his magnificent library and all his goods and chattels were ordered instantly to be sold, and a hundred and

fifty thousand livres were promised to any one who should bring in Mazarin alive or dead. A few days after, the troops of the Duke of Orleans were ordered to oppose the progress of the cardinal, deputies were sent from the parliament to raise the commons throughout the country across which he was to pass;—and, in short, every violent measure was taken which hatred and indignation could suggest.

Mazarin, however, in the mean while, advanced through France without any real opposition. Some of the officers sent by the parliament to raise the country against him were taken by the unceremonious Hocquincourt, and treated with no great lenity; and the army of the cardinal, as it was called, reached Poitiers, bringing an immense accession of strength to the royal forces.

Anne of Austria had in all her actions promoted the return of Mazarin, in opposition to her temporary minister Chateauneuf and to the whole country; but she had endeavoured to conceal her inclination, and had on many occasions spoken so coldly of the cardinal, that doubts are still entertained as to whether he had not really lost much of her favour during his absence. He is accused also of having shown his royal mistress some ingratitude at an after period, and her conduct on this occasion has been put forth as the cause, or rather the excuse; but it would seem that the demeanour of Anne of Austria was merely part of her scheme to prevent

any violent opposition to the cardinal's return till he was actually on the way, and that any degree of neglect which he afterwards evinced towards the queen proceeded solely from the insolence naturally produced in an ungenerous heart by the enjoyment of undisputed power. On arriving at Poitiers his reception was such as he could hardly have dared to expect. The King and his young brother went out to meet him on the way, and he entered the city by his royal master's side, while the Queen waited at a window to see him arrive.

Chateauneuf had throughout opposed Mazarin's return; but, nevertheless, he was not immediately commanded to resign his place, as might have been expected; and we are informed by La Rochefoucault that Mazarin made some advances towards his old enemy. The old statesman very soon met with that opposition, however, which showed him that he could no longer hope to retain office with either honour or advantage.

One of the first questions discussed after the return of Mazarin was, whether the king should at once advance towards Angoulême and crush the rebellion of Condé by his presence, or march along the Loire towards Angers, which had been led into revolt by the Duke of Rohan Chabot, its governor. Chateauneuf strongly advised the former course, Mazarin supported the latter; the opinion of the cardinal was preferred, and the old minister chose

that occasion for resigning the semblance of authority which had really passed from him.

The king's army marched immediately upon Angers, which was besieged by Hocquincourt and Meilleraie; and, after a very slight resistance, the Duke of Rohan, finding that he could not depend upon the wavering faith of the citizens, eagerly concluded a convention with the royal commanders, by which he was permitted to retire to Paris, and join the Duke of Orleans, who was now becoming a rallying point for all the weak and undecided in the kingdom.

Nothing could well present a more lamentable spectacle than the conduct of the parliament of Paris at the period of Mazarin's return, and for some time after. Like a deserted ship at sea, it went hither and thither, from one extreme to another, without any guidance or any regularity, as the wind of fear, of factions, or of passion, blew. Now it besought the Duke of Orleans to send troops against Mazarin, now refused to pay those troops or find them provisions, now ordered forces to be raised, now forbade any one to enlist soldiers but the king. At length, deputies were sent to the court to remonstrate against the return of the obnoxious minister; but by this time Mazarin was far on his way to Poitiers, and on their admission to the presence of the monarch, their own chief president, acting as keeper of the seals, pronounced by order

of the King a severe reprimand upon their turbulent proceedings, justifying Mazarin's recall, and warning the parliament to return to its duty. The vacillation of that body, however, still continued; and the uncertainty of all its measures even outdid the uncertainty of the Duke of Orleans himself, and at length drove him, as we have already shown, to take part openly with the princes. The forces which he maintained as lieutenant-general of the kingdom were then placed under the Duke of Beaufort, who was ordered to join the old troops of Condé, which, reinforced by some Spanish regiments, were now advancing into France, from the side of Stenay, under the command of the Duke of Nemours. The junction of Beaufort and Nemours was effected without difficulty, and the consummation of all the confusion of the Fronde was now exhibited. The army of the king's lieutenant-general marched, in union with the forces of a rebel and the troops of a foreign enemy, to aid the first prince of the blood in civil war against the king, while the parliament of Paris daily issued decrees directly contrary to each other, pronounced all parties guilty of high treason, and yet, more or less, supported all parties but the king. At the same time, the united army of Nemours and Beaufort had received two orders, in immediate opposition to each other;—the Prince de Condé having commanded it to cross the Loire, march to the relief of Montrond, and then hasten to join him in Gui-

enne; while the Duke of Orleans ordered it to remain on the hither side of the Loire, and on no account to proceed far from the capital.

These contradictory directions, of course, very soon produced dissensions between Beaufort and Nemours, which were probably not diminished by their being brothers-in-law; and, day by day, tidings reached Condé, in Guienne, of their disputes, which had more than once nearly ended in bloodshed. To him these disputes rendered their movements perfectly useless, while his own situation in Guienne had become perilous in the extreme, being scarcely able to maintain his position at all against the royal arms. Forced to retreat upon Agon, with factions tearing the town of Bordeaux, with dissensions reigning amongst his own partisans, with Conti and La Rochefoucault at variance, he determined to quit a scene where the only part he could play was unworthy of himself and of little use to his ultimate objects, and to make one great effort to traverse the whole centre of France, in order to put himself at the head of the veteran troops commanded by the Duke of Nemours. Nothing could be more difficult than the undertaking, nothing more hazardous; but yet he accomplished his undertaking, though not without great labour and difficulty. In the first instance, he consulted with Marsin and La Rochefoucault, who represented to him all the dangers of the undertaking, but both requested eagerly to



follow him in case he should determine upon attempting it. He did so determine, but resolved to leave Marsin, an officer of great skill and resolution, to maintain his interests as far as possible in Guienne; and having made what arrangements he could for the safety of the towns still in his hands, he set out on Palm Sunday 1652, accompanied by La Rochefoucault, six other gentlemen, and the indefatigable Gourville, under whose direction all the arrangements of the expedition seem to have been contrived.

The whole party were disguised as common troopers, and each took a false name, even amongst themselves, to which they were soon so much accustomed as to call each other familiarly by this *nom de guerre*. Using many other precautions, they proceeded till they came to Cahusac, where they encountered some troops belonging to La Rochefoucault; but being anxious to conceal their journey almost as much from their own partisans as from the enemy, the prince and his noble companions hid themselves in a barn, while Gourville went out to forage. He succeeded in procuring some scanty fare; and they rode on till some hours had passed after nightfall, when they reached a little village public-house, where Condé volunteered to cook an omelet for the whole party. The hand, however, which could wield a truncheon with such effect proved somewhat too violent for the

frying-pan, and, in the attempt to turn the omelet, he threw the whole hissing mass into the fire.

Manifold more serious difficulties and dangers, however, were to be encountered. On one occasion, they had to pass a large town, garrisoned with the king's troops, which was so close to the river, that there was but space for the road along which they were travelling, and which was well watched from the gates of the city. Gourville, however, rode on in front, having decorated himself with a white scarf as if belonging to the king's service; and, riding up to the guards at the gates, he begged them, in a confidential tone, not to let any of his troopers, who were following, enter the town, for fear of disorders; a request with which the guards very willingly complied, and Condé and his friends passed under the very muskets of the king's troops without the slightest suspicion. On another occasion, a peasant recognized the prince and named him aloud; but, by the effrontery of Gourville, he was absolutely laughed out of his conviction.

La Rochefoucault was seized with the gout; his son, who was of the party, became so fatigued that he could scarcely sit his horse; and, in the end, they all became so weary, with the exception of Condé, whose iron frame resisted to the last, that they could scarcely advance any farther. After passing the Loire, they had again nearly been taken at the

gates of La Charité, in consequence of a mistake of the guide, who led them straight up to the sentinel, by whom they were instantly challenged. Gourville replied, that they were officers of the king, who were going to rejoin the army; and the prince, knowing who commanded within, called to some of the soldiers, over the gates, to tell the Count de Bussy that it was his friend Motheville, who wished to come into the town. This was said, trusting to find some way in the mean while of getting out of the scrape; and no sooner had the soldier gone to fulfil his errand, than one of the other insurgents, turning to Condé, exclaimed, "It is all very well for you to stay here and amuse yourself if you like; but, as our leave is out to-morrow, we must go on." Condé replied, aloud, that they were strange people, but that nevertheless he would not part company with them; and leaving his compliments for Bussy with the soldiers at the gate, he once more passed on without being suspected.

Shortly after, the prince despatched Gourville to Paris, in order to communicate his plan to Chavigni; and still following the road he was upon, he pretended, wherever he came, that he and his companions were going to join the king's army. At length, however, approaching Gien, at which place the court then was, he was passed by two couriers, the last of whom recognized one of his companions, and, as it appeared, strongly suspected the whole facts. A mile farther on, the same courier met the

prince's valet, and, threatening him with instant death, made him confess that Condé was in the party which he had passed. The news of the courier's having questioned his servant soon reached the prince, showing him that he was discovered; and, immediately quitting the high road, he endeavoured to reach Chatillon as fast as possible, leaving behind one of his armed companions with orders to shoot the courier if he saw him return. The courier, however, took another path, and hastened back to the court with all speed, to bear the tidings that Condé was traversing the country for the purpose of joining the Duke of Nemours. Parties were sent out immediately to take him alive or dead; and he had twice very nearly fallen into their hands, once upon approaching Chatillon, and once upon the banks of the canal of Briare. Having escaped almost by a miracle, he soon after gained information that the army of Beaufort and Nemours lay in the neighbourhood of Lorris, at about eight leagues from Chatillon, and advanced with all speed to join it. At length, to his great joy, he saw the advanced guard before him; and several of the troopers immediately galloped up with a loud "*Qui vive.*" Some of them, however, almost instantly recognized Condé, and shouts of joy and surprise soon made known through the whole army what had occurred. "Never," says La Rochefoucault, "had anything been more unexpected, or more necessary, than

his arrival;" for the quarrels between the Dukes of Beaufort and Nemours had arrived at such a height, that the ruin of their army would have been the consequence had not Condé himself appeared.

While such were the proceedings of the revolted prince, Mazarin, after having seen Angers reduced to obedience, determined to march back along the course of the Loire, in order to keep in check the army of Beaufort and Nemours, and to overawe the city of Paris. Harcourt was left behind to deal with the party of Condé in Guienne; while Hocquincourt, who had so successfully conducted Mazarin from Sedan to Poitiers, remained in command of the army which escorted the court.

A far greater general, however, had by this time been fully brought over to the Royalists; and at Saumur, Turenne presented himself to the minister. Embarrassed between gratitude to Hocquincourt and respect for Turenne, Mazarin proposed to the latter to divide the command with the former general. Turenne, though in every sense the superior officer, made not the slightest hesitation, but accepted the proposal at once, and from Saumur the court and army removed to Tours. In that city took place one of the most favourable events which could have befallen Mazarin; namely, the presentation of a strong remonstrance promulgated by the Archbishop of Rouen, and a great body of clergy, against that decree of the parliament of Paris, by which the cardinal was placed beyond

the pale of law. A manifest change also was taking place in popular feeling. As the royal army advanced, every city and strong place upon the banks of the Loire threw open their gates at once to the King, with the sole exception of the town of Orleans; into which town Mademoiselle the daughter of the Duke of Orleans, who at this time affected to be an eager Frondeuse, had thrown herself in a curious manner. The Duke of Orleans had been advised to go thither himself; but, not choosing to quit Paris, he sent his daughter, as his representative. She set out accordingly on horseback, accompanied by a number of the gay and daring ladies of the capital, and the young Duke of Rohan, together with some grave counsellors of the parliament, and a body of young cavaliers, much more to the taste of the fairer members of the party. Advancing to Orleans with all speed, she arrived at one of the gates of the town, with her gay and gallant escort, exactly at the same moment that Molé, the keeper of the seals, presented himself at the other to demand the admission of the king's troops. The citizens and the governor were puzzled which to admit; but while they consulted thereupon, Mademoiselle advanced along the edge of the moat to the river, where she was seen by some boatmen, who came to salute her with great joy. Knocking down some masonry that stopped up either an old sally-port or a conduit, — which, is not very clear, — they

brought her into the town, where she soon gained complete command of the inhabitants.

The summons of the King was consequently rejected, and the princess called to her councils the Dukes of Beaufort and Nemours, whose army, not yet joined by Condé, was on the other side of the river. In one of their consultations, however, the disputes ran so high, that the Duke of Beaufort struck his brother-in-law,—an offence for which he was never forgiven, though he made an apology on the spot.

The royal forces, not being sufficient to attack the town of Orleans in face of the enemy's army, marched on towards Gien; but, in advancing, it became necessary to secure the bridge of Gergeau, which afforded the united army of Beaufort and Nemours an opportunity of taking the troops of Turenne in flank. That great general consequently advanced in person to reconnoitre, and had just reached Gergeau, when the bridge was taken possession of by the Baron de Sirot, who effected a lodgment in the middle and planted cannon so as to command the passage.

Turenne sent off immediately to order some regiments which were still at two leagues' distance, to come up; and finding that there were but two hundred men in the place, and they without ammunition, he stationed them in the windows which commanded the bridge, while he, with only thirty men, advanced in person, forbidding the soldiery to

fire in so loud a voice that the enemy could hear the command. While he thus concealed the want of powder, he marched on along the bridge towards the enemy's lodgment, in order to give time to Hocquincourt and some officers who had arrived to throw up a barricade behind him; and having thus endured the enemy's fire till the barricade was prepared, he retired behind it, and succeeded, without any ammunition, in defending it for three hours, till the regiments he had sent for came up. The moment they appeared, he put himself at their head, marched to the lodgment, carried it after a murderous attack in which Sirot was killed, and driving the enemy across the river, blew up the bridge so as effectually to secure the royal army.

The Queen thanked him for having *saved the state*; but Turenne himself in announcing the event to his sister, merely writes in a postscript, "An affair took place at Gergeau of no great consequence."

Marching on, the royal army passed the Loire at Gien, leaving the court in that town; and Turenne and Hocquincourt separating, the former took up a position at Briare, while the latter advanced to Blenau. A want of forage for the cavalry being now felt, the infantry alone remained with their generals, while the horse were dispersed throughout the neighbourhood. But Turenne, who had already suffered from similar conduct, now took



measures to secure himself against sudden attack. Not so Hocquincourt, who, although Turenne pointed out to him that his quarters were very much exposed, employed no means to place them in safety.

On the very night after he had received this warning, the quarters of Hocquincourt were attacked by the enemy. No sooner did Turenne hear of the fact, than he sprang into the saddle, and marched both to the assistance of his fellow-officer, and to the defence of the king, who, resting secure at Gien, might have fallen into the hands of the rebels, if the division of Hocquincourt had been destroyed, as Turenne had every reason to apprehend it would be. As he advanced, through the darkness of the night the marshal saw the quarters of Hocquincourt in one blaze of fire, and exclaiming, with the appreciation which genius has of genius, "The Prince de Condé is arrived!" he hurried on with the utmost rapidity towards a spot, in the neighbourhood of Blenau, to which he had ordered his cavalry to follow him with speed.

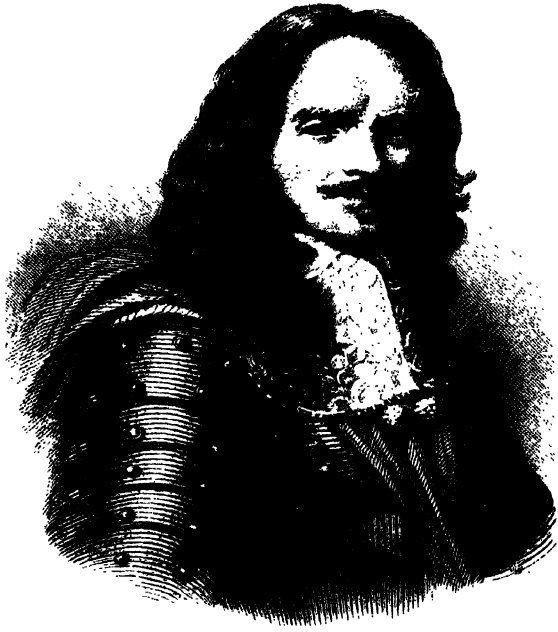
Towards break of day, he arrived at the point where the strife had been going on, and found that, as he had anticipated, the quarters of Hocquincourt had been forced in every direction, and his troops dispersed. A part of the infantry had found shelter in Blenau, but the cavalry which had been scattered round about had been driven across the country towards Burgundy. The safety of the

whole court was at stake, and though Turenne had but four thousand men, while Condé advanced upon him with fourteen thousand fresh from victory, he determined to oppose the rebels in a position which he had remarked, and determined to take up in case of need, on the preceding day. Thither, then, he led his army; and the more accurately he surveyed the nature of the ground, the more fully convinced he became that he could maintain it against any force for a sufficient time to enable Hocquincourt to rally his troops and come to his aid. The plain which he chose as his position offered a wood upon the right, a marsh upon the left, and a narrow causeway between them, which was the only line of advance the enemy could pursue, unless they made a circuitous march, to form on his flank, or in the rear of his position. He planted a battery to bear upon the causeway, and took measures to defend the wood, and the open ground between it and the marsh. Notwithstanding his skilful disposition and determined countenance, his army could not free itself from the remembrance of its inferiority to the enemy; and Turenne's principal officers ventured even to remonstrate with him on the rashness of his enterprise, urging him to retreat upon Gien, and carry the King to some place of safety.

Turenne condescended to explain to them, that when the city of Orleans had dared to refuse admission to the King in presence of a large and victorious

army, not a town could be expected to receive him, defeated and fugitive; and he added somewhat sternly, "We must conquer or perish here!"

Having encouraged his troops to do their duty, he waited at the head of the causeway with a few squadrons of cavalry to reconnoitre Condé's army as it approached; but, at the same time, showed the full confidence he had in the strength of his position, and in his own military skill, by sending the Marquis of Pertuis to tell Mazarin that the King might remain in safety at Gien. As soon as the insurgent army approached, Turenne retreated across the causeway; and finding that Condé paused—struck with the strength of his adversary's position, and the skill he had displayed in availing himself of it—the royalist commander determined to lure the prince on to attempt a battle there, lest he should take a circuit and appear upon his flank. He accordingly ordered his men to make a movement towards the rear in double quick-time. Condé, with all his own knowledge and genius, was deceived, and marching up to the causeway in battle array, directed fifteen or twenty squadrons to pass it. No sooner had they done so, however, than Turenne wheeled, drove back the squadrons in disorder, and ordered the battery which he had raised against the causeway, to open a fire upon them as they passed; which was done with terrible execution. Condé, judging from what he now saw, believed that position in the hands of Turenne to





be impregnable; and it being too late to execute any other manœuvres with success during that day, he continued to canonnade the royalist army till the evening, without any other attempt to bring it to a battle.

Towards night Hocquincourt appeared upon the field, having rallied a considerable part of his cavalry; and a small body of men were likewise brought up from Gien by the Duke of Bouillon,\* which rendered the disparity of the two armies not so great as it had been in the beginning of the day. Condé then retired, finding that his attempt was frustrated, and took the way to Montargis;† while Turenne rejoined the court, and was received by the Queen with all the gratitude which such great services merited. Her first words went to thank him for *having placed the crown a second time upon her son's head.*

\* Madame de Motteville declares, upon the authority of her brother, who was present, that the young King, as soon as he heard that Turenne and Condé were in presence of each other, mounted on horseback and rode out of the town to join the army, but that he was stopped by Mazarin at the entrance of the plain. Laporte, however, mentions nothing of the kind; which most likely he would have done had it been true, as he dwells more than usual upon the events of that day.

† In the Life of Turenne we find it stated that the royal party did not follow Condé for eight days; but Laporte, who was present during the whole time, expressly declares that they set off that very day, stating, that they went from Gien to St. Margeau so bewildered that they did not know what they were about.

The terror and confusion which had reigned in Gien during the whole of the preceding night and that day, may very well be conceived when it is remembered that the safety of the King himself and of the Queen was at stake, and that the life of the favourite minister might at any moment be placed at the mercy of his bitterest enemy, justified in putting him to death immediately by the highest legal authority in the realm. Neither were the ill-disciplined and irregular forces of Condé at all desirable neighbours to the troop of ladies who had followed the court; and as soon as it was known that Condé had fallen upon Hocquincourt, the whole of the little town was one scene of dismay and confusion.

Almost all the carriages and horses belonging to the court were at the distance of five or six leagues on the other side of the Loire. The Queen sent off immediately to seek them, and by day-break they were assembled at the end of the bridge. Like the boats however of a sinking ship, they were soon filled with more persons than they could carry; and each setting off as fast as it could go, when it was loaded, such confusion, embarrassment, and precipitation took place, that notwithstanding every effort made to save themselves, all the members of the court might have been taken like fish in a casting-net, if Condé had been able to force the position of Turenne. The Queen, indeed, we are told, showed the same courage which she dis-

played on all occasions of danger; and while the cardinal sent courier after courier to the field of battle, and the attendants cleared her apartments of all that they contained, she remained tranquil at her usual occupation, without evincing the slightest symptom of alarm.

The royal army and that of Condé now both marched towards Paris, nearly upon two parallel lines. But the great distress which the court suffered from want of money caused almost as much insubordination to be apparent amongst the troops of the king as amongst those of the rebels. Little respect was shown to Mazarin himself; and the young King was often treated with but scanty ceremony, and provided for but barely. A curious scene, which is mentioned by La Porte, took place in consequence of Louis being obliged to sleep in the same room with his brother the Duke of Anjou. On waking in the morning, the King accidentally spat upon the bed of his brother, who, a quick and passionate boy, immediately spat upon that of Louis in return: the King replied by spitting in his brother's face; from which they proceeded to still more nasty marks of their indignation against each other. Having, at length, exhausted their powers in that way, they tore the clothes off each other's beds, and ended by a pitched battle.

Though to find the majestic Louis Quatorze in such a situation is somewhat amusing, the casual remark with which La Porte ends his account is



more important :—“ The Duke of Anjou,” he says, “ was much more angry than the King; but the King was much more difficult to be appeased than the Duke of Anjou.”

After quitting the neighbourhood of Gien, Condé, pressed by the desire of directing in person the negotiations and intrigues which were going on in Paris, left his army under the command of the celebrated Tavannes, and hastened to the capital. He was not received, however, either as he could have wished or had anticipated : the citizens feared the neighbourhood of his forces, and the municipal body, instigated doubtless by De Retz, besought the Duke of Orleans to oppose his coming. The Duke replied, that the prince would come with a small suite, and remain but a short time ; and though some few gratulations met the hero of so many battles, they were not such as to give him any great hopes of the cordial support of the capital. The parliament, unstable and vacillating as it had hitherto shown itself, now did not fail to remember that it had pronounced a decree of high treason against Condé ; and the assemblies of the Hôtel de Ville were generally favourable to the court.

During the absence of Condé from the capital, he had entrusted his interests almost entirely to Chavigni, who had applied himself to gain the confidence of the Duke of Orleans, and had in some degree succeeded, though De Retz still maintained

a great share of influence over that weak prince. With Chavigni, again, Mazarin had opened a communication by means of their mutual friend Fabert ; but Chavigni, in his very first letter to Fabert on the subject, expresses his belief that the principal object of Mazarin is to lead him on till the suspicions of the princes are excited against him by the appearance of treating underhand with the court. He offers, therefore, his services to negotiate between Condé and the Queen, but refuses to enter into any engagements with a man whom he accuses of utter want of faith. The treaty with Fabert went no farther, but things remained much in the same state till after the return of Condé to Paris, when the negotiation with the court was renewed through the means of Chavigni.

During all these events the game of the celebrated De Retz had been a doubtful one, and by no means combined with his usual political skill. His union with the court, and his pretensions to the cardinal's hat through the royal nomination, had put him, in fact, in what the French are accustomed to call a false position. Neither did he ever recover completely the error he had made in suffering the queen to quit Paris. When the arrival of Mazarin had terminated all his hopes upon the ministry, he was still restrained for a time by the fear of losing the nomination of the court of France to a seat in the Conclave, and he had endeavoured to raise up an intermediate

party, between the court and Condé, comprising the old Fronde and the parliament, with the Duke of Orleans as its nominal head. The vague uncertain character of the duke, and the fluctuations of the parliament, however, frustrated, as we have seen, this purpose, and the Queen, not deceived by the archbishop's affectation of attachment, instantly revoked the nomination to the Conclave which she had formerly given. Mazarin, however, had by this time returned. That minister was hated and despised by the reigning pope; the revocation was attributed to his machinations; and, in a secret consistory, De Retz was elevated to the purple without the knowledge of the French ambassador. The court, however, had still one hold upon the factious prelate, as it was usual that any one pretending to the dignity of one of the cardinals of France should receive the hat from the hands of the king. Although the elevation of the coadjutor had taken place against the will of the court, it assumed the merit thereof: Mazarin wrote to congratulate De Retz with his own hand, and, in order to keep a check upon his proceedings, the hope of receiving the hat from the king was held out to him, while the absence of the court from Paris gave a very fair excuse for delaying the ceremony.

Such was the state of affairs with De Retz when the Prince de Condé arrived in Paris in the middle of April. A variety of petty intrigues succeeded; and at first the prelate endeavoured to act both

against the court and the prince, by means of the Duke of Orleans and the parliament:—but never were two more useless instruments in the hands of a factious man than these had now become. The parliament, embarrassed by its own contradictory decrees, now assailed Condé, now thundered against Mazarin; but all was feeble and contemptible; and Gaston showed some disposition to support his cousin.

In the midst of these transactions appeared Fouquet, afterwards known for his splendour and misfortunes, but now merely acting as one of the members of the parliament, and as a bold and devoted adherent of Mazarin. In this last capacity he one day demanded publicly of Condé, in the chambers, a clear statement of all his treaties with foreign powers, and caused the demand and refusal to be put upon the record. To such blows the prince was subjected every day: but still, though he could do nothing with the refractory body of the law, he gained much upon the good-will of the lower classes; and some of his military movements, in which the citizens took part, formed day by day a bond of union between them, from which much was to be hoped. Shortly after the arrival of Condé in the city, the movements of the royal troops gave the Duke of Orleans a pretext for calling his own forces and those of his cousin to the neighbourhood of Paris, and they consequently marched to Etampes without opposition.

It would be impossible to follow all the petty intrigues, or even to name all the events which affected the relative situations of the parties in the capital; but we must take notice of one important step. To give a favourable colouring to their rebellion, and at the same time to leave themselves open a fair excuse for treating with the court, the Duke of Orleans and the Prince de Condé made a solemn declaration that they were ready to lay down their arms as soon as Mazarin should be expelled from France. How far a nation, or an individual in that nation, might be justified in taking up arms to expel a minister obnoxious to the whole, was a question at that time difficult of solution. But had the pretence been a reality, it is more than probable that Orleans and Condé would have met with that strenuous support from the fanatical opponents of Mazarin which would have enabled them to overcome the pertinacity of the queen, and to have expelled the minister whether right was on their side or not. But that which rendered all their efforts vain, which gradually undermined their power, and ruined every party which opposed the established authority of the government, was not the strength of that government, was not the skill or policy of the minister, was not the justice of the king's cause, was not the courageous pertinacity of the queen; but it was the deep, thorough, intense conviction in the minds of the whole country of the utter insincerity

of all men, and of all parties:—it was a knowledge that every one was striving solely for his own interests and his own purposes, that the good of the country was a mere pretext, and that Condé fought for Condé, as much as Mazarin struggled for Mazarin.

We may lay it down as a political maxim, which all the intestine strifes of states will evince, without, we believe, an exception, that the only condition on which any man or any party can hope for permanent as well as vigorous support, in opposition to established power, is sincerity, or that successful assumption of it which works the same effects. Such was not to be found in any party throughout France; and if it existed at all, it existed on the part of the Queen, who, as a general principle, admitted fully her views and objects. That sincerity gave strength in some degree to her less sincere followers; but it was the want of it which ruined the faction of Condé. At the very moment that he was declaring to the parliament of Paris, in the most solemn manner, that the sole object of himself and the Duke of Orleans was the permanent expulsion of Mazarin, he was carrying on, through Chavigni, Goulas, and Gourville, a treaty with the court, the principal provision of which was the security of Mazarin's person, his return to power, and his maintenance therein, upon the condition of suffering him (Condé) and his partisans to plunder the state in

the first instance. Such proceedings of course became known, and neither parliament nor people could place any faith in the prince.

Chavigni had his own interests to serve as well as those of Condé; and he treated with different objects, and on a different basis, from those which had been laid down for him. His having done so could not be concealed from Condé, and the prince lost all faith in him. So was it throughout all parties and in all connexions; honesty, honour, fair dealing, equity, veracity, fidelity, were all banished from the bosoms of men and women alike; and there certainly can be nothing so well calculated to render man misanthropical as the history of one day of the Fronde. The general result of such a state of things is anarchy, bloodshed, and massacre, terminating in a subsidence of all things into their former channel, where the turbulent stream that foamed and roared, and overran its banks, is seen reduced to a smaller volume than before, and flowing on, a still and quiet rivulet. To the state of anarchy and bloodshed all things were now tending more and more. The most dangerous proposals were daily made, either in the parliament, or at the assemblies of the Hôtel de Ville; and encouragement to the most violent excesses was given by those who found that they had no advantages to hope for in the maintenance of order. In one of the assemblies, it was proposed to demand a general union between Paris and all the cities, towns,

and villages of the kingdom; and it was with difficulty that this proposal was evaded by those who saw its consequences. Before the arrival of Condé himself in the capital, tumults of a serious character had been excited by the Duke of Orleans. The same prince, shortly afterwards, on being informed that the people had broken into and pillaged one of the city custom-houses, avowed his extraordinary view of internal polity. "I am sorry for it," he said, "but it is no bad thing that the people should rouse themselves up from time to time: if they have not killed anybody, the rest is no great matter." This man was, for the time, looked upon as a firm patriot; and has descended to us as a cowardly traitor. Five days after this, the *prévôt des marchands* and the principal officers of the city were encountered by the mob within a few hundred yards of the Palace of the Luxembourg, and were instantly attacked. They sent for aid to the Duke of Orleans and to the Prince de Condé; but aid was refused them, and with difficulty they escaped with their lives. Ere long some of the officers of the parliament were nearly killed in the parliament house; and we shall soon have to depict still more violent effects proceeding from the same causes.

In the mean time, the court had arrived at St. Germain, and the royal army had taken up its position at Palisseau; while negotiations still proceeded between the Prince de Condé and Mazarin,



in which they both displayed a foible common to both. That foible is clearly pointed out by La Rochefoucault, who informs us that they neither of them had any fixed principle in negotiating, but always varied the terms they demanded in proportion as their adversaries yielded.

In the beginning of May, however, military operations were resumed on both parts; and a small body of the royal troops marched towards St. Cloud, with the intention of attacking part of the regiment of Condé, which had constructed a lodgment on the bridge. No sooner did Condé hear of this movement than he mounted on horseback, gathered together what noblemen he could collect, and issued out of the town. A number of the citizens, however, armed themselves and followed him; so that, on a halt which he made at the Bois de Boulogne, he found himself at the head of nearly ten thousand men in arms. Having learned that the royal troops had retired, Condé resolved to make use of his armed citizens in an attack upon St. Denis, which was garrisoned by two hundred Swiss, and fortified only by a wall in which were several old breaches. He accordingly marched thither, and arrived toward nightfall, he himself leading the way, supported by about three hundred of the first noblemen of Paris.

The Swiss, however, were aware of his approach, and opened a fire upon the assailants as they came up. At the first flash the whole of the gentlemen

took fright, and fled as hard as they could go, leaving Condé himself with only six other persons to support him. With his usual promptitude, he rallied the citizens, who had been of course shaken by the flight of their leaders, and led them on through the breaches into the town, of which they obtained possession after some unimportant barricade fighting; while the fugitive nobles crept in one by one, sadly crest-fallen and ashamed.

St. Denis was soon after retaken by the royal troops; and Turenne began more serious operations against the forces of Condé. The first opportunity that he seized was afforded him by the return to Paris, of Mademoiselle de Montpensier, daughter of the Duke of Orleans. She sent to demand a passport of the adverse general; and Turenne, knowing that in all probability her passing through the army of the princes would cause amongst the gay and gallant officers a good deal of confusion and insubordination, not only granted her a passport, but informed her that he would receive her with all sorts of military honours.

In the camp of the princes, the effect was such as he had imagined that it would be. The Duke of Orleans had written to Madame de Frontenac and Madame de Fiesque, some weeks before, addressing them as "*marécales de camp in the army of my daughter.*" The pleasantry had been repeated, and the officers of the Prince's army received the ladies really as *marécales de camp*.

When the princess quitted the camp of Condé to proceed to that of Turenne, she was accompanied part of the way by all the gay cavaliers of the party; and a great body of the troops were drawn up beyond their lines to do her honour. Scarcely, however, had she set out, when Turenne, who had left a part of his staff to receive her, appeared with a considerable force in the neighbourhood of Etampes, attacked the confused masses of the enemy, and drove them back fighting into the suburbs of the town.

Anquetil and other historians make light of this event; but La Rochefoucault himself acknowledges that the suburb was taken and pillaged, and that from a thousand to twelve hundred of the best soldiers of the prince's army were killed in covering the retreat of the rest.

Turenne retired as soon as he had effected his purpose, but returned ere long with the determination of besieging the army of Condé in Etampes. The undertaking was a bold one; for the armies were not very different in point of number, and that of Condé was likely to be reinforced by the troops of the Duke of Lorraine, with whom he was in treaty. While Turenne laid siege to Etampes, Mazarin endeavoured to gain the Duke of Lorraine; but that prince, allied to Spain, continued to advance during the progress of the siege, and his army, equal to that of Turenne, at length encamped under the walls of Paris.

The Prince de Condé was still in the capital, and great anticipations of success on the part of the rebels were now entertained; but it was soon discovered that the Duke of Lorraine was carrying on negotiations with the court, and had, in fact, interposed solely for the purpose of seeing how much he could gain from both parties. In the midst of his tergiversation, however, he was surprised to find Turenne decamp from before Etampes, and present himself in battle array against him, when nobody believed that he could have quitted the siege without the greatest risk. Turenne, however, had conducted his retreat with skill and success, and having passed the Seine at Corbeil and traversed the forest of Senard, he arrived in the neighbourhood of Villeneuve St. Georges just at the moment that the Duke of Lorraine was throwing a bridge over the Seine, for the purpose of joining his troops to those of Condé in case of necessity. Turenne then gave the Duke notice that unless he retired immediately into Flanders, the attack should commence at once; and without consulting those he pretended to support, or even giving notice of his purpose either to Condé or the Duke of Orleans, the Duke of Lorraine retreated at the bidding of Turenne, leaving that general to deal with Condé as he thought fit.

It is a singular fact, that the negotiations for this retreat were carried on, by two persons who in turn were kings of England. Charles II, then an

exile, was in the camp of the Duke of Lorraine, and treated, on his account, with the adversary ; while James II, then Duke of York, who had been for some time serving under Turenne, employed his utmost endeavours to urge the terms that general offered upon the Duke of Lorraine. The Duke of Beaufort was in the camp of the latter prince, with a small body of the Parisian troops ; and on his return to Paris, he spread a report that the cowardly retreat of the Duke of Lorraine had been entirely brought about by the cabals of the two British princes ; which so irritated the people of the capital, that for several days no Englishman dared to show himself in the streets, though at that time every town in France was swarming with our exiled countrymen.

In the mean time, the siege of Etampes had been raised ; and the army of Condé had issued forth, probably with the intention of attacking Turenne if he were found engaged with the Duke of Lorraine. Condé no sooner heard that such was the case, than he issued forth from the capital, and hastened to put himself at the head of his troops, fearing that they might be attacked by Turenne, now freed from the forces of Lorraine. He ran a considerable risk of being taken before he could join them ; but having effected that object, he led them from Villejuif, on which they had first directed their march, to St. Cloud, where he encamped along the banks of the river ; but the

proximity of his camp to Paris did him far greater harm than even a defeat would have done. With but scanty means of supporting them, Condé was, of course, obliged to permit every sort of licence. All the crops were ruined in the neighbouring fields; whatever harvest remained was reaped by those to whom it did not belong; the peasantry were plundered, injured, and their domestic peace destroyed; and the country-houses of the rich Parisians were pillaged and burned in all directions. The evils of civil war now came home to the hearts of the people of the capital, and, forgetting how great a part they themselves had taken in producing the results they lamented, they cast the whole blame upon Condé, and regarded him thenceforth with a malevolent eye.

In the mean time, that prince was torn with different passions and different feelings. He was himself desirous of peace, and willing to make sacrifices to obtain it. His fair mistress, the Duchess of Chatillon, joined with La Rochefoucault and the Duke of Nemours, confirmed him in seeking it: but, on the other hand, his sister, the Duchess of Longueville, who sought to break off his connexion with Madame de Chatillon, whom she hated mortally, joined with the Spaniards, to whom he had bound himself by so many ties, to lead him away from Paris, and to protract the war. The daughter of the Duke of Orleans, too, mingled in all these intrigues, and took the same unwise means

to force herself as a bride upon the young King, which De Retz took to force himself as minister upon his mother. But while these separate interests tore the capital, the peril of the army of Condé became imminent. Turenne having brought the court to St. Denis, caused a number of boats to be drawn up from Pontoise, and commenced the construction of a bridge opposite to Epinay.

In vain the prince endeavoured to prevent him : Turenne, with much superior forces, continued unremittingly the task he had undertaken ; and, ultimately, completed the bridge in the end of June. The army of the Maréchal La Ferté had by this time joined the rest of the royal forces, and the prince saw that his position in the neighbourhood of St. Cloud was no longer tenable. Under these circumstances, he determined to lead his men from the dangerous situation in which they were placed, and to take up a new position in the neighbourhood of Charenton, upon the tongue of land formed by the junction of the Marne and the Seine. The great difficulty was to accomplish this march unattacked, and he consequently set out just after nightfall, on the 1st of July 1652.

The march was long and laborious, and led him to the very gates of Paris, exposing him to attack almost continually during the whole of its course. In consulting with the Duke of Orleans on the morning preceding this decided step, Condé had proposed a measure much more secure in every

respect and easy of execution. This was to retreat under the walls of Paris, and take up a position close to the Faubourg St. Germain; but the Duke of Orleans, knowing that he might at any moment, from the Palace of the Luxembourg, see his cousin attacked beneath his eyes, and might be forced, either to sustain in arms him whom he encouraged in rebellion, or to abandon a friend and ally with more disgraceful circumstances than ever had characterized any of his preceding acts of treachery, was so dismayed at the thought of having such an alternative forced upon him, that he insisted upon Condé's abandoning his plan, and posting his troops at Charenton. The Duke, however, proposed to him to come into the town himself, and to leave the command to the Duke of Nemours: but Condé replied proudly, "I neither can nor ought to leave my friends upon such an occasion; I must conquer or perish with them."

No sooner was his retreat known to the court,—and it was known almost immediately,—than Turenne prepared to follow him; and sending off messengers to La Ferté, who was on the other side of the river, with orders to advance immediately, he galloped off after Condé, at the head of his cavalry, for the purpose of engaging him so far as to detain him till La Ferté could come up. Passing by St. Denis, he held an interview with Mazarin, and assuring him that he would overtake the prince before he could reach a place of safety, con-



certed with the minister what was to be done by the court, in order to remove any means of escape which might be left open to Condé by the proximity of Paris. Early in the morning, the young King was accordingly led to Charonne, whence he could see the march of the armies; and from that place he was made to write a letter with his own hand, commanding the municipal authorities of Paris, let what would happen, not to open the gates of the city to the rebel army.

In the mean time, Condé had advanced into the suburbs of Paris, to a spot called the Cour de la Reine, opposite what was then named the Gate of the Conference; and it would seem that he hesitated whether to ask permission to pass through the town or not; but at length, fearing that he might be refused, he determined to march on, after suffering his men to take some short repose.

After his conference with Mazarin, Turenne followed the prince at full speed, and overtook a part of the army in the Faubourg St. Denis. These were immediately attacked and driven on before him, as well as some squadrons of cavalry which he met with in the Faubourg St. Martin. Although these attacks might have been merely made by the advanced guard of the royal army, there was something in the manner in which they were conducted that led Condé to believe Turenne was there in person, and riding up to the heights of

Montmartre, he gazed over the scene below to ascertain whether his farther retreat were practicable. He found that it was not: he saw the whole of the royal army under Turenne in quick pursuit, he doubted not that the forces under La Ferté were also in motion, and he determined to defend himself in the Faubourg St. Antoine.

So rapidly, however, was he followed by Turenne, that Condé would scarcely have had any time to strengthen himself in the suburb, had it not been for a number of barricades which the citizens had formed some time before as a security against the troops of Lorraine when they were encamped in that neighbourhood. The whole baggage of his army he was obliged to pile up at the brink of the ditch; and he kept round about him no guard but his own household, and a number of gentlemen who had no command in the army, and who amounted to about thirty or forty in number.

No sooner did Turenne perceive that Condé had determined upon the part he was to act, and that he was diligently employed in strengthening the barricades, piercing the houses for musketry, disposing his force so as to defend all the most exposed points of the suburb, and establishing his *place d'armes* in the open space before the Porte St. Antoine, than he hastened all his own movements for attacking a general whose genius supplied so many

deficiencies, before he could strengthen every weak point and seize upon every defensible post.\*

Three principal streets led through the Faubourg St. Antoine towards the gate of the city as their common centre, traversed by other narrow streets at irregular distances. To attack the prince in this position, Turenne formed his army into a crescent, with the right resting on the foot of the heights of Charonne, the left extending to the Seine. Advancing in this order, Turenne attacked by the three principal streets, he himself taking the great street in the centre, while the Marquis of St. Mesgrin followed that which opened upon the right, and Philip de Benac, Duke of Navailles, led his men forward by that upon the left. The orders of Turenne were strict, that as each party advanced, it should make sure of the cross streets, so as to hem the enemy in between the royal army and the walls of the city.

In this order, and with these commands, the

\* Ramsay, in his Life of Turenne, declares that that great general was inclined to wait for the arrival of La Ferté, and that it was not till he had received repeated commands from the court, which by that time had assembled on the heights of Charonne, that he commenced the battle unsupported. The Duke of Rochefoucault, however, who was by Condé's side in the battle, declares, on the contrary, that Turenne, instead of making the slightest delay, attacked the prince with the most "extreme diligence, and with all the confidence which a man has who thinks himself assured of victory."

It appears to me that the testimony of La Rochefoucault as an eyewitness is more to be relied upon than any other.

king's forces advanced upon those of Condé, while he on his part suffered them to approach within thirty yards of the first barricade. At that moment, however, he passed the entrenchment at the head of his household and the gentlemen who accompanied him, charged the leading battalion of royalists, and forced it back at the point of the sword upon those which followed, taking prisoners the greater part of its officers and carrying off the colours.

In the mean while, St. Mesgrin pressed forward from the side of Charonne, and was gallantly opposed by Tavannes, who drove back the infantry under a terrible fire. St. Mesgrin himself then charged at the head of the light horse of the guard, but, engaged in a narrow street strongly barricaded, could effect nothing, and was killed, with several other officers of distinction.\* At this period of the battle, too, fell the young Mancini, nephew of Mazarin, who died of his wounds shortly after; and the hatred of his uncle towards Condé, we may well suppose, was not diminished by such an event.

While these events were going on upon the left of Condé's position, Turenne was forcing his way

\* Ramsay says that he had gained possession of the street, and was driven back by the Prince de Condé himself; but I have still preferred the account of La Rochefoucault, who was by Condé's side, and I shall continue to do so till that period of the battle at which he was wounded and carried off. For all that took place on the part of the Royalists, I rely principally upon the Duke of York.

up the great street, and Navailles was advancing upon the right. But in these directions the gallant prince seemed multiplied, and watching the progress of the battle from the open spaces, which enabled him to see on both sides, he carried the power of his genius and the encouragement of his presence wherever they were most wanted. Thus, after having, as before mentioned, driven back the first battalions of Turenne, he turned for a moment to encourage the right of his army, which was severely pressed by Navailles. But in the meanwhile, Turenne, with fresh troops, had pushed forward up the high street, had forced the infantry of the prince to retreat, and taken several of the barricades. Condé again hastened to oppose him, at the head of his little squadron of nobles, and once more pushed him from the Abbey of St. Anthony, which he had reached, completely out of the suburb.

The attack upon the right had still continued, however, and Navailles, advancing with determined courage, had driven the rebel troops from the gardens and fields on the side of Rambouillet into the streets, where, still fortifying himself as he advanced, he had forced his way on to the last barricade in the road to Charenton, forty paces distant from a square which I conceive to have been that before the convent of the Conception. Of the barrier he soon gained possession, and piercing the neighbouring houses, filled them with musketeers. Condé immediately ordered the opposite houses to

be pierced also ; but the Duke of Beaufort, anxious to distinguish himself, and somewhat jealous that Nemours had been by the side of the prince through the whole battle, led on the infantry at the charge to dislodge the Royalists. The fire, however, was tremendous ; the infantry was tired and discouraged, and it suddenly halted, refusing to advance. Beaufort now committed another blunder, mistaking a squadron of the prince's cavalry, which had retreated into the square, for a squadron of the enemy, and leading forward La Rochefoucault, his son, and the Duke of Nemours, who had just arrived at that spot with a small body of horse, to attack it.

The movement, however, occasioned a panic amidst the royal troops who guarded the barricade, and the four leaders whom I have mentioned, rushing forward unsupported, regained the barrier, and dismounting, maintained it for some time amidst a most tremendous fire from the neighbouring houses. It was in vain that Condé tried to rally the infantry and lead it forward ; but gathering together what cavalry he could, and seeing that the Duke of Nemours was sinking under thirteen wounds, that La Rochefoucault also was severely wounded, and that the other noblemen were endeavouring to carry the two off, while the Royalists were advancing to take them, he made a charge at the head of the troop, and freed his friends from their perilous situation.

It was at a terrible loss, however, that this was accomplished; for the number of his best officers and dearest friends that fell around him drew tears from the hero's eyes. He was then obliged to hurry to the attack in the principal street; for the sound of artillery, which had not yet been heard, now shook the air. La Ferté, with his division and the cannon of the royalist army, had arrived, and Turenne was making preparations for using to the best advantage the overwhelming force now at his disposal. The troops of Condé were driven in on every side; faint, dispirited, and weary, they abandoned the barricades, and retreated slowly to the open space before the Porte St. Antoine: and the royalist general, seeing them, as he believed, absolutely in his power, suspended the attack for a few minutes, in order to refresh his troops ere he led them forward to what must inevitably have been a scene of fearful carnage. It may be now necessary, however, to relate what had occurred in Paris while this terrible struggle had been going on at the very gates.

The greater part of the citizens had not only become heartily tired of the war, but, as we have before said, enraged with Condé and his troops for the evils which had been committed in the neighbourhood. In passing by the various gates of the town, it is probable that Condé hoped that an offer of admission might be made to him,

but the people showed not the slightest inclination to admit him. Nearly one-half of the town was in favour of the court, and De Retz himself, though still maintaining the semblance of enmity to Mazarin, was still more decidedly inimical to the prince himself. It is certain, whether by the management of De Retz or not, that the colonel of the quarter, and the officers of the Burgher guard which was stationed at the Porte St. Antoine on the day of the battle, were almost universally adherents of the court, and that through the early part of the day they did everything they could to prevent any one from entering or going out.

It had become apparent to the whole people of the city, as the prince and his troops marched round beneath the walls, that he could by no means escape without a battle; and during the whole morning the Duke of Beaufort employed himself zealously in endeavouring to rouse the populace in his cause. For a long time, however, his efforts proved in vain: the people paid scarcely any attention; the town council was assembled at the Hôtel de Ville, with the letter of the King before them, forbidding them to open the gates on any pretence whatsoever; the Duke of Orleans was at the Luxembourg, shutting his ears to all petitions in favour of Condé; and De Retz was at the Archbishopric, sending messengers on whom he could rely, every half hour, to confirm the Duke of Or-



leans in that hesitating inactivity which was so natural to his character, and, in this instance, so serviceable to the purposes of the prelate.

In the mean while, throughout the city a number of the agents of the court were busy in circulating a report that Condé and Mazarin had already entered into a secret treaty, and that the pretended combat, the first musketry of which already began to make itself heard in Paris, was nothing but a farce produced to save the credit of the prince. Multitudes believed this rumour, and some writers have even supposed that the Duke of Orleans himself was deceived by it; but the sights which the Parisians could themselves behold from their own walls soon showed them that it could be no mock engagement which was going on in the Faubourg St. Antoine. The roar of the fire-arms was severe and long continued; multitudes of wounded were brought into the open space before the gate, and piteously besought admission; the hearts of the citizen guard were moved with compassion, and the wicket being at length opened to receive the wounded, officers and noblemen well known by sight to the common people were borne in bleeding, mutilated, and dying.

Pity took possession of all bosoms, and agitation spread from class to class; the most distinguished ladies of the city poured into the palace of the Luxembourg, and besought the Duke of Orleans with tears and entreaties to open the gates to his

cousin, who was perishing before his eyes: the populace, also, began to gather in great numbers around the Duke of Beaufort, who was haranguing them in the squares and public places; the multitudes poured on to the Luxembourg, and shouted loudly the name of Condé; while Mademoiselle de Montpensier, at her father's feet, entreated him with weeping and supplication either to arm the people for the defence of all the gallant men who were dying without, or to suffer her to open the gates of the city and give them admission. Still the duke resisted, and Beaufort having done all that he could, declared that he would not see his cousin die without going to his aid, and issued forth with a small body of retainers.

In a few minutes after, the well-known Duke of Rochefoucault was borne in on horseback, supported by his young son the Prince de Marsillac, who had been fighting by his side; and though he was blinded by a shot which had passed through his face just below the eyes, he made those who supported him stop from time to time, as he was carried on from the Porte St. Antoine to the Hôtel de Liancourt, in order that he might beseech the people, who crowded round him, to open the gates to Condé, and save him from destruction otherwise inevitable. The agitation and the tumult in the city became tremendous; the wives, the sisters, the mothers of those who were dying without the walls, complained, entreated, and wept around the

**Duke of Orleans.** His palace was surrounded by a dense mob, shouting to him to open the gates; and, at length, his daughter wrung from him an order for that purpose.

There was still a difficulty, however, to be overcome, for the governor of Paris, with the sheriffs and town council, assembled at the Hôtel de Ville, had positively forbidden the gates to be opened. But with the order of her father in her hand, Mademoiselle de Montpensier put herself at the head of the multitude, and led them at once to the Hôtel de Ville, to demand the consent of the council. There was a moment's hesitation; but the vociferations of the people overcame the reluctance of the counsellors, the permission of the city was given, and the princess flying to the Porte St. Antoine, sent out a messenger to Condé to give him notice of the fact.

It was just after his right had been affected, in the manner we have mentioned, by the attack of Navailles, that the messenger of the princess reached him; and as soon as the short suspension of the fight which followed had taken place, Condé hurried for a moment to the gate to speak with her. Though he was not wounded himself, she says, yet he was covered from head to foot with blood and dust, his cuirass was battered with blows, and having lost the scabbard of his sword in the fight, he held the blade naked in his hand.

As he entered, the memory of all those he had

seen fall around him seemed to rush suddenly upon Condé, and casting himself upon a seat, he burst into tears. "Forgive me," said the great commander; "I have lost all my friends."

The princess consoled him in some degree by assuring him that those who had been borne into Paris were only wounded, and many of them not dangerously. She then sought eagerly to detain him; but Condé would not stay, telling her that he would only take advantage of the asylum she had procured for him, in the last extremity; adding, "It shall never be said of me, that I fled in open day before the Mazarins." Thus saying, he returned to his army; but the arrival of La Ferté, the effect of the cannon which now came up, and the straits to which his troops were reduced, hemmed in between the advancing enemy and the walls of Paris, at length obliged him to direct his infantry to retreat into the city.

In order to cover this movement, he put himself at the head of his cavalry, and once more made a brilliant charge upon the enemy, driving all before him. Mademoiselle de Montpensier had in the mean while entered the Bastile, and with her own voice ordered the cannon of that fortress to fire upon the troops of the king. The Duke of Orleans, at the same time, unable to resist the entreaties of those around him, mounted his horse, armed the people, and rode out to favour the retreat of Condé. Thus the insurgent army was enabled to enter the

city without farther loss, carrying off all its wounded, while the cavalry brought up the rear, and Condé, amongst the very last, passed the gates, when all were once more in safety.

The pity of the whole population of Paris was now excited warmly by all the sufferings of the prince and his companions, and never was greater kindness shown than towards the sick and hurt of all countries.

The wounded of the royal army were borne to St. Denis, where Anne of Austria had remained in prayer at the convent of the Carmelites. She was there soon after joined by her son and Mazarin, the latter of whom bore the loss of his nephew with calm resolution. While he had remained on the heights of Charonne, watching a battle in which he had expected to see the army of his enemy utterly annihilated, he had displayed the same equanimity; sending couriers from time to time to the queen, to tell her the events of the day, and the names of the killed on both parts, as far as they could be ascertained; and when the cannon of the Bastille began to fire, he had at first imagined, so sure was he of feelings in the Parisians—that it was upon the army of the Prince de Condé. When he found, however, that it was upon the royal troops, and that the order had been given by Mademoiselle de Montpensier, who sought so eagerly to wed the young king, he remarked coldly, but with a determination that never altered, “She has killed her husband.”

Condé led his troops through the city to the open space on the banks of the rivulet of the Bièvre, and cantoned them there, upon the ground which was afterwards covered with the famous manufactory of the Gobelins. In bringing his forces into the city, there can be no doubt that he contemplated nothing more than putting them in safety; but the Parisians soon found, that in admitting them they had given themselves a master. It would certainly have been more generous of Condé to have shown his sense of obligation to the Parisians by rigidly respecting their privileges. Soured, however, by the reverses he had met with, more angry at having been excluded from the city before the battle than grateful for having been admitted within its walls after that battle was lost, he determined to have recourse to the measures which had been employed by De Retz and others so successfully, and to excite tumults for the purpose of turning them to his own advantage. He was not so skilful, however, as De Retz in accomplishing this purpose, being by no means qualified for the war of intrigue; and in the very first attempt of the kind which he made, the populace went infinitely farther than he had intended, and a massacre of the most horrible kind was the result.

Many different accounts have been given of the famous attack of the Hôtel de Ville, but it seems to me almost certain that the statement given by De Retz is accurate. He assures us that he seized it from Condé himself; and, notwithstanding

a great contrariety of statements upon other points, all people seem of opinion that the rumour of the time was correct, and that the tumult which ended in that massacre was excited by the agents of the prince, though it went far beyond what he desired or expected.

There were several persons in the city who were obnoxious to Condé, and whose influence in Paris rendered his own null. The chief of these, however, was De Retz; and it would seem that the prince formed a very feasible scheme for seizing upon that prelate in his own dwelling, for carrying him civilly in his carriage beyond the gates of the city, and there turning him out to join the court if he liked. Such an act would probably have done more harm to De Retz, as a demagogue, by the ridicule it would have thrown upon him, than even by excluding him from the city; but, unfortunately, Condé determined to perform it under cover of a popular commotion.

The day he fixed upon was the 4th of July, on which morning a general assembly was to be held at the Hôtel de Ville; and it appears that a number of the soldiery, disguised as citizens and workmen, were scattered amongst the populace, and excited them to tumult. It had been arranged, however, amongst them, that, as a sign by which to distinguish each other and their adherents, they should each carry a bunch of straw in some part of their dress; and from a very early hour in the

nothing various people were seen running about with large packets of straw, offering it to every one they met, without explanation. Many were wise enough to take it, but many refused. The sedition began soon after about the Place Dauphine, and the multitudes of people who were seen assembling, excited rumours and alarm amongst the higher classes; so that one of the nobles proceeding to the Luxembourg, under the impression that the tumult was excited by De Retz, besought the Duke of Orleans to prevent Condé from going out amongst the mob.

The prince was at that very time at the Luxembourg, and about to set out upon his expedition against De Retz, with which, of course, he could not make the Duke of Orleans acquainted. The duke immediately sought him on the news he had received, and prevented him from setting out till he himself accompanied him to the assembly of the Hôtel de Ville. That assembly took place at about two o'clock, and the Maréchal de l'Hospital, governor of Paris, with a great number of the most respectable and influential persons in the city, assembled, notwithstanding the menacing aspect of the mob, which filled not only the Place de Grève, but all the adjacent streets.

Scarcely, however, had the assembly commenced, when a trumpeter arrived from the royal army, bearing an order to the governor and sheriffs to adjourn the meeting for eight days. The sight of



this messenger excited the people to fury, and strong demonstrations of a disposition towards violence made themselves seen, but were checked for a time by the arrival of Condé and the Duke of Orleans, who, descending from their carriage, entered the Town-house. The purpose of those princes, it would seem, was to demand the absolute union of the town and the parliament against the King and Mazarin, and they were not at all dissatisfied to behold such signs of tumult as might overawe the partisans of the court. On entering the great hall, they found that they were likely to meet with sharp opposition; and the Maréchal de l'Hospital, at once addressing them, informed them that the King's commands had been received to adjourn the meeting for eight days, "which of course," he added, "we are disposed to obey."

Mortified at this intelligence, Condé merely addressed the assembly, in order to thank the town for having suffered the entrance of his troops, and then turning on his heel, accompanied by the Duke of Orleans, left the citizens to deliberate upon the letter of the King. As the two princes descended the steps towards their carriage, the people remarked the gloom upon their countenances, and some one asking what was the matter, Condé had the imprudence, if not the cruelty, to reply, "The hall is full of Mazarins, who are seeking nothing but to retard matters."

The words spread through the mob, but the

princes drove away. Loud cries were immediately heard that it was necessary to put an end to the Mazarins, and a number of persons made a rush towards the door of the Hôtel de Ville. The archers of the prévôt, however, contrived to shut the door, but the windows were instantly assailed with a shower of stones: the archers and the guards of the governor, in return, fired from the windows, and one or two people without were shot. The sight of blood, only rendered the people more furious; fire-arms began to make themselves seen amongst them, and the fire from the Hôtel de Ville was returned from the Place de Grève. The soldiery, however, were in some degree secured by the walls of the building; but upon the neighbouring quay was an immense quantity of wood and faggots; and these were speedily brought to the spot, and piled up against the door of the Hôtel de Ville. A light was procured and applied to the mass, and in a moment the whole was in flames. The smoke and the fire finding its way into the hall, showed the assembly within the designs of the people, and terror and consternation spread amongst them. Some hid themselves in the most remote part of the building; but those who, from their known characters as leaders of the Fronde, thought they were secure of the affection of the people, rushed to the lower windows of the building, and sprang out. A terrible scene then ensued: one by one, as they came forth, without

any regard to opinion, class, or condition, they were butchered by the people; and it is a singular thing, that this very confidence of the Frondeurs caused a much greater number of the bitter enemies of Mazarin to be sacrificed than of those who were known to be his supporters. Miron, who had taken a prominent part in all the troubles of the Fronde, both as a member of the parliament and an officer of one of the quarters, Le Gras, Ferrand, and Lefèvre, all notorious stirrers up of the people, were killed without mercy; and a great many more of both parties would have been put to death than were ultimately slain in the massacre, had it not been for a number of boatmen, who mingled with the mob, and saved several for the money which they had upon their persons and offered for their lives. The Prévôt des Marchands and his son were rescued in this manner; but the Maréchal de l'Hospital, who was found in the Hôtel de Ville when the doors were burst open and the mob entered, was saved, it would appear, by a servant of the name of Noblet, who on a former occasion had delivered the Cardinal De Retz himself from imminent peril. Having recognised the governor of the city, he aided to disguise him, and with the assistance of one or two others, who were willing to diminish the bloodshed as much as possible, contrived to pass him through the mob unknown, to the house of a tradesman in the neighbourhood, where he remained concealed till night. In endea-

vouring, afterwards, to reach his own hotel, however, he was recognised by one of the mob, though it was dark, and was a second time saved by the presence of mind of those who accompanied him, who persuaded the man that he was mistaken, and stopped the shouts with which he was calling others to his assistance.

By some writers, the Duke of Beaufort and the Marquis de la Boullaye are said to have looked on from the windows of a house in the Place de Grève while this scene of anarchy and bloodshed was being enacted under their eyes, without making the slightest effort to put a stop to it. But Joly, who makes the statement, implies that they were there till ten o'clock at night;\* in which respect he was certainly mistaken, as the Duke at that hour was in the palace of the Luxembourg. The only person who made any strenuous effort to stop the carnage was the curate of the church of St. John's, who, thinking that the people would reverence the symbols of their religious faith, caused the Host to be carried out into the Place de Grève, and endeavoured to interpose between the mob and the Hôtel de Ville. The people, however, showed not the slightest degree of respect for the priest or the sacrament, but drove him out with threats and imprecations, telling him, if he valued his own life, to leave the crowd.

At the hotel of the Duke of Orleans the news

\* The sentence in Joly is obscure.

of what had occurred was received very quietly. Condé refused to go forth to appease the tumult; but at the end of several hours it was proposed that the Duke of Beaufort and Mademoiselle de Montpensier should proceed to the Hôtel de Ville, in order to cause the tumult to cease. They accordingly set out together, foolishly disputing by the way as to which of them had most influence with the people; but before this time, some of the citizens of Paris had roused themselves from the stupor into which the danger of the city had thrown them. Companies of the Burgher guard had got under arms, barricades had been raised to prevent the farther progress of the rioters; and, after having committed what violence it thought proper, and endeavoured to set fire to the Hôtel de Ville in several places, the mob had separated of itself. Thus, when the Princess and the Duke of Beaufort arrived on the spot, they found nothing but darkness, silence, and the expiring fires, except where some of the citizens, having at length taken courage, were seeking for those in whom they were interested amongst the dead bodies in the Place de Grève.

On entering the Hôtel de Ville, all bore the same solitary and gloomy aspect; but after a little time, a number of persons, who had concealed themselves in the various recesses of that large building, came forth still trembling and horror-struck. To these the Princess and the Duke of

Beaufort gave an escort, and sent them home in security; and no farther tumult, disturbed the city for the time.\* The symbol of the sedition, however, as is common in all bloody and terrible occurrences in Paris, became a fashion. At first, people ornamented themselves with bunches of straw as a sort of safeguard; and men, women, children, priests, and monks themselves, were for several days seen thus decorated. Sometimes it was borne in the hat, sometimes in the breast, and sometimes was displayed upon the horses' heads; but it soon became a mode, and very shortly everything, hats, caps, jewellery, all was *à la paille*

\* Of course there were a thousand different accounts of this terrible event, each differing from the other in some of the minute particulars. The accounts which I have followed have been principally those of De Retz and Joly, as by far the most circumstantial, and probably, from the intimate acquaintance of the writers with all the persons concerned, the most accurate also. The general features of the matter are entirely the same in all accounts; but it would seem, that if the *Prévôt des Marchands* was saved by the boatmen, as Joly distinctly asserts he was, he must have returned to the *Hotel de Ville* after the mob had dispersed, as he was certainly there at the same time with the princess, and presented himself before her quite tranquil and serene. The same difference is to be found in regard to the account of the escape of the *Maréchal de l'Hospital*; but I should in general be inclined to take the account of Joly in preference to that of *Mademoiselle*, who wrote at a later period, when many of the particulars might have escaped from her mind. The criticism of *Voltaire* upon her *Memoirs* is just also, when he says that she writes more as a woman occupied with herself than as a princess eyewitness of great events.

At the same time, however, that the signal was adopted as a fashion, the sedition was regarded with horror. Inquiries began to be instituted with regard to its origin, and general suspicion fell upon the Prince de Condé. It was directed strongly against him by De Retz; and daily some new circumstance appeared to convince the people that he had excited the tumult, even if he had not directed it to its horrid termination. His enemies did all that they possibly could to aggravate the share that he had had therein; while he and his partisans again endeavoured to throw the blame back upon Mazarin, but without effect.

It is by no means improbable that many of the more rash and violent partisans of the court might take advantage of the confusion and disturbance of the moment to make some attempts in favour of their own party, and against their enemies; and much stress has been laid upon the fact that a man armed with a naked poniard came to the door of Mademoiselle de Montpensier's carriage on the night of the massacre, and asked if the prince were within; but his object remained unknown, and his appearance proved nothing on either part.

The detestation of the people in general for the instigators of such an act was skilfully employed by the enemies of Condé; while the prince and his party imprudently endeavoured to use the terror which had been inspired to their own advantage, and thereby naturally confirmed the suspicions en-

tertained against them. Private meetings, at which La Borte assisted, were held by the friends of the court in the Palais Royal, and a general league for the purpose of bringing back the royal family was drawn up and signed. From time to time between five and six hundred persons were thus collected, and the number daily increased. In order, too, to distinguish themselves from the faction of the *Paille*, as that was called which wore straw, the partisans of the court adopted the sign of a piece of paper in the hat; and wherever the two symbols met, a quarrel was almost sure to follow. At length the opposite party exerted itself more strongly; and the meetings at the Palais Royal were discontinued, while the parliament prohibited, under severe penalties, the display of either of the offensive symbols.\*

All the respectable citizens now began to look anxiously for a cessation of the troubles which were daily assuming a more horrible and anarchical form; and the general feeling of the capital be-

\* Both De Retz and Joly make light of these meetings at the Palais Royal, and do not seem to have been well informed regarding them; but it is evident, that, though very inefficient as a means of bringing back the king by force, they might have proved, and in fact did prove important, as a demonstration of the change which had taken place in popular feeling. It gave encouragement, too, for all men well affected towards the government to show themselves openly; and there can be no doubt that from that time forward the same degree of shame and apprehension was not felt by any one on going over to the party of the court as had been entertained before.



came opposed to Condé, and in favour of the court. It very often happens, however, that a leader rules most vigorously when he is hated the most, and that his power is exercised most extensively when it is nearest its termination. After the massacre of the Hôtel de Ville, the benches of the parliament were but thinly filled, the assemblies at the Town-house but poorly attended. Neither the governor nor the Prévôt des Marchands showed themselves any more.

The Duke of Orleans and Condé found none to thwart them; they declared the governor and the prévôt dismissed, and appointed Beaufort to fill the office of the one, old Broussel to take the post of the other. They caused themselves also to be named by the parliament, lieutenant-general of the kingdom, and generalissimo of the forces; and they published a declaration importing that the king was captive in the hands of Mazarin, and they only in arms to deliver him. They appointed, also, new sheriffs, and named a council for themselves; without meeting with any farther opposition. But there was something alarming even in the facility with which everything was yielded to them: they felt that it was the submission of men to a power whose rapidly approaching termination alone rendered it endurable.

Great evils were in the mean time raging in the city; the reign of anarchy was complete, — daily bloodshed stained the streets, and amongst them-

selves the same spirit spread. Condé found that he who encourages licence must endure licence: his own officers and soldiers treated him with disrespect, and neglected their duty. The Dukes of Nemours and Beaufort terminated their long enmity by quarrelling as to their precedence in the newly created council; and Nemours insisted upon his brother-in-law bringing their dispute to the arbitrement of arms.

Beaufort, who loved his sister the Duchess of Nemours tenderly, resisted as long as his false ideas of honour would permit, but at length accepted the challenge; and it was determined that a combat of five against five should take place behind the Hôtel Vendôme. It accordingly did take place, when the Duke of Beaufort killed his brother-in-law by a pistol-ball, which entered his heart; and two other noblemen fell on one part or the other.

Nemours was greatly regretted; for, though violent and hasty, he had many of those qualities which attract the admiration of the superficial, and some of those which merited the regard of the more deep-sighted. He had considerable military talents, and the courage of a lion; but yet he had been always the first to lead Condé towards peace, and had generously offered to sacrifice all his own claims upon the court if that great object could be gained.

Before we proceed farther, we may as well notice

the deaths of two other celebrated men, the Count de Chavigni, and the Duke of Bouillon, both of which took place within a few weeks of the decease of Nemours. Chavigni, in all his negotiations with the court, had treated, as we have seen, with a strong eye to his own purposes; and a coldness had grown up in consequence between him and Condé, which often produced sharp words on the part of the prince.

One of the evils which afflicted Paris about this time, was a typhus fever, by which Condé himself was affected, though not dangerously: and Chavigni visited him during his illness, in order to explain some parts of his conduct. The prince, however, was well assured that he held secret negotiations with the court, and treated him harshly: violent words ensued, and the count quitted him dreadfully agitated. Chavigni was immediately seized with the fever; and by the time Condé was able to go out, his former friend was in the agonies of death. Condé was in turn grieved, and went to see him, but found him dying, which so much affected him that the tears came into his eyes. As if ashamed, however, of having been betrayed into a weakness certainly not unamiable, Condé, on going out, affected to laugh at the scene of Chavigni's death, saying that he was "as ugly as the devil."

The death of the Duke of Bouillon, however, was of much greater importance; for his life, had

it been prolonged, might have changed the destiny of France. After his union with the court, the finances had been entrusted to his care; and his great skill, his distinguished manners, his high reputation and vigorous mind, were all gaining greatly upon Anne of Austria. At the same time the important services of his brother Turenne gave peculiar claims to the family, to which a monarch in difficulties and dangers could not refuse to listen. Mazarin, too, was on the eve of quitting France, for his second and last period of exile; and, had Bouillon lived, it is by no means improbable that his banishment would have been permanent. The Duke was seized with the fever, however, at the end of July, and died at Pontoise, on the 9th of August, which death the Duchess of Nemours points out as a new instance of the extraordinary good fortune that followed the career of Mazarin.

The fever continued to rage severely in Paris, aggravated, probably, by the scarcity which was now felt terribly in the metropolis. The worst sort of bread was sold at eight sous per pound; and the people viewed with hatred the soldiery, who increased the famine by their presence, and, at the same time, supported the princes, to whose rebellion it was owing. To supply their own wants or pleasures, too, the soldiers were daily in the habit of exposing for sale articles which they had plundered from the country houses in the neighbourhood; and the inhabitants, who were hourly in

want of the first necessities of life,\* found therein a dangerous example, the influence of which was not diminished by the parliament itself sanctioning the pillage of the palace of Mazarin.

Condé felt himself an object of hatred: and the sullen silent acquiescence of the city in all that he and the Duke of Orleans did, could not in the least degree induce him to believe that their authority was still respected. Such acquiescence was not obedience. That which they were forced to do under the penalty of incurring imminent danger, the citizens did; but they did no more.

On the occasion of two men being hanged who had taken part in the massacre of the Hôtel de Ville, the growing spirit of inert resistance demonstrated itself: the Burgher guard was ordered by the Duke of Orleans to attend the execution, but no Burgher guard appeared; and a thousand instances might be cited of similar indications which gave the princes no slight uneasiness. Nor was the disposition of the rest of the kingdom less clearly manifested than that of Paris. The parliament, acting under the dictation of the princes, had, as we have shown, issued a declaration pronouncing the king captive in the hands of Mazarin,

\* The price of every other article of consumption was as high, in proportion, as that of bread: and amongst the valuable collection of papers relative to the Fronde, in the British Museum, may be found a list, which, when compared with the ordinary prices of the day, shows the lamentable state of need to which the Parisians were reduced.

and calling upon all the other parliaments of the kingdom to put forth a similar manifesto. Not one, except that of Bordeaux, even took it into consideration.

The Duke of Orleans announced to all the governors of provinces that the parliament had conferred upon him the office of lieutenant-general of the kingdom, and required them to recognise him as such: only one took any notice of his letter. These were signs not to be mistaken; and De Retz increased and directed the popular odium against Condé, by the precautions which he adopted, under the belief that the tumults ending in the massacre of the Hôtel de Ville had been originally excited for his destruction. He once more fortified his house and the cathedral, laid in a provision of stores and ammunition, collected a band of several hundred gallant soldiers; and even concerted with the citizens in the neighbourhood plans for mutual defence and assistance, which spread doubts and apprehensions of Condé through a very influential part of the city.

In his conduct on the present occasion, however, De Retz committed a great error, which he frankly acknowledges himself. He had throughout opposed Condé without supporting Mazarin; but his conduct had of late appeared so doubtful, that the Queen and the Cardinal suspected him strongly of heading their absolute enemies. Had he at the present moment, instead of fortifying himself in his

house, quitted a city of which he was no longer master, and a prince who no longer obeyed his dictation, and, retiring to his patrimonial estates, waited patiently the events which he saw must occur, the court would have been convinced that he had really taken no part against it in the late intrigues of the capital; the capital would have been convinced that he did not favour Mazarin; and he would have returned, upon the re-establishment of the royal authority, with the favour of the queen, and greater influence than ever with the people. The course he pursued lost him his influence with both.

In the mean time, however, parliamentary deputies had been sent to St. Denis, to declare to the king the readiness of the princes and the city to lay down their arms as soon as Mazarin should be expelled, and in fact to negotiate favourable terms of accommodation. Their efforts had proved worse than vain, as might have been expected; and shortly after, the court having removed to Pontoise, an order was sent into Paris on the 6th of August, commanding the parliament to proceed immediately to that town, and hold its sittings there.

The members well affected towards the court obeyed the injunction, and got out of the town in disguise. Having reached Pontoise, they assembled under the chief president Molé, and began to act with all the forms and ceremonies of a regularly constituted parliament. The court then annulled

at once all the acts of the parliament of Paris; cancelled and declared illegal everything that had been done in the assemblies at the Hôtel de Ville; made efforts to stop the payment of the rentes to the fundholders; and, in short, did all in its power to increase the pressure produced by the civil war. These efforts were not without effect; and that effect was increased by the necessity under which the princes lay of making continual demands upon the purses of the Parisians for the maintenance of their troops.

At length the prospect of a favourable change came to give spirits to Condé and his party. The Duke of Lorraine, after having fulfilled his promise to the letter and retired from France, fired two cannons on the other side of the frontier, and immediately turned upon his steps, and began his march back to Paris. At the same time, Fuensaldaña appeared with a strong army upon the French frontier, and everything threatened the court of France with the union of three formidable armies in the capital of the kingdom. As soon as one even of the two foreign corps had begun its march, it became obvious to all persons connected with the government that something must be done to counteract the great influence which the party of the princes would acquire from such powerful support; and no other means presented itself but the immediate removal of Mazarin.

The necessity of taking that course was obvious



to the minister himself; and though it would appear that he had at first proposed to lead the court beyond the Loire, and defend the southern provinces of France as best he might, the arguments of Turenne soon convinced him that such a step was both disgraceful and impracticable. He determined, therefore, once more to retire; and, in order to give credit and authority to the little parliament of Pontoise, it was permitted humbly to solicit the king to remove the minister. Its petition was immediately granted, as had been previously arranged; and, in the middle of August, Mazarin quitted the court and retired to Sedan.

An amnesty was immediately published by the King, and verified by the parliament of Pontoise: but, nevertheless, the princes did not lay down their arms, as they had promised; and the parliament of Paris, while it sent a deputation to thank the king for the exile of Mazarin, and to entreat him to come back to the city, added, that the princes would lay down their arms as soon as proper passports should be sent to enable all the foreign troops to quit France, and an amnesty of a more comprehensive nature be published by all the parliaments of the realm.

The great joy, however, which the retirement of Mazarin created amongst the Parisians, more from a hope that it would restore peace than from any remaining enmity towards his person, compelled Condé and the Duke of Orleans to affect similar

satisfaction, and to recommence negotiations with the court. Condé was at this time ill of the fever which, as we have shown, carried off Chavigny; but he was, nevertheless, still disposed to hold out for better conditions than those that he was likely to gain, and for that purpose to unite his forces to those of the two foreign armies which were marching to his support.

Turenne, in the mean time, with his extraordinary military skill, began to manœuvre in face of the enemy. Leaving a small body of troops to protect the court at Pontoise, he advanced to Compiègne, to prevent, if possible, the farther march of Fuensaldaña; but the subtle policy of Mazarin effected in this instance what, perhaps, all the military skill of Turenne might not have been able to accomplish. Very well knowing that Fuensaldaña and the Archduke had only in view, by the support which they afforded to Condé, to exhaust France while Spain recovered her forces, and were not at all desirous either of rendering the prince master of the state, or of enabling him to conclude an advantageous treaty with the queen, he determined to play off such a *ruse* upon the Spanish general as should induce him to believe that the government was likely to throw itself into the arms of Condé. He caused, therefore, a letter to be written to the Duke of Lorraine, as if in reply to one of his, stating, that as France was menaced by foreign powers, the Queen was

determined to offer to him, the Duke of Lorraine, no more than she had stated; and that if he, the Duke, did not accept her offer, she would immediately conclude a treaty with Condé, being determined rather to confide the royal authority to the generosity of a prince of the blood than to put the state at the mercy of foreigners. The courier who bore this letter was directed to pass as near as possible to the army of Fuensaldaña, and to suffer himself to be made prisoner. The scheme took effect, and the letter fell into the hands of the Spanish commander, who immediately retired with the greater part of his army, only leaving a small force under Prince Ulric of Würtemberg to support the Prince de Condé.

In the mean time, the Duke of Lorraine advanced with an army of ten thousand men, and soon effected his junction with six thousand Spaniards under Prince Ulric. As he marched, he commenced, as usual, negotiations with the court of France, but still proceeded towards Paris, hoping to amuse the Queen and her generals till he had effected his junction with Condé. Turenne, however, had immediately marched to meet him, and arrived at the small town of St. Germain-en-Brie; but there he was stopped by couriers from the court, who brought him orders not to press the Duke of Lorraine, who had persuaded the Queen that he was now treating honestly. Turenne, however, was better acquainted with the character of the Duke,

and, after a short hesitation, determined upon his conduct. Declaring that he knew so well the designs of the enemy that he would rather disobey the orders he had received and risk his head, than obey and risk the salvation of the state, he decamped the morning after, and marched direct towards the enemy.

Finding, however, that the Duke of Lorraine had got possession of Brie Comte Robert, he turned upon his steps, and with all speed hastened towards Villeneuve St. Georges. The Duke of Lorraine, however, was still there before him, and a skirmish took place for the post; but Turenne, having the command of the heights, got possession of the bridge, and the Duke of Lorraine was obliged to retreat higher up the river. It was impossible for the royal army, however, to prevent the junction of Condé with the Duke of Lorraine, the prince having led his troops out of Paris, and by the accidental seizure of some large boats having obtained the means of transporting his forces across the river at a point where there was no bridge.

The army of the enemy was then very much superior to that of Turenne; and, cooped up on the small point of land between the river Yeres and the Seine at Villeneuve, with only provisions for five days, and no means of procuring more, the situation of Turenne would have been perilous in the extreme, had not the queen's general taken the precaution, on the day of his arrival, to stop all the

boats that came down the river. The position of the enemy rendered the bridge over the Yeres of no use as a means of escape, and his only hope lay in throwing bridges over the Seine with the utmost rapidity. This was accomplished by means of the boats which he had stopped; the officers of the army paying the workmen with their own money.

The moment the bridges were constructed, abundance reigned in the camp of Turenne, and the position which he occupied was so strong that he determined to maintain it as long as possible, having now lost all fears of being famished in his camp. The head of the bridge was fortified, six redoubts which the Duke of Lorraine had thrown up on his former incursion were joined by lines, and Turenne and La Ferté there set the enemy at defiance. The former, hearing that negotiations were going on between the queen and the rebels, and that the ministers only feared that a defeat of the royal army might put them at the mercy of Condé, wrote to the queen to assure her that she might draw out the negotiations as far as she liked, for that, notwithstanding all the boasts of the adverse generals, they should never force him to a battle unless he liked it, nor take him by surprise, nor prevent him from retreating at the moment he thought fit.

In the mean while, Condé and the Duke of Lorraine persisted in the attempt to famish him, and for that purpose they decamped, leaving a garrison

in the Castle of Ablon; the Duke of Lorraine, crossing the Yeres, and intrenching himself between Brie Comte Robert and Turenne's camp, while Condé advanced to Limei, and began to throw a bridge across the Seine, in order to cut off the communication of the royalists with Corbeil. But Turenne, on his part, attacked and took the castle of Ablon, and thus insured his foragers an open way towards Corbeil. For five weeks, Turenne, with eight thousand men within his camp, and two thousand men at Corbeil, who had been brought thither from the siege of Montrond, which had lately surrendered, continued to maintain himself against the Duke of Lorraine and Condé with more than twenty thousand men.

During this time, De Retz had remained in Paris, and he gradually became convinced that the people of the capital were not only desirous of the return of the king and willing to submit, but would very soon cast themselves at the king's feet, in spite of everything that could be done to restrain them; and he consequently determined to make a great effort to gain the reputation with both parties of bringing back the king to Paris. For the purpose of doing this effectually, a number of projects presented themselves to his mind; but that which he adopted was, according to his own acknowledgment, suggested by Joly.

The picture given by him and by M. de Fontenay of the state of France, on which state his pre-

sent plans and purposes were founded, is too striking to be passed over without notice. The Archduke had taken Gravelines and Dunkirk; the English had captured almost the whole navy of France; Barcelona with nearly all Catalogna, and Casal, the key of Italy, were lost; Brissac, in a state of revolt, was likely to fall into the hands of Austria; the banners of Spain were floating upon the Pont Neuf, and the yellow scarfs of Lorraine were as common in the streets of Paris as the colours of Condé or Orleans; the party of the princes was without any other power than that of promoting faction; Bordeaux was divided into six or seven furious parties; the parliament of Paris was no more than a phantom; the Hôtel de Ville was a desert; the princes had no authority in the capital, except such as the more brutal part of the populace afforded them; and the Spaniards, the Germans, and the Lorrainese were spread through the suburbs of the city, pillaging even the gardens of the metropolis; the archbishop was obliged to maintain a regular garrison in his house, and daily acts of bloodshed were committed by a starving people. Whether Mazarin came back or not, the evils of the country and the capital could not be greater than they were; and De Retz, besides having such potent reasons to allege for seeking the king's return, foresaw that at any moment the cardinal might be recalled to the court, and that then the moment for himself would be lost.

With all this before his eyes, the coadjutor determined to put himself at the head of the clergy of the capital, and with that powerful body proceed to Compiègne, to which place the king had now removed. But it was necessary that he should carry with him something more substantial than the thanks and congratulations of the clergy on the dismissal of Mazarin. For this purpose he applied to the Duke of Orleans, — showed him that the faction to which he had attached himself was utterly lost, and preserved no more than the shadow of power; that as he had long desired to retire and live in peace at Blois, he could now accomplish that object in the most dignified and honourable manner, by making an effort, in the first instance, to restore peace to the state; and that by casting off all high demands for himself, he might gain the greatest credit by striving alone for the interests of others. Gaston yielded to these representations; he was heartily sick of warfare, tired of the factions which had surrounded him from the cradle, and he easily reconciled his conscience to not struggling very vehemently even for the interests of Condé. He put himself then entirely into the hands of De Retz; and that prelate immediately applied to the Princess Palatine, to ascertain if he could venture safely to Compiègne.

The Queen was of course delighted with the proposal, and even Mazarin gave his hearty consent, though some of his creatures strongly opposed Anne



of Austria's design of receiving De Retz favourably. He set out, however, accompanied by deputies from all the ecclesiastical bodies of Paris, and followed by a large troop of his own retainers, and a company of the guard of the Duke of Orleans. It would seem that up to the moment of his arrival, disputes were busily going on at court, as to what treatment he should receive; and that it was proposed, notwithstanding the assurances of safety which he had obtained, that he should be either arrested or put to death.

Prince Thomas of Savoy, however, who had remained at court, filling the apparent office of prime minister after Mazarin's departure, opposed all breach of faith, and the coadjutor was received with distinction by the Queen and the young King. The latter bestowed upon him the cardinal's hat with his own hand; and the Queen held a long conference with him, eager to terminate all the difficulties which yet lay in the way of peace. After dinner, De Retz harangued the young king, preserving with great skill every appearance of respect and devotion for the royal authority, but avoiding carefully the least hint of the possibility of Mazarin's return to the capital.

The King made a gracious reply, and the more substantial negotiations, which were the real object of the coadjutor's coming, then commenced with Anne of Austria. The end at which he aimed was to make such an arrangement as would give to him-

self and the Duke of Orleans all the honour of the king's return. He produced at once to the queen the full powers with which the duke had furnished him; and, in the course of the negotiations, he informed her that Gaston was willing to abandon Condé, to strive vigorously and sincerely for peace, never to meddle with faction again, and even to retire to Blois, provided the king would grant a full and entire amnesty, and promised to leave the Prince de Condé in unmolested possession of all his governments.

Anne of Austria caught eagerly at such proposals, and doubtless, had she been permitted, would have accepted them at once; but though they were far more reasonable than anything which had yet been demanded by the insurgents, the ministers of the queen, or rather of the cardinal, Servien and Le Tellier, with his two spies, Ondedei and the Abbé Fouquet, were well informed of what was passing in Paris, and even from the very humility of the offers now made saw the rapid decline of faction in the capital. They perceived, as the ultimate result of all this, that a general disunion of parties would take place, that every one would seek to make peace for himself, and that the royal authority would be re-established without any concession whatever. They therefore interposed delays and evasions; De Retz returned to Paris without any decided answer; the weakness of the Duke of Orleans took fright at

this uncertainty ; every one began to negotiate for himself; Condé, Orleans, the Duke of Lorraine, the parliament, the Hôtel de Ville,—by all and each a separate intrigue was carried on with the court, and each lost ground with the people and with his confederates every day.

At length, towards the close of September, having left all parties to weaken themselves as far as possible, and gladly seeing that their public and private intrigues brought Condé and the Duke of Lorraine to Paris continually, so as to leave their military operations imperfect and weak, the court began to act with vigour, and to assume a higher tone.

The parliament had proposed to send a deputation for the purpose of expressing its duty towards its young monarch ; but, on the 30th of September, the advocate-general announced that the King, having transferred the parliament to Pontoise, and interdicted all deliberations in Paris, could not recognize any of the acts of those members of the parliament who had not obeyed his majesty's injunction. The terror and consternation which this notification spread throughout the parliament was very great, and had they been harshly pressed at that moment, dangerous effects might have resulted even from their fears; but the ministers whom Mazarin had left to rule for him during his absence managed most skilfully the difficult task they had to perform. Rendered wise by experience, whenever they menaced one part of their opponents, they took

means to soften and to gain another, so as to keep up the divisions which had already spread amongst the insurgents. Thus, while Anne of Austria threatened the parliament, she caressed the Duke of Orleans, and professed towards him the highest regard ; and while the assemblies of the Hôtel de Ville, and all that took place therein, were denounced by the court as illegal, a grand deputation from the burgher guard of Paris, consisting of all the colonels and captains of the quarters, was received by the King at St. Germain, and entertained with the utmost distinction. Negotiations were still kept up with De Retz, which he himself does not acknowledge, but which are clearly proved to have taken place by Joly ; so that every act of severity against any one of the many bodies which had combined to maintain the rebellion, produced no evil effect to the court, from its politic moderation towards the others.

Finding her power increasing every day, and that all the parties in the capital were daily decreasing in their demands, Anne of Austria, at the same time that she made the famous notification of the 30th of September, saw that the tone of authority she was now assuming would gain greater weight from the presence of the royal army with the court, and she consequently sent to desire Turenne to join her if it were possible.

<sup>4</sup> The undertaking, indeed, was a dangerous and a difficult one — to retreat before a very superior

force from a circumscribed position, with a river on either side; but Turenne instantly proceeded to put the commands of the queen in execution, and chose the night of the 4th of October for privately evacuating his camp. He had previously sent orders to the commander at Corbeil, directing him to throw up some redoubts before that city for the reception and protection of the royal army when it should arrive; and shortly after dark he began his march, following the bank of the Seine to the bridges, and then passing over in the most profound silence. The Prince de Condé was then ill in Paris; and by some accounts the Duke of Lorraine was there also. Certain it is, however, that in neither camp was the march of Turenne known, till he had advanced as far as Corbeil; which spot he had reached after a long night march, between the Seine and the forest of Senard, before daylight on the morning after his departure.

Although he only proposed to give his troops one night's rest, Turenne fortified his position before Corbeil with intrenchments and palisades. He was not attacked, however; and the next morning he recommenced his march, proceeding with the greatest caution in two columns, and advancing gradually towards the court. He was suffered, however, to pass unmolested, though in several points there can be no doubt that the insurgent armies might have forced him to a battle. Having thus accomplished one of the most skilful

retreats in the records of warfare, he took up a position in the neighbourhood of Senlis, where he possessed a full communication with the court.

To have suffered their enemy thus to escape them, did not of course enhance the reputation or authority of the princes with the population of Paris. Daily murmurs were heard respecting the proximity of the troops, the scarcity which they occasioned, and the ravages which they committed; constant rains were now falling, forage was not to be procured, the country round was exhausted of provisions, the most solemn promises had been made over and over to the people that the soldiery should speedily be withdrawn; and at length—after having tried in vain to effect some separate arrangement with the court, after having seen old Broussel resign the office of *prevôt*, which had been conferred upon him, and the Duke of Beaufort give up the government of Paris,—Condé himself quitted the French capital for the last time that he was to leave it, till he returned humbled, and instructed, many years afterwards. This took place on the 13th of October; and having received assurances that the King of Spain was ready to place his whole forces in the North under his command, Condé retreated towards Laon, where Fuensaldaña waited to receive the illustrious rebel with open arms.

No sooner had the troops of the princes made their retreat, than consternation and anxiety spread through Paris. The people of the capital had wish-

ed and desired their absence, it is true ; but, once left unsupported, the spirits of all parties in Paris fell. The parliament eagerly demanded an amnesty ; but the court, perceiving the success of the policy which it had pursued, continued the same course of conduct, now menacing, now soothing—till at length vague proposals of returning at once to Paris began to make themselves heard at Mantes and St. Germain, to which places the royal family had removed.

These proposals assumed a more tangible form, and received strength and consistency, after the arrival of Turenne, who, having seen the army of the princes pass almost within cannon-shot of his own troops on the 14th of October, hastened to the court, and represented to the queen and her ministers that it was absolutely necessary that the king should take advantage of the moment, and resume the full exercise of the royal authority. He showed them that, in the exhausted state of the finances, the army itself could not be maintained, unless the king, in possession of the capital, found means of obtaining supplies : he showed them that the populace of Paris, disheartened and disgusted with all that had passed, were ready to receive the king with open arms ; but that any farther delay would give time for the leaders of the Fronde to resume their power, and for the Parisians both to recover from the state of misery to which the presence of the troops had reduced them, and to

forget the evils to which rebellion had given rise. He made himself responsible for the safety of the royal family, and the determination was taken of entering Paris on the 21st of October.

The approach of the court was notified to the Duke of Orleans, and he was commanded to come out to meet the king. The weak and timid prince, however, hesitated to do so. In vain his friends represented to him that it was necessary to choose some decided part; and when his strong-minded wife pointed out that he must either oppose the entrance of the king, or go out to meet him, he treated the suggestion as mere madness. "Then get you gone, sir, out of Paris immediately," she replied, well knowing the danger which he ran. "Where the devil shall I go?" demanded he in return; and there the consultation ended.

On the morning of the 21st, however, the King began his advance towards the capital, and, as soon as it was known at the Palace of the Luxembourg that he was really approaching, rapid councils were held to determine what ought to be done. Some strenuously urged the duke still to go out and meet his nephew on the road; others, on the contrary, advised him strongly to raise the people, seize upon the young monarch as he entered the city, separate him from his mother, and, conveying him to the Hôtel de Ville, take means to secure the persons of the queen and her principal ministers.



De Retz represents the people to have been in such a state of uncertainty, that a word would have led them to anything; and he seems to have believed that the Duke of Orleans could have directed it to what point he pleased, but that at the same time it was ready to have followed any other impulse given to it, blindly and inconsiderately. The Duke of Orleans, as usual, would decide upon nothing: a courier was sent to him as the court advanced, with a renewed order to come out and meet the king; but he remained consulting, and in the mean while some degree of doubt and hesitation affected the royal party itself.

In the midst of the Bois de Boulogne it was met by some persons from the city, who came out to warn the king and queen that they were running to destruction: they gave notice also of the consultations that were taking place at the Luxembourg, and insinuated that many of the people were not so well disposed as had been believed. The procession stopped, and a brief consultation was held between the queen, her ministers, and Turenne; and, in deference to the opinion of that great general, Anne of Austria, who was naturally fearless herself, determined to proceed, although the greater part of her counsellors advised her to retread her steps towards St. Germain.

Multitudes of people were already upon the road to witness the entrance of the royal party, and much doubt and apprehension was entertained, till

the King, putting himself at the head of his guards, and accompanied by Prince Thomas of Savoy, approached the crowd that had gathered round the Porte St. Honoré. As he came up, and the people recognised him, all doubt of their disposition was removed by the thundering acclamations with which he was received, and which accompanied him all the way to the Louvre.

The Cardinal De Retz, with an immense body of the magistracy, the nobles, and the clergy, waited on the steps of the Louvre to receive the royal family: and every one seems to agree, that never was adulation and hypocrisy carried to a greater height than it was on the reception of the king by the very men who, the day before, had advised the Duke of Orleans to commit the grossest act of treason which the civil war had yet produced. De Retz himself was not, it would seem, without apprehensions for his own fate, although the Queen loaded him with civilities, and told the young king to regard him as the person who, more than any other, had contributed to bring him back to the capital. He remained at the Louvre, however, for some hours, till the King and Queen retired to hold a council; and he then proceeded to visit the Duke of Orleans, who had just received an order from the indignant monarch to quit Paris on the following morning.

The Duke was in a state of the most tremendous agitation and apprehension, imagining that the

commands he had received were given but to amuse him, when the real intention of the court was to arrest him. Some violent counsels were then held, which terminated, ultimately, in the obedience of the Duke, who quitted the capital the next day, and retired, after a time, to insignificance, at Blois. The Duke of Beaufort followed him; and on the 22nd, the day after the king's return, the parliament was ordered to assemble at the Louvre, and the King held a bed of justice, in which he resumed the whole of the royal authority, with all those appearances of power and vigour which showed the turbulent population of the capital that the court felt secure of its triumph.

Four declarations, or, as they may be called, edicts, were published by the young King. By the first, a general amnesty was declared; by the second, the seat of the parliament was re-established in Paris; and by the third, a number of exceptions were made to the amnesty, and sentence of banishment pronounced against the principal disturbers of the public peace. De Retz, however, was not of this number; and it would seem that the court sincerely wished to attach him to the sovereign. By the same act, the parliament was distinctly interdicted from meddling in future with any affairs of state:\* and thus, in fact, ended the wars of the Fronde.

\* The fourth declaration I have not noticed particularly, as it merely referred to the establishment of what is called a chamber of vacations, which in no degree affects the course of history.

Some of the remote provinces were still agitated ; but the royal authority was now re-established on a foundation which was never shaken during the whole life of Louis XIV. Every one who had raised himself up in opposition to it, — with the exception of De Retz, who, by persisting in faction, called upon his own head, soon after, the fate of the rest, — had either been obliged to submit and serve the government with fidelity, or had been crushed, defeated, and banished, losing all influence and authority in the country whatsoever.

It may be curious and not uninteresting to inquire more particularly, what were the causes which produced this result ; especially when, on the one hand, we see that on the part of the insurgents there was very often good ground of complaint as a foundation for their resistance ; when we find that on their side was employed a very great proportion of the first political and military talent of the age ; when they were throughout supported by the whole power of Spain ; and when, at one time or another, almost every very influential and wealthy family was engaged in the rebellion : while, on the other side, a multitude of faults were committed, great weakness was very frequently shown, money and resources were constantly wanting, and all the operations were directed by a man lamentably ignorant of the laws, customs, and manners of the people that he ruled.

All the political and military events which have

been related aided undoubtedly in producing the general result ; but I am firmly convinced that at the same time there was one prime and original principle of weakness on the part of the insurgents, and of strength on the part of the court, which on the one side neutralised all advantages, and on the other supplied all defects, and which will ever be found to act in the same manner and produce the same effects in despite of all collateral circumstances. I have alluded to this view before, but still I must dwell upon it here. The insurgents during the wars of the Fronde never possessed any great, sincere, paramount, ultimate object. Many of the people were inspired by the real desire of serving their country, promoting that civil liberty which is desirable to every one, and wresting from weak hands a part of the inordinate power which had been accumulated by strong ones ; but not one of the leaders was actuated by any such motives, or strove for any such results. Each had for his view, and for his purposes, his own selfish interests. Neither De Retz, nor Condé, nor Turenne, nor Bouillon, while attached to the Fronde, nor La Rochefoucault, nor Beaufort, nor the Duke of Orleans, had any other object but self,—had any other design but to serve their vanity, their interests, their pride, or their resentment. They wanted a great common object, and consequently a bond of union. Temporary interests might cement the party for the time ; but that tie was dis-

solved whenever the weakness or the strength of the adverse party made it yield to the claims of some, or resist the whole with vigour; and at the same time the selfishness and faithlessness of all deprived the whole body of popular respect, how much soever individuals might command the popular affection.

On the other hand, there did exist with the court party a great and paramount object, to which the selfishness of all persons connected with it bent, and with which the interests of each individual were more or less combined. That was, the maintenance of the royal authority. For this, the Queen and all her partisans struggled throughout the whole. Without securing it, Mazarin could not rule with any effect; and though his weaknesses hazarded it, yet still his great object was to preserve it, and his very selfishness taught him to strive for its maintenance. All who attached themselves to that party became from the moment that they were so, devoted to the great general purpose, and struggled for it while they struggled for their own interests. This unanimity of object seems to me to have given ultimate predominance to the royal party; and the want of it, to have been the defect which constantly overthrew all those who opposed the government.

## CHAPTER VI.

Situation of the Queen.—Condé declared guilty of high treason.—Turenne forces Condé to evacuate France.—Military successes of Turenne.—Mazarin joins the army.—Severe but glorious winter campaign.—Conduct of De Retz.—He is arrested.—Fouquet appointed superintendant.—Mazarin returns to Paris.—His reception.—State of affairs in Guienne.—D'Estades sent thither.—Successful military movements against Bordeaux.—Negotiations of Gourville.—Treaty with the rebels.—Bordeaux submits.—Execution of Duretteste.—The Spaniards driven from the Gironde.

ONCE more in possession of the capital, Anne of Austria applied herself to free the march of government from the enemies which opposed it in arms, and from the more subtle opponents who might still labour to diminish her power by secret intrigue. Her position now was very different from that which it had been after the siege of Paris. She had then bought her adversaries to tranquillity, either by actual bribes or splendid promises; though she had appeared to triumph, she had been, in fact, conquered, and had been equally afraid of those who had opposed, and those who had supported her.

Such was not now the case. She had now made

no concessions, she had now bound herself by no engagements; she had foiled her enemies in arms, she had wearied them out in negotiations, she had made them feel the evils of rebellion; and the only thing that she had yielded of any kind was the mere nominal removal of a minister, which had taken place not only without any engagement not to recall him, but with a very general understanding that he was to be recalled. Before she thought fit to do so, however, it seemed necessary to her either to reduce Condé to submission, or to drive him beyond the frontiers of France, and force him openly and actually into the hands of the Spaniards.

The prince, on his part, refused to take advantage of the amnesty granted by the king, upon the condition of consenting to the return of Mazarin; and having joined the Count of Fuensaldaña, he carried on, in company with the Spaniards, a war not only against his king, but openly and apparently against his country. There could be no longer any doubt that Condé was a rebel; and a declaration was sent down to the parliament, in the name of the king, once more pronouncing him guilty of high treason.

The parliament, now profoundly submissive to the will of Anne of Austria, registered the édict at once, and Condé justified it by attacking and taking with the utmost rapidity the towns of Château Porcien, Rhetel, Mouzon, and Sainte Ménéhould. Whilst attacking the citadel of the latter place, an application was made to him to suffer the



troops which had been raised by the Duke of Orleans to return to Paris, to which he immediately consented, but upon condition that they should not serve against him till the end of the campaign. During the time that he was thus going on from success to success, and not only acting as an officer of the King of Spain, but accepting the commission of generalissimo of that monarch's troops in the Low Countries, Turenne had marched from Paris with all the troops he could collect, and was preparing to oppose him. Before he was in any state to act directly against Condé, however, that prince, with Fuensaldaña, had captured the important town of Bar-le-Duc. The Spanish general then left him with a corps sufficiently numerous to maintain, as they both thought, the tract of country which they had acquired, and to take up his winter-quarters within the territories of France. But neither Condé nor Fuensaldaña was aware that the army of Turenne had been greatly swelled by reinforcements drafted from the garrisons of Artois and Picardy, and by a large body of horse which had joined the royalist general on his march.

Proceeding boldly on the plan which had been laid down, Condé, in consequence of this want of intelligence, had exposed his army greatly even in the attack of Bar-le-Duc; but that town having been captured with great rapidity while Turenne was marching to its relief, no disaster ensued, and the prince, after his separation from Fuensaldaña,

advanced, and made himself master of Ligny, Void, and Commerci. The means of obtaining intelligence in that part of the country seems to have been very scanty, for it was some days before Turenne acquired information of the departure of Fuensaldaña, and not daring to risk any hazardous manœuvres in the face of such a general as Condé, he halted for some days at St. Dizier and Stainville. At the latter town, however, he was joined by a reinforcement of between two and three thousand men, and nearly at the same time received information that Condé and the Duke of Lorraine were left to keep the field alone. He immediately determined to advance and offer the enemy battle before they could fortify themselves in winter-quarters; and, on the 26th of November, he marched with all speed to attack Condé, who was by no means prepared to resist the large force now brought against him.

The prince, accordingly, instantly crossed the Meuse, and retreated towards Luxembourg, followed so closely by the royal army, that Turenne often entered the place which he had quitted, only a few hours after him. At length, however, he reached the frontier, and having crossed it, became an exile from his native country. Contented with what he had done, Turenne pursued him no farther, but applied himself to refresh his wearied troops, who had now been marching for several days with the utmost rapidity and suffering a constant

scarcity of provisions. He was now, however, in a district belonging to the territory of Nancy, whereof his fellow-general La Ferté was governor; and the very first efforts made by Turenne to obtain provisions brought on a quarrel between him and La Ferté which proved extremely disadvantageous to the royal service. From Nancy, at which place he then was, La Ferté hastened with a small force to send Turenne out of St. Mihiel, where he had taken up his quarters; and, not contented with immediate compliance, he fell upon the rear of the royal army, charging the stragglers as if they had been enemies.

Turenne's patience and moderation, nevertheless, restored a degree of calmness to La Ferté, and, undertaking together the siege of Ligny, they speedily obtained possession of the town. The citadel, however, still held out; and, leaving his companion to carry on the siege, Turenne separated from him and attacked Bar-le-Duc. The lower town was quickly taken; but while the siege of the upper town and citadel was going on, Mazarin arrived in the camp, bringing with him a considerable reinforcement, which he had drawn from the garrisons in the neighbourhood of Sedan.

The general operations of the armies were now entirely directed by him; though he did not interfere with the military arrangements of the generals. His very presence, however, was the occasion of difficulties from time to time, and, on one occasion,

lost to Turenne an opportunity which he could never regain. Notwithstanding the severity of the weather, Condé advanced in order, if possible, to relieve Bar-le-Duc; and Turenne, immediately calling La Ferté to his aid, marched to meet the enemy.

As they marched on, Turenne heard that Condé had just arrived in the little town of Vaubecourt, which was not above three miles from the spot where they then were; and knowing that the place was filled with wine, which the enemy's forces would not fail to pillage and drink, he proposed to attack them directly, while they were in the first confusion of taking up such good and abundant quarters.

La Ferté, however, would not consent without the approbation of Mazarin, who was following some leagues behind; and messengers were sent to demand his opinion. He instantly bade the generals make the attack by all means; but the delay had already proved fatal to the designs of Turenne. Condé had learned his approach, had ascertained his force, and, finding himself unable to contend with him, had commenced his retreat. It was with difficulty, indeed, that he could induce his soldiers to quit such comfortable quarters as they had there met with; and when Turenne arrived in sight of Vaubecourt, he found it in flames, Condé having been obliged to set fire to the four corners of the town to drive his soldiers out of it.

Bar-le-Duc was soon after taken ; and, advancing through the open plains of that country, in the midst of so severe a winter that a number of the men were frozen to death on the march, Mazarin led the army towards St. Ménéhould. The siege of that place, however, being judged by Turenne too difficult to be undertaken at that season, the Cardinal turned towards Rhetel, and, in the end, laid siege to Château Porcien.

Condé again made an effort to draw Turenne from before the place, -but in vain ; and though he nearly risked a battle with very inferior numbers to succour Château Porcien, it was at length forced to surrender, in the beginning of 1653. The soldiers now expected rest, and eagerly demanded to be led to winter-quarters ; but Mazarin's object was, by means of his efforts for the recovery of the places which France had lost during the civil war, to obliterate the last traces of enmity towards him from the minds of the Parisians ; and he determined upon taking Vervins before he closed the campaign.

It was now beginning to thaw ; the country was hilly and rugged, the roads scarcely passable, and the provisions short : but, notwithstanding all difficulties and the general murmurs of the army, the Cardinal persisted, and arrived in the neighbourhood of Vervins on the 25th of January. The siege, however, lasted only three days ; and the troops regained the advantage of obtaining much warmer and more abundant quarters than they

could have found had they remained on the other side of the Aisne. The honour of the campaign, of course, rested with Turenne; but a part of the glory fell upon Mazarin, who had certainly exerted himself energetically both to increase Turenne's forces and to encourage them to great efforts. That general, too, was very well disposed to suffer the cardinal to appropriate a far greater share of the honour than belonged to him, being almost as desirous as Mazarin himself to see peace and stability restored to France, by the return of a man whom two civil wars had not been able to eject from power. Thus, through the French capital, daily reports were circulated of the successes of the cardinal; and the capture of the various towns which had been taken during the winter was magnified into general battles fought and won, while all the credit was given to Mazarin. Various other events also had taken place in Paris, tending to facilitate the return of the cardinal, and to ensure durability to the reacquired power of the queen; and to these we must now turn.

The first efforts of Anne of Austria went to conciliate all parties, and—having now shown her strength so far as to render any fresh revolt nearly hopeless—to gain over to her interests as many of the leading members of the parliament as might render her secure against a renewal of the financial opposition of that body. Almost all who could be considered purely as demagogues had been driven

into exile, and the only person who remained in Paris of whom Anne of Austria had any cause to entertain apprehensions was the Cardinal De Retz. Even her apprehensions in regard to him were not necessarily very serious ; for it is evident, by every known fact, as well as by the account of Joly, that his influence with the people was nearly at an end. What the Queen then, had to fear from him was rather constant irritation than any absolute injury ; and it is clear that she had resolved to try by all means to gain him heartily to her interests before she proceeded against him as an enemy.

The conduct of De Retz after the King's return, is almost inexplicable. The only light thrown upon his motives is perhaps that afforded by the Memoirs of Artagnan, which declare that it was absolutely necessary for him to force something from the court by faction in order to pay his debts, which amounted at that time to three millions of livres. However that may be, there can be no doubt that immediately after receiving the King at the Louvre, and after having been treated by the Queen with all manner of kindness, he proceeded to the Luxembourg, and in the council which was there held by the Duke of Orleans, offered to use his greatest exertions to rouse the people, if the Duke determined upon resisting the king's decree of exile and upon attempting to gain possession of the young monarch's person. Joly declares, indeed, that he suggested this act of treasonable violence to the Duke ;

and De Retz acknowledges that, though he did not suggest it, he did not oppose it when it was made, but offered to concur therein with all his power.

From these facts one would be led to imagine that De Retz looked upon the expressions of the queen's gratitude as hypocritical, and suspected that she was even then meditating vengeance for his former offences. His conduct immediately after, however, is totally opposed to such a supposition; for his demands upon the court were as high as if he had believed himself the greatest benefactor of the young king. He might indeed imagine that the queen was still terrified at his power and influence with the people, and was inclined to purchase his support at any price; yet he must not only have known that his authority was greatly diminished, but must also have been aware that the queen was not at all disposed to yield anything to apprehension, especially since she had learned by such severe experience how much more was to be gained by resistance than by concession.

Anne of Austria, however, laboured eagerly, as we have said, in fact to buy the coadjutor to the cause of Mazarin; and when she found that it could not be done, she proposed to remove from her minister's path the obnoxious prelate as gently and kindly as possible. She offered to appoint him ambassador to Rome, with a positive engagement not to leave him in that sort of honourable exile more than three years. She offered to grant him



a pension of fifty thousand crowns per annum, to give him fifty thousand crowns in hand for his first expenses, and to furnish him with one hundred thousand crowns\* more towards the payment of his debts.

The Cardinal, however, was not wise enough to accept these offers, and demanded infinitely more both for himself and his friends; affecting at the same time to conceive himself in hourly danger, keeping his house still fortified and filled with soldiery, and having the towers of Notre Dame still loaded with ammunition. Both De Retz and Joly declare that it was the Princess Palatine who inspired the fears which caused these preparations. There can be no doubt that, though she refused to receive the cardinal at her house, to confer upon his situation and lay out the negotiation she was to carry on for him with the court, she met him frequently by night at the house of Joly, and informed him that the queen was determined to deliver herself from him by some means.

Believing that the difficulties which arose in his negotiations with the court originated principally with the mediators, the Abbé Fouquet and Servien, he proceeded to open a direct communication with Mazarin. Every probability of success attended

\* Anquetil says that the sum offered was one hundred thousand francs; but as he cites De Retz, and De Retz himself distinctly states one hundred thousand crowns, I have adopted the larger sum.

this proceeding: the minister, most anxious to return, and not thinking himself in safety so long as he was opposed by the coadjutor, was willing to sacrifice much to obtain his concurrence; and De Retz, fancying himself now to be in the right way, relaxed many of his precautions. At the same time, Madame de Lesdiguières, deceived by an apparent softening of the queen's manner when De Retz was spoken of, believed that his reconciliation with the court was certain, and she persuaded the coadjutor that he would meet with no evil if he visited the Louvre. He had abstained from doing so ever since All Saints' Day; but at length he yielded to the representations that were made to him; and imagining that his negotiations were going on favourably with Mazarin, he proceeded to pay his respects to the royal family on the 19th of December, 1652.

There can be no doubt that an order for his arrest had been given long before; and De Retz himself declares that it had been given in such terms to Pradelle, the officer entrusted with the execution of it, as to imply that he was to be put to death in case of resistance. Madame de Motteville, however, declares that Pradelle having represented to the queen that bloodshed was very likely to ensue in the attempt to arrest a man who took such precautions, and having demanded an order under the king's own hand for his justification, it was absolutely refused to him, and the execution of her

design was postponed till some favourable opportunity should enable the arrest to take place without resistance. That opportunity was now afforded. De Retz came with but few attendants, and having paused at the apartments of the Maréchal de Villeroi, the news of his arrival soon spread through the palace. The Abbé Fouquet communicated it immediately to the young King, who, knowing the importance of the occasion, proceeded at once to seek his mother. On the stairs, however, he was met by De Retz himself; and, already prepared to make use of the princely virtue of hypocrisy,\* he received him with a smiling countenance, and asked him if he had seen the queen. De Retz replied that he had not: and the King desired him in a gracious tone to follow, but at the same time gave a private order to Villequier, captain of his guards, to arrest the coadjutor whenever he came out of the queen's apartments.

In the court De Retz had been met by one of his friends, who had accompanied him to the door of the Maréchal de Villeroi's apartments, and who, after having left him there, accidentally heard the rumour, which immediately spread through the palace, of the intended arrest of the Archbishop. He accordingly hastened to the apartments of the Maréchal, in order to warn the cardinal; but De

\* Madame de Motteville calls it judicious moderation, and declares that she had the whole particulars which we are now giving from the King and Queen themselves.

Retz was already gone to seek the queen, and the young king's order\* was strictly obeyed. As soon as ever the factious prelate appeared in the queen's anti-chamber, after his conference with Anne of Austria, he was arrested by Villequier, who, much to his annoyance, caused his person to be searched. They then brought him his dinner; and De Retz ate heartily, apparently in no degree concerned, while the preparations were made for carrying him to prison. At three o'clock he was led to a carriage which was filled with soldiers, and then, under a large escort, was conducted to Vincennes. Great apprehensions were still entertained lest the people should rise to rescue him; but not the slightest movement was made by any one; and De Retz, arriving at night at the place of his imprisonment, was confined in the same tower in which Beaufort, Condé, Longueville, and Chavigni had been confined before him; and going to bed, slept soundly, with the same sort of apathy towards his own fate with which the Parisians seemed to regard that of their favourite leader.

Anne of Austria had now performed an act which showed her and her council, more than any other, how completely the royal authority was restored. She had before arrested great generals, princes of

\* I have marked these facts particularly, as I believe that the command for De Retz's arrest is the first known act of royal authority performed by Louis XIV; and considering his age, just fifteen, we cannot deny that his coolness, as well as his dissimulation, gave a very fair specimen of his after life.

the blood, and even popular leaders; but she had now arrested an archbishop, a cardinal, and a demagogue in one person; and had done so not only without the slightest opposition, but without even a murmur from any body of men, except from the clergy. The ecclesiastics of Paris and the papal nuncio both made some exertions for the liberation of De Retz; but the Queen skilfully gave them to understand that nothing but the most perfect tranquillity and the quiet return of Mazarin would open the gates of Vincennes to the prisoner. All was immediately submission; and the Parisians in the enjoyment of peace totally forgot him who had seduced them so often into a state of war.

Shortly after this great agitator had disappeared from the political stage never more to be seen thereon, another person came forth in a prominent character, destined to play a gorgeous part and meet eventually a tragic fate. In conducting those negotiations between the queen and the coadjutor which obtained his temporary support for the government in opposition to the Prince de Condé, the Princess Palatine, moved we are told by love, had demanded as a boon to herself that the Marquis de Vieuville should be appointed to a high station in the government. On the first opportunity he was named superintendant of finance. After having accompanied the court through all its marches, Vieuville had returned with it to Paris, and died between four and five on the morning of the 1st

of January 1653, so much to the regret of his Swiss porter, who was afraid of losing thereby the New-year's gifts, then given at every large house, that he went to seek a rope to hang himself. It was difficult to prevent a Swiss, who recognizes no other god but money, from executing his design, say the Memoirs of Artagnan; but some of his friends, more clever than the rest, promised to procure him the same place with the next superintendant of finance, and thus consoled him for the death of his master. That next superintendant was the celebrated Nicholas Fouquet, procureur-général in the parliament of Paris. He had already displayed considerable talents, as well as much boldness and decision of conduct, in supporting the court against the rebels of the capital; but it was the more secret and more important services of his brother, the Abbé Fouquet, we are told, which obtained for him this appointment. The honours and advantages of the post, indeed, were for the time divided with Servien; but the name remained with Fouquet, and gradually the whole authority of that important office fell into his hands.

It was not long after the death of Vieuville and the appointment of Fouquet, that Mazarin determined upon returning to the court. The people of Paris, in general, were well disposed to receive him; they were still full of the delights of peace, they were far from willing to disturb their enjoyment by making the slightest opposition to the

cardinal's return; and they were very glad that Mazarin, by his great successes on the frontier, had given them a favourable pretext for regarding him in a different light from that in which they had hitherto seen him. Universal good fortune has always something impressive for the minds of the multitude: the fortune of Mazarin had been tried severely, and there can be no doubt that as Bussy says, when speaking of the cardinal's return, "the courtiers and the people felt a respect for a destiny which had surmounted so many obstacles; and his favour -- as a torrent which after having been kept back, breaks its dikes — overflowed with greater violence than if it had always pursued its course.

In returning, he took his way by Laon, Soissons, and Nanteuil, and arrived in Paris on the 2nd of February. The King went forth several miles to meet him; the royal guard was for the first time mounted at the gate by which he was to enter the city; a suite of apartments was appointed for him at the Louvre; all the court accompanied the King to do him honour; and on meeting him at a distance of two leagues from the gates, Louis embraced him tenderly, and making him enter his own carriage, conducted him back to that city from which he had been driven with hatred and execration, amidst the most enthusiastic shouts and acclamations of the people.

Whatever he had expected, nothing could exceed the gratulations which awaited his arrival. No

sooner had he entered the palace than he was surrounded by the court; and the principal eye-witnesses have declared, that the greatest personages of the realm smothered each other to cast themselves at his feet. One ecclesiastic, whose name is not given, prostrated himself before him with such humility, that those who beheld it feared he would never rise again; and amongst those who were the most eager to offer their congratulations and protest their attachment, were many, we are told, who had laboured with the utmost virulence for his destruction.

Mazarin knew well that such was the case; but he took his fortune at the flood, and, to his honour be it spoken, employed no means whatsoever to avenge himself on those who had most hated, insulted, or injured him. Even in the case of Croissy Fouquet, who placed himself entirely in his power by returning to Paris and carrying on his intrigues in favour of the Prince de Condé in open day, Mazarin avoided all the harsher measures which might have been adopted, and though eagerly pressed to proceed against him to extremity by those who wished to pay their court and prove their devotion, he suffered him to escape, upon the condition of his quitting the country and retiring to Italy.

The only place in which the flame of faction still raged in France was now in Guienne. The rebels had there possession of several important towns;



and Bourg, Libourne, and Bordeaux continued to resist the arms of the king. Even there, however, the same evils which had dissolved the faction of the princes in Paris were working more furiously to ruin it entirely.

At one time there were eight or nine parties in Bordeaux alone, each furious against the other: Conti, Marsin, Madame de Longueville, and Lenet were all, at different times, at daggers-drawn with the rest, and, from day to day, each threatened or attempted to negotiate with the court, and to gain the honour and advantage of pacifying the province. The course of policy which Mazarin pursued under these circumstances was the same as that on which he had acted so successfully with regard to Paris: he heard all, he gave hopes to all, and left the selfish and interested men who led the factions of Guienne to destroy each other.

To increase the confusion that reigned in Bordeaux, sprang up a fierce and virulent party, principally composed of the dregs of the people, and headed by an artisan of the name of Duréteste.\*

\* So written by Mazarin himself, in his letters to the Count d'Estrades. It is more than probable; however, that this name of Duréteste, or Hard-head, was merely a nickname given to this leader by his adherents. It is a very common custom in that part of the country, not only to give such nicknames, but to use them so long and so constantly, that the real name even of the family is entirely lost. Thus I have known a person of the name of Taillanier, who took the name of Leger; and he and all his family signed the latter name, though it was originally given to him by his schoolfellows.

This faction obtained the name of the *Ormée*, from the place in which it was first accustomed to assemble; and although it owed its origin to the tumults stirred up among the lower classes, by the partisans of Condé, for the purpose of driving the parliament of Bordeaux to whatsoever they thought fit to demand, it at length threw off all control, and committed every sort of brutal and sanguinary act. For the purpose of repressing these outrages, there rose up a faction consisting of the better classes, which, from the great street wherein the principal citizens lived, obtained the name of the *Chapeau Rouge*.

Between these parties the most violent collisions would frequently take place; and the more numerous party of the *Ormée* hesitated at no crime to avenge itself upon its adversaries, when it got them into its power. In the midst of this state of confusion, Mazarin sent secret agents into the town, and at the same time caused the royal army to advance against it, under the command of the Duke of Vendôme, giving him, however, for lieutenant-general, the famous Count d'Estrades, in whose ability there can be no doubt he placed much greater confidence than in that of the Duke.

Had the friends and dependants of Condé in Guienne possessed any degree of union, energy, or real zeal in his cause, an opportunity had been afforded them, just before the appointment of Vendôme and D'Estrades, of promoting his interests

in the most essential manner, and even of counterbalancing in some degree the misfortunes and disappointments which had attended him in the North.

It may be remembered, that when the court and army under Turenne retrod its steps along the Loire, and in the end turned upon Paris, the famous Count de Harcourt had been left to complete the subjection of the insurgents in Guienne, at the head of a strong and successful army. Upon some sudden disgust, however, into the causes and motives of which it is not necessary to inquire, he threw up the command of the army, left it in a state of complete disorganization, and traversing France, advanced to the banks of the Rhine. At that moment, any very active general, with the forces which Condé had left for the defence of Guienne, might have absolutely annihilated the royal army, and confirmed the revolt of the province in such a manner as to have rendered the reduction thereof a work of time and difficulty, and to have afforded a most important diversion in favour of Condé's efforts in the North. The opportunity had passed away, however; and, though the Duke of Candale, who commanded the forces formerly under the Duke of Épernon, and the Duke of Vendôme, who put himself at the head of the second royal army, but had in fact the supreme command, were both very inefficient officers, yet the district possessed by the

insurgents was daily narrowed, and the power of the friends of Condé diminished every hour.

It is one of the most curious and perhaps interesting facts displayed by the study of history, that through all the great acts and amidst all the mighty events which change the fate of nations and affect the destinies of a world, there are still threads of private intrigue and petty interests running on with, complicating and distorting, the more important matters with which they are combined. It is difficult to say whether the world is most ruled, and its fate most strongly directed, by insignificant interests or by great ones; but in the present instance we shall certainly find that the movements of armies, and the great political negotiations which appeared upon the surface of the transactions in Guienne, were in truth entirely subservient to a private object on the part of Mazarin. That object was, to marry one of his nieces to the Prince de Conti. For this he laboured, intrigued, and negotiated in a manner which has in it something both burlesque and romantic. We shall, however, here attempt to follow both currents of great and petty events down to the spot at which they unite.

In the early part of the year 1658, affairs stood thus in Guienne: — the Prince de Conti nominally commanded in Bordeaux, in behalf of his brother the Prince de Condé, and was governed partly by

his mistress, a lady of the city, of very libertine character, and partly by the famous Abbé Sarasin, better known as a wit than as a politician. The Count de Marsin possessed in reality the great bulk of political and military power in the city; the gates of Bordeaux were in the hands of the faction of the Ormée; the army of the Duke of Candale lay in the neighbourhood, but was not sufficiently strong to invest the capital of Guienne; the army of the Duke of Vendôme was advancing towards the scene of action, and the Count d'Estrades was marching in order to join the Duke in the neighbourhood of Bourg, with a small reinforcement which he brought from the Brouage. Candale was brave but dissolute, and wanted experience altogether; Vendôme, with the nominal command both of the army, and of the fleet which had been collected to oppose the Spaniards, was vacillating and feeble; and D'Estrades, though merely lieutenant-general, possessed, deservedly, the whole confidence of the court.

Such was the aspect of public affairs at the time: the more private negotiations were commencing under the auspices of Perefixe de Beaumont, Bishop of Rhodes, preceptor of the king, and afterwards Archbishop of Paris, who had been sent into Poitou to be nearer the scene of action. He had already opened a communication with Sarasin, in order to induce the Prince of Conti to return to his allegiance, and to marry the niece of Mazarin; and

he was now about to despatch the well-known Artagnan into Bordeaux, to carry on there the intrigues which were necessary to effect that purpose.\*

Some months before, Artagnan, we are told, had been ordered, without any apparent reason, to suffer his beard to grow, which was not at all customary with an officer of the king's musketeers; but on proceeding from Paris to confer with Perefixe in Poitou, he discovered the reason, being directed to assume the character of a hermit, and enter the capital of Guienne in that disguise. The cloth to make his hermit's gown was presented to him by Perefixe himself; and in this garb he introduced himself into the city, gained the confidence of the party of the Ormée, and made acquaintance with the mistress of the Prince de Conti; which acquaintance he cultivated with the licentious excess of the times, till his private intrigues marred the course of the political ones in which he was engaged.

The military movements of Vendôme, under the direction of D'Estrades, soon gave that promise of success which was afterwards verified. The town of Bourg was defended by 3000 Spaniards; but,

\* The particular events in which Artagnan is mentioned in this transaction are narrated in his Memoirs. The authenticity of all the fundamental part of those memoirs is not to be doubted, although they unfortunately passed through the hands of Sandras de Courtilz, who sewed together in one work all the scattered accounts which Artagnan left of his own adventures.

from its importance to the after movements of the army, D'Estrades determined to attack it, and, on some opposition being made by Vendôme, he proposed that a part of the troops of the Duc de Candale should be called to their assistance. The Duc de Candale on the first intimation came himself, at the head of four regiments; and Bourg being immediately invested, and attacked vigorously, surrendered by capitulation. The troops then again separated; the Duc de Candale marching to attack Bergerac, and the other generals assailing Libourne, which, though garrisoned by two thousand men, only held out two days. The important post of Lermont was then carried, the army under Vendôme and D'Estrades marching all night in order to arrive there before a reinforcement which had been sent from Bordeaux could take possession of the castle.

From Lermont, D'Estrades despatched letters to Paris, giving Mazarin notice, not only of the progress they had made, but of the strong disposition shown by the people of Bordeaux to return to obedience. The bearer of these letters was the famous Gourville, who had been sent to D'Estrades and Candale by Mazarin, and who was now charged to communicate to the prime minister the difficulties under which D'Estrades laboured from the irresolution and constant vacillation of the Duke of Vendôme. Gourville performed his journey with

all speed,\* and returned to D'Estrades bearing not only letters, but also a secret commission for D'Estrades; which put the whole of the royal forces entirely at his disposal, and enabled him, in case of necessity, to supersede Vendôme himself.

In the mean time, Artagnan had been carrying on his intrigues in the city, and by the false counsels which he gave to the party of the Ormée, led them into many unfortunate steps, which tended greatly to discredit them with the people. He carried on, at the same time, his intrigues with the mistress of Conti, and with Sarasin, and various means were employed to render that prince desirous of marrying Mademoiselle de Martinozzi, the niece of Mazarin. A portrait of her had been painted and sent to Sarasin, which had already

\* It is an extraordinary fact, that Gourville in his Memoirs makes no mention whatsoever of his journey, though a fact of such very great importance. I should have felt inclined to have omitted it on that account, were the fact not proved beyond all possibility of dispute by the authentic letters of D'Estrades to Mazarin, and Mazarin to D'Estrades, which show, that on the 24th of June, Gourville set out for Paris, while Bordeaux was still completely in a state of siege, and returned on the 6th of July. D'Estrades particularly distinguishes this journey from that which was made after the peace was signed, by stating that Bordeaux was just invested on all sides; and Mazarin does the same, by saying in his reply, "I trust that you will not be long before you reduce Bordeaux to obedience:" and yet Gourville makes no mention whatsoever of the journey. After this, what is history? what can history be, except a concatenation of specious errors regarding the past?



attracted the attention of the weak prince. Her beauty, which was considerable, had received some additions in the picture, but not sufficient to inflame the heart of Conti with any very extraordinary passion; and Artagnan determined to go farther, and having the portrait copied by a skilful artist, to add the utmost beauty which the genius of the painter could produce. The picture thus improved was given to Madame de Choupes, and by her hung up in a conspicuous situation, in order that Conti might see it.

The prince naturally questioned her upon the subject; and she replied by an eulogium on the niece of Mazarin, commending her virtues, her talents, and her beauty in the very highest terms. As far as her good qualities went, this commendation was known to be justified; for even Artagnan admits that Mademoiselle de Martinozzi concentrated in her own person, all the virtues which her relation wanted. Conti became attracted by the description, and still more by the picture; and the only thing that prevented him from immediately concluding a treaty with the court, was the extraordinary awe he entertained of his brother the Prince de Condé. The negotiations of Artagnan, however, were brought to a speedy and unpleasant conclusion; he having been found by Conti with his mistress in very equivocal circumstances. He was immediately sent out of the town, and passed

through the camp of the Duc de Candale, who covered him with ridicule.

Gourville, in the mean time, had returned to the camp, and was sent into Bordeaux by D'Estades, and the Duc de Candale, in order to treat with Marsin and Lenet. The pretext which he used for demanding entrance into the town was, that the Duc de Rochefoucault, who had always been a favourite with the Bordelois, had left behind him in the city a great deal of furniture, which he wished to remove, and had sent him (Gourville) to bring it away. Permission was immediately granted, and he found Lenet and Marsin extremely well disposed to enter into immediate treaty with the court.

The greatest obstacle met with, related to the troops of the Prince de Condé; the generals whom he had left behind demanding absolutely that they should be suffered to join the prince at Stenay, and that they should be furnished with provisions on the road. Some difficulty also, indeed, existed in regard to bringing the Prince de Conti and Madame de Longueville into the treaty; the number of petty divisions and impertinent quarrels which raged amongst all the parties preventing anything like concord even on so important an occasion. This, however, was skillfully managed by Gourville; and in regard to the passage of the troops, the negotiator firmly resisted

the demand that the whole of the forces should be permitted to join the prince.

On this point there was much contestation; but at length terms were drawn up to the following effect:—That the king would grant a general amnesty to all persons who had followed the Prince of Condé in Guienne; that the regiments of the Prince and of the Duc d'Enghien should be allowed to join Condé at Stenay, with a proviso, however, that their numbers should not amount to more than two thousand five hundred; that the wife and son of Condé, with Marsin, Lenet, and all their domestics and principal officers, should be allowed to join the prince in Flanders by sea; that the Prince de Conti and Madame de Longueville should be allowed to retire, the one to Pezenas, and the other to Montreuil Bellay.

Upon these conditions, the party of the prince was to quit Bordeaux, with all his troops, if the people of the town themselves did not make their peace with the king within a month. This being made known to the city, the people began immediately to treat with the generals of the king's army, and very little besides an amnesty was demanded. The amnesty promised, however, was to be full and complete, and without any exception; and Gourville immediately set off to carry news of the treaty of peace having been signed by the generals, the citizens, and the Prince de Conti, to Mazarin in Paris.

The intelligence gave the greatest joy at the court; but still Mazarin was not disposed to grant the amnesty without exceptions. The conduct of Dureteste and his party had been so ferocious, that he could not be brought to ratify the treaty without excepting from its provisions the leader of the *Ormée*, and four of his principal accomplices. Under these circumstances Gourville proposed to him to have the full treaty drawn up, with the ratification, excluding from the amnesty five persons named. At the same time, another treaty, without the exclusions, was to be given to him; and he was to return to Bordeaux for the purpose of endeavouring to get the first received by the people, of which he had no doubt. Nor indeed was there any occasion for doubt. When once a popular body begins to negotiate under the pressure of fear, and has encouraged itself in hopes of immunity through that negotiation, there can be no doubt that it will sacrifice its leaders, its supporters, and its friends, whether they be virtuous or vicious, noble or base, under the apprehension of losing the immunity which it has been promised.

Gourville immediately returned to Bordeaux with the two amnesties; and, as he had expected, found the people not in the slightest degree disposed to defend the man who had been so long their idol. The Prince de Conti and others followed the course that had been pointed out to them, the troops marched for Stenay, the city was given up

to the king's forces, and the only farther military movements which took place were on the part of the Count D'Estrades, who, going on board the royal fleet with the Duke of Vendôme, embarked therein a considerable part of the land forces, and set sail to attack the Spaniards, who with a fleet and army still held the mouth of the Gironde. On his approach, however, the enemy embarked their troops, which had been landed on the Isle of Casaux, and set sail with all speed. They were, notwithstanding, overtaken by D'Estrades off Royan; and though he could not bring them to a general action, he attacked their rear guard, captured two of their larger vessels and one smaller one, sunk some others, and took one thousand eight hundred prisoners.

Duretete had in the mean time made his escape from Bordeaux, and for a time evaded pursuit; but Mazarin anxiously commanded him to be pursued, displaying in this case a severe and determined spirit, which he seldom evinced towards his enemies. The leader of the Ormée had lost no time in hastening towards Spain, and had arrived at Carcassonne in safety. He lay there concealed for some days, waiting for an opportunity of passing the frontier; but news of his retreat reached the ears of D'Estrades, and soldiers were instantly despatched to arrest him. He was found in bed, and taken without resistance; but the people of Bordeaux

murmured, and showed some signs of a disposition to break out into fresh tumults.

D'Estrades seized the occasion to bring his troops into the city; and by the orders of Mazarin, Dureteste was tried by the same parliament which had sanctioned many of his acts, and was sentenced to the horrid death of the wheel. He was executed accordingly, and his head fixed upon a post in the midst of the camp. No farther opposition was made by the people; but D'Estrades did not fail to keep his troops in the neighbourhood of Bordeaux. All the officers who had been appointed by the partisans of Condé were dismissed, and their places supplied by others: D'Estrades was honoured and rewarded; and the insurrection of Guienne terminated, like that of Paris, by the re-establishment of the royal authority without any compromise.

## CHAPTER VII.

Affairs of Naples.—Spanish government of that kingdom.—The Viceroy Los Arcos.—Tax on fruit—Revolt of Naples—Masamello—his rise, reign, and death—Duke of Guise in Rome—Puts himself forward in the affairs of Naples.—Conduct of Mazarin.—The Prince of Massa heads the Insurgents.—Don Juan of Austria arrives.—Negotiations.—Attacks the town by sea and land.—Repulsed.—The Prince of Massa murdered—The Duke of Guise throws himself into Naples.—Terrible state of that city.—The Duke endeavours to gain the Nobles.—French fleet arrives—Disappointment of Guise—Aversa taken.—Dissensions amongst the Nobles.—Treasons of Annese.—Astrological predictions—Guise attacks Nisita.—During his absence the enemy are admitted into the city—He is taken prisoner.—His fate

I HAVE pursued the course of the wars of the Fronde without interruption, in order to give as clear and distinct a view as possible, of that extraordinary epoch in French history. It is now, however, necessary to turn to other events, which are too strongly connected with the policy of France under Mazarin to be omitted here. The chief of the transactions which we shall now notice is the famous revolt of the people of Naples against the government of Spain; a revolt which, though not excited by inducements held out by France, was supported by hopes, and by some small assistance from that country, and was headed for some time by a French nobleman.

The annals of the world afford few examples of remote dependencies upon great empires being well or judiciously governed. The line of communication between the two is so long, that the impulse given at one extreme, however strong, is but feebly felt at the other ; and it seems to have been a general mistake of all nations to look upon their distant colonies, not as homogeneous parts of one great empire, but as storehouses from which wealth and resources may justly be drawn at any time till the whole is exhausted. Such was especially the view which Spain took of her colonies ; and Naples had for ages been looked upon so much as a fund from which the ruling country could draw both riches and men without remorse or consideration, that the principal qualities which seem to have been required in a Spanish viceroy were, rapacity, cruelty, and injustice. Even the nature of men appeared to be changed by the possession of that miserable delegated power ; the mild, the amiable, and the just became alike tyrannical : and it was naturally so ; for the exactions of the government were so great, that the exactions of the viceroy were necessarily cruel, in order to satisfy the court ; and at length, when the Duke of Medina de las Torres retired from the government of Naples, he declared, perhaps with sorrow, that he left it in such a state as to be able scarcely to support four respectable families.

He was succeeded in the government by the



Admiral of Castile, who, being, not only left to the resources of the impoverished kingdom which he governed for the means of defending the country against foreign enemies, but called upon to transmit support to Spain itself, was driven to inflict a capitation tax upon the people, which he was soon obliged to withdraw, in consequence of indications of insurrection which could not well be mistaken. He was one of the mildest of the Spanish viceroys which Naples had yet seen, and consequently was sincerely beloved by the people. It is probable that neither his popularity, nor his gentleness, gave much pleasure to the court of Madrid, and after a very short period of government he was recalled.

He was succeeded in 1646 by the Duke of Arcos, a personage of small talents but much subtlety, rapacious, weak, tyrannical, with the courage to be cruel, but without the firmness, the daring, or the genius required for successful tyranny. It would seem, by almost all accounts, that besides the natural impulses which his very situation produced, and which prompted every viceroy to oppress the Neapolitan people, he was instigated by a weak but haughty contempt for the people that he governed. It is probable that this was joined with a disposition naturally cruel, which led him to find a pleasure in the miseries of a nation that he scorned. Perhaps a part of his tyranny might proceed from the cruelty of fear; and the symptoms of insurrection which had acted as a warning to the

Admiral of Castile might instigate him to endeavour to overawe the Neapolitans by the terrors of a rigorous and unsparing hand.

At that very time, however, the Neapolitans had before their eyes more than one instance of successful revolt against the very country which now oppressed them. Portugal had thrown off the yoke of Spain, and was now, to all intents and purposes, an independent state. Catalonia, though a much older portion of the Spanish monarchy, had risen against exactions much more tolerable, and had maintained itself in revolt. Both Portugal and Catalonia, it is true, were indebted considerably to the aid of France; and the latter province, especially, stood alone by the support of the neighbouring country. The Neapolitans, however, might have flattered themselves with various advantages, both over Portugal and Catalonia. The greater distance which existed between Naples and Spain, the much stronger grounds for insurrection, the claims of many princes to the throne of Naples, and the universal detestation of the whole people for the Spanish tyranny, rendered revolt more hopeful than in either of the two other cases; while the probability of obtaining aid from France was equal, if not superior. All these advantageous circumstances were, of course, impressed upon the minds of the Neapolitans; while the disadvantageous points in their situation were as certainly forgotten, or not estimated justly. Their own general

demoralization, the want of any grand and fine principle to act as a bond between all classes, the enfeebled state consequent upon long servitude; all these things were not thought of,—for men listen little to any warning regarding obstacles in the way of their passions; and every popular insurrection is, at one period or another of its course, a matter of passion alone.

Such might be the hopes and expectations which animated the people of Naples, when the exactions of the Duke of Arcos commenced, and his government began under a general evil impression. His first acts served to confirm that impression. Arbitrary and tyrannical measures were employed against many respectable citizens, on the pretence of punishing the burning of a Spanish ship of war in the Bay of Naples; which ship, there can now be little doubt, was accidentally, and not intentionally destroyed. The appearance of the French fleets in the Mediterranean, the success of several of their expeditions against several maritime places on the coast of Italy and Elba, and their predatory cruises along the coasts of Naples and Sicily, rendered it absolutely necessary to take measures for defending the Italian possessions of Spain, which were now daily threatened with invasion.

The necessities of Spain during her contest with France had drained Naples of almost all the Spanish forces, which had once been employed in overawing the people, and which might now have

been used to repel the foreign enemy. The viceroy, therefore, was compelled to seek other means of putting the country in a state of preparation, and he accordingly called upon the states of Naples to furnish supplies for the purpose of raising troops and defending the kingdom. It was in vain that the people remonstrated : it was in vain that they pointed out the state of abject misery and destitution to which they were reduced : it was in vain that they assured him with vows and tears, that they had no possible means of paying the sums he demanded. He himself treated their representations with cold and sullen haughtiness, and some of his inferior tyrants replied with contumely and insult, telling those who represented themselves as stripped of everything by the exactions of the government, that if they could not pay what was required, they must sell the honour of their wives and daughters to raise the requisite sum. This brutal speech, which was, as Brusoni declares it to be, "the most shameful that ever proceeded from a politician, not to call him a Christian," did more than all that had gone before, cruelty, tyranny, oppression, to exasperate the people of Naples and drive them into insurrection.

It was at length determined, however, it is said by the consent of the municipal authorities of Naples themselves, to place a tax upon fruit, the principal sustenance of the people, in order to furnish an extraordinary donation, which the viceroy

demandèd of the city to the amount of a million of ducats. The minor points of this transaction do not seem to have been clearly ascertained; for though the kind of tax might very possibly be suggested by the viceroy himself, or some of the Spaniards who accompanied him, there can be no doubt that it must have been authorised by the city, as it would appear to have been imposed in order to repay those who advanced the donation which the city had already voted.

Furious outcries, as might well be expected, followed the creation of such an impost, gradually becoming more and more violent as the fruit season of 1647 began to advance; and the viceroy could scarcely quit his palace without being surrounded by multitudes demanding with tears and supplications the remission of the obnoxious duty. He is said to have escaped from their importunities either by holding out to them equivocating hopes, or by promises which he did not intend to perform, and disappointment of course increased the exasperation of the people. Various warnings, both in private and in public, were addressed to him, for the purpose of showing him the danger of his conduct; and threats were at length addressed to him by the people when he appeared, instead of entreaties. Irresolute and timid, as well as cruel and rapacious, he took no strong measures to repress the tumults which occurred, and contented himself by shutting out from his eyes and ears the miseries,

the agitation, and the remonstrances of those he oppressed. More than once, indeed, he distinctly promised the revocation of the impost on fruit, and, it would appear, fixed a period for its repeal; but the period was suspended from day to day, and, in the mean while, events occurred in the neighbouring island of Sicily which gave the people a distinct hope of freeing themselves and pointed out the way.

The same exactions under the tyrannical Marquis de los Veles, Viceroy of Sicily, had produced an open insurrection amongst the Sicilians of Palermo, which had forced him to remit several of the obnoxious taxes; and the islanders took care that their fellow-sufferers, the Neapolitans, should be informed of their efforts and success. Everything, then, was rapidly prepared for the event which ensued; and there can be no doubt that the necessity of an insurrection and the means of giving it success were long privately discussed amongst the populace of Naples before the rebellion absolutely broke out. For some time previous Los Arcos had confined himself almost entirely to his palace, or to its immediate neighbourhood; but even there the voice of the people's indignation reached him so strongly, that, notwithstanding his own rapacious disposition and the advice given him by the municipal authorities\* of Naples, he

\* Some of the Spanish accounts lay the whole blame upon the Neapolitan magistracy itself, declaring that Los Arcos always

issued an order for the repeal of the tax in twenty days, hoping thereby to allay the excitement which his tyranny had produced.

But by this time, it is clear, the design of an insurrection had been so fully formed, and communicated to so many, that nothing but vigorous measures of repression could have prevented or delayed it. The discontent of the people had been fomented in a very great degree, their operations directed, and their hopes of relief through their own efforts, excited by a class of men who in all Roman Catholic countries possess an extraordinary degree of power with the inferior orders. This was the class of low priests; and amongst that class we find that two of the lowest and basest members distinguished themselves conspicuously in promoting the revolt of the people. The one was a priest called Giulio Genuino; the other, a Carmelite friar of the name of Savino. The former, whether justly or unjustly does not appear, had been punished by the Spanish government for imputed crimes, and had acquired an intense hatred towards the ruling nation, as well as the reputation of a sufferer in the cause of the people. The other, Savino, was possessed of some influence with a higher order of citi-

opposed this fruit tax, and constantly wished to repeal it. The Spaniards, however, took a prejudiced view of the case; their accounts being furnished by the adherents, of and dependants upon Los Arcos himself, while the Neapolitan authorities, though of course prejudiced in a degree, are more to be relied upon, not having been dependant upon the chiefs of the rebels.

zens than the mere rabble; and if without money himself, according to the strict letter of his vow, he was, at all events, not without the means of procuring it from others, which he did not fail to do, for the purpose of promoting insurrection and arming the insurgents.

Neither Genuino nor Savino was in a situation which could admit of their leading the mob, though they both excited it to revolt; and as a leader was wanting of a peculiar character, they fixed upon a young man of Amalfi, named Tomaso Aniello, abbreviated at the time into Mas Aniello, and since corrupted into the word Masaniello.

To head, to excite, and to encourage the people, to move their passions, to direct their actions, and to command them easily in moments of danger and difficulty, no one could have been chosen better than Masaniello; for he possessed daring courage, rapidity of combination, a frank and open bearing, and a ready, profuse, and popular eloquence. But to lead them to great results, to direct them to worthy objects, to govern them for their own good, and to rule himself while he did so, Masaniello was quite incompetent.

His occupation, at the time of which we speak, has not been very clearly ascertained; but from comparing the different accounts of him, it would seem that he had been a fisherman at Amalfi, and had been in the habit of bringing his fish himself for sale into Naples. He had been severely treated



by the Spanish government, and had been reduced, by fines and confiscations, to a state of great poverty; and thus, it is probable, he was brought to that point of indigence at which Giannone describes him when he states that he was in fact a fishmonger's boy, supplying the purchasers of fish with bags to carry away what they had bought. Certain it is that he was perfectly illiterate, though he possessed a good deal of the natural wit which characterises, more or less, the Neapolitan peasantry. His hatred to the Spaniards was perfectly un concealed: he had more than once ventured to insult the viceroy himself; and Savino and Genuino, as well as a number of others, some of whose names are recorded, while some have been kept secret, or forgotten, in laying out the plan of the insurrection fixed upon Masaniello as its leader.

He had always distinguished himself in those Neapolitan sports where mock fights were carried on and wooden castles attacked and defended; and the day of Our Lady of Mount Carmel, which happens on the 16th of July, and on which occasion some of the most remarkable of these games usually took place, was appointed for a general rising of the lower orders. As usual, Masaniello collected together his band of young men to train them for the peaceable pastime which was permitted by the government; but upon the present occasion, he took the opportunity of disciplining them to other purposes, and taught them as a rallying cry the

words, "Long live the king, but death to the bad government!"

Things were in this train, when, on the 7th of July, some days before the appointed festival, a violent dispute occurred in the market-place, concerning the payment of the duty on a basket of figs, brought in for sale by the brother-in-law of Masaniello. Giving way to the natural vehemence of the Neapolitan character, the peasant at length threw down the fruit, and trampled it under foot. Masaniello with his trained band came up to his assistance. The municipal officers were maltreated; the other agents of the police that showed themselves were driven out of the market-place; arms of various kinds, which had been provided, it is said, by Savino, appeared amongst the populace; and Masaniello, bursting forth with a strain of high and indignant oratory, carried all hearts along with him, and determined the people to immediate resistance.

Rumours of the tumult in the market-place spread instantly to all the other parts of the city, and the labouring classes, driven to desperation by the taxes, which starved the poor, while they left the higher orders comparatively free, poured forth from all the crowded and populous quarters of the town, to swell the mob which Masaniello was now leading towards the palace of the viceroy. These, it would seem, were by no means the mere Jazzeroni, as the Spanish authorities have asserted, but work-

ing men, who, though gaining their bread with difficulty, were totally distinct from that immense class of vagabonds with which the City of the Syren has been for ages infested. Most of those who joined Masaniello were armed in some manner, and many of them carried on their pikes loaves of bread, to indicate that the excessive price to which that article of first necessity had been brought was the cause of the revolt into which they had plunged.

The numbers that accompanied Masaniello are very differently stated, at from fifteen to fifty thousand men; and at the head of the crowd he advanced, with his trained band carrying black flags, towards the palace of the viceroy, breaking open one of the prisons, and setting the malefactors at liberty as he went. Los Arcos at length became terrified at a tumult that he had at first affectedly despised; and when the people appeared under the walls of his palace, demanding a total repeal of all the taxes on corn, wine, and fruit, he presented himself at one of the windows, and endeavoured to temporise, by promising them to abolish the fruit tax and mitigate the others. This, however, was not sufficient to content the people, and encouraged by his timidity, rather than softened by his concessions, they broke into the palace, overpowered the guard, and dragged the trembling Viceroy from a closet in which he had concealed himself.

A body of his devoted attendants, however,

rescued him for the time, and enabled him to escape to the Castel Nuovo; but after a few minutes of repose had renewed his courage, he ventured once more amongst the people, with the hope of pacifying them. In this, however, he was by no means successful, and with difficulty escaped from their hands, taking refuge in the neighbouring convent of St. Louis. His hopes of obtaining a sanctuary there, however, were speedily disappointed. While the palace was stripped and all its rich furniture burnt by one part of the mob, another part was led by Masaniello himself to the attack of the convent, and the Viceroy was only saved from destruction by the appearance of the Archbishop of Naples, Cardinal Filomarino, who deserved and possessed the affections and confidence of the people. While he pacified the multitude for the moment, he exhorted the Viceroy to satisfy their demands, and induced him to sign a paper purporting to be the formal remission of the taxes against which the populace clamoured.

In this it would appear that the Archbishop was deceived as well as the people; for when, after having led them away from the convent, he read the paper which the Viceroy had signed, it was found to imply only a partial remission of the taxes, instead of their abolition. This but exasperated the people the more, and after short consultations the mob returned to attack the convent of St. Louis, where Los Arcos still remained. He was once

more saved, however, and made his escape, it is supposed, by the connivance of some of the popular leaders, first into a neighbouring college of Jesuits, and thence to the strong fortress of St. Elmo, where he doubted not to be able to set the utmost efforts of the populace at defiance.

Nothing now existed throughout the city but tumult and consternation. All the prisons were broken open, the courts of justice even were attacked, the public records destroyed, and the Spanish and German guards at their several posts throughout the city attacked and disarmed. A number of houses were burnt, a still greater number were pulled down, and the mob increased every moment in strength and ferocity. It is very difficult to ascertain what was the real amount of the force thus collected. Siri evidently underrates it; and others, who swell it to upwards of a hundred thousand, probably exaggerate, on the other side. Perhaps the real numbers were between forty and fifty thousand; but there was every likelihood of the multitude being increased on the following day, not only by malcontents from the town itself, but by the discontented of all the neighbouring districts.

The Prince of Bisignano, a popular nobleman, was forced by the people to go at their head during the latter part of this eventful day, but could do nothing to moderate their fury, and only in the end persuaded them to separate as night approach-

ed. They, however, took measures for meeting again the next day, and formally appointed Masaniello their captain. Parties, nevertheless, continued to patrol the town all night; many houses were broken into and searched for arms, and the shops of the armourers were universally plundered.

Thus, on the following day the mob reappeared not only augmented, but rendered ten times more formidable by the weapons they had obtained. Masaniello, too, had now gained time to think upon the part he had to play and the character he had to sustain, and with a thorough knowledge of the character of his countrymen, he showed himself capable of taking advantage of all their faults, as well as of all their good qualities, to effect his own purposes. The sudden successes that he had obtained and the strangeness of the liberty which the people had acquired taught him to pretend to supernatural support, and he persuaded a multitude of the populace that he was expressly delegated by Heaven to deliver them. Thus, superstition swelled his ranks and inspired the hearts of his followers; but he employed at the same time other means equally efficacious to bring forth the reluctant. The first of these was fear.

Almost all the nobility of the city had by this time fled, taking their wealth and their families with them; but a number of the respectable tradesmen and artificers remained, sharing in a considerable degree the feelings of the lower orders, but

apprehensive of the result, and paralysed by surprise and consternation. A mandatory, however, was issued early in the morning by Masaniello, requiring every citizen to take arms and join the people, on pain of having his house pillaged and destroyed. This command spread rapidly through the city, and brought forth immense multitudes from their dwellings, while the country people flocked in; and the revolt, which up to that moment might probably have been suppressed by vigour and determination, assumed an aspect far too formidable to be overawed by any force the Viceroy could bring against it.

Los Arcos, however, was not at all disposed to employ any violent measures, or use even any vigorous exertion. His policy throughout was that of a weak and tyrannical man. He exacted till he drove the people to resistance; and when the period of resistance came, attempted to conciliate, though there was no possibility of temporizing.

Not satisfied with the refuge of St. Elmo, he had again sought shelter in the Castel Nuovo, and there had taken some precautions to ensure his own safety and that of the city: but had made no other attempts to put down the sedition than by offering a bribe to Masaniello, which was indignantly rejected, and by causing the weight of the loaf of bread to be considerably increased. He had strengthened the garrison and defences of the Castel Nuovo, had collected the Spanish forces in

various strong points, had caused the gunpowder, in the magazines liable to attack, to be damped, and had planted cannon in several commanding spots. Orders also were despatched to a German regiment, at some distance from the city, to march up to the aid of the viceroy with all speed; but no efforts had been made during the night to stop the seditious bands which patrolled the streets, nor any measures taken to prevent the reassembling of the people on the following morning.

It would be impossible here to follow minutely all the transactions that ensued during the brief reign of Masaniello, or to discuss the truth or falsehood of all the various and conflicting accounts of his actions and his fate which were current at the time and have since multiplied beyond example. We shall give, therefore, a brief summary of the acts of the rebel, as leading to the consequences more immediately connected with this work.

The first vague demand of the people that all taxes should be abolished was now brought into a form more consonant to the feudal notions then existing; and, doubtless at the suggestion of Genuino, the governor was required to restore to the people all the privileges granted by the charter of Charles V, and to place in their hands that important document.

It has never been clearly ascertained whether the charter was really ever found; but it is certain that in the first instance a forgery was attempted to be



passed upon the people, who discovered the cheat and were but the more exasperated. The Duke of Matalone,\* who had himself been an object of Spanish persecution, and who was liberated from prison by Los Arcos in order to mediate between him and the people, at length procured what he assured them was either the genuine charter, or a true copy thereof; but the time for satisfying them by such means was passed. Masaniello was now entirely in the hands of more evil spirits than himself, and any talents he possessed served but to give them power. The persons by whom he was totally ruled at this moment were the priest Genuino, who, there is every reason to believe, was as corrupt as he was factious, and a celebrated bandit of the name of Dominico Perronne, a person equally bloodthirsty and unprincipled; and these two urged the leader of the revolt fiercely forward in the course which he was willing enough to pursue.

The Duke of Matalone and his brother Joseph Caraffa were insulted and ill-treated by the mob, and, with the rest of the nobility, were estranged for ever from the cause of the people. Between

\* I have been not a little surprised to find in a book of such authority as the *Biographic Universelle*, that this nobleman is confounded with the Prince of Monteleone, of a family totally distinct, and who bore quite a different share in the transactions of the time. See the article *Masaniello*. I do not know whether this be the same Duke of Matalone or, not whose crimes are detailed by some of the journalists of that day.

sixty and seventy houses and palaces were burned on the 8th of July, the day after the insurrection broke out; and in the course of that or the following day, four thousand muskets and sixteen cannon were obtained by the populace, besides an immense quantity of various kinds of arms. The precaution of the viceroy, however, in causing the principal magazines of gunpowder to be damped, now had its effect, to the mortification of the people, who, in consequence, were prevented from obtaining much ammunition. But during those two days the regiment of German soldiers which the viceroy had called to his aid, and various smaller detachments of Spanish troops which were marching in from the surrounding country, were, by the wise foresight of Masaniello, intercepted by the way, disarmed, and in general brought in as prisoners.

The conflagration of various buildings continued on the 9th; and certain houses and palaces were regularly appointed to be destroyed on the following day, amongst which was that of the Duke of Matalone, who was now, as may well be supposed, not a little incensed against the conduct of the revolutionary leaders. A guard of eight thousand men was formed to attend upon Masaniello himself; a hundred and fourteen thousand men-in-arms followed his dictation. His slightest word, look, or gesture was obeyed without hesitation or reply; and while he, still in his fisherman's garb, ruled the people with a rod of iron, Genuino and Per-

ronne were always at his side prompting him to deeds of violence.

In the mean while, the Viceroy took various steps, not to oppose the people, but to mitigate their wrath. The priest Genuino, there can be no doubt, received willingly the bribes that Masaniello rejected with indignation. Perronne, too, was gained over, it would seem, by Matalone; and this being done, after various fruitless endeavours to mollify the people by minor concessions, Los Arcos sent to them, by the hands of the archbishop, papers which he declared to be the original charters granted by Ferdinand and Charles, together with a full ratification of them under his own hand.

Some doubts still existed in regard to the genuineness of these documents; but Genuino having declared that they were authentic, the people were so far satisfied. They insisted, however, on a more ample ratification by Los Arcos, on a number of separate stipulations, which were to be drawn up by Genuino, and upon the confirmation of the whole by the King of Spain.

The Viceroy promised everything, and, probably as much from having gained Perronne and Genuino as from having satisfied the people, he saw the tumults decrease, the conflagrations cease in a very great degree, and everything tend towards the restoration of tranquillity.

A grand procession to the church of the Carmine was ordered by Los Arcos, in order solemnly to

read his assent to the stipulations made by the people. All the nobility were to be present on the occasion; a grand *Te Deum* was to be sung; and it was expected with confidence that, though the people were to remain in arms till the King of Spain had confirmed the privileges which had been exacted from the unwilling hands of the viceroy, the general peace of the city would be restored. The populace filled the church and the square, probably fatigued with faction and tumult, and desirous of repose; but the misconduct, as it would appear, of Matalone and Caraffa interrupted the prosperous course of events, and plunged the people still more deeply into outrage and bloodshed.

At the very moment when the ceremony was taking place, a large troop of armed banditti entered the market-place, near the church, and a scene took place which is so variously reported that it is scarcely possible to arrive at the exact facts with any accuracy. It would seem, however, that the people were alarmed at their appearance; and that Masaniello, being informed of their arrival, and that they had been sent for by his companion and counsellor Perronne, ordered them to dismount and to separate, assigning them quarters in different parts of the city. They hesitated to obey, having, as it would appear, but little either of respect or friendship for the fisherman captain of the people. A dispute immediately ensued. One or more of the banditti fired upon Masaniello, who

escaped unhurt by a miracle. The people instantly rushed to defend their leader; the banditti were attacked, thirty were killed upon the spot, and the rest, driven into the church of the <sup>San</sup> Carmine, were pursued by the armed populace, and either massacred at the very altar, or reserved only for public execution.

Perronne himself was killed in the church, and probably escaped a worse death; for the confessions of the banditti went to implicate him more deeply than any one in the base plot of which their entrance into the city was but a part. Before death, many of the plunderers who had thus attacked Masaniello acknowledged that their first object was to put the popular leader to death, and that they had been sent for by Perronne, at the instigation of the Duke of Matalone and his brother Joseph Caraffa, for that express purpose. It would seem that the plot of the Caraffas stopped there; but, we are told that, grafted thereupon, by Perronne and the other leaders of the banditti, was a scheme for plundering and destroying Naples itself while the people were thrown into confusion and dismay by the death of Masaniello and by the explosion of mines of gunpowder prepared for that object.

The fury of Masaniello and his followers was now raised to a higher pitch than ever. The Duke of Matalone was eagerly sought, but contrived to effect his escape to Benevento in the dress of a friar.

His brother,\* however, who had previously, it would seem, made his escape to Rome, was persuaded by the Duke of Guise to return to Naples, and was instantly massacred by the people.

But the raging indignation of the populace stopped not at the sacrifice of those of whose connivance at the plot of the banditti they had any just cause to be suspicious. Every obnoxious noble was dragged forth from his dwelling if he still remained in the city; and the heads of a multitude of the tyrannical lords who had so long exercised in impunity every species of rapacity and cruelty were now, with no small propriety, ranged upon pikes round the throne of Masaniello in the marketplace in fellowship with the banditti whom they so much resembled. The conflagrations again commenced also; and that day which was to have seen the solemn pacification of the city, ended with the streets flaming with burning palaces and flowing with gore.

It was with great difficulty that the Viceroy

\* The accounts regarding this nobleman are most contradictory. Some historians represent him as being in Naples during the whole period between the outbreaking of the revolt and his own death; but the Duke of Guise positively asserts that he saw and conferred with him in Rome, and that by the persuasions then used he was induced to return to Naples. The length of time employed by him in going and returning, and conferring with the Duke of Guise, would seem to imply that he had scarcely been a day in Naples during the whole reign of Masaniello, which only continued eight days.

induced the people to believe that he had taken no share in the plot of Matalone, and abhorred the crime, which had been attempted; and historians have been found even more sceptical upon the subject than the populace. He did, however, succeed at length; and on the following day, the 11th of July, through the instrumentality of Genuino, who was now undoubtedly his hired instrument, he once more obtained some degree of order, and signed with his council the terms drawn up by the people. One of the stipulations was, that the conditions granted by the viceroy were to be engraved on two marble columns raised for that purpose in the market-place; which stipulation proved of much importance at an after period.

The articles of the convention, as we may call it, were read by the archbishop in the church of the Carmine; and after that ceremony Masaniello proceeded, as had been previously arranged, to visit the viceroy at the Castel Nuovo. He was mounted on a superb horse: his fisherman's garments were for the first time thrown aside; he was clothed in cloth of silver, and adorned with plumes. The Archbishop followed in his carriage, an immense number of insurrectionary leaders came after, and the streets were lined by the citizens in arms. Every sign of rejoicing and of triumph was displayed on the way: tapestries, and silks, and rich stuffs were hung from the windows; garlands were showered from above on the deliverer of the people, and

branches of olives strewed the ground before his horse's feet.

The shooting star had now reached the zenith, and all the rest was descent. Masaniello was received by the Viceroy not only graciously, but with fulsome flattery and adulation. Impotent to resist his will,—seeing, perhaps, that power had in some degree affected his brain,—Los Arcos applied himself diligently to promote the intoxicating effect of sudden elevation. He declared that everything in the city of Naples should be ruled by the will of Masaniello; he told him that he trusted entirely to him the peace, the police, and the preservation of the city. Their conference was so long that the multitudes who remained without began to be apprehensive for the fate of their leader; but no sooner were their clamours heard than the Viceroy and the Fisherman appeared at one of the windows, with the proud Los Arcos leaning with one hand upon Masaniello's shoulder, and with the other wiping away the sweat which heat and exertion had brought upon the insurgent's brow. This sight calmed the minds of the people, and shortly after their leader rejoined them, and returned home in the carriage of the archbishop, it having been arranged that the viceroy and all the great officers of state should in two days' time solemnly swear to observe the conditions of the treaty in the church of the Carmine.

In the mean while, Masaniello assumed the full



exercise of that power which the words of the viceroy, as well as the will of the people, had conferred upon him. He publicly announced to the citizens that he had been confirmed in the post of captain-general by the representative of the king; and he proceeded to rule the city as such, issuing, in the first instance, several wise and wholesome regulations, and punishing with iron severity the continuance of those depredations and outrages which, in order to obtain the objects of the people, he had formerly encouraged and promoted.

He had by this time, however, begun to feel his corporeal powers failing under the great exertions he had made. His body, we are informed, had become emaciated by excessive fatigue, and in order to recruit his exhausted strength, he had recourse to the juice of the grape, but too plentiful and too enticing in the country which was the scene of his exploits.

If, as is generally supposed, the mind of Masaniello had partially sunk both under great exertion and astounding success, the means which he thus took to keep up his physical powers of course tended to aggravate the malady of the brain. It has been alleged, that, while at the Castel Nuovo, he received some deleterious drink from the hands of the Viceroy; but it would appear that this was a popular rumour, destitute of foundation; and certain it is, that up to the 13th of July, on which day the articles of the treaty were sworn to, he did

not display any very striking marks of insanity. About that period, however, his rule, always rigorous and strict, became not only cruel and blood-thirsty, but wild and fantastic. The harangue which he addressed to the people on the ratification of the treaty was incoherent and silly, as well as the gestures with which he accompanied it. He issued sumptuary decrees regulating the dresses of the people, and assigning to the women a garb not very consistent with decency. A number of executions accompanied these acts, characterised by ferocity rather than by justice: as an instance, we may mention that a baker, for some trifling offence, was condemned by the demagogue to be baked to death in his own oven.

The language he now assumed was wild and haughty: he galloped about the streets of the city on horseback, striking and trampling upon the people in his way, and even cutting at them with a drawn sword; and he made two expeditions, in the boats of the viceroy, to Pausilippo, for the purpose of carousing there on choice fruits and dainties, in the course of one of which banquets he increased his insanity, we are told, by drinking twelve flasks of a strong wine. He was now never seen in the streets but in a state of madness, either from disease or drunkenness. The people themselves, who lately adored him, and followed his steps with shouts and gratulations, now fled from his presence as from a demon, and longed for any means of

deliverance from a tyranny as severe as that of their former masters, but which added the ridiculous to the horrible.

Genuino, and several other popular leaders, there can be no doubt, represented to the viceroy that, in taking the life of Masaniello he would be perfectly justified in the eyes of the people by the conduct which the demagogue was himself pursuing; but *Los Arcos* hesitated, and proceeded with cautious prudence. He, in the first place, voluntarily issued a new confirmation of the treaty, and would not consent to any attempt upon the life of Masaniello till he was assured by a meeting of the popular leaders, who deputed fifty of their body to confer with him, that they sanctioned the death of their former captain.

Several assassins were then engaged to perform the deed proposed; but before it was accomplished, the outrageous conduct of Masaniello himself drove the very crowd that still followed him, to seize upon him, and put him under restraint in his own house. This took place on the 15th; but on the 16th, the day of Our Lady of Mount Carmel, and that very day which had been first fixed upon for raising the standard of revolt, Masaniello made his escape, and presented himself in the church of the Carmine to the multitude of people who were assembled there to celebrate the festival. It is probable that during the period of his confinement to his own house he had been kept without any of

those intoxicating drinks which had aided to ruin his intellect, and he now addressed the people from the pulpit in a strain of that eloquence which had formerly led them with certainty and ease. Before he concluded, however, his brain again wandered, and, after some wild and vehement rhapsodies, feeling in a degree his own condition, he was easily persuaded by the Archbishop to retire for the time and calm himself by sleep.\*

He had slept, and, it would appear, was again awake and looking out of one of the windows of the convent, when he was sought by the assassins who had been hired to destroy him. They were heard shouting his name loudly through different parts of the building; and Masaniello, who in all probability did not at all suspect their motive, advanced to meet them, and was almost immediately shot by several balls. The only words he spoke were "Ungrateful traitors!" ere he fell dead at the feet of the assassins. The people heard of his death with the utmost tranquillity, and even satisfaction. His head was struck off before their eyes, and carried on a pike to the viceroy; his body was dragged through the streets by the heels and cast into a ditch where the corpses of several of his own victims had previously been thrown.

The very next day, however, popular gratitude, —that most unserviceable of things, which, like the receding tide, leaves our boat dry upon the shore when most we need it, and only returns when too

late for use, to cast up the fragments of the wreck,— flowed back again in favour of Masaniello. His services were remembered, his outrages forgotten; superstition came in aid of enthusiasm; the body which had been treated with such indignity was sought for as that of a saint, and Masaniello was revered in death by the very people who had procured or countenanced his murder.

We are now arrived at that point at which the history of the revolt of Naples becomes more immediately connected with the affairs of France. The Duke of Guise, after having played a conspicuous part in the first dissensions of the regency, after having killed Coligni, married the Countess de Bossu, and expended her fortune, proceeded to Rome for the purpose of annulling, by the papal sanction, his union with that unfortunate lady. The pope, however, did not yield to his suit with the facility which he probably expected, and he was detained at Rome for some time, pursuing his intrigues and cabals for the object he had in view. He was still in that city when the revolt of Naples broke out, and knowing the anxiety of Mazarin to occupy the whole forces and power of the Spanish government in internal conflicts with its subjects and dependencies, and at the same time feeling in himself that restless spirit of adventure which had gained for him in France the title of the Hero of Romance, he eagerly put himself forward to meddle with the insurrection. In the first place he des-

patched a Captain Perronne, who was then in Rome, and was the brother of the famous bandit, to communicate with the counsellor of Masaniello, and endeavour to induce the Neapolitans to call in the aid of France. Dominico Perronne, however, was dead before his brother arrived at Naples, and the envoy of the Duke of Guise was immediately arrested and thrown into prison; but the Duke having by this time heard of the arrival of Pepe or Giuseppe Caraffa, with many other noblemen who had fled from Naples, induced the former, as we have before seen, to return to that city, in order, if possible, to stimulate the nobility,—whom he knew to be almost as inimical to the Spaniards as the lower order of people,—to cast off the yoke of Spain for ever, and ask the assistance or submit to the domination of France. Caraffa fell into the hands of the enraged people, and his head was severed from his body by a butcher's knife.

All the efforts of the Duke had thus proved ineffectual, when the death of Masaniello, and the lassitude of tumult and anarchy which the people of Naples, now experienced, afforded every prospect of the restoration of order, and the re-establishment of the Spanish power upon reasonable terms. The avarice of the bakers and the treachery of the Viceroy again led the people into revolt; for, the very day after the death of Masaniello, the loaf of bread, which was sold at a fixed price, was very greatly diminished in size. This caused a new

tumult, which could not be entirely appeased by restoration of the loaf to its former weight; and the appointment of Genuino to a high office under the government excited the suspicions of the people towards himself, but did not satisfy them with regard to their rulers. Ere long, the marble column, bearing the articles of the treaty which had been agreed upon, was set up in the market-place, according to promise; when, to the astonishment of the people, it was found that they had been deceived by the Viceroy and Genuino, and that a clause had been inserted which rendered absolutely null and void the ineffectual revocation of the taxes by the government.

The fourteenth item of the treaty did indeed declare, that all the taxes whatsoever should be taken off, or remain on the footing on which they were placed in the time of the Emperor Charles V: but then followed a saving clause, by which all those that had been mortgaged or assigned to individuals were excepted. Now, the very tax on fruit itself was in this predicament, as well as every other impost. As soon as this was generally known, the people again took arms, attacked the Viceroy in the Castel Nuovo, and forced the Prince of Massa to place himself at their head and conduct the proceedings against the fortress.

That prince, it would appear, only accepted the command by the connivance of the Viceroy, and he showed the highest skill and ability in temporising

with the people, deluding them by false movements and ineffectual measures; not losing their confidence by opposing their blind passions, but yet frustrating the evil effects likely to ensue from placing the whole city and government at their disposal. His motive seemed to have been really patriotic, and his conduct after the arrival of Don Juan would lead us to believe that he sought to gain for the Neapolitan people a relief from all unreasonable burdens, and security against a renewal of the same tyranny under which they had already suffered, without doing anything to prolong that state of anarchy and confusion which is an evil inseparable from insurrection, however amply justified revolt may be by circumstances.

For many weeks he continued to hold the Castel Nuovo in a state of partial blockade, hoping, in all probability, that the passions of the people would gradually become more calm, and that their expectations and demands would reduce themselves to reasonable limits. In this hope, however, he was disappointed, as every man must be who calculates upon the moderation of uneducated men; for, of all the virtues which are dependant upon a high state of moral cultivation, moderation is the foremost, and the most immediately connected with that cause. A thousand other qualities, even a vice itself, such as apathy, may supply its place; but moderation, as a calm result of the human reason, is one of the greatest objects and crowning results



of civilization. To expect such a virtue from the Neapolitan people at that time was perfectly vain; and to expect apathy to supply its place was equally so, when there did not exist in the government even that inert power of resistance which might act as any check upon the popular progress, and when the passions and cupidity of the people were daily excited by promises of aid and assistance from France, and by exhortations to throw off the Spanish yoke altogether, and to erect the state of Naples into a republic.

These hopes and these exhortations proceeded from two distinct sources, though the Neapolitans at the time blindly confounded them, and looked upon them but as one. The early efforts of the Duke of Guise to create an interest for himself amongst the insurgent population of Naples we have already noticed; but his endeavours did not cease with the life of Masaniello, nor was he deterred by the constant arrest of his envoys and the frustration of some of his best-laid schemes.

Handsome, daring, eloquent, and endowed with talents more showy than serviceable, he was well calculated to attract the attention and excite the expectations of a moveable and superficial people. All the exiles from Naples were sought, courted, flattered, and deluded by the French prince; and there can be no doubt that manifold false or over-coloured representations of his power, his wealth, and his genius reached Naples early in the insur-

rection, and prepared the way for his intrigues. Subsequent to the death of Masaniello, Guise applied himself to open a communication with Arpaja, the *Eletto del Popolo*, and after various fruitless attempts—the greater part of which were frustrated in consequence of being discovered and revealed to the Spanish government of Naples, by Oñate, the Castilian envoy at the papal court—the Duke of Guise contrived to effect his purpose. He now found that a number of influential people in the Neapolitan capital were eagerly desirous of embracing any means which would both free them from the tyranny of the Spaniards, and yet deliver them from the anarchy of popular insurrection.

The mind of the Duke of Guise himself was filled with grand, indistinct, and cloudlike images of great things to be accomplished by small means; and while there can be no doubt that personal ambition and a desire of raising himself to the throne of Naples was the motive and object of all his endeavours, he sketched out for the people of that kingdom a vague, specious, but inapplicable plan for raising the subject kingdom of Naples into a republic, in the mode of that of Holland, claiming only for himself the office of chief magistrate as enjoyed in the North by the princes of the house of Orange. In support of these captivating dreams he did not fail to make large promises, even while he was totally destitute of all means of performing them and dependant wholly

upon Mazarin and the court of France for everything necessary to effect his purpose. He thus, though willing undoubtedly to peril his own life and fortunes upon the enterprise, deceived the Neapolitans to a certain degree in regard to his resources; and, at the same time, in the endeavour to wring from Mazarin the very means which he had professed to possess himself, he attempted to deceive that acute minister, by representing to him that the people of Naples had applied to him without his making any application to the people of Naples. He does not, in fact, in his own memoirs, deny that such was his conduct; but Mazarin, though undoubtedly willing to encourage the revolt of any of the dependencies of Spain, had neither at that moment the means, nor, in all probability, the inclination to aid the Duke of Guise in the manner which the latter desired. Various minor expeditions to the coast of Italy had already served to exhaust the resources of France in distant and unprofitable enterprises. The seeds of revolt were already germinating in Paris; and while the emptiness of the treasury was severely felt in every department of the state, the resistance of the people intimated to the minister that difficulties were likely to increase rather than to diminish.

I look upon it as a fiction, which may, perhaps, have passed current with Prince Thomas of Savoy himself, but which never had any real worth, that Mazarin intended to establish that prince upon the

throne of Naples; but the French minister was certainly still less likely to expend the energies of the country, which were promised sufficient employment at home, and the revenues of the country, which did not supply enough for the maintenance of the royal dignity, in establishing the Duke of Guise — who had already taken part with the enemies of the court — on the throne of a kingdom to which he had a hereditary claim. The Duke, therefore, received nothing but vague and niggardly promises and but lukewarm thanks for the part he had already played; but at the same time the Cardinal instructed the Marquis de Fontenay Mareuil, the French ambassador at Rome, to do all that he possibly could to encourage the populace of Naples in their resistance to the Spanish government, and to hold out to them, without the bond of positive engagement, delusive expectations of great and important succour from the Court of France.

Thus, between the wild and exaggerated schemes and promises of the Duke of Guise, and the more cautious but better authorized hopes held out by the French ambassador, the people of Naples received fully sufficient encouragement to prevent them from falling into apathy or yielding to apprehension. Their demands assumed a new character; the populace no longer clamoured for a redress of grievances only; every body of men claimed some peculiar immunity or privilege; and the Viceroy,

on his part, promised everything with a facility which should have taught them to suspect the sincerity of his purposes.

The Prince of Massa, in the mean time, pursued with a slow and faltering course his operations against the Castel Nuovo, interrupting them whenever any of the thousand negotiations which took place gave him a fair pretext, and taking care that the arms of the people, even when actively exerted, should make no great progress.

Negotiations and suspensions of arms continually took place; and during these, either the multitude were weak enough or the Prince of Massa was deceitful enough to suffer the posts still held by the Viceroy and the Spanish troops to be supplied with powder and other ammunition. This was all that the Viceroy required for knowing that succour was by this time on its way to relieve him from the dangerous situation in which he was placed: nothing was wanting but time and the means of maintaining resistance till that succour arrived.

The Duke of Guise, in the mean time, carried on his negotiations both with the government of France and with the Neapolitans; and the French ambassador, on his part, strove to gain every information that he could respecting the true state of Naples, to transmit to his court for the purpose of enabling Mazarin to determine upon the conduct which it might be expedient to pursue. We will not enter into the particulars of the negotia-

tion, which only tend to prove, in the first place, that both the Duke of Guise and the ambassador Fontenay were deceived in regard to the condition and means of defence of the people of Naples. In the next place, it is evident that while the Neapolitans were labouring to deceive them in this respect, the Duke of Guise was endeavouring to deceive Mazarin, and Mazarin to deceive the Duke of Guise, and both of them in turn to deceive the people of Naples.

The object of the Duke of Guise in his dealings with the cardinal was evidently to make him believe that the Neapolitans had sought him, not he the Neapolitans; that much glory and some profit might be derived from succouring the people of Naples; and that by furnishing him with troops and money to aid in establishing their independence of the crown of Spain, was the quickest and the only way by which France could make herself mistress of that rich and important country. Such was the tendency of all his representations to Mazarin; while there can be scarcely a doubt that his real object was, through the assistance of France, to make himself King of Naples.

Mazarin, on the other hand, was not at all unwilling to take advantage of the connexion which the Duke of Guise had established between himself and the Neapolitans, for the purpose of protracting the struggle which was going on in that quarter between Spain and her colonies, and, if

occasion served, of obtaining a rich tract of country for France, which had long been coveted by her and often sought. He had not the slightest intention, however, of granting the Duke of Guise such efficient aid as would enable him to make himself really master of Naples, or even to expel the Spaniards from the city. He promised him, however, such aid abundantly, while he guarded scrupulously against committing himself to support any particular form of government in Naples, or even to countenance the scheme of a republic, with the Duke of Guise at its head, which had been drawn out and sent to him by that prince. His reply to the applications of the Duke of Guise, therefore, was, "that seeing so much danger in the enterprise which he proposed, he dared not advise him to undertake it; but that if he chose to hazard it, the King gave him permission; and that he should be assisted with everything that might be necessary to him."

Vast promises of support were at the same time held out by the French minister to the Neapolitans, in order to encourage them in their rebellion, with little or no reference in those promises to the Duke of Guise; while the Duke of Guise, on the other hand, laboured incessantly to make the Neapolitan people believe not only that he was fully authorised by his own court, but that through him only was to be obtained the hearty assistance of France.

In the mean time, however, a fleet and army was busily preparing in Spain, for the purpose of conveying Don Juan of Austria, a natural son of the Spanish monarch, to the revolted kingdom of Naples: but it was industriously circulated by the adherents of Spain, for the purpose both of lulling the insurgents and retarding the preparations of France, that Don Juan was furnished by the King of Spain with a full confirmation of all the treaties entered into by the viceroy Los Arcos.

During the whole of the month of September negotiations had been going on, the demands of the Neapolitan people increasing instead of diminishing, the Duke of Guise negotiating both with his own court and with Naples, and the French ambassador at Rome holding out to the Neapolitans the prospect of much greater aid from France than ever was intended to be given. At length, on the 1st of October, the Spanish fleet, consisting of forty ships of war, and having on board five thousand veteran troops, appeared in the Bay of Naples, and anchored as near as possible to the Castel Nuovo. The people, not doubting that Don Juan brought the long expected ratification of the treaties with their viceroy, saw the arrival of the fleet with joy rather than apprehension; but they were soon undeceived in regard to the views of the Spanish government. The Prince of Massa, with a number of the leading insurgents, went on board the admiral's vessel, to compliment



Don Juan on his arrival; and negotiations were entered into for the purpose of bringing back tranquillity, and restoring by gentle means the Spanish domination in Naples.

It was soon perceived that Don Juan was not disposed to accede to all the excessive demands which the populace had lately made, but that, at the same time, he was inclined to grant them relief from many grievances and an amnesty for past offences. The people, fatigued of anarchy, were also willing to yield something rather than encounter the force now ready to act against them: so that it would seem that terms might speedily have been arranged, had not, as usual, persons who had their own interest solely at heart contrived to sow evil impressions on both sides. Don Juan would not be satisfied unless the people gave up their arms, and some slight tumults, said (perhaps falsely) to have been excited by emissaries of Los Arcos, confirmed him in this view. The people would not consider themselves in safety when disarmed, and the menacing attitude of the Spanish troops and fleet only rendered them the more resolute in retaining their weapons.

The exact particulars of the act which next followed will probably never be clearly known; for the Italian accounts on the one side, and the Spanish accounts on the other, vary so greatly, that, in the absence of any impartial account, it is impossible to arrive at the real facts of the case. The Italians

declare that the Spanish troops were disembarked, and that, without any provocation whatsoever on the part of the people, a general attack was made upon the city by sea and land; the ships and the castles keeping up a continual fire, and the soldiery entering Naples with torches in their hands,—not figuratively, but really,—for the purpose of setting fire to the town. The Spaniards, on the other hand, imply that the attack was brought on by the people endeavouring to force the posts occupied by the royal troops. However that may be, there can be no doubt that the insurgents defended themselves gallantly; and, after various slaughterous conflicts and the destruction of a number of public buildings, the Spanish troops were obliged to withdraw, and were re-embarked on board the fleet.

The rage and indignation of the Neapolitan people was now excited to the highest pitch. A manifesto was published by them, setting forth their grievances, and calling on all other nations and monarchs to give them assistance and support against the tyranny of Spain. What the Duke of Guise calls a ban was formally published also, forbidding all men to recognize the authority of the Spanish monarch, or to treat for peace with that crown; and, at the same time, the people looked anxiously to France for aid, and exerted themselves vigorously to expel the troops of the viceroy from the posts which they held in the city.

The Prince of Massa still remained at the head

of the insurgents; but it would appear that he was inclined to temporize, in order to suffer the people to recover from their indignation, with a hope that when they had done so, negotiations for peace might be renewed. Certain it is, that he did not push his advances against the Spaniards with all the vigour that he might have done, and that the people became suspicious of his motives.

The Duke of Guise asserts that the weak tenderness of his wife, whose fear for his personal safety made her take every means to keep him from the actual scene of contention, was the real cause of that tardy and inactive conduct which brought about his destruction. His attempts upon St. Elmo had been signally unsuccessful, and he now again failed in an attack upon the convent of St. Claire, which was occupied by the Spanish troops, and which greatly impeded the progress of the insurgents. A mine which had been dug under the convent by his direction, and on which the hopes of the people were chiefly placed for the capture of that post, failed almost entirely, it would seem, for want of powder; and this failure was immediately attributed to a treasonable understanding between him and the enemy. Though not absolutely arrested, he was now kept in a state little better than that of imprisonment; and, apprehensive for his life, he contrived to effect his escape from the hands of those who watched him. He then lay concealed for a short time, intending in all probability to fly

from Naples on the very first opportunity; but before he could execute that purpose, he was discovered and dragged forth by the people. He addressed them, however, in an eloquent speech, and was rapidly regaining his ascendancy, when a fierce armourer of the name of Gennaro Annese, who had distinguished himself as a leader of the people from the beginning of the insurrection, and who had obtained the command of the tower of the Carmine, opposite to which he had long laboured in his trade, came up, and in a violent manner exhorted the people to strike off the prince's head as that of a traitor to the country. His sanguinary suggestion was immediately followed; the unfortunate prince was murdered without farther form of trial, and his heart being torn out of his body, was sent by the brutal populace to the wife for whom it had beat but too tenderly. Annese was immediately elected generalissimo of the people, but soon found the burden too much for his slender capacity. Ferocious and yet cowardly, cunning but not prudent, he could neither pursue the military operations against the enemy with success, nor rule the people who had placed him in a station for which he was incompetent.

Violent measures, always the resources of weak minds, were resorted to by Annese to dazzle the Neapolitans; the country was declared to be a republic, the arms of the King of Spain were thrown down and destroyed, and Annese, finding

himself in a situation both dangerous and difficult, joined eagerly with the rest in calling the Duke of Guise to the highest office in the state, as Doge or Duke of the new republic.

The temporising policy of Mazarin had by this time become suspected by the Neapolitan people, and, impatient for some active assistance, and for some skilful and steady guidance, they pressed the Duke of Guise, who they fancied could afford them both at once, to enter upon the high post they offered him without any delay.

The Duke received their deputies, but only in the presence of the French ambassador; and he took every step that he possibly could to commit the French government, by means of its diplomatic agents, to support vigorously the cause in which he embarked. He complains very much in his memoirs, that the representatives of his own court gave him but inefficient aid in some instances, and did all that they could to thwart him in others.

A fleet had been promised distinctly by Mazarin to convey the Duke to Naples, and to second his efforts in that country; but so long was that fleet in appearing, and so impatient was the Duke himself to set out upon the bold and hazardous enterprise on which he had determined, that in the beginning of November he resolved to wait no longer, but to embark, with his suite, on board any chance vessels he could find, and endeavour to make his way into Naples, notwithstanding the presence of

the Spanish armament. Contrary winds, however, prevented his embarking for several days, and it was not till the 13th of November that he was able to quit Rome. On the following day he put to sea with three brigantines and eight feluccas, with a small store of powder, which was very much wanted in Naples, and four thousand pistoles, the whole resources which he had to carry off the war against a powerful nation. After various adventures, which do not require to be recapitulated here, he arrived in the Bay of Naples, passed the Spanish fleet, and, under a furious cannonade both from the ships and the fortresses, he landed in the suburb of Loretto, on the 15th of November.

The joy of the people of Naples was as exuberant as if the Duke had brought them real succour, and, with all that extravagance of expression which forms a point in their national character, but is in no degree a proof of depth of feeling or tenacity of affection, they went so far as even to offer incense before his horse. He was almost immediately led to the tower of the Carmine, from which Annese did not choose to venture forth; and there the real situation of Naples, in all its lamentable particulars, first broke upon the mind of the Duke of Guise.

He found Annese, the leader of the people, a small, mean coward, of the lowest capacity and most brutal manners. The person who had taken upon himself the title of Ambassador from France, and who had been recognized as such by the French

legation at Rome, presented himself to the Duke, both in manners and appearance, more like a madman just escaped from a lunatic asylum, than the representative of a great people. The city contained provisions for not more than a fortnight's consumption; all the funds, which had been raised from different sources, had been diverted to private purposes; instead of one hundred and sixty thousand men in arms, four thousand five hundred were all the effective soldiers that could be mustered; no ammunition remained but that which the Duke of Guise himself had brought; and disunion reigned amongst the leaders of the insurrection, while on the part of many treacherous communication with the Spaniards was reasonably suspected.

At the same time, the Duke of Guise found that the state of the country was still more unfavourable to his views than the state of the city. Before he quitted Rome, the Pope had advised him, with wise foresight, to endeavour to gain the nobility of Naples, who were at heart as much discontented with the Spanish government as the people were: he had pointed out that they had separated from the popular party solely from its extravagant proceedings and demands; and he had shown the Duke of Guise that his only hope of any very pre-eminent success was by making himself, as it were, the bond of union between the populace and the nobility. All the plans, however, founded upon such a

view of the case had been rendered hopeless before this time by the prudent measures of Don Juan of Austria. He had at once appealed to the nobility of the kingdom of Naples, as adherents of the Spanish crown and opponents of the insurrection : he had called upon them to collect all their forces at Aversa, and had appointed a distinguished leader of the name of Tuttavilla as his lieutenant-general to command the troops thus assembled.

From the nobility so dealt with he met obedience almost universal. A fine body of men were collected, consisting principally of cavalry : almost all the towns which had followed the example of Naples in revolt were speedily reduced to obedience : the bands of insurgent peasantry were suppressed wherever they appeared, and the communications of the capital with the districts whence it usually derived its supply of provisions were easily cut off.

Such was the hopeless state of Naples at the time of the arrival of the Duke of Guise ; and although the people hailed him as their deliverer, at once invested him with the supreme authority, and took an oath to him as Duke or Doge, nothing was to be seen around him but difficulty, danger, treason, enemies, and want. Under these circumstances, the Duke certainly displayed very considerable abilities ; and it is by no means impossible, that had Mazarin been both able and willing to



assist him with a force at all commensurate to the undertaking, the kingdom of Naples might have been separated from the crown of Spain for ever.

Within the walls of Naples itself he had two enemies to fear of very different characters, but both most dangerous to his hopes. The first of these was Annese, who was relieved indeed by the arrival of the Duke of Guise, from the apprehensions he had entertained that the people would deliver him to the Spaniards; but who, the moment after he was so relieved, felt with envy and hatred that the greater part of his power had fallen at once into the hands of the French prince. Though not daring *openly* to oppose the Duke, to thwart his measures, or to treat with the Spaniards, there can be no doubt that from the very first he did all these in private: although at the moment when Guise arrived, the demagogue's apprehension of the very people he ruled was so great, that he insisted upon the French prince, much to his disgust, sleeping in the same bed with himself, while his wife lay on a mattress before the fire.

The other enemy was of a more dignified character. This was the Cardinal Filomarini, Archbishop of Naples, who, though wishing well to the Neapolitan people, and desirous of obtaining for them a reasonable degree of liberty, was by no means disposed to see them throw off entirely the rule of Spain, nor to prolong, for one moment after it could be avoided, the degraded state of anarchy

into which they had fallen. He suffered them to make use of him, to a certain degree, in sanctioning by his presence and authority many of their proceedings, and he even invested the Duke of Guise with a consecrated sword, as generalissimo of the people of Naples; but it was evident that he thus acted unwillingly, and through the whole transactions which followed he waited anxiously in expectation of the moment when the power of Spain might be restored on reasonable terms.

Notwithstanding the unpleasant circumstances in which he was placed, the Duke of Guise proceeded energetically in the attempt to ameliorate the state of the city. He began by raising troops and causing them to be disciplined, and displayed considerable military skill in his operations against the Spanish posts within the city itself. The most important effort, however, on his part, was his endeavour to gain over the great body of the nobility, and induce them to make common cause with the people. For that purpose, he marched towards Aversa, accompanied by a body of three thousand five hundred infantry and six hundred horse, after having taken great precautions to insure the safety of Naples during his absence. In so doing he had two objects: the ostensible one was that of forcing the post of Aversa, and thus opening a road for conveyance of supplies to Naples; the more substantial one being that which we have already explained, of negotiating with the nobility in Aversa.

He began his march on the 14th of December, and before he reached Aversa, was led into a skirmish with the enemy, in which he had well nigh suffered a severe defeat. Having retrieved the day with much courage and skill, he entered into his negotiation with the nobles, which proved, however, unsuccessful. The Duke of Andria, who met him on the subject, treating his expectations of maintaining Naples against the Spaniards with civil contempt, reminded him of how unstable a foundation to build on was the favour of an ignorant and volatile mob, pointed to the instances of the Prince of Massa and Masaniello as warnings against such confidence, and offered, as the only concession which the nobles could make, to insure him a safe retreat to his own country, if he immediately abandoned the rash enterprise in which he was engaged.

The forces of the nobility had been reduced by various circumstances, and those which remained at Aversa were very inferior in number to those of the Duke of Guise. Finding himself frustrated in the one object, he determined to make a vigorous effort for the other, and, if possible, drive the adversary from Aversa. In the midst of his proceedings against that place, however, he received intelligence of the arrival of a French fleet in the Bay of Naples; and on the following morning, the Abbé Basqui reached his head-quarters, bringing him despatches from France. His expectations

had been raised very high by the news of his countrymen's arrival; but his interview with the Abbé Basqui brought him nothing but disappointment.

The aid sent to him was in every respect disproportioned to the enterprise: the money was in bills upon Genoa, and amounted only to five hundred thousand francs; no corn was sent to feed the hunger of the inhabitants; two companies of horse were all the cavalry; eighteen hundred infantry only could be spared from the ships; and neither arms nor equipments for the regiments he had raised accompanied the fleet: the only really serviceable supply which the Abbé Basqui could promise consisted of forty thousand pounds of powder, with balls in proportion, and ten pieces of cannon. But the most mortifying part of the whole business was, that the French envoy and commanders were directed to address themselves to Annese, as chief of the Neapolitan republic, instead of to the Duke of Guise. There can be little doubt that to act thus formed a part of Mazarin's policy, as it entered into none of his views to recognize officially the Duke of Guise as leader of the Neapolitan people.

Immediately on receiving this intelligence, the Duke seems to have determined on removing every pretext for treating with Annese, by depriving the cowardly and avaricious traitor of all authority in the town. For that purpose, he left the Baron de Modena in command of the army before Aversa, and returned immediately to Naples. Annese,

however, finding himself supported by the Court of France, resisted the degradation which Guise intended to inflict upon him, created a tumult in the city, and was at length brought with difficulty to sign a resignation of his authority into the hands of the Duke of Guise, upon the condition, it would seem, of being still permitted to exercise it as that prince's lieutenant.

If, however, the promises of the Abbé Basqui so far fell short of the Duke's expectations as greatly to disappoint him, the execution was so inferior to the promises, that he must very soon have despaired of any active assistance. Scarcely any one of the hopes held out were realized. The French envoys offered to disembark the troops which they had promised, but they would give him no money to pay them; and because he refused to receive them without any means of supporting them except by the plunder of the inhabitants of Naples, it was afterwards pretended by Mazarin that he had shown himself unwilling to be assisted by France.

Doubtless the Duke was ambitious; but, at the same time, the reasons which he assigns for dealing with the French envoys as he did, are quite sufficient to justify him; while the utter inactivity of the French fleet from the first, the pitiful amount of aid offered, and the difference between what was promised and performed, convict Mazarin himself of insincerity and bad faith. There can be no

doubt that the force of the French fleet was sufficient to have engaged, if not to have destroyed, the Spanish armament; and yet all its efforts were restricted to the capture of a few merchantmen. Neither can there be any doubt that the dealings of the Abbé Basqui with Annese were calculated to overthrow the authority of the Duke of Guise, and, instead of consolidating the power of the Republic, to raise up new factions and promote the very views of Spain.

The impression which rests upon my mind is, that Basqui was instructed by Mazarin to do all that he could, without promoting the views of the Duke of Guise, to secure the predominance of French influence; but that, by pursuing a too subtle policy, the agent frustrated the views both of his employer and of him to whom he was sent with a pretence of assistance. At length, on the pretext of want of water, the French fleet weighed anchor and sailed away, leaving the condition of the Duke of Guise rather deteriorated than improved by the stay it had made in the Bay of Naples.

In the mean time, the siege of Aversa had continued; and the nobles, not being able to make head at that point against the forces of the insurgents, evacuated the city, which was immediately occupied by the Baron of Modena and his troops. Modena, however, was by no means a rigorous commander; a great many excesses were committed by his soldiery; the stores which had been expected

from Aversa and the neighbouring magazines were either really much less than had been supposed, or were partly dissipated by the captors; and both the people of Naples and the Duke of Guise were much disappointed by the result of their victory. Guise, whose great object was, by the suppression of all licence and irregularity on the part both of the insurgents and the soldiery, to conciliate all classes and strengthen his government, was deeply mortified by the excesses committed at Aversa; and the disputes which ensued between him and his inferior officer tended to create new divisions in the distracted state over which he attempted to reign. Proceeding at once to Aversa, he exercised somewhat severely his power over the soldiery, and a distaste towards his person was thereby engendered amongst men but too little accustomed to discipline or subordination.

In the mean time, however, the exertions of the Duke of Guise in Naples itself had been in a great degree crowned with success. He put a stop to the system of pillage which Annese had encouraged; he restored the feeling of individual security in the city; he re-established courts of justice; he punished with the greatest severity any infraction of the law; he repressed the mutinous disposition of the soldiery; and he exerted himself with vigour and success to open the communication of Naples with the neighbouring country, and restore abundance to the city. In this latter endeavour he

succeeded so far, that every sort of supply was rendered abundant except that of grain. But it must be remembered, that quarrels and disunion amongst the nobility, which had begun before the fall of Aversa, and had greatly contributed to that event, promoted immensely the objects of the Duke of Guise.

With the conduct of Tuttavilla the nobles were extremely dissatisfied, and the disputes which ensued between him and the Count of Conversano proceeded to such a pitch as to paralyse the whole efforts of their forces. In all the skirmishes of the capital, too, the Duke of Guise gained considerable advantages; and he had contrived to win or to bribe all the principal leaders of banditti throughout the country, so as to have an immense number of small corps moving in different directions through the provinces, and suppressing the bands of the nobles wherever they appeared.

He was not less successful in frustrating the efforts of the enemy against his life and person in Naples. The Duke of Tursi, an officer high in the service of Spain, opened a negotiation with one of the officers of the people for the purpose, as the Duke of Guise asserts, of taking his life and obtaining possession of the city. The officer, however, and those who were engaged with him, communicated the whole of the facts to the Duke of Guise, and such measures were taken, that Tursi himself, with his grandson, and several other per-



sons of distinction, were arrested and brought prisoners into the presence of the French prince. He treated his prisoners with much generous kindness, but, refusing all ransom, detained them, doubtless with a view of using them as hostages in case of necessity.

All these advantages gained by the Duke of Guise showed to Don Juan of Austria and his Spanish council that some great change of measures must be adopted; and as the complaints of the people had been principally levelled at Los Arcos, it was at length determined that the Viceroy should resign his authority into the hands of Don Juan, who should exercise the vice-regal power in his place till further orders could be received from the Court of Spain. The Viceroy consented unwillingly, and immediately after departed for Sardinia.

Don Juan assumed the reins of government; and while he sent back the fleet to Spain, to show his determination of not quitting Naples till he had restored it to tranquillity, he published a proclamation, in which he cast all the blame of past events upon the late Viceroy, and held out every sort of gracious promise to the Neapolitans if they returned to obedience.

It is probable that this manifesto would have had little or no effect, had the people of Naples been united in themselves, or generally well-affected to the Duke of Guise; but such was by no means the case. His severity had made him many enemies;

the restraint which he imposed upon the tumultuous and the rapacious had added to the number : Annese, with Antonio Mazella, *Elitto del Popolo*, headed one party in the city against him; the Baron of Modena and a faction in the army were ready also to rise up against his authority ; and a very great number of persons, both in the city and through the country in general, were anxious to return to the Spanish domination.

From time to time, during these events, as Don Juan of Austria and his counsellors found many of the Spanish efforts unsuccessful, they attempted to enter into negotiations with the Duke of Guise himself, and to bribe him, by offers of the most tempting kind addressed both to his ambition and to his avarice, to abandon the cause of the Neapolitans. He resisted, however, firmly ; and in the end determined, as he found that the people began to murmur on account of the Spaniards being left in possession of so many important points in the city itself, to make a general attack upon all their chief posts. For that purpose he collected all the forces he could possibly muster, and brought into the city various troops of the banditti which had been lately acting under his orders. Amongst these one band consisted of nearly three thousand men, armed in the most splendid manner, and clothed with black leathern jerkins, with velvet sleeves, breeches of scarlet and gold, silk stockings, and caps of cloth of gold or silver. Their

belts were of velvet and ribbons; their black hair and whiskers were nicely curled; and, in short, a better dressed, more worthless, or more cowardly troop, was never collected. The result of their efforts might have been anticipated. Nothing would induce them to put themselves in the position of danger; and while the armed inhabitants of the city and the regular forces of the Duke made gallant but unsuccessful efforts to dislodge the Spanish forces, the banditti proceeded to plunder the houses and palaces; in reward for which, Guise afterwards caused their leader, called Paul of Naples, to be put to the question,\* and then executed on his own confession of various crimes.

The attack upon the Spanish posts failed in every point; and this want of success encouraged Annese and the enemies of the Duke of Guise to undertake bolder measures against him. He, on his part, met them with the same arms: and there seems to be no doubt, that during the rest of his reign in Naples, he and Annese strove which should first poison or assassinate the other.

In the mean while, the Spanish government had signified its disapprobation of the removal of Los Arcos, and the assumption of his authority by Don Juan. The former viceroy, however, was not

\* It has been generally said, that he was put to the rack, and confessed there his crimes. Guise, however, had the cruelty to put him to the question ordinary and extraordinary, after he had fully confessed all his crimes.

restored ; but the Count of Oñate was sent to replace him, and showed himself one of the most cautious and skilful politicians, but one of the most remorseless and sanguinary rulers that had ever issued from the Spanish court. Don Juan still retained considerable authority, with the title of plenipotentiary, and the hopes of the party of the Duke of Guise were raised by the expectation of disunion between two men so differently constituted in all respects as the new viceroy and the Spanish prince. No such result ensued, however : Don Juan, indeed, differed with the new viceroy in regard to some of their proceedings ; but reason and argument were the only means which either employed to overcome the opposition of the other, and they worked together with equal skill, courage, and perseverance for the recovery of Naples.

Oñate brought with him aid of which Don Juan stood extremely in need, that of money ; and the support of strong military reinforcements from Spain was soon added. Nothing could be more fortunate for the Spanish cause than the timely rival of such a man, and of such additional means for the recovery of Naples : for although the Duke of Guise had been repulsed with loss in the great effort he had made in February, and had shown much inactivity in his military proceedings afterwards ; though he was straitened in Naples for supplies of corn, and tormented by treacherous factions and tumultuous resistances of his authority ; yet

the effects of the reforms he had produced were beginning to be appreciated by the better class of citizens, and a complete revolution in his favour was working itself amongst the nobles.

Don Juan and Oñate felt all this, and their intrigues, edged with gold, were carried on more sharply than ever with Annese and other traitors within the town. The Archbishop, too, gave them his calmer and more dignified assistance; and Guise daily discovered some new negotiation with the Spaniards, some new plot against his authority.

The greater part of the Duke's time was consumed in quelling discontent and putting down anarchy; but at length he determined once more to resume active hostilities, and the 4th of April was named for an attack upon the island of Nisita. On this occasion took place one of the many curious instances of astrological predictions exactly verified at an after period.

On the morning of the 2nd of April, while the Duke was still in bed, he was visited by Cocurullo, a famous astrologer, who had all along opposed the Spanish domination, but who now came to demand passports in order to quit Naples, foreseeing, he said, that Fortune, though she smiled apparently, was about to quit the party he had espoused. The astrologer farther informed Guise that he was menaced by the stars with imprisonment, though not with death; and in answer to the Duke's doubts, expressed himself so convinced of the truth of his

prediction, as to be willing to stake any sum on its fulfilment within eight days. The French prince, however, began his march at the appointed time, and gained some immediate advantages, which induced him to delay his return to Naples, though he received ample intimation from his partizans in the city that his ruin was likely to be the result.

The Spanish negotiations with Annese and other insurgents were now brought rapidly to the point; and a part of the wall of the city, near the **Alba gate**, having been weakened by the Spaniards beforehand, was thrown down on the night of the **5th of April**, leaving a sufficient space for the passage of three thousand infantry and a small body of horse. Taken by surprise, the soldiers of the Duke of Guise made but little resistance at the entrenchments which he had constructed; and though a few scattered bodies of his partizans encountered here and there the Spanish forces, and shed their blood in support of the side they had espoused, it is evident that the whole people, either indifferent, terrified, or gained, offered no opposition which could delay the Spaniards for a moment. Before morning they were in possession of the whole city; and the Neapolitans, with the fickleness of folly or the hypocrisy of cowardice, rushed forth to welcome the Spaniards, and hailed them as deliverers.

The palace of the Duke of Guise, opposite the Church of the Carbonnari, was attacked and plun-

dered ; but Oñate even in that moment of excitement and confusion retained all his foresight sufficiently to seize the private papers of the Duke, and thus became aware of who had been the real enemies of Spain, and of the share which each man in the realm had taken in the insurrection.

The Duke of Guise received the news of these events as he was waiting to see the garrison of Nisita march out ; and instantly set off for Naples in the vain hope that his affairs were not so irretrievably lost as had been represented. He was soon too sadly convinced, however, that he had nothing farther to seek but his personal safety. He tells us, indeed, that he entertained some hopes of gathering together his adherents, and carrying on the war in the Abruzzi ; but he took his way, in the first place, towards Capua, which was also in the direct road to Rome.

At a short distance from the former place he was recognized and pursued by the troops of Luigi Poderico, one of his own companies of horse, which had been already gained by the enemy, keeping him in sight till a sufficient force of cavalry came up. As soon as the troops of the Spanish party appeared, however, the pursuit became more active, and, after a gallant resistance and prolonged efforts to escape, Guise was forced to surrender on the offer of quarter. He was immediately conducted to Capua, and at first was treated with respect and courtesy ; but no sooner did the news

of his capture reach the ears of Oñate, than he proposed at once to put him to death. In this bloody purpose he was opposed by Don Juan; but the efforts of that illustrious prince in his favour did not procure him a continuance of good treatment; and, after having been detained in a strict state of confinement at Gaeta, without comforts of any kind, and often without absolute necessaries, he was removed to Segovia, where he continued a prisoner for several years.

The proposal, indeed, to put him to death was renewed when he reached the Spanish shore; and a plausible excuse existed in the fact of his having waged war upon Spain, at the head of insurgent subjects, without any commission from another sovereign prince. The intercession of other potentates, however, and the mildness which characterized all the Spanish councils under Don Louis de Haro, not only saved his life, but softened his imprisonment.

In the mean time, Oñate trampled out the last sparks of resistance in the Neapolitan kingdom; found means to bring the avenging sword to the necks of Annese and all the other popular leaders, whether they had simply rebelled, or added after-treachery against their country to their first insurrection against their king; and in the end he drowned out the flame of liberty in the blood of eighteen thousand Neapolitans.

Another fleet, bearing Prince Thomas of Savoy,



was indeed sent out by Mazarin, for the purpose of reviving the French influence in Naples; but its efforts were as ineffectual and nearly as feeble as those of the fleet that preceded it, and the French minister was soon obliged to abandon all plans against Naples by the course of those domestic calamities which we have lately detailed.

## CHAPTER VIII.

State of Condé.—Siege laid to Rhetel.—Condé and the Archduke enter Picardy.—Obliged to quit it.—Conduct of the French and Spanish governments.—Arrest of the Duke of Lorraine.—Harcourt reduced to obedience.—Stenay attacked.—Surrenders.—Siege of Arras.—A whole regiment destroyed by an explosion.—Forcing the lines of Arras.—Farther successes of Turenne.—Change in the affairs of Condé.—The Archduke and Fuensaldaña recalled.—Valenciennes besieged.—French lines before Valenciennes forced by Condé.—Fine retreat of Turenne.—Farther successes of Turenne.—Treaty with Cromwell.

A SINGULAR feature in the treaty for the surrender of Bordeaux was the tacit recognition, or rather, admission, of strange and anomalous rights on the part of Condé, at the very time that the parliament of Paris were pronouncing against him a decree of high treason. That crime, the laws regarding which, in almost every country, and in almost every time, have been both absurd and iniquitous, of course extended itself from the leader to the soldiers; and though, for the purpose of obtaining possession of a town, a fortress, or a district, kings and generals may have consented to spare the lives of rebels when they have fallen into their hands, I believe the fact of two thousand five

hundred men, in arms, in the cause of a rebel, having been suffered not only to escape, but to traverse the whole realm of the very sovereign against whom they were fighting, and having been furnished with quarters and provisions, at the expense of that sovereign, while on their march to continue their rebellion in conjunction with the foreign enemies of the country, is without a parallel in history.

Their aid, however, was absolutely necessary to the support and even safety of Condé, who, on throwing himself into the arms of the Spaniards, had undoubtedly expected to find much greater confidence and support than he really met with. A letter from him to Don Louis de Haro is extant, dated from his camp at St. Gevin, on Christmas-day, 1652. In this letter he complains bitterly, that Spain had not fulfilled the promises which had been made to him. At that time, he states that the whole of the army of Flanders had been withdrawn from his command, as well as one half of the troops of Lorraine. He beseeches the Spanish minister to give strict orders that the promises which had been made to him should be fulfilled, that the whole forces in Flanders should be ordered to join him, if the whole army of the king marched to attack him, and that a part should be detached to support him if only a part of the royal forces opposed him; and he moreover beseeches him to cause the sums already due by treaty to be paid.

Don Louis de Haro, however, had no means of

satisfying these demands: the troops, indeed, he could command to support Condé, but the money was not to be found in the coffers of Spain. Various signs, too, of failing fortune followed the hero of Rocroi: many of his friends fell off and quitted him, the chief of whom was La Rochefoucault, who, just at the time that D'Estrades began his movements in Guienne, sent messengers to Condé, for the purpose of disentangling himself from his connexion with that prince; and, having done so, immediately negotiated his own reconciliation with the French court. Gourville also left him, as we have seen, to follow fairer fortunes; and Condé bitterly felt the ultimate effects of the selfish and grasping conduct which he had displayed in his dealings with the government. As a great and extraordinary general, however, he continued still to maintain his reputation in the eyes of Europe, and vast efforts were at length made by the Spaniards to furnish him with the means of displaying his military talents to advantage.

The campaign of 1653 was opened first by the French. Condé had left in the town of Rhetel, which he had taken in the preceding campaign, the Marquis de Persan, who had so gallantly defended Montrond. The number of troops, indeed, which Condé could spare even as a garrison for that important place was by no means sufficient to put it in security, though it was of the utmost importance to his cause to keep unbroken the strong line of for-

tified places which he possessed upon the frontiers of Champagne. Mouzon, Steyay, and Rhétel afforded an entrance into France from the north, whenever Spain could afford a sufficient number of men to strike a vigorous stroke with the prospect of success; but the loss of Rhétel would throw Condé back upon the Meuse, and reduce him to a feeble hold upon the extreme frontier of France.

Turenne, to whom the army of the king was again confided, saw all the importance of Rhétel to the enemy, and, consequently, to himself; and though he could not bring his forces into the field till the beginning of June, he marched at once for Rhétel, while Condé, sick in body and ill at ease in mind, proceeded to Brussels, for the purpose of stirring up the Spanish government to energy and activity.

The Archduke, however, displayed all the slowness of his national character, and somewhat of the petty ceremonial pride which marked the house of Austria. He demanded precedence of Condé in point of rank, and seemed inclined to spend that time in empty discussions of etiquette, which was so necessary for the preservation of the most important places in the hands of Spain. Rhétel was thus taken before anything could be done to prevent it, but the loss of that strong town seemed to rouse the Spaniards from their lethargy. The united armies of Condé and the Archduke were immediately put in motion, and advanced with great

rapidity upon Picardy, which had been left nearly undefended.

Turenne immediately began his march to oppose them, though at the moment he could only bring a force of twelve thousand men to act against a corps of twenty-seven thousand. Hastening towards the Oise, the French marshal was met at Ribemont by Mazarin himself accompanied by the young king, and a council was immediately held for the purpose of determining what was necessary to be done. Contrary to the opinion of the majority of those present, Turenne obtained permission from the king to follow with his inferior force the powerful army of Condé, engaging to take up such positions as to ensure that he should not be forced to a battle, and yet keeping so near the enemy as to prevent them either from separating their troops, attempting any considerable siege, or penetrating far into France. This wise and prudent resolution having been adopted, he proceeded at once to execute it, with the same judgment with which it had been conceived.

It is not my purpose to enter into the minute details of campaigns; and it is only necessary to say, that after having marched and counter-marched through the greater part of Picardy for several weeks without being able to effect anything worthy of their forces or their name, followed throughout all their movements by the watchful Turenne, and disappointed in every attempt by his presence,

Condé and the Archduke were obliged to quit Picardy and turn their arms in another direction.

While these military proceedings were going on, Mazarin did not fail to do all in his power to enfeeble the efforts of Condé, by tempting him with continual overtures of peace and reconciliation. Condé, however, was by this time acquainted with the artifices of Mazarin, and on being offered by the cardinal a number of advantages, together with the independent sovereignty of three or four small towns and districts, the prince replied, that he could content himself with being a prince of the blood royal of France, without seeking to be an independent sovereign; and that, moreover, the execution of Mazarin's promises depending entirely upon his convenience, he thought it best not to trust to them.

Finding his efforts upon Picardy vain, Condé, with his own troops, a body of Spaniards, and the army of the Duke of Lorraine, proceeded to the frontiers of Champagne, and attacked Rocroi. In order either to divert him from the siege, or to gain a compensation for the loss of the place, Turenne marched to the attack of Mouzon, which he took, while Condé captured Rocroi. The army of the king, however, had by this time been increased in numbers by the arrival of reinforcements from Guienne; and the siege of St. Ménéhould, which had been abandoned in the former campaign, was now determined upon by the minister.

It was not considered necessary, however, that Turenne should be there in person, and the siege was confided to two younger officers, whose disputes soon induced Mazarin to send Du Plessis Praslin to take the command, while the court of France advanced to Chalons-sur-Marne. St. Ménehould capitulated after a longer resistance than had been expected; and thus the honour of the campaign decidedly remained with France, which had taken three important places, while only one had fallen into the hands of Spain.

All these places had been forced to surrender with very great rapidity; and the Duke of York, then serving under Turenne, attributes such speedy success to the active energy of that great commander. The Spanish generals, he says, were in the habit of trusting to the reports of an inferior officer, and giving their orders without having visited the trenches themselves. Not so Turenne, who would see all with his own eyes. He first reconnoitred the place in person; he marked out the spot for opening the trenches, and was present when it was done; he directed the course in which they were to be pushed, and he went to visit the works regularly in the morning and the evening;—in the evening, to determine what was to be done during the night; in the morning, to see if his commands had been obeyed. He was always accompanied by the principal officer in command in the trenches; and during the night he invariably visited them once



more himself, remaining a longer or a shorter time as his presence was required. Such conduct on the part of the commander-in-chief of course excited the activity and zeal of the inferior officers and soldiers; and by such examples were the armies of Louis XIV. formed and trained during the long and bloody contests which ushered in his reign.

The campaign of 1653 ended by the taking of St. Ménéhould; and Turenne placed his troops in winter-quarters, while Condé proceeded to Brussels in order to settle upon a surer basis his relations with the Spanish government. The troops of the Duke of Lorraine encamped in the neighbourhood of the Belgian capital; and some transactions took place, difficult to be clearly disentangled from errors and misstatements, but which considerably affected the course of the war.

An agreement was entered into between Condé and the Spanish government, the principal point in which was an engagement on the part of Spain to cede to Condé all towns taken by him within the frontier of France. It would appear that this stipulation either offended the pride or awakened the cupidity of the Duke of Lorraine, who made it the subject of remonstrance and threats. His conduct had, on various occasions, given bitter offence to Condé, and the Spaniards had long learned to consider him as a false and treacherous ally, whose pretended services were rendered null by the peculiar course of interested policy which he pursued.

We must remember that the whole dominions which this prince now possessed consisted in his army, the services of which he sold to whatsoever power chose to purchase it. With the court of France, even while serving Spain, he kept up constant negotiations; and in the field, it had been found that he took every opportunity to spare his own troops, and to expose those of his allies to the brunt of all severe service. He was, in short, notoriously faithless and interested; and the Spanish government determined upon an act which, however expedient as a point of temporary policy, was not justifiable in the strict code of morality.

It was determined then—beyond a doubt with the consent and approbation of Condé—to arrest the Duke of Lorraine in Brussels, and to put at the head of his troops his brother Francis. This purpose was effected without much difficulty. He was arrested in the palace of the archduke, and sent off on the following morning to the citadel of Antwerp, but he contrived, we are told, to despatch a note, concealed in a loaf of bread, to the officer whom he had left in command of his troops. The commands which he thus conveyed were somewhat sanguinary, as might be expected from his situation, and were to the following effect: “Quit the Spaniards with all speed: kill all, burn all, and remember Charles of Lorraine!”

Some slight movement took place amongst the Lorraine troops in consequence of the arrest of

their duke; but the Count of Fuensaldaña proceeded at once to their camp, and both by distributing a considerable sum of money amongst them, and by informing them that he had sent for their Duke Francis to put himself at their head, easily quieted them. No farther tumult took place, and Francis of Lorraine, who was not upon good terms with his brother, hastened to seize the offer that was made him, and take the command of the Lorraine forces.

The campaign of 1654 began late on both parts, if we except from the general course of hostilities, the proceedings of Maréchal de la Ferté, who had marched early to the banks of the Rhine, to restrain the efforts of the Count de Harcourt. That officer, as we have mentioned, had quitted the army of Guienne, and was now in open rebellion. He had made himself master of several strong towns, and was in a condition to effect an important diversion in favour of Condé; so that it was absolutely necessary to suppress his insurrection before any great effort could take place on the side of Flanders. La Ferté, however, soon captured Befort and Tannes; Phillipsburg had already been regained, and the siege of Brissac had commented; when favourable terms induced the Count of Harcourt once more to return to his duty, and the army of La Ferté was left at liberty to act in other quarters.

Immediately after the coronation of the young

King, which took place upon the 7th of June, Mazarin and Turenne determined to attack the town of Stenay, which had been so long held by Condé, and which now formed his only remaining point of strength on the frontiers of France. Bellegarde, in Burgundy, had been forced to surrender in the preceding year, after having been defended in the most gallant manner by the famous Bouteville, afterwards Marshal Duke of Luxembourg; and that great officer had then hastened to join Condé, by whom he was received with open arms. Stenay, therefore, was the only place which remained to be taken; and Fabert, with a considerable force, was directed to commence the blockade of that city in the month of May.

It would appear that at first the intention of the court was to employ Turenne and the whole forces of the crown in the siege; but the movement of the Spanish armies towards Arras prevented that purpose from being executed, and a great body of the troops intended originally to attack Stenay remained at a distance, under Turenne, Hocquincourt, and La Ferté. Orders were then given to Fabert to besiege the place, and the command in chief was assigned to him.

The town, which was strongly fortified and furnished with a citadel, contained a garrison of nearly one thousand five hundred men; those in the city being commanded by a German of the name of Colbrand, and those in the citadel by the

Count de Chamilli, an officer attached to Condé. Against such a place, with such a garrison, Fabert, in the first instance, could only lead somewhat less than two thousand men; but Louis XIV. had determined himself to be present at the siege, and he hastened thither shortly after it had commenced, bringing with him a very large reinforcement. He arrived at Sedan on the 26th of June; but still the troops that could be detached from the other army for the attack of Stenay, we are assured, did not amount to five thousand men.

The trenches were opened between the 3rd and 4th of July, and two attacks were made against the citadel, with lines of communication between them. This was the first time that such a method had been practised; and though it has been frequently asserted that parallels and what were called cavaliers of the trenches were first employed at the siege of Maestricht, by Vauban, in 1673; it would seem by all accounts that such was not the case, and that perfectly distinct parallels were traced by Fabert on this very occasion. Vauban, it is true, served under him; but at that time Vauban was an inferior officer of only one-and-twenty years of age.

The appearance of the young monarch at the siege of a town belonging absolutely to his revolted cousin, of course, gave the greatest encouragement to the small army that was brought against it; but, while the operations before Stenay were going

on with vigour and success, the news arrived that Condé, with the Archduke Leopold, and an army of thirty-two thousand Spaniards, had advanced against Arras, and were rapidly commencing their proceedings for the purpose of formally investing that town.

Undoubtedly Condé imagined that his attack upon a city of such great importance as Arras, would immediately cause the siege of Stenay to be raised; and Mazarin, as soon as he heard of the movements of the Spanish army, despatched an officer to Turenne, offering to quit the siege of Stenay, and reunite the whole forces of the crown under that great general, for the purpose of delivering Arras. Turenne replied briefly, that provided Hocquincourt and La Ferté would act cordially with him, the troops under his command, to the number of fourteen thousand, would be sufficient to raise the siege of Arras.

The attack of Stenay then continued; and while Mazarin followed closely the person of the young king, Le Tellier was sent to Peronne to keep up the communication between the generals of the two armies. From Sedan Louis XIV. proceeded immediately to the camp of Fabert, and, in inspecting the operations of the army, displayed great courage and coolness, going over the works, and questioning the officer in command in regard to everything that he saw. He took a pleasure also in giving some orders himself from time to time; and it would

appear that it was by his command that an attempt was made to effect a lodgment on the counterscarp of one of the bastions, which was executed, but the lodgment was obliged to be abandoned on the following day, from the tremendous fire kept up by the citadel.

Having seen the attempt made, Louis immediately yielded to the reasons of Fabert, and agreed that the siege should proceed by a slower but less sanguinary process. The sap was then had recourse to, and a number of operations of great interest took place under the immediate eyes of the king. In the space of two days, one of the bastions was mined three times without success; but on the fourth attempt, a breach was effected, which was soon enlarged by the batteries, and on the 6th of August the garrison demanded to capitulate. Fabert immediately applied for orders to the king, who was in the camp; but the monarch left it to the general who had so well conducted the siege, and the honours of war were granted to the garrison. It was also permitted to join Condé, while the Count de Chamilli and his son received a free pardon upon condition of taking the oath of allegiance to their king. The court then moved to Peronne; while the army, under the Count de Grandpré, marched to join Turenne, who had by this time received several other reinforcements.

The siege of Arras had, in the mean time, been carried on with vigour on the part of Condé; but

with anything but vigour on the part of the Spaniards. It is said even, that Condé proposed to the Spanish generals to attack the armies of Turenne and La Ferté, as soon as he heard they were marching towards him; but that he could not prevail upon his colleagues to do so, notwithstanding the great superiority of their forces.

The first operations of Turenne tended only to straiten the enemies in their camp, and, by cutting off all supplies of provisions, to force them to raise the siege by famine. In the course of his operations for that purpose a number of adventures and encounters occurred, of which, however, we shall take notice but of two; the first of which only requires to be mentioned, as, perhaps, one of the most extraordinary accidents on record. One night, when Turenne and the Duke of York had gone forth to visit the out-lying posts of the army, they saw at a distance a sudden and extraordinary light, which they found, from the report of the sentinels on the hill, proceeded from a spot in the neighbourhood of Lens. When the matter was inquired into on the following day, it was found that a whole regiment of the enemy's cavalry, each of the soldiers carrying a sack of powder behind him, together with eighty horses loaded with hand-grenades, had been blown up together; and for several days a dismal spectacle was presented by the unfortunate wretches who had suffered being brought into the camp by the peasantry, when any signs of



life remained. It was afterwards found that the accident had occurred by a quarrel between one of the soldiers and the commanding officer, who, turning round, had discovered that the man, who was drunk, had a lighted pipe of tobacco in his mouth. Perceiving the danger of the whole regiment, the officer rode up to him, and took the pipe from him gently, throwing it down upon the ground; but the next moment, giving way to his indignation, he struck the man several blows with the flat of his sword. The drunken man, forgetting all respect, drew a pistol from his saddle-bow; and, levelling it at the officer, who instantly threw himself off his horse, he fired. Either the wadding or the flash caught the powder behind him, and in a moment it blew up. The soldiers, it appears, were all close to each other; the fire communicated from one to another along the line, and the whole regiment, together with the horses carrying the grenades, and the peasantry who drove them, were destroyed, with the exception of the officer, who had thrown himself from his horse in the first place, and a very few of the troopers, who recovered from the tremendous wounds they received.

The second incident worthy of notice in the course of the siege was the enterprise of Bouteville, who, notwithstanding all the efforts of Turenne and Hocquincourt, contrived to bring up large supplies to the camp of Condé.

The royal army having been reinforced and ren-

dered very nearly equal in number to that of the enemy, Turenne determined to attack the Spaniards in their lines. Almost all his officers were opposed to their commander: they represented to him the great additional strength the Spanish army derived from its entrenchments, the courage and the skill of the general opposed to him, and the tremendous results to France, and especially to Mazarin, if he should be defeated in such an attempt. Turenne, however, held his determination firmly; though, in his reply to their objections, he acknowledged that he should never dream of making the attack upon the side where Condé commanded. He gave a ridiculous picture, too, of the apathy of the Spaniards; saying, that having had the misfortune of serving with them, he knew exactly what would be their conduct, and predicting that, in the reconnoissance in force which he was about to make of their lines, in the first place Don Fernando Solis, whose quarters he intended to reconnoitre principally, would not dare to undertake anything against him till he had sent to inform the Count of Fuensaldaña of the enemy's near approach: that the Count would then either send or go to the Archduke, and that the Archduke would thereupon call Condé, from the other side of the town, to come and hold a council of war; before the conclusion of which, the whole affair would be over, and the French army safe within its own camp.

The reconnoissance was made, and everything took place precisely as Turenne had predicted; but still his own officers hung back, and he could not persuade them of the feasibility of an attack upon the enemy's lines. Hocquincourt proposed only to make a false attack; and La Ferté endeavoured, by the most unjustifiable means, not only to intimidate Turenne, but to spread apprehensions regarding the result amongst the soldiery.

Turenne, however, was warned by the governor of Arras that he could hold out but a few days longer, and, in spite of all opposition, he prepared to execute his purpose on the eve of St. Louis' day. The principal attack was to be directed against the quarters of Don Fernando Solis; but three false attacks were also ordered to be made, to distract the attention of the enemy. The hour appointed was a few minutes before daybreak, and having joined his own division to that of La Ferté, whom he most doubted, he passed the scarp, and marched towards the point where he was to meet the Maréchal Hocquincourt. Having arrived, however, at that spot, he found Hocquincourt himself, with his staff, but not his division, which had been delayed by some accident on the road. Hocquincourt besought him to wait; but Turenne would not risk so hazardous a step, and marched on.

The night was fine, the moon had just gone down, and the enemy had not the slightest idea of the march of the French army. Turenne, therefore,

advanced at once towards the Spanish lines, and came within half-cannon shot before any sign revealed his approach to the enemy. At that moment, however, the matches of the infantry (for it was customary at that time to use matchlocks) were lighted, and, being blown up brightly by the cold wind, created a sort of illumination all along the line.

The enemy immediately fired three cannon-shots, and lighted billets throughout their entrenchments; while the French infantry hurried on to attack the lines, supported by the cavalry. But the apprehensions which La Ferté had spread amongst them did not fail to produce their effect: the soldiers could scarcely be brought to follow their officers, and had anything like preparation or presence of mind been displayed by the Spaniards, the attempt of Turenne would certainly have failed. The cavalry had been drawn up behind, to support the infantry; and a large body under the Duke of York drew the fire of the enemy upon themselves, by sounding their trumpets and cymbals in order to encourage the foot by the prospect of immediate aid.

The division of La Ferté, however, was repulsed at all points, and took refuge behind the cavalry; but one or two regiments of the division of Turenne having forced their way into the lines, and having, by means of fascines and other implements which had been brought with them, constructed a road for the cavalry, the Duke of York, at the head of seve-

ral squadrons, made his way through the entrenchments quite to the lines of contravallation, on the other side. All seems, even by the Duke's own account, to have been confusion and insubordination. Several strong bodies of Spanish cavalry remained drawn up in front of the French without attempting to make any movement to check their progress; and the Italian and Lorrainese forces, which were those against whom the real attack was directed, were thrown into complete disorder. But a great part of the French army also was in confusion; and many of the regiments entirely dispersed for the purpose of pillaging. The division of La Ferté, however, had by this time been in some degree rallied by its commander; and it now entered by the apertures through which the forces of Turenne had passed, while Turenne himself, almost abandoned by his own troops, was gathering together what men he could upon an eminence, for the purpose of obtaining command of the field, and restoring a degree of order to the attack.

Such was the state of affairs at daybreak, when Condé, by no means deceived by the false assault made upon his quarters, hastened to the field, where the real attack was going on, and seeing, with the glance of military genius for which he was so famous, that the lines on the side of Don Ferdinand de Solis were absolutely forced, and his troops in a state that nothing could remedy, he paused at the tent of the Archduke, and bade him

prepare for retreat, while he hastened to attack in turn the assailants, in order to give time for the Spanish army to evacuate the lines without danger.

Putting himself at the head of a considerable corps of cavalry which he had gathered together, he cut to pieces, as he advanced, several bodies of the French who were busily pillaging the tents of the Duke of Lorraine; and then, seeing that La Ferté was descending in great disorder from a high ground which might have given him great advantages, he charged him at once at the head of his cavalry, routing him completely. He next detached several bodies of cavalry on either side in order to sweep the lines of the French infantry; which was performed with such extraordinary success, that had Condé been supported by a general of even ordinary activity, or opposed by a general of less skill and vigour than Turenne, he would probably have regained the day, and driven back the enemy with disgrace and loss.

No infantry, however, but a very small body which he had with him, came up to support him. The Archduke was fulfilling his directions to the letter, and preparing for retreat; Fuenzaldaña, though a good officer, was incapable of conceiving the genius or seconding the movements of Condé; and, in the mean while, Turenne brought up seven pieces of cannon to the heights which La Ferté had so foolishly abandoned, and while he gathered round him all the troops that he could to make another great

and vigorous effort if necessary, he opened a fire upon the squadrons of Condé, which soon obliged him to retire from the position which he had previously occupied.

Turenne gazed anxiously to see whether any bodies of infantry would come up to the support of the enemy's squadrons; and seeing that none did so, and that the cavalry did not advance, he turned to those around him, saying, "Condé must be there amongst them! Any inferior general would have pushed his enemy with the cavalry alone." Almost at the same moment Condé was gazing at the heights occupied by the French, and he exclaimed to one of his staff, "There must be Turenne in person! Any one of the others would have come down from the hill to charge me, and would have lost the day." Thus doth genius appreciate genius.

Turenne was too well aware of the generalship of Condé to attempt to attack him in his retreat. The garrison of the place, however, was less wise, — a large body of cavalry issued forth to harass the prince as he passed the river; but Condé wheeled upon them, and nearly cut them to pieces before they could make their escape. The Count de Marsin covered most gallantly the retreat of the whole army; Fuensaldaña and the Archduke having by this time fled towards Douay with but a very few squadrons of cavalry. Marsin also effected his retreat in good order and unpursued; and the whole

of the Spanish army, with but little loss considering the severity of the engagement, was reunited shortly afterwards in the neighbourhood of Cambray. That in which they suffered most was their baggage and their artillery: Condé and his division alone saved their waggons,—all the rest lost everything.

Such was the famous forcing of the lines of Arras;\* an event so important, not only from the magnitude and danger of the undertaking, but from its effect upon the political state of France, that I have dwelt upon it more at length than I am in general inclined to do upon events of the kind.

There can be very little doubt, indeed, that the stability of the government of Mazarin greatly depended upon the result of the sieges of Arras and Stenay. In the latter instance he had brought the person of the king to the scene of action, and had risked the royal dignity with a very inferior force to that usually employed against a place of such importance. The acquisition of that town gave great lustre to the ministry of Mazarin, and his conduct during the siege obtained a degree of respect for his person, he having exposed himself on several occasions to great personal danger. The loss, however, of the still more important town of Arras would have done far more to discredit the arms of France and the government of the cardi-

\* 25th August 1654.



nal than the capture of Stenay had effected in its favour. The only means of saving it were the bold and hazardous means employed by Turenne; and had he failed, it is more than probable the discontent of the people would soon have renewed those scenes of opposition which had proved so fatal to the minister before. Turenne, however, succeeded; and the conviction of Mazarin's unshaken and unchangeable good fortune seemed to take such hold upon the French nation, that his power, notwithstanding numerous conspiracies, was never after in real danger even for an hour, except during the severe illness of the king.

The rest of the season was passed by Turenne in the capture of Quesnoy and Binches, and in ravaging the neighbouring country; but he constantly conducted his marches with such extreme care and caution, that Condé, though he watched his adversary with attention and followed him with a large force, could not find any opportunity of attacking him to advantage.

In the following year, 1655, Landrecy was taken by Turenne and La Ferté; but the only incident worthy of particular notice which occurred during the siege was the escape of Louis XIV. from a great danger. He had advanced as far as La Fère, and retained with him only two companies of his guards, while the siege of Landrecy was proceeding. In order to alarm Turenne and cause him to decamp from before that place, Condé detached a con-

siderable body of troops into Picardy, which approached so near La Fère, that a little activity would have put the Spaniards in possession of the person of the French king, and a long train of courtly prisoners. That activity was not displayed, however: Louis obtained tidings of the enemy's approach, and the court fled in haste from La Fère.

Landrecy surrendered shortly after, and the Spanish army retired behind the Sambre and the Scheld. The young King of France then joined his forces, and marched with them into Hainault. It now became necessary to force a passage across the Haine, which the enemy appeared disposed to maintain; but the bad conduct of the Spanish generals gave the French an opportunity of effecting their purpose unopposed, and had also nearly caused the destruction of the rear-guard led by Condé, after the French had passed the Scheld.

About the same time, Turenne, in sending a report to Mazarin, who had remained with the court several leagues behind, seems to have indulged, probably by accident, in some expressions approaching bravado. This was the only charge of the kind ever made against him; but the despatch was intercepted; and Condé, highly indignant at being represented as flying shamefully before the French, wrote a severe letter to Turenne, remonstrating against such boasting. The towns of Condé and St. Guislain, however, were captured by the French army, and attested fully its success.

But Turenne was recalled sooner than usual from his military efforts against the Spaniards, by a dangerous conspiracy, in which Hocquincourt took a principal share, and which it was necessary to find some means of cutting short before the evil was irremediable. For the purpose of aiding the court, he hastened back then in the beginning of November, having taken care to fortify strongly the places he had obtained.

The reverses which the Spanish arms had suffered in the Low Countries caused the court of Madrid to determine upon changing the system pursued in that quarter; and the remonstrances of Condé undoubtedly tended greatly to produce the removal of the Archduke Leopold and Fuensaldaña from the supreme direction of affairs. Before they went, however, the Prince had the mortification of seeing the troops of Lorraine abandon his cause and that of Spain, and go over with their leader, Duke Francis, to swell the armies of the French monarch. Some slight advantages were gained by France also on the side of Catalonia, which, though they tended in no great degree to keep that province from returning to its allegiance, served to depress the spirits of the Spaniards, and to raise those of the French.

A most advantageous change, however, of the affairs of Condé was about to take place in the government of the Low Countries. The Archduke, as we have seen, was recalled, as well as his

creature Fuensaldafia; and the gallant Don Juan of Austria, the natural son of the King of Spain, who had never yet displayed anything but the very highest qualities, was appointed to command in Flanders. He was far more likely, to assimilate in every respect with Condé than those who had preceded him; and an immediate change became apparent in the military proceedings in that country. No sooner had Don Juan, and the Marquis of Caracena, who accompanied him, arrived at the scene of action, than every sign of cordiality and union appeared between them and the prince, and their first effort was to retaliate upon Turenne the exploit which he had performed in forcing the lines of Arras.

Before the Spanish army had repaired the loss it had sustained by the defection of the troops of Lorraine, and was in a state to take the field, Turenne was in activity; and, after threatening Tournay, he turned short to lay siege to Valenciennes. In that large and important city there was a garrison of but two thousand two hundred men, and the united army of Turenne and La Ferté proceeded to invest it as rapidly as possible, but not without encountering some difficulty from the marshy nature of the ground upon the banks of the Scheld, which was rendered more impracticable by an artificial inundation produced by the Spaniards. All these impediments, however, were overcome by the perseverance of the French general, who finished

his line of circumvallation by a strong dike and bridge of fascines, and by a bridge of boats across the Scheld.

Condé and Don Juan saw the proceedings against Valenciennes with apprehension: but that apprehension did not in the least diminish their energy, and they made the most extraordinary efforts to bring their forces into the field without loss of time. Assembling their troops at Douay, they marched immediately upon Valenciennes, and boldly took up their quarters within half cannon-shot of the French lines. Their army, however, was still considerably inferior to that of the King of France, and they remained some time watching the progress of the siege, and giving occasional alarm to the French camp by movements as if preparatory to attack.

It was evident to Turenne, and to the whole army, that if any attempt were made to force his camp, it would be on the side of Marshal de la Ferté: but though for two days before it did occur every cause existed for believing that the attack would take place immediately, La Ferté took few precautions, and was found unprepared.

On the night of the 16th of July, Condé and Don Juan passed the Scheld, and approaching La Ferté's quarters unperceived, attacked his lines upon a wide front, and carried them at every point in a moment; while the Count de Marsin, with a smaller force, fell upon the quarters of Turenne, but was repulsed with loss. Turenne himself, knowing

which was the real attack, sent two regiments in all haste to support La Ferté ; four others followed almost immediately ; and the great general hastened thither in person as soon as he saw that his own quarters were in a state of defence.

Everything, however, by this time was lost upon the side of La Ferté. A great part of his troops were cut to pieces ; the two regiments which Turenne had sent were entirely defeated, the four others had come to a halt, and the rest of La Ferté's division was flying in confusion towards the bridge, which, embarrassed with baggage and artillery, afforded very scanty means of escape. La Ferté himself was taken, with more than four hundred officers and nearly four thousand soldiers : only two thousand men of that division escaped, all the rest being either killed, drowned, or made prisoners.

The infantry of Condé's army had received orders to march direct for the city, while the cavalry cleared the ground of the broken masses of the enemy ; and by the time Turenne had regained his own quarters, loud shouts of joy from Valenciennes, and a furious cannonade upon the trenches, announced that the city had been relieved, and that a sortie was about to take place.

Turenne next endeavoured to withdraw the regiments which were at that time in the trenches ; but the Spaniards were by this time amongst them, and very few escaped. Nothing then remained for him but to abandon his camp and make the best retreat

he could; and this he effected, with great skill and infinite presence of mind. Nevertheless, a good deal of confusion of course took place; though it was soon remedied by the judgment and calmness of the great French commander, and he made good his retreat under the cannon of Quesnoy.

It has been asserted, that Condé wished to attack Turenne in his retreat, and afterwards proposed to do so even in his camp, but that Don Juan opposed such a bold proceeding. I find no proof, however, of the fact; and it is clear that the retreat of Turenne was effected with a degree of skill which might well deter his enemies from attacking him, although his loss before Valenciennes had been much more severe than theirs before Arras.

The town of Condé was immediately attacked by the Spanish army, and was captured without any effort on the part of France to save it: and after various movements for the purpose of forcing Turenne to a battle, Condé and Don Juan laid siege to St. Guislain. But the moment they had quitted the neighbourhood of Sens, the French army advanced to La Capelle, and laid siege to that small town, in which the Spaniards had established an important magazine. The Count de Schomberg, who commanded in St. Guislain, held out gallantly against the efforts of the Spaniards; and intelligence arriving in the Spanish camp of the attack upon La Capelle, Condé instantly marched to its relief. He was too late,

however; Turenne was already in possession of the town, and the loss before Valenciennes in some degree repaired.

Nevertheless, St. Guislain was not destined to remain long in the possession of the French. Early in the following year, 1657, it fell into the hands of Condé; but Turenne, in retaliation, suddenly turned upon Cambray, after having so well concealed his design that not the slightest preparation had been made to oppose him. The place was almost without a garrison; but tidings of what had occurred reached Condé in time: putting himself at the head of three thousand horse, he marched to Bouchain, and though Cambray was already invested, cut his way through the French army and threw himself into the besieged place.

After such an event, Turenne knew that it would be vain to pursue the siege, and he accordingly quitted Cambray at once, and marched to St. Quentin, in order to cover the frontier, which was menaced by the assembling of the Spanish army at Mons. Having been joined by large reinforcements, and encouraged by the presence of the court, a part of the French army moved under the command of La Ferté to besiege Montmedi, while Turenne with the rest of his forces covered its operations. After a gallant resistance of two months, while the Spanish forces made an unsuccessful attempt to surprise Calais, Montmedi surrendered. St. Venant was afterwards taken; and



Turenne then hastened to lay siege to Mardyke, a city which he had covenanted to give up to England as soon as it was taken. He had now, however, in his army five thousand British soldiers, who had been sent to reinforce his army by the Protector Cromwell, in accordance with a treaty, the terms of which shall be mentioned after we have noticed the progress of the domestic affairs of France during the period occupied by the military events just related.

## CHAPTER IX.

Rejoicings on Mazarin's return.— His Niece married to the Prince de Conti.— Attempt upon his life.— Condé condemned for High Treason.— Coronation of the King.— Louis reprimands the Parliament.— De Retz escapes from prison.— Pursuits of the young King.— Olympia Mancini.— Treason of Hocquincourt.— Treaty between Mazarin and Cromwell.— Secret negotiations at Madrid.— Spain nobly asserts the interests of Condé.— Death of Pomponne de Bellièvre.— Marie Mancini.— Christina of Sweden.— Murder of Monaldeschi.

THE return of Mazarin from exile spread, as we have shown, universal joy and satisfaction through the metropolis of France; and the conduct that he pursued tended to increase the sudden affection with which a volatile people had been seized towards him. During the trial of Choissy, which has been already briefly noticed, several of the members of the parliament who had been exiled were allowed to return; and the lowliness with which the minister appeared to bear his high fortunes told well with the populace after having displayed the vigour and pertinacity of his determination.

On the 29th March 1653, the city of Paris gave a magnificent festival expressly in honour of his return; and Mazarin feasted in the grand hall of

that Hôtel de Ville where so many furious resolutions had been proposed against him. The space around was filled with the fair dames of the city, to whom he sent sweetmeats from the table, and the Place de Grève was crowded to suffocation with a multitude who rent the air with acclamations whenever he appeared, and to whom he cast handfuls of silver from the windows, which were doubtless as much to their taste as the sweetmeats to that of the ladies of Paris.

An honour, however, which was of much greater importance to him in a political point of view, and for which he had laboured with zeal and skill, was now about to fall upon him. The intrigues which he had carried on in Bordeaux for the purpose of attracting the Prince de Conti's attention towards his niece had not been, as we have seen, without effect; and very soon after the prince had arrived at Pzenas, more direct negotiations were commenced on his part in order to obtain the hand of Anna Maria Martinozzi. Mazarin had ever been aware that any direct proposal in regard to the alliance must come from Conti; and the only difficulty which had existed, had been in inducing the prince to take that step; for, possessed as the cardinal was of the whole power of the crown, the dowry of his niece could easily be made such as to render her an object worthy of the pursuit of any one. Though not so beautiful as some of her family, she was, we find, handsome and agreeable in

person; and the dawn of the many virtues which she afterwards displayed was already sufficiently apparent to promise happiness seldom found in the marriages of princes. At length, by the efforts of Sarasin and others, the marriage was arranged, and took place on the 22nd of February 1654, in the chapel of the Louvre. Honours and dignities were showered upon the bridegroom, and, as he was anxious to distinguish himself in arms, he was put at the head of the French army in Catalonia, where he was not exposed to the chance of encountering his more celebrated brother.

At the very same time, however, that Mazarin was marrying his niece to one of the princes of the house of Bourbon, he was proceeding against the other with a degree of virulence and energy which he very seldom showed in his resentments: but Condé had been accustomed to insult as well as to injure him, and they now mutually levelled accusations against each other, in which, perhaps, both were entirely mistaken.

It would seem that the life of the prince was attempted by some assassins in Brussels, and that he loudly accused Mazarin of having been the instigator of the crime. The character of the cardinal, however, is strongly opposed to such a supposition: he was by no means a man of blood, and the calm march of time has cleared away all suspicion of that deed from his character. Not very long after his return from exile, an attempt

was made upon his own life. Two persons of the name of Ricous and Berthaut were seen for several days lingering about the Louvre, and examining all the passages of the building in such a manner as to excite suspicion; and it would seem that they had determined to conceal themselves at the foot of a back staircase, by which Mazarin passed every night, between his own apartments and those of the royal family, and to stab him with their knives as he came down. But the eyes of many persons having been attracted towards them by their previous conduct, their design was discovered, and they were arrested and tried at the Arsenal. The proofs against them were sufficiently strong to call down the most severe sentence of the law; and suspicion attached to a great number of people, principally old adherents of the Prince de Condé, amongst whom Gourville was one, though he afterwards justified himself to Mazarin, and, as we have shown, served him well in the business of Bordeaux.

The actual culprits were condemned to be broken on the wheel; and the sentence says that they shall be broken alive as *hired* assassins. The cardinal made many efforts, whether sincere or affected we cannot tell, to induce the king to spare their lives; but both Louis and the Queen held out, and all that the minister could obtain was, that the criminals should be strangled before the horrid process of the wheel commenced.

• The cardinal, however, it would seem, attributed

the whole design to Condé; and although there existed already upon the registers of the parliament a formal declaration of high treason against the prince, Mazarin was determined to carry the royal charge against him through all the forms of a trial; and, in order to give it every degree of solemnity, the King himself was present upon several occasions while it was proceeding before the parliament. Many of the peers who were related to the prince besought the monarch to suffer them to absent themselves from the court; but that grace was denied to them, and, after waiting a certain length of time to give Condé an opportunity of returning and standing his trial, as he was commanded to do, sentence was pronounced against him and all his principal adherents, declaring them guilty of high treason, forfeiting all their estates, charges, and governments to the crown, and condemning them to death by the axe.

In the course of the same year in which this sentence was pronounced, took place the coronation of the King; and Mazarin, beginning better to understand the people of France, neglected nothing that could give that air of dignity and authority both to the crown itself and to the office of prime minister, which has often proved much more effectual in preventing resistance than the real power of the crown in repressing it. Into the details of the ceremony it is needless to enter. Louis remained still under the tutelage of Mazarin, and Anne of

Austria even yielded to her minister almost all the power she had regained.

In the mean time, with the aid of Fouquet, the cardinal applied himself to remove in some degree the financial difficulties of the state ; and in 1653 a new system, affecting the provincial government, was introduced, which remained in force for many years, and which greatly contributed to give the minister, and afterwards the king, a more full and immediate command over the provinces. It may be remembered, that at the commencement of the troubles of the Fronde there had existed in each province an intendant of finance. The parliament, however, insisted on those officers being recalled ; but so much benefit had accrued to the minister from their services, that immediately upon Mazarin's return it was determined not only to re-establish them, but to add great additional powers to those they before possessed. They now received the title of intendants of justice, police, and finance ; and their functions are very well explained by that name.

Some of the financial measures of the minister, however, gave great dissatisfaction to the people, especially one in regard to a new coinage, which the parliament wisely viewed with a jealous eye. The King, having issued a decree upon the subject, held his bed of justice in the parliament, and caused the edict to be verified. No sooner was he gone,

however, and had proceeded to Vincennes to hunt, than the parliament again assembled for the declared purpose of examining the king's decree. This had by far too strong a resemblance to the former proceedings of that body to be suffered to pass unnoticed; and Mazarin represented to the king that some act of vigour was absolutely necessary to put a stop to the evil which was likely to ensue.

The King instantly set out, without changing his dress; and, entering the parliament house in his large hunting-boots, with his horsewhip in his hand, and followed by all the officers of his household in the same costume, he astonished the whole parliament by exclaiming in the tone of a master that would be obeyed, "The evils which your assemblies have produced are well known; I order you to cease those which you have begun upon my edicts. I forbid you, the first president, to suffer such assemblies, and every one here present to demand them." Having thus spoken with an air and look of majesty which well announced what the boy would become at a later period, the King rose, and quitted the hall without waiting for any reply.

Though struck and astonished, the parliament hesitated and wavered, and ultimately showed some disposition to resist; but the opportune arrival of Turenne, and the firm reasoning of that great officer with the chief president, induced him to



take such steps as put a stop to proceedings, the natural tendency of which was to plunge the country once more into civil war.

The great mover of all former factions, De Retz, remained in prison; but he still contrived to give both trouble and apprehension to Mazarin. His uncle having died, he became metropolitan, and every effort was made to induce him to resign his archbishopric. He took rapid measures, however, for securing it to himself, and for carrying on the administration thereof by means of his vicars. To remove him from the neighbourhood of the Parisian clergy, whom he contrived to excite to continual applications in his favour, he was conveyed to the citadel of Nantes, then under the government of the Maréchal de Meilleraie. From that prison, however, he contrived to make his escape in August 1654, and intended, it would appear, to have proceeded with all speed to Paris, to have cantoned himself once more in the archbishopric, and there to have set the court at defiance. He was prevented from effecting all this by an accident. Having been let down from the walls of the fortress, he found a horse prepared for him, but was so much agitated and alarmed that he does not seem to have had full command over himself. Seeing a party of soldiers, whom he supposed to be drawn up in order to prevent his escape, he produced a pistol, which, according to his own account, frightened his horse by the sun flashing on the

barrel. Joly, however, declares that the cardinal was too frightened himself to sit the animal, which was powerful and fiery. At all events he was thrown, and dislocated his shoulder; but, getting up again immediately, he remounted and effected his escape. The pain which he suffered from the injury which he had received prevented him from proceeding very far, and, instead of making his way to Paris, he was obliged to betake himself to a place of security, where he was treated somewhat unskilfully, and detained so long that no hope of executing his scheme with regard to the capital remained. He thence fled to Spain, and made his way across that country to Rome, but did not return to France for a considerable number of years, by which time age had deprived him of that virulent energy which had rendered him a scourge to the country that gave him birth.

Many anxieties undoubtedly attended the course of Mazarin; and one of those anxieties was the approach of Louis XIV. to manhood. It was natural to suppose that a young monarch full of life and ambition should, under any circumstances, be desirous to take possession of the power that was his own, and to exercise it at his own discretion. The precocity, too, of the young monarch, both in bodily and in mental powers, his height, his strength, his majestic demeanour, all at the age of sixteen or seventeen, giving him the appearance of much greater maturity, might well teach Mazarin to ima-

gine that the royal authority would speedily be snatched from his hands by one who already could in a moment assume the monarch, and, though inspired by others, could act and speak as from himself. As the superintendent of the education of the royal children, the cardinal would have had a difficult task to perform, a difficult choice to make between his duty and his ambition, had the rectitude of his heart been equal to the subtlety of his mind. Such was not the case, however, and his most strenuous efforts were directed to keep the mind of the king in such a state as to render his own authority permanent.

To have withheld Louis XIV. from the exercises and pleasures of manhood would have been impossible; and Mazarin soon saw that such was the case. He suffered him therefore to seek the trenches before a besieged city, to put himself at the head of his armies, and to venture near the battle-field; he encouraged him to ride, to fence, to run at the ring, and to practise all those manly exercises for which he had a natural taste, and in which he acquitted himself with kingly grace. But these were not such dangerous pleasures, at least for the minister, as might have been found in the reading of history, in the study of policy, or in inquiries into the system of finance.

From those studies Mazarin took care to withhold him, by constant pleasures and pastimes, and by everything that could distract him from serious

thought, and occupy the corporeal rather than the mental man. There is a deeper accusation against that minister still—an accusation so dark, so horrible, that when we read it, we are inclined to thank God it is but an accusation. La Porte, the valet-de-chambre of the young king, in a letter to Anne of Austria, written in the course of the year 1653, repeats in distinct terms a charge which he had before made against the cardinal, and which had brought about his own disgrace. He asserts that a great crime had been committed by the minister upon the king's person. He calls upon the King as the sufferer, to come forward and verify his assertion; and he demands an immediate inquiry into the facts, for his own justification. The inquiry never took place; La Porte remained in disgrace till after the death of the Queen and Mazarin, and then was permitted to return. The charge thus remains merely a charge; but it is too distinct, and too strongly supported by the following facts, that it was never investigated, that it was never refuted, and that the king suffered the accuser to return to his court, not to deserve a place in every history of Louis XIV.\*

In many amusements, innocent enough, but dangerous in their consequences, Louis XIV. passed

\* It seems to me that Voltaire has mistaken entirely the character of the crime with which La Porte wishes to accuse Mazarin. The words which he makes use of to describe it are, "l'attentat manuel qu'on venoit de commettre sur sa personne."

all the time which he did not spend in the camp. Balls, dances, parties of pleasure, jousts, feats of arms, gallant spectacles, pomp, pageantry, and ostentation, were all brought round the young monarch by Mazarin, who endeavoured to form in him a taste for every light and frivolous amusement; but while he thus directed the pursuits of the king, he gave a bent to the pursuits of the people also.

It might be, perhaps, with ambitious views, if not directly upon the crown itself, at least upon many high stations which surrounded it, that Mazarin kept his nieces continually at the court, and brought them constantly into the society of the young monarch. This frequent proximity naturally produced a degree of intimacy between Louis and the fair Italians, which soon ripened, it would appear, into more tender feelings between Louis and Olympia Mancini, sister of the Duchess of Mercœur. When she first arrived in France, she had been remarkably plain; but as she grew up to womanhood, a great change took place in her personal appearance. Her eyes were always fine, and she had now grown plump and much fairer than when she first appeared; her colour was high, but delicate; her cheeks were remarkable for the beautiful dimples that appeared in them; her hands, arms, and feet were small and beautiful; and she added to all these attractions considerable wit, talent, grace, and a strong desire to please. Such is the account

Given of her by Madame de Motteville; and with this girl constantly in the society of the King, it might well be expected that he should become enamoured of her. Mazarin gave every encouragement, and the Queen afforded every opportunity. At all the balls of the court, the King led out Mademoiselle de Mancini or the Duchess de Mercœur to dance; they read, they sat, they talked together, and the King applied himself eagerly to learn Italian, for the sole purpose of speaking a tenderer language than his own with her who had first taught him the feelings which he wished to express therein. We shall have occasion to mark the course of this passion hereafter: it is sufficient to have noticed it here, amongst the acts of Louis' youth.

We must now turn to matters which affected France more seriously for the time being. The intrigues in favour of Condé had never ceased in Paris; and they had been principally carried on by the beautiful Countess of Chatillon, whose charms and whose wit were alike employed in favour of a man who had, in one instance at least, acted towards her with as much disinterested generosity as love. She had been suspected, whether with or without cause does not appear, of having taken a considerable share in that conspiracy, the object of which was to assassinate Mazarin; and her eyes were continually turned towards any one whose discontent rendered it probable that they

would listen to proposals in favour of the exiled prince. Nobody at first sight seemed less likely to be gained to his cause than the well-known Maréchal de Hocquincourt, who had been always opposed to him and devotedly attached to Mazarin. He had, indeed, more than once proposed to put Condé to death, and had shown a far greater degree of virulence against him than had been displayed by any other partisan of the court. But his favour had waned by this time; he had not very much distinguished himself at the forcing of the lines of Arras, and for some months he had not been employed at all, when the agents of Condé and the Duchess of Chatillon endeavoured to engage him, not only to serve the prince, but to give up to him the two important fortresses of Peronne and of Ham, of which he was governor. His negotiation with Condé and the Spaniards had advanced very far ere it was discovered; and Mazarin, as soon as he gained intelligence of the transaction, sent in haste for Turenne, to concert the means of preventing the treacherous general from introducing the Spaniards into the strong places in which he commanded.

Turenne hastened to Compiègne; and Mazarin laid the whole case before him, proposing that the royal army should immediately march to Peronne. Turenne, however, objected. Condé was already in the neighbourhood with a large force: it was ascertained that he had been authorized by the

Spanish government to offer Hocquincourt four hundred thousand crowns, and to create him Lieutenant-general of all Flanders; and it was to be apprehended that these tempting offers would be accepted at once, if the slightest intimation reached the marshal's ears that the royal army was on its march towards Peronne. To prevent such an intimation from reaching him, if the army did march, was nearly impossible: troubles were at the same time beginning to show themselves in Paris; and the least false step would have brought a foreign army into the heart of the kingdom, and would have thrown the whole of France once more into a state of civil war.

Turenne, therefore, advised the minister to temporise and endeavour to effect by negotiation with the faithless governor of Peronne that which it would have been difficult to effect by force. Messengers were accordingly sent to Hocquincourt, bearing such offers from the court of France as were judged likely, in combination with the dangers of his position, to outweigh the temptations held forth to him by the Spaniards, and to induce him to give up a trust of which he had proved himself unworthy.

The negotiations lasted for fifteen days; and, with effrontery scarcely paralleled, Hocquincourt received and treated with the envoys of Spain and the envoys of France as if he had been an independent monarch. He made no attempt to conceal



his proceedings ; but he kept a watchful eye upon the movements of the French armies, while the presence of the Prince of Condé within two leagues of Peronne afforded him always a resource in case the King of France should attempt coercive measures after milder ones had failed. His treaty with Mazarin, however, was at length concluded ; and he agreed, upon receiving two hundred thousand crowns and the assurance of perfect safety, to resign his government of Ham and Peronne to his son, and retire to his estates in the interior of the country. Hocquincourt thus escaped unscathed, though criminal in the highest degree : but Mazarin avenged himself upon the fair intrigante who had laboured so hard to seduce him from his duty, and by arresting her, put a stop for the time to the Duchess of Chatillon's strenuous efforts in favour of Condé.

About this time took place one of the most important political transactions of Mazarin's life ; a transaction for which he has been censured severely, and perhaps with some degree of justice ; though we must remember that the peculiarities of his situation, and the difficulties which long civil wars had brought upon France, rendered sacrifices expedient and even necessary, which at any other period would have been impolitic and disgraceful. The transaction to which I allude is the treaty entered into between France and the English commonwealth under Cromwell. The monarchical

writers of those times bitterly attacked Mazarin for treating at all with the great usurper who had assumed the leading staff of the English people; but the really disgraceful part of the transaction was the stipulation to expel from France, and withdraw all countenance from those unfortunate princes who after their father's death had found an asylum in the dominions of Louis, and one of whom at least had served him gallantly in the field.

No sooner had the authority of Cromwell appeared so far confirmed as to give the surrounding monarchs reason to believe that it was established on a durable basis, than both France and Spain courted the new ruler of the great maritime power, and each sought to engage him to take her part in the quarrel which existed between them. Spain was the first to recognise his power in a formal manner, and many were the advantages and prospects of advantage held out to Cromwell by Don Louis de Haro; but the keen mind of the usurper led him to see far greater benefits to be derived from an alliance with France, if France were inclined to submit to his exorbitant demands. From the first he treated both powers with haughty indifference—dictated rather than required, and by appearing to hesitate between the two, stimulated both to greater concessions.

Some time before, he had demanded and obtained from the States of Holland a treaty of peace, by which it was agreed that the family of the Prince of

Orange should be for ever excluded from the office of Stadtholder; and two of the principal points which he now required France to concede were, the expulsion of the Duke of York from the dominions of the King of France, and the denial of all aid from that monarch to Charles II. Mazarin temporised, and did all that he could to avoid yielding; but his feeble though subtle policy was scarcely able to oppose any barrier to the keen and cutting proceedings of the Protector; and, after having, there is every reason to believe, fomented, as far as possible, the ill-will which existed between Holland and England, and which broke out into open war in 1652, he yielded to almost all the demands of Cromwell for the purpose of detaching him from the interests of Spain, and obtaining his powerful support in the military operations taking place in Flanders. With this before his eyes, he even suffered the Protector to interfere in the affairs of France respecting the Huguenots of Nismes; he abandoned to their fate the catholics of England, in whose favour some faint efforts had been made; and he forgot the rites of hospitality and the dues of kindred, and abandoned Charles II. and his brother to their fate.

Cromwell engaged to support France in her wars against Spain, and not to cease his efforts till the latter country was forced to agree to a reasonable peace. It was stipulated that Dunkirk, Gravelines, and Mardyke should be attacked by the united

forces of the allies; and that Dunkirk and Mardyke, two most important places on the coast, should be ceded to England, while Gravelines remained in the hands of France. Such sacrifices, under such circumstances, immediately called forth furious murmurs from the French people, and a thousand libels issued from the press, exaggerating the baseness and evil policy of Mazarin. One especially, attributed justly to the pen of De Retz, displayed in the strongest colours the indignity which France suffered in giving up two strong continental towns to which she could lay such just claim, and in allowing herself to be compelled by an usurper to drive forth from her bosom the two grandchildren of Henry IV.

Mazarin pursued calmly his way, however, undeterred by anything that might be said against his policy. While Bordeaux, the French ambassador in London, was carrying on the negotiations which ended in this treaty, Mazarin, whose ultimate view was to effect a peace with Spain, and to obtain a claim upon that country itself by a union between the young king of France and a daughter of the Spanish monarch, despatched the secretary of the state, Lionne, to Madrid, in order to propose the alliance which he had so much at heart, as the price of a peace between the two countries. The French ambassador took his way to the Spanish capital in the disguise of a merchant; but he was furnished with fuller powers to treat than were perhaps ever

before given to a secret envoy. On arriving in Madrid, he immediately opened a communication with Don Louis de Haro; and so privately was everything carried on, that for several weeks no one in the Spanish capital was aware that a French minister had arrived in Spain, except the king, Don Louis himself, and one or two of his most confidential advisers.

The great difficulties of the negotiation lay in the claims of the Prince de Condé. Spain was, it is true, reduced to the utmost point of depression: she was exhausted both of finances and of men; England had declared against her; the Duke of Lorraine had quitted her service with his army; internal dissensions in France no longer caused a diversion in her favour, and everything was to be lost and nothing gained by protracting the war. Don Louis de Haro, however, with generous pertinacity adhered to all his demands in favour of Condé, and required, as an essential point in the proposed treaty between France and Spain, that a stipulation should be inserted, assuring to that great prince pardon and oblivion for the past, with a promise of being re-established in all his estates, honours, charges, and governments. With this Lionne would not comply, repeating twenty times,\* "Pass me those three words, charges and governments, and the peace is concluded." Don

See his own despatch.

Louis adhered inflexibly, however, to his demands, and upon it the negotiation was broken off.

It is to be remarked, however, that although Lionne so positively asserted that peace would be concluded if the words he objected to were omitted, it is by no means certain that his expectations would have been realized. There still remained to be determined, whether the hand of the Infanta would or would not be given to Louis XIV, and whether France would or would not agree to abandon all interference in the matter of Portugal.

The affairs of Spain in the Low Countries were, as we have shown, beginning to wear a better appearance, and the exclamation of Anne of Austria, when she heard of the defeat of Turenne before Valenciennes, that it was not to be expected that success would always attend the French arms, showed that the court felt their confidence somewhat diminished. Of course, the spirits of the Spaniards were raised; but the successful negotiations of Mazarin with England, and the appearance of a large reinforcement from Great Britain in the French camp at St. Quentin, which took place in 1657, more than counterbalanced any successes which Spain had obtained.

A still greater advantage, too, was being slowly attained by the French prime minister; namely, the complete control of both parliament and people in the French metropolis. From time to time, in-

deed, the parliament would take the opportunity of his absence with the armies to make some efforts to regain its former power; but now a thousand voices were ready to declaim against its insolent interference in affairs of state, and members of its own body were the first to point out its folly in attempting to struggle with the will of the king. The death of Pomponne de Bellièvre, in 1657, who had succeeded Molé as the chief president, and who was the only man, we are told, that Mazarin ever feared sufficiently to court constantly, deprived the parliament of its last great support; while the minister was daily increasing his own strength by the alliances he formed with the principal families of France. One niece was already married to the Duke of Mercœur; and thus a bond of union was established between himself and the house of Vendôme, which was strengthened about this period by his reconciliation with the Duke of Beaufort. The Princess de Conti allied him to the royal family; and her sister connected him with the ducal house of Modena. Olympia Mancini, too, after having been long the object of the youthful regard of Louis XIV, seeing that there was no probability of the crown of France falling on her brow, accepted, in 1657, the hand of the son of Prince Thomas of Savoy, to whom the county of Soissons had descended from his mother the Princess of Carignan; and left her place in the king's affections to be filled up by her sister Mary.

Her marriage, indeed, gave that sister advantages which she herself had not possessed; for there can be little doubt that the Queen, though she had not thought fit to put a stop to the intimacy between her son and the niece of Mazarin, had seen with much apprehension the attentions which he paid her. When she found, however, that he suffered Olympia Mancini to marry the Count de Soissons without any appearance of mortification, she became reassured in regard to his conduct, and beheld without even tacit opposition the commencement of a far more serious passion for the younger sister. Mary and Hortense had as yet been kept at a distance from the court; and Mary had been placed for some time in a convent, at the earnest desire of her mother, who wished her to embrace a life of devotion.

The father of these young women, we find from Madame de Motteville, had been celebrated as an astrologer, and had predicted that his daughter Mary would prove the cause of great dissensions. Her personal appearance, however, when she was introduced at the court of Anne of Austria, did not seem to imply that the dissensions she was foredoomed to cause would proceed from love. She was at that time remarkably plain and extremely thin, and possessed none of those graces and attractions which might justly have caused alarm to Anne of Austria.

About the time of Mary Mancini's appearance



at the court of France, the French capital was visited, for the second time, by the personage who rendered herself so celebrated by abdicating a throne she disgraced, and devoting herself to the pursuit of pleasure, under the pretence of philosophy. If it be part of the duty of monarchs to set an example of virtue to their subjects, Christina of Sweden was unworthy of filling the throne of Gustavus Adolphus ; and we might honour the severity of her judgment of herself, had her abdication proceeded from consideration for her subjects, and not from the volatility of a depraved and licentious mind. She had, from the commencement of the civil wars of France, taken much interest therein, and had endeavoured to mediate, unsolicited, between the contending parties. Her mediation had been rejected with brief thanks by all ; but after her abdication, as she passed through Brussels, she sought eagerly to see Condé, who was the great hero of her imagination. At the same time, she refused to grant him the same ceremonial honours which she yielded to the Archduke of Austria. Such a pitiful and unphilosophical instance of her clinging to the shadow of royalty after she had cast away the substance, had the effect which might be expected on the mind of Condé, and he refused to visit her till she agreed to make no distinction between him and the Archduke.

She afterwards appeared at the court of France,

in 1656; and at the request of Charles Gustavus, to whom she had resigned the Swedish throne, she was received with high honours. A letter from the Duke of Guise is extant, detailing the appearance of the northern heroine at the time of her entering the French territories. After some other remarks upon her person, he says, "She has one shoulder high; but she conceals that defect so well by the absurdity of her dress, her demeanour, and her actions, that one might lay wagers about it. Her face is large, without being out of proportion; all the features are so also, and strongly marked; the nose aquiline, the mouth large enough without being disagreeable, her teeth passable, her eyes fine and full of fire; her complexion, notwithstanding some marks of the small-pox, brilliant and fine enough; the form of the face tolerable, but accompanied by a head-dress very singular. It is a man's wig, very thick and much turned up on the forehead, very thick at the sides, and below thin and pointed: the top of the head is a tissue of hair, and the back has something of the head-dress of a woman. Sometimes she wears a hat; her bodice, laced behind and slanting, is almost made like our pourpoints; her shift coming out all round above her petticoat, which she wears but badly fastened up, and not too straight. She is always very much powdered, with a world of pomatum, and never wears gloves. She is shod like a man; and she has a man's voice and tone, &c. &c." "I believe," he adds after

some more remarks, "that I have omitted no part of her portrait, except that she sometimes wears a sword and a buff jerkin, that her wig is black, and that she has nothing upon her bosom but a scarf of the same colour."

Notwithstanding all her singularities, she contrived to win greatly upon the affections of Anne of Austria during her first visit; but other reports and manifold stories intervened, and having returned to France not long after, without announcing her approach, she received an intimation that she must halt at Fontainebleau, her residence in which place she signalized by ordering her attendant Monaldeschi to be put to death in the gallery of the Stags. The fault which drew down upon him the sanguinary wrath of Christina, has never been very clearly ascertained; but it would appear that some treacherous indiscretion on his part, regarding the intrigues of his depraved mistress, either with himself or with Sentinelli, brother of her captain of the guard, ultimately produced his death. His letters were stopped; and, furnished with proofs of his fault, Christina sent for a priest named Father Mathurin, and having caused Monaldeschi to be brought into her presence, she accused him of treason, and ordered him to prepare for death by confession to the priest. The unhappy man prayed for his life in vain, and refused to confess to the priest whom she had sent for to witness the horrid act. In order to compel him to confess, she

ordered the captain of her guard to wound him before he killed him, which he accordingly did, after he and the priest had both carried Monaldesci's petition for life to the libertine but inexorable woman, who had prepared everything for putting him to death. The unhappy man then confessed; and, while Christina, in a chamber within hearing, remained laughing and talking and ridiculing her attendant's cowardice, the captain of the guard performed his bloody task, running his sword through the throat of Monaldesci, who wore a concealed coat of mail, and drawing it backwards and forwards till he was dead.

Notwithstanding this dreadful act, for which there was no more palliation than for any murder committed by a common cut-throat, she was suffered, at her earnest entreaty, to visit Paris once more, and was then sent out of France, followed by universal disgust.

Towards the end of 1657, the political world of France was greatly agitated by reports of Mazarin's ill health; and on his return from the army, whither he had accompanied the young King, the alteration in the minister's appearance was remarkable. The physicians suspected the disease to be the stone, and for some time eager cabals and intrigues proceeded in the French capital regarding the place of him whom all men prophetically consigned to the grave. But repose, skilful treatment,

and more than all, perhaps, continued success, restored Mazarin to health for the time, and early in the year 1658 he was prepared to accompany the King to the army, and to open that campaign which crushed the last hopes of Spain.

END OF THE SECOND VOLUME.





