MADAME DE SÉVIGNÉ

AND

HER CONTEMPORARIES.

VOL. I.

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PREFACE.

THE addition of another volume to 'Madame de Sévigné and her Contemporaries,' demands a few words, explanatory as to the first edition. The author, a reader of general history, but more particularly of the memoirs and letters of the seventeenth century, had been in the habit of writing on scraps of paper whatever struck her fancy in reading of those times; at last the papers grew troublesome and voluminous; on placing them in some sort of order, they formed more of a work than she expected, and she wrote them out for publication, revising the whole, and printing two volumes. The book was attributed to a more practised hand in literature than hers, and was soon out of print.

The author has now added to the sketches

as many as make a third volume, for the purpose of stating various historical matters connected with the times which struck her as omissions on reading her own book, as well as of bringing forward notices of persons less known to the English reader than some of the more public characters of the times of Madame de Sévigné.

The following sketches are added to the work. Voiture the poet, Charles Duke of Lorraine, Tancred de Rohan, Madame de Villedieu, the Countess de la Suze, Madame Deshoullières, the two families of Schomberg, the Abbess of Fontevrauld, M de Pomponne, the minister of state and intimate friend of Madame de Sévigné, and Lord Portland, ambassador from William III. to Louis XIV. Considerable additions are made to the notices of the Duchess de Chevreuse, Marie-Louise de Gonzague, and Bossuet; notes are added in various parts of the volumes, and the account of the Comte and Comtesse de Grammont, and also of the King's confessor, Le Tellier, have been rewritten, and consider-

ably enlarged. It may be asked why an account of Le Tellier is brought forward in a book that professes to treat only of the times of Madame de Sévigné, as Le Tellier came on the stage of life after the decease of Madame de Sévigné; but her letters are so descriptive of persons who composed the court of Louis, and the King's character ("that epitome of strength, weakness, dignity, and vanity") so much influenced persons forming his court, that it was impossible to finish the series of sketches otherwise than at the death of Louis, and his confessor plays a deep part in the closing scenes of his reign, a reign full of dramatic life, ending in domestic tragedy.

In like manner the ministries of Richelieu and Mazarin, and the times of the Fronde, are given as a preface or introduction to the whole; Madame de Sévigné having been educated during the ministry of the first, and married and left a widow during the reign of the last-named minister.

Bossuet says of history what applies still more

strongly to letters and memoirs :—" Whoever wishes to look into the course of human things, must take them long before they happen, and must observe the manners, morals, and habits, not only of the mass of the people, but of the kings, the princes, and leading men, who have had influence on the times" For leading men may also be read leading women; women having enjoyed an influence in France full as great as that of men.

The writer has attempted, but not with the success she could have wished, to arrange the series of characters as the links in a chain of events, so that they may either be taken separately, or in one whole view, as to the society held by one family or one generation

Madame de Sévigné can be known but by her letters, or by the enthusiasts in her praise. Sir James Mackintosh says of her :—" She has so filled my heart with affectionate interest in her as a living friend, that I can scarcely bring myself to think of her as being a writer, or

having a style; but she has become a celebrated, probably an immortal writer, without expecting it." As a proof how little is to be known of Madame de Sévigné, there were no memoirs of her life in the French language until latterly, with the exception of the short notices in an historical dictionary, or what can be gleaned from the introductions to the various editions of her letters, or the passing remarks of the writers of the day; nothing is known of her; to know her, we must have recourse to her letters, or to our own imagination.

But these letters are like real life,—all is passion, all is action; everything interests and affects her, there is neither reserve or constraint in them; she amuses herself with affectation, pretension, and the ridiculous in things and persons; taking each character in life as it is; thinking with her contemporary, Boileau,—"Chacun pris en son air, est agréable en soi;" and all the little details of society become as interesting to her readers as to herself.

Amongst the authorities for the facts advanced in these volumes are the following:—

Sismondi's Histoire des Français.—Voltaire's Siècle de Louis XIV.—Lettres de Maintenon — Lettres de Villars.—Lettres de La Fayette.— Mémoires de Retz.—Mémoires de Motteville — Mémoires de Montpensier.—Mémoires de Coulanges. — Mémoires de Saint-Simon. — Vie de Fénelon, par de Bausset.—Vie de Bossuet — Génie de Bossuet.—Œuvres de Bourdaloue.— Biographie Universelle — Essai sur l'Eloquence de la Chaire.—Œuvres de La Fayette.—Les Essais de Craufurd.—Vie de Molière, par Taschereau.

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INTRODUCTION.

THESE volumes embrace a period of above a century, beginning with the government of the Cardinal de Richelieu, whose spirit reigned over France long after his decease, and prepared the brilliancy of the reign of Louis XIV.; continuing through the miserable years of the old age of that monarch, with the triumph of the Jesuits; and closing with the death of the great king. The times referred to are inexhaustible in history, anecdote, and reflection; and the work might have been extended to many more volumes. It has

been drawn up in the form of divisions, or biographical chapters, for the convenience of those who may desire to illustrate the book with portraits. The materials have been taken from many sources,—chiefly foreign libraries and rare old books.

These materials have been collected for the better understanding of letters admired by all the world—those of Madame de Sévigné.

A great many passages from those letters, from the Memoirs of the Cardinal de Retz, and from Madame de Maintenon's letters, have been left in the original French; as all who read and appreciate Madame de Sévigné may be supposed to understand that language nearly as well as their own.

In taking into consideration the changes and variations of society and manners in France during the times here treated of, allowance must be made for the change everywhere that one hundred years bring, in morals, manners, fashions, and education; though that change in France during the period in question was not nearly so great as it was in England.

The times of Louis XIII., of Madame de Sé-

vigné, and of Louis XIV., ran parallel to the days of James I. and his favourite, Buckingham; to the proposed Spanish match; to the unfortunate connection of Charles I. with France; the visits of Marie de Médicis to her daughter in England; Henrietta-Maria's return to France after the tragical end of her husband; the usurpation of Cromwell; the introduction, after the Restoration, of the worst description of foreigners, both men and women, at the court of Charles II. ("où il n'y avait ni foi ni loi"); and, finally, the expulsion of James II. and the reign of Queen Anne, whose death preceded that of Louis XIV.

Anything like a history of society, or rather the usages of society, as exemplified in the history of individuals, could not be put together in England as it has been done often in France; but could it be so reported with fidelity, it would prove the most instructive of stories. In England we must look at what was the existence of the great families residing in their castles and manor-houses, and seek the routine of life at Penshurst, Wilton, Haddon, Bolsover, and Hatfield, in the olden time. But this could never be undertaken without access to the private letters of those families.

Mr. Lodge's curious letters, called 'Illustrations of British History,' ending in the reign of James I., make us better acquainted with the corruption in politics, the family quarrels, the magnificence and the meanness of our ancestors, their expenditure and their debts,—in fact, with their social condition generally,—than all the composed books in the world could possibly do: but the letters, as letters, are ill-written, and what *saunterers* in reading deem tiresome. Evelyn, Pepys, and Lord Clarendon's letters are as stiff and formal as the old-fashioned Dutch gardens of the time, with their trees cut in shapes and carved hedgerows: but the persons, the letters, the houses, and the gardens were all suited to each other, and admirable in their way.

No good letter writers appeared in England until the days of Horace Walpole and Lady Mary Wortley Montague. This was a full century after the brilliant days of French letter-writing. One way of accounting for this superiority was, the manner in which the French women passed their time. Neither music nor painting formed part of the education of the upper ranks in France. Those talents were left to professional persons;

no lady is ever named as playing on any instrument The enormous portion of time this absence of what we call accomplishments gave to the French women was passed at their tapestry-frames; and every lady of high degree had a demoiselle de compagnie, who read aloud to the indefatigable workers.

By this means the women acquired much information,—good or bad, according to their turn of mind. With some it formed the style; and the least gifted amongst them had at least their heads and fingers employed on their work.

The natural and easy style of French correspondence is also accounted for by the constant habit of dictating the letter, and its being written by some young person, as part of their education. The Duchesse de Bourgogne and Madame de Caylus perpetually wrote Madame de Maintenon's letters; and *those* letters more resemble conversation than the letters written by herself.

Many of the ladies of rank in France were educated by men of learning. After their marriage, some of them passed much of their time in the church ceremonies of catholicism; some with their families, others in the great world or at court.

Those who had a turn for reading studied the more solid parts of learning in the Latin authors, or church divinity; others cultivated the literature of the day (and those days were the glorious days of Pascal, Bossuet, Corneille, Racine, and Molière); and when separated from their families, these persons wrote as naturally as they would have conversed. The grace of language, the depth of thought, and the knowledge that these studies imparted, can readily be traced in the letters of Madame de Sévigné, Madame de Grignan, Madame de Maintenon, Madame de Villars, Mademoiselle de Scudery, Madame de La Fayette, and many others.

THE TIMES AND SOCIETY

OF

MADAME DE SÉVIGNÉ.

THE CARDINAL DE RICHELIEU.

Born, 1585, died, 1642.

THE French find a parallel in history as to character, means, and ends, between the Cardinal de Richelieu and Napoleon, as they do between De Retz and Talleyrand; but the likeness is stronger between our English Wolsey and Richelieu. Richelieu was the better politician and the worse man of the two. He had to do with a poor weak king; Wolsey had a tyrant for a monarch, and when his ambition was thwarted, his better nature rose from the ashes of his hopes.

Richelieu was a man

> " Of an unbounded stomach, ever ranking
> Himself with princes, one that by suggestion
> Ty'd all the kingdom, simony was fair play;
> His own opinion was his law, i' th' presence
> He would say untruths, and be ever double
> Both in his words and meaning, he was never,
> But when he meant to ruin, pitiful,
> His promises were, as he then was, mighty;
> But his performance, as he now is, nothing.
> Of his own body he was ill, and gave
> The clergy ill example "

As the faithful Griffith says to Catherine of Wolsey:

> " May it please your highness
> To hear me speak his good, now?
> This Cardinal, undoubtedly,
> Was fashioned to much honour. From his cradle
> He was a scholar,
> Exceeding wise, fair spoken, and persuading;
> Lofty and sour to them that loved him not,
> But to those men that sought him, sweet as summer,
> And though he were unsatisfied in getting
> (Which was a sin), yet in bestowing
> He was most princely."

All Shakspeare's worst characters have some claim upon our kindly regard; so Wolsey has, so has Richelieu; and no doubt Shakspeare would have seized upon such a character for an historical play. Ambition, that scarlet sin, prompted both Wolsey and Richelieu to remove all obstructions in the way of their preferment. Like Wolsey,

Richelieu drew together a world of wealth for his own ends, ever intent on personal aggrandizement.

Sir Edward Bulwer found out the power of Richelieu's character as to dramatic effect, and has made an excellent play, but not quite contented us. We criticize the difference between Shakspeare's and Schiller's treating a character that belongs to history, and his management of the subject Genius is truth, and not embellishment; and we feel the want of Shakspeare's lines of truth, written in gold or iron, on historical subjects.

Sir Edward Bulwer has made Richelieu a patriot as well as a hero. He exclaims—

> " In thy unseen and abstract majesty,
> My France, my country, I have bodied forth
> A thing to love What are these robes of state,
> This pomp, this palace? Perishable baubles!
> In this world, two things only are immortal—
> 'Fame and a people.' "

Another passage much admired is, the midnight soliloquy in the Castle of Ruelle—too long to quote; but it is not exactly in character with the Cardinal's nightly reflections. Sir Edward

Bulwer has given him a great heart as well as a powerful intellect, joined to the subtlety of the consummate statesman.

The dialogue is beautiful, the stage effect of the play is admirably managed, and the interest sustained to the end, when the Cardinal throws off his fox's skin, to the dismay of the King and the courtiers, and rises from a bed of sickness to power and glory. The incident upon which the play closes is the betrayal of the treaty: a fact in the conspiracy of Cinq-Mars, which is treated with historic truth.

Armand du Plessis, the Cardinal de Richelieu, was born at Paris, in 1585. He was educated for the army, and passed successively from the colleges of Navarre and Liseux to the Military Academy; but the destiny of his elder brother controlled his, as was often the case in France. His brother, already Bishop of Luçon, became a monk, and it was represented to the young Armand that a bishopric which had belonged to his great-uncle and to his brother ought to remain in the family; he accordingly quitted the army to study theology with great ardour.

His youth might have retarded his appointments, but he went to Rome, and pronounced before the Pope a Latin oration, which no longer allowed of his being thought too young. He became a bishop at one-and-twenty, and gave himself up to ecclesiastical business, till the assembly of the clergy in 1614, when the Bishop of Luçon was charged to become the bearer of the grievances of the clergy to the King.

He complained that the clergy were but rarely called to the councils of their monarch; as if the honour of serving God made them unfit to serve the King, his image here on earth. The orator brought forward the example of the ancient Druids, whom the Gauls consulted in times of peril; he praised the prudence of the King in leaving the government of France in the hands of the Queen-Mother; he entreated the young monarch to persevere in this wise conduct, and to add to the august title of "Reine-Mère," "Mère du Royaume." Thus Richelieu boldly opened the road to fortune, and the dignity of Almoner to the Queen was his first recompense.

For some time the King was pleased at Riche-

lieu's moderating the passions and resentments of his mother; but when he followed her to Blois, Louis, doubting his good offices, sent him to his diocese, and afterwards banished him to the Pope's dominions at Avignon.

Richelieu now took to his pen, and wrote his work called 'La Perfection du Chrétien.' Two years thus passed, and Marie de Médicis managed that the Duke d'Epernon, who was in rebellion against the King, should carry her off from the Castle of Blois. The King's minister, the Duke de Luynes, became uneasy at the turn matters were taking, and Père Joseph reminded him that the only person who could appease Marie de Médicis was in exile at Avignon.

Richelieu was accordingly summoned; but, to the surprise of the Queen, he advised her relying solely on those faithful servants who had brought her out of captivity. She wished to name him her chancellor, but he declined, and his political sagacity made him wait till division had broken forth amongst all parties; and, faithful to a system of management of the King, the Queen, and the favourite De Luynes, he never

rested till he had brought about peace, and a marriage between his niece and the nephew of De Luynes.

After the death of the Connétable de Luynes, in 1622, Richelieu became Cardinal. He went to place his new honours at the feet of Marie de Médicis, and said to her:—"The purple honours I owe your Majesty will always make me remember the vows I have made to spend my blood in your Majesty's service."

The Queen, after De Luynes's death, was admitted to the council—an advantage denied to Richelieu. On the Queen remonstrating, Louis explained himself thus on the subject:—"I know him better than you do; he is a man of unbounded ambition."

At last Richelieu's perseverance got the better; and he was admitted to the council on certain conditions. But when thus at the summit of his hopes, he excused himself on the plea of bad health, and only put himself forward on the King's positive order. He then gradually felt his strength, resigned his bishopric, and was expected modestly to take his place at the council-board; but when

there, he behaved as one who has neither colleagues nor equals.

> "With grave
> Aspect he rose, and in his rising seem'd
> A pillar of state."

All and every one gave way before his strong will, under which the King and the kingdom bent during eighteen succeeding years In various affairs he showed his wisdom and judgment; and the miserable private position in which Louis XIII. stood, wounded in all his dearest affections, made him see in Richelieu a safeguard against the domestic perils of treason with which he was surrounded from the conspiracies of his own family.

The life of the Cardinal was now often menaced with assassination. After the conspiracy of Chalais, a guard was attached to his person, which was gradually augmented to a retinue of foot and horse.

Some months after this conspiracy, Richelieu wrote to the King and asked leave to retire. It was then that Louis sent to the Cardinal that most flattering of letters that ever was penned from a sovereign. "Do not fear calumny," said the monarch, "it cannot be avoided at courts. I know

opinions; and I have always put you on your guard against those who were envious of you, and I shall never know of any enemy without letting you hear of it" The letter ended with protestations of attachment:—"Be assured that I can never give you up. The Queen, my mother, says the same; believe that to you I can never change, and that I shall be your second in defending you from all attacks made upon you."

One of Richelieu's maxims was never to let a fault go unpunished;—but in order to deceive the world, he sometimes adopted sentiments of mildness.

One of the dreams of Richelieu's early life had been the lowering of the Huguenots in their stronghold of La Rochelle. The English attacked the Island of Rhé, and the Cardinal's fertile genius appeared in a new light, taking upon himself the command of the siege. To render the blockade effectual, it was necessary to stop up the port, and the officers in the French service could devise no means of doing this. Richelieu took counsel from his classical reading; and having learned how

Alexander the Great reduced Tyre, he determined upon erecting a mound, which one night's storm destroyed. He persevered, however; he personally encouraged the workmen; the harbour was blocked up, the Cardinal triumphed, and La Rochelle was taken. He thus accomplished the great political object of doing away with the last rampart of the Protestant party in France.

Richelieu behaved with moderation to the Huguenots; contenting himself with a triumph over his hated enemy, Buckingham, and with having taken the command over the heads of the Duke d'Angoulesme, the marshals of France, and the army.

The siege over, the King acknowledged, by a proclamation, that he had taken La Rochelle by the advice, singular prudence, vigilance, and laborious service of his cousin, the Cardinal de Richelieu. He was then proclaimed by letters patent prime minister, and his exploits against the heretics procured from the Pope a cardinal's hat for his brother, the Archbishop of Lyons.

After a brilliant campaign in Italy, where Louis XIII. went to establish the right of the Duke de Nevers to the duchy of Mantua, the King

quelled the Protestants in the south of France. In December, 1629, the Cardinal went to Italy at the head of the troops. The memoirs of the times describe him in armour, with a sword by his side, and encouraging Louis to show himself amongst his soldiers.

The King became master of Pignerol, and of the states in Savoy; but the plague raged, and, on his return, he was attacked with illness at Lyons. Here Marie de Médicis and Anne of Austria united in prevailing on the dying monarch to give up the Cardinal, who was absent with the army; this Louis promised to do, whenever the war in Italy should be terminated.

Meanwhile the courtiers deliberated how to get rid of Richelieu altogether. The Maréchal de Marillac proposed to assassinate him, the Duke de Guise would have him exiled, and the Maréchal de Bassompière wished to confine him for life. It is a curious fact, that each of these propositions fell back upon their respective authors, so that each had the fate reserved for the object of their hatred

The King recovered, and went to Paris with

Richelieu. He pressed the Cardinal to reconcile himself to Marie de Médicis, to which end the Cardinal used all his address, but in vain.

Peace was now made with Italy, and the weak monarch was summoned by the two Queens to perform his promise of parting with his minister. On his knees did Louis ask the pardon of Richelieu from his imperious mother.

One day after a scene of this kind, Marie de Médicis shut herself up with the King, to attempt another trial to attain her wish of getting rid of Richelieu. The minister felt the danger of leaving the King to himself, or to his mother's suggestions; he tried to penetrate into the room where the King and Queen were, but finding every avenue closed against him, he remembered an entrance from a private chapel, whence a door had been left open, and thus introduced himself into the royal presence.

The Queen reproached the Cardinal in all the terms with which rage and passion can inspire a woman. She appealed to her son's feelings, and, in floods of tears, asked him if he was unnatural enough to prefer a *servant* to his own mother?

Louis, perplexed, left her to hide his indecision at his hunting-lodge at Versailles. The Cardinal thought himself lost; his effects were packing up, and he intended to go to Havre, and Marie de Médicis in a false security triumphed at the Luxembourg. A favourite undertook to save Richelieu, in suggesting to Louis the idea of one more explanation before parting for ever.

The Cardinal went to Versailles, and regained, in that interview, the ascendancy of a strong mind over a weak one. Marie de Médicis ever after pretended that she should have got the better had she that day locked a door, and afterwards followed her son to Versailles. That day, 30th November, 1630, was named "La Journée des Dupes:" the number of them was considerable.

The restoration of Richelieu to power was signalized by many violent measures. The keeper of the seals, Marillac, a magistrate of irreproachable conduct, was sent into exile, where he died; his brother, a marshal of France, and one of the generals of the army of Italy, was arrested; the Maréchal de Bassompière, a great general, and beloved by Louis, began his abode of twelve years in the

Bastille, and many of the courtiers emigrated to foreign countries.

Marie de Médicis, violent and passionate in all her feelings, was watched by the Cardinal, and her slightest words reported. The Cardinal kept a journal of the sayings and reports he gathered, by the means of his friends or his spies. These notes, written in his own hand, have past to posterity under the name of 'Journal kept during a great Storm at Court.' They form an odious model of those secret police reports which some continental governments have since encouraged, and which have been the source of so much falsehood and perfidy.

False appearances of a reconciliation between the Cardinal and the Queen now flattered the King. He saw his mother take her place at the council-board with joy; but Marie de Médicis was a Florentine and an Italian; she meditated vengeance; and, owing to her counsels, Gaston, the King's brother, went off to Spain.

After this event, Louis was convinced that his mother's presence in the capital and at the council-board was incompatible with public tranquillity;

and it was managed that the King should leave her suddenly at Compiègne, under the care of the Maréchal d'Estrées. In the utmost consternation at this sudden abandonment, she refused all terms, and after a melancholy abode of four months at Compiègne, she left France and passed the rest of her days in regretting having done so.

Marie de Médicis being now out of France, Richelieu reigned sole arbiter of power. Louis said of him, when the deputies were sent from parliament, "Quiconque m'aimera, l'aimera." But the trial and death of the Maréchal de Marillac, a man whose services to the nation were of forty years standing, excited the most general indignation: he was taken from the head of the army, tried in the Cardinal's own hall in the Castle of Ruelle, condemned to death, and executed in the Place de Grève.

In another six months the Duke de Montmorency, the bravest of the brave, and the gallant descendant of five constables of France, perished on the scaffold. He had been the friend and supporter of Richelieu; but cruel policy determined that he should die, and the Cardinal's severity increased daily. Now indeed did he justify the character

he once gave of himself, speaking to the Marquis de la Vieuville:—"Je n'ose rien entreprendre sans y avoir bien pensé, mais quand une fois j'ai pris ma résolution, je vais à mon but; je renverse tout, je fauche tout, et ensuite je couvre tout de ma soutane rouge."

But the great ambition of Richelieu's policy had always been to lower the house of Austria. The fortune of war having gone against him, the foreign troops penetrated into Picardy, and Paris was in a state of alarm. A general cry was raised against Richelieu, and he seemed disposed to retire: but this time Père Joseph saved him, and by his intrigues contrived that the public disasters should be attributed to the cowardice of the governors of the town. The governors fled, and a price was put on their heads. The French princes now leagued together to assassinate Richelieu, and it would have been all over with the Cardinal had not Gaston held back from the crime of murder.

Richelieu, in his literary character, was jealous of the praise of authorship. He gave a pension to Corneille; but afterwards quarrelled with him, and after many scenes of jealousy of his poetical talents, ended in being reconciled to him.

Richelieu instituted the French Academy, built the Sorbonne, and the Palais Cardinal, (now Palais Royal), and turned the old Château du Plessis into a residence as magnificent as any royal abode.

The King, whose religious sentiments made him but little alive to the seductions of beauty, was taken with the grace and virtue of Mdlle. de La Fayette. She hated Richelieu; and the Cardinal tried to gain over the King's confessor, and hasten the profession of this young girl, which had been the project of years. But Père Caussin was of opinion that the power of a religious mind over that of Louis might work for his good, and he wished Mdlle. de La Fayette to remain at court.

The combat between the minister and the confessor did not last long, and Mdlle. de La Fayette's confidential intercourse with Louis ended in a "lettre de cachet." The jesuit himself was sent to Rhennes, and his superiors were invited to employ his talents in a mission to Canada.

Another confessor resisted longer; and the Duchess of Savoy, the King's sister, refused to let him go; but the Cardinal insisted, and he ended his days in a fortress.

When Richelieu wished a thing, the means troubled him but little. He shut up the Sardinian minister, the Comte d'Aglie, in the Château de Vincennes, as he also did M. de St. Cyran for his religious opinions; which last occasioned great indignation amongst all well-disposed persons.

The Spanish General De Wert was at that time a prisoner on his parole at Paris. Cardinal Richelieu invited him to a superb ballet which he gave: when in conversation with the Spaniard, he asked him what he considered the most marvellous sight he had seen, to which the other replied, "To see in the dominions of his Very Christian Majesty bishops amusing themselves at theatres, while saints languish in prisons."

In some instances Richelieu lived to regret the consequences of his intrigues: he excited Wallstein to rebel, and Ferdinand to anger. Four years after, Wallstein* was assassinated, which made a great impression on Richelieu, who found many points of comparison between Louis and Ferdinand, Wallstein and himself. In his memoirs, he breaks into an anathema on "la misère de cette

* Wallstein, Duke of Friedland, assassinated at Egra, in 1634

vie," where jealous and timid royalty crosses great and brilliant services. He entirely forgot that he had himself much contributed to the breaking out of these jealousies between the Emperor and Wallstein.

All great foreign statesmen have been superstitious; so was Wallstein, so was Napoleon, so was Richelieu. One of the reflections he makes in his Memoirs has been thus rendered into verse:—

> "Chance makes half my greatness. I was born
> Beneath the aspect of a bright-eyed star,
> And my triumphant adamant of soul
> Is but the fix'd persuasion of success."

Determined on the marriage between Charles the First and Henrietta-Maria, a menace from Richelieu hastened the slowly-wrung dispensation from Rome. Buckingham* then appeared at the court of France, in all the glory of good looks and magnificent attire. To the women he seemed a degree above a mortal; and there is a specimen of a love-letter, after his return to England, in a state despatch from the Earl of Holland† to Buck-

* George Villiers, 1st Duke of Buckingham, stabbed at Portsmouth in 1628

† Henry Rich, Earl of Holland, who suffered death on the scaffold in 1649.

ingham, very curious. Mixed up with state affairs are the hieroglyphics of love; a crown designates the King of France, a heart the lady, and an anchor Buckingham, the Lord High Admiral.

Buckingham was a hero in romance, and by no means a disappointed lover; but his double rival in love and politics, the Cardinal, kept on him an eye whose glances were poniards. Hume says that the causes of this war with France were incredible, and describes Buckingham as having both English familiarity and French levity, two most offensive qualities in an ambassador; was it then surprising that a good hatred was established between the two ministers?

In after-times, Richelieu influenced the fortunes of the unfortunate Charles. His political system, like that of Napoleon, was to form an invisible alliance with the disaffected of every government. That Charles expressed a high admiration of his enemy Richelieu, in his quality of prime minister, is evident from his rebuke to Henrietta-Maria, on her once rejoicing at the supposed removal of the Cardinal from power; and that Charles himself fell a victim to strong measures in a weak government,

was perhaps owing to that same admiration of Richelieu.

It is certain that Olivarez* also was dazzled by the abilities of his enemy, Richelieu; but Richelieu lived to regret the increasing bad fortunes of Charles, and to see the catastrophe of Strafford† very much brought on by his intrigues with the Puritans in Scotland.

Richelieu could never obtain forgiveness from Anne of Austria; and his vanity was wounded at the detestation of a young and handsome queen. His unceasing persecution of her was said to have proceeded from a declaration of love which he once made her, which she resented. He intercepted her letters to Spain; and when she retired to an apartment she had in the monastery of the Val de Grâce, he sent thither the chancellor and the archbishop, who broke open her oratory, seized

* The Count-Duke Olivarez, prime minister of Spain to Philip IV. He died (as his historian relates) of the illness of which disgraced ministers die, at Toro, in the kingdom of Leon, in 1643. Richelieu, Buckingham, and Olivarez hated, and were alternately in league against each other.

† Thomas Wentworth, Earl of Strafford, fell on the scaffold in May, 1641, the year previous to the death of Richelieu. He was tried by his peers, and his defence was worthy of his life.

her papers, questioned the nuns, and banished the abbess. Richelieu spared her neither publicity nor ceremony. "What a way of being loved!" says Madame de Motteville, who tells the story Yet the horror Anne of Austria had of being sent back to Spain was so great, that she cried out on this occasion, "Monsieur le Cardinal, how good you are!" Another victim of his power, Marie de Médicis, the widow of Henry IV. and the mother of Louis XIII., poor and in exile, died accusing Richelieu.

The Cardinal placed Cinq-Mars about the King, who rapidly increased in favour. Two factions existed at court—the Cardinalists and the Royalists, with Cinq-Mars at their head. But Richelieu was on the watch.

The Count was then in the south of France, in a situation favourable for an intercourse with Spain; and the Cardinal had the good fortune to surprise one of the emissaries of the Royalists, and to seize a treaty concluded between them and the enemies of France. He repaired to Louis, and forced from him an order for the arrest of the criminals; and in consequence, Cinq-Mars and De Thou perished on the scaffold.

But the Cardinal's end was approaching. He was carried from Lyons to Paris in a sort of room, by eighteen guards, who marched bareheaded. The gates of the cities through which he was to pass being too narrow to admit his equipage, a breach was made in the walls for that purpose.

Five months after the death of Cinq-Mars, Richelieu died. It was the end of 1642. No abatement of his pride marked his last moments. He recommended Mazarin to the King, and saw approaching death with the same calm he was accustomed to give to his ordinary occupations.

He received the sacrament, saying, "Here is my God and my Lord; I protest before him that, in all I have undertaken, I have always kept in view the good of religion and the good of the kingdom." When he was asked whether he forgave his enemies, his answer was, "I have no enemies but those of the state." The princes and grandees crowded his apartment. Some were edified by his piety; others were horrified, feeling that his security was full of fearful illusion.

When Richelieu was dead, the poor weak King contented himself with saying, "Voilà un grand politique mort." The funeral honours rendered to

him were as magnificent as his life had been; but the people lighted bonfires with joy.

The King was amongst his legatees, and accepted a million and a half in specie, and the Palais Cardinal and the furniture.

Never had a minister created so many means of economy as Richelieu. He arranged his expenses every week with his maître-d'hôtel; his table, his equipage, and every arrangement of his household, were on a more magnificent scale than the King's. But the cost of all this luxury did not fall entirely on the state, for the Cardinal was General of three of the richest of the monastic orders.

Even when his health was bad, Richelieu was indefatigable at work. He used to go to bed at eleven, then awake in the middle of the night, and dictate or write. At six he slept again for an hour or two.

Richelieu well knew the value of pleasing in manner and address; he could command his countenance to an astonishing degree, and when apparently sunk in pain, and half dead, he would in an instant afterwards rise from his arm-chair gay and amusing.

Marie de Médicis used to say Richelieu had

tears at command. He received every one with studied politeness, holding out his hand affectionately to some who came to speak to him; and, when he intended to gain them over, he spared neither praises nor flattery. He was anxious to be of use to those who showed him attachment, and his word was inviolable. His servants looked on him as the best of masters, and he recompensed them liberally. To justify the "inconvenance" of his military exploits, he associated with himself several ecclesiastics; and, at the siege of La Rochelle, bishops and abbés were seen in numbers directing the works. He made the Archbishop of Bordeaux an admiral, and sent Père Joseph to discuss the plan of the campaign with the Duke of Weimar.

The memory of Richelieu protected the regency of Anne of Austria better than the Italian finesse of Mazarin, and opened the way to the glory of the reign of Louis XIV. The Cardinal de Retz writes:—"That Richelieu acted well whenever his interest did not carry his opinion in a contrary direction. He considered the state a matter for his life only; but he tried to make it appear, as if he thought for the future."

PÈRE JOSEPH.

Born, 1577; died, 1638

THE terrible Père Joseph, that most intriguing and audacious of monks, was the attendant spirit of the Cardinal de Richelieu. He was the son of Leclerc au Tremblay, of Anjou, and some years older than his patron. He was distinguished for his learning, had travelled in Germany and Italy; made a campaign; and had been at the siege of Amiens. All at once he quitted the army, became a capuchin, and entered into a controversy with the Calvinists. Seventeen years afterwards he was known in the world as the friend of Richelieu, and the abettor of his schemes.

Pope Paul V. had a high opinion of the capacity of Père Joseph. Richelieu made use of his intriguing spirit on all occasions: he was by turn politician, missionary, and courtier.

Père Joseph appeared in the military operations of the siege of La Rochelle. When he returned to his cell, the monk was occupied in unison with Richelieu's ambitious projects. He was a kind of

familiar spirit, and served him equally in his virtues, his vices, and his passions.

The principal persons of the kingdom saw themselves obliged to please "l'Eminence Grise" (as he was called), if they did not choose to displease Richelieu. Brulart, who had him for a second in conducting the negotiation in 1630 with the Emperor at Ratisbon, said that he had nothing of his profession but the dress, and nothing of a Christian but the name.

There is a story of him, that an officer whom he had sent on an expedition, moved by his conscience at the orders he had received, returned for further explanation, and found the capuchin saying mass. He approached, and whispered, "Mais, mon Père, should these persons defend themselves?"—"Qu'on tue tout;" answered Père Joseph, continuing his devotions.

Père Joseph knew so well the ideas and views of the Cardinal, that he had no occasion for orders how to act; his object was to deceive the whole world besides, and his audacious genius often mastered the policy of Richelieu. Their friendship was sincere, and their interests brought them

together; but their conversations were often bitter.

Père Joseph refused a bishopric, and died a disappointed man that the Pope had not made him a cardinal. When he was dying, Richelieu was occupied in care and attendance on his friend to the last moments of his life; and after his death, frequently said that, in losing him, he had lost his right hand.

The parliament of Paris, by Richelieu's orders, attended his magnificent funeral; and he had two funeral orations preached in his praise. He was buried in the church of the capuchins, where, before the French Revolution, a long Latin epitaph might be read on his tomb.

BOIS-ROBERT.

Born, 1592, died, 1662.

Bois-Robert, the most agreeable man of his day, and, as he said of himself, "Un grand dupeur d'oreilles," was a celebrated wit, and another dear friend of Richelieu. He was an excellent mimic,

told the news of the day in the most entertaining manner; made old stories young again; and became so necessary to the Cardinal, that Citois, his physician, used to say:—"Monseigneur, we will do all we can for your health; but all our drugs are useless, if you do not add some Bois-Robert."

Once, when Bois-Robert was in disgrace with Richelieu, the French Academy asked for his recall, which was managed by Monsieur Citois writing at the bottom of his prescription for Richelieu—"Recipe—Bois-Robert"—which succeeded.

Bois-Robert was all through his life much tormented by his family applying to him to ask for places and pensions; and he wrote some verses, which begin—

> "Melchisédech étoit un heureux homme,
> Et son bonheur est l'objet de mes vœux,
> Car il n'avoit ni frères ni neveux"

These verses have since been made the foundation for an excellent comedy on the French stage.

CORNEILLE.

Born, 1606; died, 1684.

An event that happened in society first produced the dramatic talent of Le Grand Corneille. A young man went with a friend to visit a young lady with whom he was in love. The new-comer pleasing more than the lover, he established a passion on the ruins of that of his predecessor Corneille founded his comedy of 'Mélite' upon this adventure, which was acted with success, and followed by many others. Still nothing announced the stupendous genius of Corneille, the great dramatic poet of France. These plays are but weak attempts of a talent which followed, instead of leading, the taste of the times. But to them are due the part so essential in comedy, of *Soubrette*, substituted for the first time for the part of Nurse, which had belonged to the old plays, and had hitherto been acted by men in women's clothes.

The vanity of the Cardinal de Richelieu, who balanced the destinies of Europe, turned upon his literary pretensions. Corneille had a pension from

him, and offended him by changing the plan of a play written by the Cardinal. Corneille on this withdrew from his protection, and shut himself up with his studies, and with his own family.

A fortunate accident now made Corneille acquainted with M. de Chalon, who had been a secretary of Marie de Médicis, and had retired in his old age to the town of Rouen M de Chalon said to him, "Your comedies are clever, but the style is unworthy of your talent; if you will study the Spanish literature, you will there find subjects that will produce striking effects; if you will learn Spanish, I will teach you all I know of it. We will begin by translating some portions of Guillen de Castro"

To such accidents are the destinies of men and things subject. Without this incident, which occurred in a provincial town, the great Corneille would have been known to posterity but as an indifferent lawyer, and the author of some plays of no great value.

The words of the old retired courtier produced 'Le Cid,' which created an enthusiasm worthy of it. Nothing had been written in France that approached to it in grandeur and sublimity. Richelieu,

an enemy to all fame and success but his own, saw in his ancient protégé a rebellious subject, who, in disgrace, had had the insolence and good-fortune to succeed.

Corneille showed much patience in supporting the storm of the Cardinal's ill-humour.

"En vain contre 'Le Cid,' un ministre se ligue,
Tout Paris, pour Chimène, a les yeux de Rodrigue."

The Cardinal commanded the French Academy to publish a critique of the Cid; the Academy considered of it during five months, and got out of the scrape admirably, both as critics and as courtiers. At last the Cardinal and Corneille were reconciled; and he dedicated to him his 'Horace.'

Corneille was an example often seen in literary life, of being totally unlike his writings. Sublime and magnificent in his conceptions, he looked like a shopkeeper; he had no manner at all; and his conversation was so dull, that he was a weight in society. He was aware of this himself, and avowed it with all the frankness and modesty of his nature; for in a note to Pellisson he says:—

"Et l'on peut rarement m'écouter sans ennui,
Que quand je me produis par la bouche d'autrui."

This is not astonishing; as it does not follow that deep thought and a great mind should give grace and tact, or the happy talent of seizing the apropos of times and persons, all of which are necessary to succeed in the great world.

Corneille had the manner of one of the lower classes of society, to which was added a brusquerie and a roughness which, at first acquaintance, gave an unfavourable impression of his disposition. These reproaches he bore in common with the great hero of France, Turenne; and the heart of Corneille (like that of Turenne) overflowed with humanity and kindness.

Corneille was a good son, a good husband, and a good father. He had simple tastes and habits, and liked the quiet of domestic life. Montesquieu compares him to Michel Angelo, and Racine to Raffaelle, in their productions.

PASCAL.

Born, 1623, died, 1662.

THE father of Pascal sold his employment at Clermont, and established himself at Paris, to give himself wholly to the education of his three chil-

dren. His ideas on education were in those times very peculiar. He himself was a man of great merit, and given up to the culture of letters and science; and, from the age of three years, his son was the object of his dearest hopes; the great degree of intelligence which the child manifested excited all his solicitude.

Pascal's father looked upon memory as the first qualification to cultivate, as necessary to precede judgment, which should be called into action later in life, after reason is formed; he thought it necessary to cultivate the heart still more than the head, and not to neglect the feeling and imagination which belong to youth, and from which source, in the end, proceed both taste and moral character.

He began the education of his son by teaching him languages, at the same time taking care to give him just and true ideas on every subject. The sagacity of the child, the justness of his remarks, and his eager curiosity to gain knowledge, made him find great pleasure in his father's conversation, and it was seen that he never rested till he had found out the reasons for everything connected with his studies.

The elder Pascal, having gone against the

opinion of government in a law proceeding, was ordered to the Bastille by the Cardinal de Richelieu, but he escaped by a timely flight. At this time the Duchess d'Aiguillon wanted to get up a piece of Scudery's, called 'L'Amour Tyrannique,' to amuse the Cardinal; and she wished to have Jacqueline Pascal, the youngest daughter, to play one of the parts. Gilberte, the eldest, opposed her acting, from dislike of the Cardinal's conduct to her father; but, with the hope that it might be of use eventually, she yielded, and the young Jacqueline acquitted herself so well in the part, that Richelieu accorded the little girl her father's pardon, which she asked for in verse.

The father was recalled, the minister saw him, and liked him, and soon after made him the Intendant of Rouen, which place he filled during seven years; during which time all the accounts were given over to the younger Pascal, who at this time invented the famous "Machine Arithmétique." The astonishing combinations of this machine, and the way in which the calculations are executed, occasioned such fatigue of body and mind to the inventor, and that at so very early an age, that his constitution was ruined by it.

Pascal's profound learning, and his astronomical and philosophical pursuits, are not the object of the present notice. He was endowed with great sense, astonishing sagacity, excellent taste in seizing the just and the true in everything; but his purest title to glory, a glory immortal and without a cloud, is in the book called 'Les Pensées de Pascal,' a series of detached papers composed at different times, but all marked with genius, and written during cruel sufferings of body, which shortened his life. In these 'Thoughts' are found the most magnificent views of Christianity, considered as revelation, as history, and as proofs of divinity. It is from Pascal that some of the greatest orators have taken their ideas. There are examples in Bossuet, who evidently made him his model

Pascal was equally great as an author, a savant, and a philosopher. He used to say that it was better to make men feel the beauties and majesty of religion than to prove to them drily its truths. He said that it was rare that "les grands géomètres soient fins, et que les gens fins soient géomètres."

Pascal has been accused of not liking poetry;

and it has been asserted that he said that poetry has no settled object. It is difficult to believe that one who has been the occasion of so much poetry in others should have had no feeling for it himself.

Pope borrowed from him many of his ideas for his 'Essay on Man;' and the 'Thought,' which d'Alembert particularly singles out for admiration, is full of poetical magnificence. "Dieu est comme un cercle, dont le centre est partout, et la circonférence nulle part."

One of the great French writers defines genius as patience, "La patience cherche, et le génie trouve." To the co-operation of these two powers the world owes everything. "Patience must first explore the depths where the pearl lies hid, before genius boldly dives and brings it up full into light." This sentence will perhaps illustrate the genius of Pascal as much as pages of elaborate description could do.

From eighteen years old Pascal never passed a day without suffering; and in 1647 he had a paralytic attack, which deprived him of the use of his limbs. He lost his father four years after; and his sister, whose distinguished talents called her to

play a part in the great world, touched by his excellence, retired from society to lead a religious life at Port-Royal.

Much attached to his family, but now left to himself, Pascal's constant application destroyed the little remains of his health; and an accident which happened to him in his helpless and infirm state so impressed on his imagination the small dependence we can place on life, that he gave up all the comforts of existence for works of charity; and to mortify his senses in all ways, he wore a belt of pointed iron. In this state he completed the solution of the problems of the Cycloide in eight days.

Pascal died at the age of thirty-nine, a saint in goodness; and had he been gifted with health and long life, there is no knowing what such an understanding might not have accomplished. The French behold in him the rival of Galileo, the forerunner of Molière and Boileau, the equal of Bossuet in eloquence, and the greatest of philosophers in placing *truth* as the basis of philosophy, and the knowledge of the duties and destiny of man.

Pascal was a witness to all the troubles of the Fronde, and nothing could detach him from the

King's cause: he detested war, and looked on its evils with the eye of Christian charity.

What war is, civil war above all; and what revolutions are, those only who have assisted in them can know; as well as the manner that they act upon human nature, which is as sudden as the lightning or the thunderbolt.

An entire change takes place in the nature of man—a change of hatred into love, and love into hatred; all ties of gratitude are at an end; all ties of kindness are broken up, and men behave like the animals, with the ferocity of the tiger, the courage of the lion, or the wisdom of the elephant: well may we tremble when we reflect that a long course of peace, or what is termed the prosperity of an empire, is always closed by one of these moral earthquakes. But times of civil war have always reared great genius, and Pascal was reared in civil war. Charity was one of his leading virtues: he practised it on all occasions, imposing on himself constant privations to give to the poor.

"I have remarked," he said, "that however poor one may be, there remains always *something* at one's death."

Pascal was a saint in every sense of the word, a

saint without hypocrisy and without fanaticism, having made a total abnegation of his own feelings and wants for the good of others.

Whether such a stern exercise of virtue is called for by Heaven is a question asked by the Protestant, as Pascal materially shortened his life by his self-denial, what he considered his duty as a Christian inclining him to become a martyr.

Pascal is an example of the Catholic precepts of morality, and shows the extent and power of religion over one of that faith; therefore to criticize such a course of virtue is difficult, and *extremes* are the consequence of times but awakening from barbarism, and the scenes of ferocity practised under the false name of *honour* were before his eyes daily.

The light of truth was unknown; and truth and a love of the positive were the passions of Pascal's soul. Descartes's system was then in vogue, and secured for him a temporary reputation. When Pascal had attained his thirtieth year a change came over his mind; his mind had always been deeply religious, and now he wished to get rid of worldly cares as unworthy of fitting a soul destined for immortality. He now tried on that principle to detach his friends from him, and give up his soul to the

love of God; and his sister having taken the vows at Port-Royal des Champs, drew his attention to that spot, situated six leagues from Paris He became acquainted with the Arnaulds, Nicole, Sacy, and all who composed and added lustre to that celebrated society of persons. He became a decided support to them against the Jesuits, and 'Les Lettres Provinciales' was the work of this time of his life.

Party ran high in France, in favour and against this book, and in Madame de Sévigné's Letters a curious scene is reported concerning it between Boileau and a Jesuit. He now entirely abandoned science, and applied the acuteness of his mind and understanding, formerly engrossed by mathematics, to the doctrines of the church of Rome.

A year before Pascal's death the Jesuits triumphed, and his book was burned by the common hangman ('Les Lettres Provinciales'); and that same year his favourite sister, the nun of Port-Royal, died.

Pascal had an impatient disposition, which is often the case with persons of great literary talents. When he had vexed anyone by his vivacity, he thought that he could never make them sufficiently amends. When he was so ill that he could no

longer work, he made up for his idleness by attending all the church services. The 118th Psalm he used to repeat with admiration.

The book entitled 'Les Pensées de Pascal,' is a treatise upon the Christian religion, gathering every argument for and against the truth of it, all bearing on humbling the pride of man, on convincing him of his littleness, of his vanity, and of his wretchedness; and following up a chain of reasoning that it is alone through the merits of our Lord Jesus Christ that man can hope for salvation.

Pascal had probably intended to complete and render this treatise perfect. It was written at various times, on various scraps of paper, and the whole only united and put together after his decease. It is therefore an incomplete work, but gives an idea of genius, of combination, and power of argument, which is the more astonishing as Pascal was a layman, and had neither received the education or had the doctrines of a divine instilled in early life.

The opening chapter, 'Contre l'Indifférence des Athées,' is very striking, particularly in pages 5 and 6, and again in page 14. Also the chapter on submitting one's reason as to the mysteries in religion which cannot be solved (page 45). One of

the best chapters is that on the mind of man, followed by another on the pride and vanity of man's nature (pages 155, 159, 160, 162).

In the way of teaching Christianity to others, Pascal and Fénelon speak the same language and give the same lessons.

In the library of St. Germains des Prés are preserved all the scattered papers on which were found written his reflections.

HENRI DE MONTMORENCY,

DUKE DE MONTMORENCY.

Born, 1595, died, 1632

DUCHESS DE MONTMORENCY.

Born, 1600, died, 1666.

One of the most tragical and romantic stories in history is that of Henri de Montmorency, Duke and Mareschal of France in the reign of Louis XIII.; it bears the same analogy to the history of Strafford that the death of Louis XVI. bears to that of Charles I

Montmorency had been the idol of the people,

of the court, and of the army: he had the most brilliant name, the most valiant courage, and the most engaging disposition. A series of political intrigues, too long to detail, but to be found in the memoirs of the times, brought him to the scaffold; he was condemned by the parliament of Toulouse, and beheaded on the 30th of Oct., 1632, at the age of thirty-eight.

There was difficulty in proving before the judges that Montmorency had actually borne arms against the King. "The smoke and dirt," said St. Reuil, the witness, "rendered it impossible to recognize any combatant distinctly. But when I saw one advance alone, and cut his way through five ranks of gensdarmes, I knew that it must be Montmorency."

It was said that his judges were so affected at the sight of him during his trial, that they covered their faces to hide their tears and distress; but the great master of all, the Cardinal de Richelieu, had resolved on his death.

Louis XIII. declared on his death-bed, to the Prince de Condé, his regret that he had not spared Montmorency's life.

Dr. Johnson remarks, with his aristocratic feel-

ings.—"Had I been Richelieu, I would not have permitted the first Christian baron to have been sacrificed on the scaffold." How was it that it escaped his gigantic understanding that it was the policy of Richelieu that he should die, precisely *because* he was the first person in France, in family and in reputation?

The sister of Montmorency was the Princess de Condé, for whom Henry IV. had a romantic passion during his latter years. She was the mother of the great Condé and of the Duchess de Longueville.

The wife of Montmorency was Marie, Princess of Orsini, a relation of Marie de Médicis. She loved her husband with that violence of passion with which Italian women love. Before his death she told him that she could not see him engaged in the league with Gaston d'Orléans without dying of grief. Gaston made her a visit, thinking that she had been a party concerned in it; but he came away "le cœur frappé," finding how entirely she disapproved of it.

After the execution of her husband, the Duchess de Montmorency was confined to the Château de Moulins. At the end of a year, the government allowed of her leaving it, and she profited by the

permission to buy a house in the most retired part of the town of Moulins, where she constantly inhabited a room hung with black, and lighted with a few tapers. Afterwards she retired into the Convent of the Visitation.

Ten years after the execution of Montmorency, Louis XIII. being related to the Duchess, and passing through the town of Moulins, sent one of his suite to her, with the compliments customary in those days She received the attendant, her face covered with a veil, and still given up to grief.

"Thank the King," she said, "for the honour he does to a miserable woman, and do not forget to report to him all you see here." Soon after, a page arrived with the like message from Richelieu: when the Duchess said, "Tell the Cardinal that, during ten years, my tears have not ceased to flow."

After having had a superb mausoleum erected to the memory of a husband so long and so bitterly deplored, she had his body removed from Toulouse in 1652. Five years afterwards she took the veil in a convent at Moulins, that she might be near his remains; and there she lived a long life in the practice of every Christian virtue.

Henrietta-Maria, on her arrival in France, went to the Duchess to weep with her over the tragical end of Charles I. Louis XIV. and Anne of Austria visited her several times, and even Christine, Queen of Sweden, wished to see this illustrious lady. In the retirement of a convent and in her friendship, the Duchess de Longueville, her niece, and the Duchess de Châtillon, found occasionally a calm, not to be met with in the agitation of the times and the intrigues of a court.

VOITURE.

Born, 1598, died, 1648.

If we look into the history of courts and courtiers, we shall find that persons blessed with an uncommon share of impudence, audacity, or self-possession (let the quality be called by any one of these names, or by all three of them), have always succeeded at court better than persons of feeling, sense, or talent; but it is requisite that the impudence should be upheld by a ready wit, or the possessor may be beat out of society "à coup de bâton." Vincent Voiture is one of the instances

that may be cited in support of this assertion. He was the favourite poet of the ladies of France during the regency of Anne of Austria, and the hero of the celebrated society where Madame de Rambouillet and her daughter held the sceptre of bad taste. He professed that brazen audacity, tempered with good breeding, that carried all before it; and this characteristic, joined to his poetical talents, placed him on a footing of equality with the greatest persons in the kingdom.

Voiture was of the household of Gaston, Duke of Orleans, and the poet (*en militaire*) followed the army and Gaston's fortunes into Lorraine and to Brussels; he understood the Spanish language, and Gaston sent him on a mission to Olivarez, the minister of Spain, whom he captivated entirely by his conversation and wit.

Voiture's letters from Madrid during this period made the delight of the society at the Hôtel de Rambouillet, and that he possessed the genius of languages, a genius not invariably found in France, is acknowledged by those persons who laugh at his greater pretensions. His Latin verse, his Italian poetry, are admired now in France, although his claims to either sense or wit are denied; and he

had the glory of having written, in Spanish, some lines that were attributed to Lopez di Vega.

This man, so entirely spoiled and idolized by the world, and especially by French women, was anything but good-looking: he squinted, and had a stupid face and expression of countenance; but the footing he had placed himself on at court, and his verses to the high-bred Queen of France, Anne of Austria, make the most surprising part of his story, the verses not only passing unrebuked, but admired by her.

The Queen, when walking in the gardens at Ruel, saw Voiture in a thoughtful mood in one of the avenues; she inquired from him what were the subjects of his meditation, and soon after the poet brought her four stanzas, which are supposed to be the best lines he ever wrote, and, what is more, they remain a monument of the bold familiarity that Anne allowed her courtiers to take with her, provided they flattered her coquetry, for which the Queen was so celebrated. "I was thinking," said the poet,—

"Je pensois que la destinée,
Après tant d'injustes malheurs,
Vous a justement couronnée
De gloire, d'éclat et d'honneurs,

Mais que vous étiez plus heureuse
Lorsque vous étiez autrefois,
Je ne veux pas dire amoureuse,
La rime le veut toutefois
Je pensois (nous autres poètes
Nous pensons extravagamment)
Ce que dans l'humeur où vous êtes,
Vous feriez, si, dans ce moment,
Vous aviziez dans cette place
Venir le duc de Buckingham,
Et lequel servit en disgrâce,
Du duc ou du père Vincent"

By the name of Père Vincent, Voiture meant himself, and not the Queen's confessor, as has been supposed. Madame de Motteville says that the Queen thought the verses so pretty, that she kept them for a long time in her cabinet, which flattered Voiture, whose vanity is named by Madame de Sablé, "as being more than the vanity of woman." The fanaticism of party on the subject of literary reputation in those times in France is hardly to be believed. Party was carried so high, that the critics of verse frequently saw themselves threatened with military executions in their homes. This sort of war was called "Dragonnade Littéraire," and the critic, whether he had justice or injustice on his side, did not sleep quietly in his bed in dread of these nightly visits. Such was the cabal of the

famous war of sonnets, of 'Urania' and 'Job,' sonnets written by Voiture and Benserade.

The Duchess de Longueville was at the head of the partisans of Voiture, more moderate in their proceedings; the Jobists addressed to the Duchess a madrigal, which ended

> "Le destin de Job est étrange,
> D'être toujours persécuté,
> Tantôt par un démon,
> Tantôt par un ange."

At last pedantry went out of fashion, but not until the affectation of exaggeration had worn itself out. By adding on fictitious exaggeration, the women thought that they created more effect, as actresses add paint to heighten the finest complexions. The surprise was therefore extreme at the natural turn and *laissez-aller* of Madame de Sévigné's letters, as the beginning of her career was at the Hôtel de Rambouillet. To return to Voiture—the "*lionne*" of the blue salon was his enthusiastic admirer. Mademoiselle Paulet's fine eyes, the impetuosity, energy, and violence of her character, and her magnificent hair, in strength and colouring resembling a lion's mane, had given her the name of "the lioness." Her moral character had not stood very

high in the world, but the air of the Hôtel de Rambouillet was a purifier, and La Paulette, a very clever person, was in the habit of serving Madame de Rambouillet as secretary; no sinecure, or very easy situation; her conversation was much sought by the bishops and archbishops and the learned; her sayings repeated, and how conversation went on may be conjectured from two or three specimens, which are quite sufficient.

One day Voiture inquired from the "Lionne" what in this world she should wish to be. "The sun," she said. "And if you could not be the sun, what would you be?"—"I should wish to be a mountain, to look on the sun: the first at its rise, the last when it set" This answer had prodigious success. Mlle. Paulette called the promenade de la cour, "l'empire des œillades." Voiture's character is more that for an antiquary's curiosity, than that it affords much amusement. In him is found a caricatured expression of the society round him—*that* in which he flourished and reigned; language and manners expressive of the cold gallantry of the Hôtel de Rambouillet, "où l'on étoit furieuse des belles choses;" language and manners without passion, imitated from tales of chivalry, and, like

all imitations, cold and flat; and that the romance of 'Don Quixote' ended by making as old-fashioned and ridiculous to those same persons, as was the dress worn by their grandfathers and grandmothers.

THE DUKE OF LORRAINE.

Born, 1604, died, 1675.

In writing the lives of persons, it is striking how no two persons on the face of this earth resemble each other If education could do all, those persons would resemble each other, but the force of character, the energy which gives impulse to action, the sensibility which makes what we call *heart*, the formation of the brain which gives judgment or wisdom, are as various as are the features and countenance, and expression of those features.

The Duke of Lorraine might have been a study for the phrenologist or physiognomist, had he lived in these days. There is a medal of him struck in his youth, when he was Prince de Vaudemont, in the Vienna collection: his face is that of a buffoon, and we are told that his eyes were those of a cat, of which animal his character had all the perfidy;

round the motto on the reverse of the medal, the emblem of which is an eagle facing the sun, is a Latin motto, meaning, "My courage is from my ancestors."

The career of Charles Duke of Lorraine is often alluded to in Madame de Sévigné's letters, as well as in the memoirs of persons who figured in the regency of Anne of Austria.

The character of the Duke is one suited to those rebellious days that succeeded to the death of Richelieu, and began the reign of Louis XIV Alternately the friend of every one, and faithless to every person and to everything, his warlike abilities made him known to all Europe, and his talents came forth only in his military capacity; the impetuosity of his character brought him into difficulties, from which he could never extricate himself; and he was all through life like the gambler who plays at a stake at which he cannot afford to lose. Endowed with a spirit that dared all, he acted up to that spirit in private life, as well as in public and political life; his company was sought from his spirit of buffoonery, his bon-mots, and his jests; even in political life and on the gravest occasions, he laughed and talked incessantly. He was often

stripped of his possessions by France; sometimes he abdicated; then he retook his estates and titles. At one time he entered France to assist the rebels against the King; at another time he was in the service of that same King; sometimes he was at the head of an army of his own raising, subsisting as he could at the expense of his allies or his enemies, his troops in want of food, arms, and clothing; sometimes he was in the service of the Emperor of Germany; sometimes with Spain; and lastly, he was taken up and carried to Madrid, where he was a prisoner of war. His adventures resembling not those of a sovereign prince, but those of the common adventurer in low life,—mad, rash, yet showing on many occasions that he could be wise and wary, his character presents a mass of contradictions.

Charles de Lorraine succeeded his uncle in 1624. He was doubly his uncle's heir, having married his daughter and heiress, the Duchess Nicole de Lorraine; his uncle Francis had placed his glory in keeping his small territories in a state of peace with his more powerful neighbours. Charles's character led to another course. The Duchesse de Chevreuse, to whose charms the Duke of Lorraine was then a willing slave, took up her abode at his capital of

Nancy. Leaving the court of France a declared enemy to Cardinal Richelieu, she prevailed on Charles to sign a treaty with England, which greatly irritated Louis XIII.; accordingly in 1628 commissioners were sent to Nancy to make researches as to the rights of France over Lorraine, placing up ordinances in the very towns. Charles, greatly incensed, became the immediate enemy of Louis, and gave great umbrage to France, in receiving his rebellious brother, Gaston d'Orléans; and, what was worse, Gaston fell in love with the Princess Marguerite of Lorraine, a young girl of fourteen, the sister of Charles, whom he married, against the wishes of Louis; and soon after this event, the Duke of Lorraine concluded a treaty with the Emperor of Germany.

Upon this, Louis XIII. united the duchy of Bar to the crown of France, and entering Lorraine, laid siege to Nancy. The Duke, totally unprepared for such an event, with the permission of Richelieu, went to seek the King of France in his camp. Louis gave him a courteous reception, but detained him during four days a prisoner, while the French troops entered Nancy The inhabitants shut up their houses on the entrance of the French, but as

In successive years he allied himself with the Emperor and the enemies of France, keeping up a skirmishing war, and harassing the French troops in all directions.

This Prince passed his life in levying troops and losing his dominions; he had once visited Paris, and relying on the promises of the court, he came there; again fled from France, and again returned there in 1652. He was then a person of forty-eight years old, proud and quarrelsome with his equals, communicative and indulgent with his inferiors. His arrival did not mend the manners or morals of society, making boast of keeping his word only so long as his interest required it. His life was that of a hired brigand; his possessions consisted of an army of 10,000 men devoted to him, because he allowed them to enrich themselves by pillage whenever he led them, selling himself alternately to France, to Germany, and to Spain.

Charles now joined the army of the Prince de Condé, and circumstances making his conduct very suspicious to the French government, they had him arrested at Antwerp in 1654, sent to Spain, and confined in the Castle of Toledo, his captivity only ending at the peace of the Pyrenees.

Then it was stipulated that Nancy should be dismantled, and the half of his estates given up to France. Enraged at losing his possessions, Charles refused to concede to this spoliation of his property; his conduct and his character were of a piece, all caprice and untruth. He never kept his promise towards any party; and, although a hero in military bravery, was always ill-used by every one, ill-used by his own fault.

A year after he had received this insult on the part of France, being in a great state of wrath against his own relations, he signed the extraordinary treaty of Montmartre, making Louis XIV. his heir; he again repented, and connected himself with that King's enemies, joined the Duke of Brunswick-Luxemburg, and beat the French troops, under the command of the Maréchal de Cregny. This victory gave the Duke of Lorraine the greatest pleasure; but he did not live long to enjoy it, dying shortly after at Larbeck, at the age of seventy-one; even his will was one great untruth. Madame de Sévigné mentions his death in her letters, and the good fortune of the King in getting rid of a troublesome enemy.

Such is a brief outline of the political adventures

of Charles Duke of Lorraine; but his private life was not less agitated, and considerably more extraordinary than his public life

In his personal history, the artifice, the fickleness, and the faithlessness of his proceedings were still more notorious, and it was said of him that could the doctrine of the transmigration of souls be believed to be true, the soul of Proteus himself must have passed into his person.

He was always married, and never lived with his rightful wife, neither being on terms with his first wife, who was his cousin-german, whom he married in 1621, and who lived until 1657; nor did he live with his second wife, the daughter of the Comte d'Aspremont, whom he married in 1665. He was the lover of the Duchess de Chevreuse at the time of her great beauty and during the early part of her career, and the Cardinal de Retz says that it was him who first inspired that heroine of the Fronde with a taste for political intrigues and management, which never forsook her during the rest of her days.

Mademoiselle describes the Duke of Lorraine's wild, thoughtless manners, his great flow of spirits, which made him both sought and dreaded by friend

and by foe; those wild and mad exploits of his made him the fashion, and as he seldom spoke truth, his language and stories were amusing, and in a capital like Paris and in times like his times, he soon acquired a political influence, particularly during the Fronde. When the council met for business, he sang and danced, and turned everything and every person into ridicule, calling for a chaplet and counting his beads when the least religious ecclesiastic in the world, De Retz, appeared, and for a guitar when the lady-politicians joined the councils assembled—led and governed by their opinions.

The Duke of Lorraine did not think himself more engaged to the women he married than to the kings with whom he made treaties; but of the many ladies over whose destiny he had an ascendancy, and who were entangled in a succession of his perfidious dealings, none was so eminent as the beautiful woman whose portrait is one of the finest of Vandyke's paintings at Windsor Castle, and known there under the name of Madame St. Croix; and the same lady is represented, but younger and still more handsome, in a whole length painted by Vandyke, now at Warwick Castle. These pictures are the portraits of Beatrice de Cussance, the

widow of the Comte de Cantecroye, of Brabant, and in after times the Emperor of Germany created this lady a princess of the empire

She united cleverness and ability to great beauty; the Vandyke at Warwick Castle is full of grace, and the turn of her fine head, and the way it is placed on her shoulders, full of majesty; the countenance expresses frankness and spirit, without any trace of coquetry, and this Flemish beauty is altogether a very noble-looking person.

She is represented ascending a flight of steps in a terrace garden, having a little dog at her feet, such as generally accompanied the ladies of those days. Her dress is strikingly picturesque; she is attired in a black velvet robe, opening to a petticoat of gold stuff, a low ruff, a pearl necklace, and ruffles and bracelets, composing a magnificent costume. Vandyke must have painted the Princess Cantecroye while in the Low Countries, as these pictures are amongst the finest of the period of his Flemish paintings.

The Duke of Lorraine was in love with this lady in 1637; he caused a courier to bring him the account of the death of his wife, the Duchess Nicole de Lorraine; he announced it at Brussels,

put on deep mourning, and a fortnight after married Beatrice publicly Soon after the imposture was discovered, and that the Duchess Nicole was not only alive, but had never been ill! Whether Beatrice participated in this piece of deceit, or was the victim of the Duke of Lorraine, cannot be known Charles solicited at Rome the annulling of his first marriage, but the Pope answered by excommunicating him if he would not give up Beatrice; and as this he would not consent to, they continued to live on together, she accompanying him on horseback with the army, and he calling her his campaign wife

When the Duchess Nicole died, Charles had long been tired of Beatrice, and refused to marry her a second time; but some hours before her death, which happened in 1663, he was won over by her urgent entreaties. The ceremony being performed, he passed a public act on the occasion, stating the marriage. By this pretended marriage Charles had two children, who, each in their way, were well known in the world.

The Prince de Vaudemont, so famous in the war of the Succession, whom his father always styled his legitimate son, who always retained the

title of Prince de Vaudemont, and who died without issue in 1722. This son, very handsome and very clever, was as full of deceit and intrigue as his father. He made his fortune in Europe with gigantic steps; was given the Golden Fleece, made a grandee of Spain, Prince of the Empire, Captain-General and Governor of the Low Countries, and afterwards Governor of the Milanese.

The Duke of Lorraine's daughter by the Countess of Cantecroye, was married to a younger brother of the Prince d'Elbœuf. She lived at Paris, and was that same Madame de Lislebonne so often named by Madame de Sévigné; very proud of her father, blind to his faults, and in the habit of talking of him always as "Son Altesse mon Père" Mentioning a letter received from the Duke de Lorraine, Madame de Sévigné says:—"There is a malice in this epistle, that greatly resembles the wit of 'Son Altesse mon Père.'"

Amongst the many freaks and fancies for which the Duke was publicly known at Paris, one of his adventures cannot be forgotten, the facts of which are given in the Memoirs of Mademoiselle.

Tired of Beatrice, the Duke at one time gave out that he was not her lawful husband, and he

wanted to marry Marianne Pajot, the apothecary's daughter, whose beauty

"Provoked him to this threefold perjury."

The marriage contract was even made out for the nuptials; and Mademoiselle is quite as indignant at the Duke's daily dinners at the apothecary's, off of pewter-plate and earthenware, as she is with the prospect of the connection with Marianne Pajot.

Women in those times were of more importance than they are in the present day: armies were moved in their service or against their liberty, where in these days the police or the magistrate would be called in. Accordingly Louis XIV. had the unfortunate beauty carried off, and placed in a convent at the request of the Duke's relations; but knowing his character, they were prepared for his scaling the walls of the convent and carrying off Marianne Pajot by force. The King therefore sent a regiment of soldiers to surround the convent and keep the apothecary's daughter* prisoner, until some fresh fancy occupied the Duke, which they had not long to wait for, his maxim being that of his namesake Proteus—

"Unheedful vows may heedlessly be broken"

* This beautiful and virtuous woman was the object of many passions, and ended by marrying the Marquis de Laisy, against the consent of his family.

DUCHESS DE CHEVREUSE.

Born, 1600; died, 1679.

THE Duchess de Chevreuse was as well known at the court of Charles I. as at that of Madrid, and at Brussels as at the court of Paris, during the reign of Louis XIII. and the regency of Anne of Austria. Her reputation for wit and beauty was, it may be said, more European than French; she is a character in the history of France, from the great share she had in public event sbrought on by private cabals. Known early in her career for her beauty, afterwards as a politician, her love of intrigue and her love of adventure inspired fear, full as much as her beauty during the early part of her career had inspired passion.

The Duchess de Chevreuse had lovers, not like angels' visits, "few and far between," but lovers innumerable. Her appearance at any of the courts of Europe was like that of a princess in fairy tales,—gifted with powers that fascinated and charmed, but each good gift accompanied with an evil gift.

In the long, long list of the Duchess's lovers, the

most celebrated were the unfortunate Chalais, the Duke of Buckingham, and Henry Rich, Earl of Holland, and in passing, be it remarked that these three persons died violent deaths. The old intriguer Châteauneuf, another lover, was the abettor of her schemes and the helper-on of her ambitious views, all through his long and eventful life; but the character of the Duke Charles of Lorraine was the character the most after her own restless, intriguing, and harassing nature, and as the Duchess made a confession to De Retz, that she had never loved those whom she had esteemed (with the exception of poor Buckingham), it is probable that she was more attached to the Duke of Lorraine than she was to any of her many admirers.

The Duchess de Chevreuse was the daughter of the Duke de Montbazon, by his first wife, Madelaine de Lenoncourt. The Duke de Luynes, prime minister and favourite of Louis XIII., and predecessor in office to Cardinal Richelieu, married this lady for love, and Marie de Rohan brought him in dowry all that ambition could desire—the support and connection of a great and powerful family, her father's experience and assistance in warlike and political affairs; and beauty and wit, which she soon

turned to her own and her husband's account, in the total government of both the King and Queen. Anne of Austria passed her days in schemes of amusement, Louis in the pleasures of the chase, and the Duke de Luynes and this young beauty of seventeen ruled France.*

The Duke de Luynes died three years after his marriage; and two years afterwards, the Duchess married the Duke de Chevreuse, the brother of the Duke de Guise.

Soon after the marriage of Henrietta-Maria with Charles I. was settled. This royal marriage was not only an affair of state, but an affair of pleasures and intrigues without number.

The Duke of Buckingham, the favourite of Charles, came to France to espouse Henrietta-Maria in the name of his master. He was liberal and magnificent, and he brought in his train a number of handsome and gay young cavaliers. Loves and friendships were consequently formed,

* Whoever has had the good fortune to see Madame Léontine Volnys perform the part of the Duchess de Chevreuse in a play called 'Un Duel sous Richelieu,' will understand what beauty, grace, and passion may accomplish in a bad cause. The court beauty and heroine of the Fronde might have been as graceful and fascinating as her representative on the stage two centuries after her decease.

which the great Cardinal did not see without uneasiness. The air and manner of the presumptuous Buckingham gave him offence, and the passion which he audaciously proclaimed for Anne of Austria indisposed against him all the reasonable persons of the court. Not only did Buckingham present himself to the Queen as one determined to please, but he accompanied all his actions with the imprudences of a violent passion. The King and every one saw it, and Richelieu, both to satisfy his own aversion and to please the King, mortified Buckingham by every means in his power. Buckingham, on his part, raised a cry at court against the Cardinal, amongst those who did not like the interference of a minister in their pleasures and amusements.

In the history of the public buildings of Paris it is mentioned that the Duke de Chevreuse* bought the Hôtel de Luynes, that the Duchess might not have the trouble of changing her home on her marriage. Houses have their stories as well as persons. That house became celebrated in the wars of the Fronde, as the Hôtel de Chevreuse,

* Claude de Lorraine, Duke de Chevreuse, Knight of the Garter, &c., died 1657.

and still more celebrated, when they were over, as the Hôtel de Longueville.

In a curious old book, Sir John Finett's 'Observations touching Foreign Ambassadors,' the Duchess's beauty is adverted to: he says, that the Duke and Duchess de Chevreuse accompanied Henrietta-Maria to England, on her marriage. It was the 13th of May, 1625, that that unlucky marriage for England took place; another instance to add to the list supposed to accompany the unlucky number, thirteen.

King Charles went to receive the Queen in the Castle of Dover, where the Duke received his audience as ambassador extraordinary.

In the quaint language of the day, Sir John Finett says, "The King honoured him with his company to his Majesty's own presence chamber, for a sight and welcome of the fair Duchess de Chevreuse."

When they got to London the Duke and Duchess were lodged at Somerset House, and the next day received a visit from the Earl of Arundel,* on the

* Thomas Howard, Earl of Arundel and Surrey, who was Earl Marshal of England, and Lord High Steward at the trial of the Earl of Strafford he died at Padua in 1646.

part of his Majesty. The Earl conducted them to the public audience chamber. The plague was then beginning to show itself in London, and the Duke and Duchess de Chevreuse were lodged in the King's house at Richmond. This caused a jealousy amongst the ambassadors; but the following answer from Charles, given by Sir John Finett, to their complaints, shows the wish of the King to please the French attendants of Henrietta-Maria:—

"That the Queen having been desirous, for the long acquaintance that had passed between her and the Duchess de Chevreuse, to have her near at the time of her (the Duchess's) delivery and lying-in (then towards), would have her lodged in the King's house at Richmond, and that she having her lodging there, it was fit the Duke, her husband, should have his there also

The ensuing year, after the Duchess's return to France, the tragical history of Chalais occurred.

The Duchess was superintendent of the household to Anne of Austria. The history of the unfortunate Comte de Chalais is more like fiction invented for the stage than a story belonging to history and to political life. He was of the ancient

family of Talleyrand-Périgord, the grandson of the Maréchal de Montluc, in great favour with the King, enjoying places at court. He was very handsome, in the flower of youth; but an ardent friend and a passionate lover was not a character to prosper in the times of the weak Louis and the politic Richelieu.

The intrigue that conducted Chalais to the scaffold became, from a matter of little importance, a great state affair, and he fell the only victim, whilst others, more unworthy in every way, went unpunished The intrigue began by one, on the part of Anne of Austria and of the Duchess de Chevreuse, which had for its object to keep the King's brother unmarried. The great Cardinal often relaxed from his labours in the society of the young men and women of the court; and his assiduities in this society, so little of a piece with the gravity of his character, caused it to be given out that he was attracted there by the charms of the Duchess de Chevreuse. She was flattered by his preference for her society, while in private she abused and reviled him; and the Cardinal had warning of the numerous sobriquets by which she called him.

A number of young men of the court of Louis XIII. formed a plot to assassinate the Cardinal in his country-house of Limours, near Fontainebleau. It was arranged that Chalais was to strike the first blow, and fly to Holland until his pardon was obtained. This young man, oppressed by the feelings of his conscience at the crime he was meditating, imparted the secret to the Commander de Valancé, who induced him to repent of it, and communicated the secret to Richelieu, as if desired to do so from Chalais. He told Richelieu that on pretext of dining at Limours, the Duke of Orleans would send some officers of his household thither; that when Gaston arrived a quarrel would be fomented, and the assassination was then to be perpetrated.

Richelieu did not at first give credit to this story, but when he saw the officers arrive next day, he did believe in the truth of it. The Cardinal got into his carriage, went to Fontainebleau, where Gaston was, presented himself to him, told him that he should have been flattered to have done the honours of the entertainment that his Royal Highness meant to have taken under his roof, but

that as the Duke wished to be at liberty, he had left him the house at his disposal. The Cardinal, not waiting for an answer, then retired, leaving all the conspirators in great confusion.

Richelieu tried to get at the origin of the conspiracy; he questioned the members of the family of Chalais with whom he was on terms of intimacy, and from them got more excuses than avowals. From Chalais himself he received assurances of repentance, and heard enough from him to predict to him his end. But this was a vain menace to an enthusiastic and enterprising young man, madly in love with the Duchess de Chevreuse, who showed him interest enough to engage him in her dislikes, and in the hatred which Anne of Austria had vowed towards Richelieu. A violent friendship with the Prior and the Duke de Vendôme also led him on to destruction. But of all these persons Chalais alone was arrested.

The weak and miserable Louis XIII. changed from the greatest friendship to the most violent dislike of Chalais, which he was often wont to do with his favourites. He was persuaded that Chalais hated him; and as Chalais was proved to have

turned the monarch's failings into ridicule in his letters to Madame de Chevreuse, it was not difficult to settle the King in that belief.

The marriage of Gaston, and the consequent fêtes and rejoicings in France, went along with the law process against Chalais in the court of judicature. In vain did the Duke ask for the pardon of his friend: he entreated, prayed, and threatened, but the Cardinal was inexorable, and the trial was preceded by a singular step on the part of Richelieu, who went himself into the prison to question Chalais. No one ever knew what passed between them.

The unfortunate Chalais heard of the marriage of his friend by the noise of the cannon fired from his prison. There are no details extant of the law process. Chalais was executed at Nantes the day that he received the sentence. All the accomplices left the court of Louis. The Comte de Soissons had leave to travel; Madame de Chevreuse was ordered to her estate of Dampière, in Lorraine; and it was said that in the award of the sentence the Cardinal had shown his indulgence to the woman he admired.

Thus ended a tragical history of coquetry. But

Madame de Chevreuse was not of a character to profit even by her own experience. In Lorraine she received the agents of Buckingham; and the Lord Abbot Montague, his friend, was there with her. The jealousy of Louis XIII. had closed France against the redoubtable Buckingham, who swore in his anger to revisit France and Anne of Austria. After the Duchess had instructed his agents, they joined the party against the Cardinal; but the storm broke over all their heads: they all dispersed to different countries, and Madame de Chevreuse escaped to England, and in fear of being arrested, it was said she swam across the Saone to reach Calais.

Some years after the Queen interceded for Madame de Chevreuse, who was allowed to return to court, and her adventures with Buckingham and the Abbot, Walter Montague, were seemingly forgotten.

Richelieu had a long illness, during which time he took care to be informed of the proceedings of the Queen's society. It had been remarked that the Duchess had been but slightly punished, compared with the severity with which the Cardinal generally treated those who counteracted his plans

and projects. But the recovery of Richelieu was like the rousing of the lion. The Duchess, in league with Anne of Austria and La Rochefoucauld, was accused of keeping up a treasonable correspondence with the Marquis de Mirabella in Spain. Afraid of being arrested, she left the Hôtel de Chevreuse by a back entrance, disguised in man's clothes, and reaching Tours, rode off into Spain.

Châteauneuf was banished to his estates, and the seals given to Séguier. But the martyr of this intrigue was the young Chevalier de Jars, of the family of Rochechouart, "l'homme aimable" of the Queen's society. He was arrested, and confined in the dungeons of the Bastille, and from thence conveyed to Troyes. Nothing was ever proved against him, but he was ordered to suffer death on the scaffold in the Grande Place at Troyes. The executioner having bandaged his eyes and confined his hands, La Feymas, a man who from his character was called Richelieu's executioner, said to him, "You are forgiven; now confess what you know of the intrigues of Châteauneuf."

"What you could not obtain from me by vio-

lence, you shall not get by kindness," was the answer of De Jars; "you shall not make me speak against my friends."

He was then conducted back to his prison, but, some years afterwards, got leave to go into foreign countries. This was one of the many abuses of public authority resorted to by Richelieu, and one of the actions dignified by him under the name of state expediency.

Madame de Chevreuse now wandered about Europe for several years. She was in England in 1638, and was present at the installation of the Knights of the Garter at Windsor. In whatever country she was, wherever she travelled, she obtained an ascendancy over the princes and leading persons of the state.

The Cardinal de Retz, in describing the Duchess, says that her beauty was gone when he first saw her; but that her wit stood her in lieu of judgment, and her sayings were like those of the cleverest men. She was led by her passions entirely; and, says De Retz, "elle aimait uniquement et fidèlement. Elle nous a avoué, à Madame de Rhodes et à moi, que par un caprice, disait-elle, de la fortune, elle n'avait jamais aimé le mieux ce

qu'elle avait estimé le plus; à la réserve toutefois, ajouta-t-elle, du pauvre Buckingham."

Louis XIII. on his death-bed exempted Madame de Chevreuse from the general pardon She had so much incurred his displeasure, that he named her as a dangerous person to the state, and one whose return to France should never be permitted. But the will of Louis was but little respected, and the Duchess, then an "errant lady" in the Low Countries, and Châteauneuf in banishment, were permitted to return to court.

Meanwhile the men feared the capacity of Châteauneuf, the women dreaded the influence of the Duchess, and both joined to decry these two persons. Châteauneuf found an enemy in the Princess de Condé, who could never pardon him the share he had in the death of her brother, Montmorency. It was represented to Anne of Austria, that she imagined that Châteauneuf and the Duchess had been martyrs to their attachment to her, but that Louis XIII. had banished them for a love intrigue. However, the Duchess was received publicly by the Queen as her friend.

In private the Queen gave her advice to abstain from court intrigue, but the Duchess got the better

of the Queen's intentions with regard to her, and Mazarin now acted, it was supposed, in a preconcerted plan with the Queen. Mazarin went to visit the Duchess, and after paying her all the compliments likely to gain over a woman of her pretensions to beauty and wit, he offered her the use of his credit and his purse, under the pretext that a long absence from France might make both desirable. She thanked him, but received the offer as a person much piqued; his purse she refused, and his credit she laughed at, as well as the supposition that she could want influence with the Queen; however, she promised herself the pleasure of putting Mazarin's offers to the proof, who afterwards said that he found her *insatiable* in demands.

The Duchess de Chevreuse now became the organ at the court of France of "La Cabale des Importants," by whom the Queen was surrounded; a name given to the enemies of the late government of the Cardinal de Richelieu. They were called by this name because, proud of the Queen's confidence, they gave themselves airs of protection and importance. The Princess de Condé, in opposition, protected the Richelieu party; and a private pique against the Duke de Beaufort, who was

at the head of the Cabale des Importants, determined this political opposition. The Duke had asked Mademoiselle de Bourbon, her daughter, in marriage, but changed his mind, and would not fulfil his engagement.

Her son, the young Duke d'Enghien, the hero of the age, had just returned from the army, having, at the age of two-and-twenty, gained the battle of Rocroi. Fond of dissipation and pleasure, he attached himself to the gay circle of the Duchesses of Chevreuse and Montbazon. This last lady was younger by many years than her daughter-in-law, the Duchess de Chevreuse, and was the greatest beauty of France at that moment.

An imprudent piece of malice of the Duchess de Montbazon drew away the hero of Rocroi from the Cabale des Importants. Some love-letters, found and recognized by Madame de Montbazon as the writing of the young Duchess de Longueville, the sister of the Duke, were read and commented upon in this society.

The Princess de Condé, indignant at the imputation, and still more so at the publicity given to the letters, asked the Queen for justice, as an affront to the royal family. This "tracasserie"

became a serious affair. The Duke de Beaufort declared himself the champion of Madame de Montbazon, for whom he affected great admiration; the Duke d'Enghien defied his sister's detractors; and the courtiers, according to their interest or their inclination, offered their swords to the rival dukes.

The Queen at last assumed the tone of authority, and commanded Madame de Montbazon to make a reparation. Mazarin prescribed the words, the ceremonial, and the place. So many difficulties arose that it became as weighty an affair as the most complicated treaty between two mighty empires. At the execution of the treaty, the Princess de Condé convoked in her own house a great assembly; the Duchess de Montbazon came, and read aloud, in a tone of irony, some lines of excuse and compliment that had been preconcerted. The Princess de Condé answered quietly, but in a bitter tone, and they all separated, hating each other more than ever. This meeting was called "L'amende honorable de Madame de Montbazon."

In the dread of new scenes occurring, the Queen commanded Madame de Montbazon not to make

her appearance where the Princess de Condé was likely to be; and this order, which placed victory on the side of the Condés, upheld by Mazarin, should have intimated to the IMPORTANTS what position they held in the Queen's favour. But the story was not yet come to an end.

Anne of Austria was a kind mistress to those of her household who followed her wishes, but she hated contradiction; and the pains that the Duchess de Chevreuse took to tell her reports concerning herself and Mazarin displeased her. The Duchess de Chevreuse was to give a fête champêtre to the Queen, and the Duchess de Montbazon came there, she said, to assist her daughter-in-law in doing the honours. The Princess de Condé, in attendance on the Queen, offered to stay away, not to disturb the pleasures of the fête; but the Queen would not hear of it, and sent to Madame de Montbazon to make a pretext for absenting herself. She refused to obey, and Anne of Austria would not go to the fête.

Next day the Queen exiled Madame de Montbazon, and desired Madame de Chevreuse to go into the country; but some days after, remembering her as the friend of her early youth, she sent

for her, spoke to her as a friend, and advised her living in France without having to do with intrigues of any sort. Madame de Motteville says in her Memoirs, that the Queen said to her:—"I promise you my friendship on these terms; but if you disturb the court, I must oblige you to go, and I can only promise you the favour of being sent away the last."

The Duke de Beaufort took Madame de Montbazon's absence "en héros de roman," showing himself everywhere with an air of disdain and bad humour, and ready to break a lance against all who did not declare for "la dame de ses pensées." He affronted some, braved others, was rude to Mazarin, turned his back on the Queen when she spoke to him, and when he spoke to her he did it in the most ill-bred and ironical terms.

The Queen hearing from Mazarin of secret assemblies of armed men, who were in wait to assassinate or carry him off, took fright, arrested the Duke de Beaufort, shut him up at Vincennes, and the Duchess de Chevreuse, Châteauneuf, and others had orders to leave the court. Thus ended the Cabale des Importants.

Much concerning the wars of the Fronde, and

the arrest of the Princes, will be found in the chapters concerning Gaston, Duke of Orleans, the Cardinal de Retz, and the Duchess de Longueville.

During the thirteen months of the imprisonment of the Prince de Condé, the Prince de Conti, his brother, and the Duke de Longueville, the Frondeurs made conditions with the Condés. After their liberation, the triumph of the Condés was complete. The guarantee of the confederation was a proposed marriage between the Prince de Conti and Mademoiselle de Chevreuse, the daughter and heiress of the Duchess.

At that time first appeared in the salons of Anne of Austria, a class of persons who have exercised so important an influence upon society during the two hundred years that have elapsed since their first appearance, that they cannot be passed over without notice.

They were the favourites and companions of the Prince de Condé, who accompanied him to court when he came to pay his respects to the Queen, and were known by the name of "les petits-maîtres," because they followed the fortunes of the Prince, who was master of all. These *élégants*, named in many of the memoirs of the day, are

represented as being distinguished for their valour and courage. They had participated in the victories and glories of the Prince their idol, and had followed him to battle. They were known by a certain "air avantageux, un ton leste, avec des manières étourdies."

Since those days the fashion of their morals, manners, tone, and conversation, have varied with the same rapidity as the fashion of their dress. Sometimes they have formed themselves on the model of some hero, of whom they took the prominent foibles or follies, being in that manner the excrescence or disease of the oak, not the oak itself; sometimes they have been blustering heroes, loud and boisterous; sometimes they affected great effeminacy, as they did in England a century ago, when a petit-maître wore a muff, was carried in a sedan chair, had a little dog and a smelling bottle. But the class have, with great ability and under different names, continued to exercise their power on the times they lived in; and as fast as they went out of fashion under one denomination, they would, as if touched by harlequin's wand, reappear in some new character in another part of the stage of life. Along with the petit-maître appeared the

reflection of the same character in the lady, whose pretensions as a petite-maîtresse have, along with the term, survived so many fanciful denominations during two centuries.

But La Rochefoucauld, dreading the influence of De Gondy over the Prince de Condé, raised a strong party against the marriage, amongst whom was the Duchess de Longueville, sister of the two princes; and La Rochefoucauld persuaded the Queen to send away Châteauneuf (who was obnoxious to the Condés) from her councils, and to require from them that the marriage should be broken off.

The Prince de Condé asked from his brother the sacrifice of his passion for Mademoiselle de Chevreuse. He laid before him the suspected intrigues of this young girl, and that of all the ladies who interfered in politics, and in whose houses the rendezvous for political purposes were held at night. The assiduities of De Gondy at the Hôtel de Chevreuse were set forth; and the consequence of all these representations was, that the Prince de Condé broke off his marriage, without the management due on these occasions, and still more due in a family connection.

This éclat was followed up by the triumph of the Condé party. Mazarin fled from France to his retreat at Cologne; the Queen called Chavigni to her councils, sent away Châteauneuf, and gave the seals to Molé.

When Gaston, lieutenant-general of the kingdom, wished to complain of these things being done without his knowledge, "You have made changes often without asking me," answered Anne of Austria, proudly.

After these events, a curious scene took place at Gaston's palace of the Luxembourg.

The Duke of Orleans had convoked a meeting to deliberate as to what was to be done in wresting the seals from the Chancellor Molé. That ladies attended these political meetings is evident from the account given of the meeting held that day.

Those persons named as present are the Prince de Condé, the Prince de Conti, the Duke de Beaufort, De Gondy, and La Rochefoucauld. De Gondy gave as his opinion that the Duke d'Orleans should send an armed force to carry off the seals "This advice," said La Rochefoucauld, "looks like an exhortation to carnage." Condé added, that he was a coward on all occasions of

popular commotion and sedition, and had no liking for a war of stones and pebbles. The Prince de Condé and his brother, with the Duke de Beaufort, being then determined to take no share in the conference, withdrew into the adjoining room. De Gondy saw that these speeches were meant for him, and persisted the more in his advice. Madame (the wife of Gaston) cried, and Gaston was shaken in his opinion, as he usually was by the last person who had spoken. "But," said the Duke d'Orléans, turning the subject in his mind, "*if* we should arrive at taking this resolution, we must first arrest those here, along with my nephew, De Beaufort." "Say one word only," said Mademoiselle de Chevreuse, who had her own particular injury to revenge; "a turn of a key will do it, and allow a young girl to arrest the gainer of battles." Upon this she flew towards the door of the room where the princes were, and the Duke of Orleans after her to stop her purpose.

The three princes left the Luxembourg, quite unconscious of all that had taken place concerning their liberty.

Mademoiselle de Chevreuse was born at Richmond, at the time of the Duke de Chevreuse's

embassy to London. The Cardinal de Retz, in his old age of truth and reflexion, writes thus of her:—

"Mademoiselle de Chevreuse, qui avait plus de beauté que d'agrément, était sotte jusqu'au ridicule par son naturel." He adds, "and of beauty, when unaccompanied by sense, one is soon tired. The only sense she had was for the object of her passion; and as her passions did not last long, neither did her sense. She fell into the same fits of rage with her lovers that she would do with her dress. Other women grow tired of their gowns and head-dresses, but she burnt all she did not fancy, and her women had the greatest difficulty in saving a petticoat, point lace, gloves, or any part of her dress that displeased her. As long as she fancied these things she took them with her to her bed, and two hours afterwards burnt them from pure aversion." The Cardinal de Retz adds, "I believe if she could have put her lovers into the fire when she grew tired of them she would have liked it, and have done it with all her heart."

Mademoiselle de Chevreuse, shortly after her projected marriage had been broken off by the

family of the Prince de Conti, died of the small-pox, and the Duchy of Chevreuse descended to the children of the Duchess de Chevreuse by her first husband, the Duke de Luynes.

The Duchess de Chevreuse lived to the age of seventy-nine.

When Cardinal Mazarin was negotiating the peace of the Pyrenees with Spain, in 1660, he said to Don Louis de Haro, naming the Duchess de Chevreuse, "We have three women amongst us in France who throw us into more confusion than ever was known in Babylon."

CARDINAL MAZARIN.

Born, 1602, died, 1661

ONE of Lord Clarendon's letters concludes, "I am glad the French ambassador hath disgusted the King (Charles I), if he be enough disgusted. The truth is, the cheats and the villany of that nation (the French) are so gross, that I cannot think of it with patience; neither can the King ever prosper till he abhors them perfectly, and

trusts none who trust them." "The Cardinal Mazarin," says Clarendon, further, "was a man rather of different than contrary parts from his predecessor, and more fitted to build upon the foundations he had laid, than to have laid those foundations, and to cultivate by artifice, dexterity, and dissimulation, in which his nature and parts excelled, what the other had begun with great resolution and vigour, and even gone through with invincible constancy and courage."

After showing the fearful consequences brought on by French intrigues in England, towards the end of the tragedy of the reign of Charles I., D'Israeli says, "Such is the nature of ministerial offices and Machiavelian politics! But this system, however reprobated by Clarendon, has not been peculiar to the French cabinet; the English have had their share in this short-sighted policy. Nations, or rather ministers, have sought in the domestic feuds of a neighbouring nation a false and hollow prosperity for themselves: unable to build up their own strength by their own wisdom, they often deceive themselves by imagining they acquire stability in proportion to the weakness of their neighbours."

The President Hainault's portrait of Mazarin was said to be flattered. "Cardinal Mazarin was as gentle as the Cardinal de Richelieu was violent. His greatest talent was knowing men's characters, and his forte lay in finesse and prudence more than in force. He thought that force should never be used but when other means failed, and his good sense always suggested the means. Bold at Casal, tranquil in his retirement at Cologne, courageous in arresting the princes; but insensible to the intrigues, the libels, and the songs of the Fronde, disdaining the bravadoes of De Retz, and hearing the multitude with the same unconcern with which he would have listened to the waves of the ocean on the shore, there was in Richelieu something grand and noble; but in Mazarin more address, more *mesure*, and fewer faults. One was hated, the other was ridiculed,—but both were masters of the state."

Bussy gives a curious picture of Mazarin, more in his private life than as minister:—"No man was so fortunate. He was born a Roman gentleman; and having studied at Salamanca, he had his horoscope taken one day, and they assured

him he should be Pope. He had the most beautiful countenance in the world, the finest eyes, and a large forehead. He was very amusing, very insinuating, and made himself liked whenever he chose."

Madame de Motteville says that he had a talent for all jeux d'esprit and games of chance. Like most Italians, he was passionately fond of play, and introduced it at court; and he was accused of not playing fair. He was insensible to blame; and when told of the libels against him, he said, in his bad French, and with his Italian accent, "Laissons parler et faisons;" and of the songs against him, "Qu'il cantent, ces Français, qu'il cantent—pourvu qu'il payent." The only burlesques he minded were Scarron's, and he took from him his pension in consequence.

The Cardinal was of a noble Sicilian family He was born and educated at Rome, and was sent along with one of the Colonnas to finish his studies in Spain, at Alcala and Salamanca. When he returned to Rome, the Jesuits were about to celebrate the canonization of their founder; a tragedy was about to be performed on the occasion, and

recommended Mazarin to Louis, and he had the honour of being godfather to Louis XIV.

After the death of Louis XIII. the court was divided into two parties. Mazarin took the Queen's side, and gradually he got round every one, Gaston d'Orléans, Condé, and the Queen herself, and gained the victory over the Cabale des Importants. The cabal, so called, is thus described by De Retz :—

"This party was composed of five or six melancholy personages, who had the pretension of being very profound thinkers, and who all died mad, and even in those days did not seem very wise. After these persons were arrested and exiled, Mazarin followed all Richelieu's plans of government, except that his politics led him to make himself beloved instead of hated. For this purpose he gave away with a profusion hitherto unexampled; abundance reigned, and the courtiers said that the French language comprised *all* in this one phrase, 'La reine est si bonne.'"

Afterwards, the fashion of revolutions began in Europe. In France came the Fronde; in England, the civil war; at Naples, the revolt of Massaniello. In 1647 appeared on the scene of action, in the

seditions of the Fronde, De Gondy, the Coadjuteur de Paris, better known afterwards as the Cardinal de Retz.

In 1651, the Prince de Condé having gone over to the opposition, his party got the better, and Mazarin was obliged to leave France; but from his retreat in the Elector of Cologne's dominions he still governed Anne of Austria, and returned triumphant the following year.

The great exploit of Mazarin was the peace of the Pyrenees. The interviews with Don Louis de Haro,* on the limits of France and Spain, lasted during three months, and ended with the marriage of Louis XIV. to the Infanta of Spain, in 1660. Mazarin and Don Louis de Haro there displayed all their political talents. those of the Cardinal were finesse, those of Don Louis, caution; the last gave but few words; Mazarin, equivocal expressions. The intention of the Italian was to take by

* Don Louis de Haro, nephew to Olivarez, succeeded him in Spain as minister. He died two years after the peace of the Pyrenees, in 1661, universally regretted by both king and people, as a wise and great minister in the affairs of peace and war. The titles of the families of Del Carpio and Olivarez, and their enormous fortunes, all centred in the person of his great-grandchild, married to Ferdinand, Duke of Alba, which family became extinct at the death of the last Duke of Alba, in 1799.

surprise, that of the Spaniard never to be overreached. Don Louis de Haro said of the Cardinal's diplomacy, "He has a great fault, he always tries to deceive in his politics." The Spanish minister insisted on the pardon of the Prince de Condé; his speech was truly Spanish. "Instead of making so many difficulties, France should thank Spain for keeping and returning to her so great a hero."

After the peace, and the marriage, and the rejoicings, Mazarin's health declined rapidly, and Louis XIV. attended the council in Mazarin's own room. He died little regretted (few ministers are) at Vincennes, where the court were at the time. The King wore mourning for him, an honour never conferred on a subject, except in the instance of Henry IV. and Gabrielle d'Estrées.

It was but a few days before Mazarin's death that he gave audience, rouged and dressed The Comte de Fuensaldagne, who was present, said to the Prince de Condé, "That figure resembles the late Cardinal Mazarin."

A picture has been painted of Mazarin's deathbed, from historical tradition, by Delaroche; which represents the scene admirably. The Cardinal lies in a fine bed, with his head reclining on his pillow.

It is evening, and the rooms are lighted up, and a gay company of courtiers and ladies are dispersed about a richly furnished apartment; a card-table is drawn near the bed of the dying minister, and one of his nieces, a beautiful woman, rises from the card-table to show her hand to Mazarin. This picture represents a painful scene to look upon,—splendour, dissipation, and death, allied.

Mazarin amassed an immense fortune; and when he was dying, Colbert and his confessor induced him to leave it to the King, who returned it; but Mazarin left enormous presents to the royal family, to Condé, Turenne, and to Don Louis de Haro. His library went to the College Mazarin, which he had founded.*

* Mazarin gave the first impulse to the fine arts in France, which had slumbered since the days of Francis I. He invited architects, sculptors, painters, actors, and singers, from Italy. He asked Bernini to come to Paris, but Bernini only yielded in his old age to the entreaties of Colbert to make a visit to Louis XIV.

Two of the sovereigns of Europe had, however, a purer taste in the fine arts than Louis ever possessed in his maturity of judgment, Charles I., King of England, and Philip IV of Spain Charles's friendship with Rubens, who was both diplomate and painter, led to his acquaintance with the fine arts, and painting was a youthful passion with him, which his journey to Spain probably matured

Philip IV., King of Spain during seventeen years, went every

GASTON, DUKE OF ORLEANS.

Born, 1608, died, 1660

THE education of Gaston, brother of Louis XIII. and of Henrietta-Maria, Queen of England, was confided to the Sieur de Breves, a man in whom knowledge of the world was joined to a rare probity, a great deal of information which he had acquired in his embassies, and a taste for the arts and sciences.

day, without any form or etiquette, to visit Velasquez in his painting-room, and in the culture of literature and the fine arts, and in the friendship of Calderon and Velasquez, he tried to forget his reverses in arms, and the loss of Portugal, Catalogna, and Roussillon

At the peace of the Pyrenees, when Philip carried his daughter, the Infanta Maria Teresa, to the frontiers, to unite her with Louis XIV., it was Velasquez who prepared the pavillion where the kings met, in the Isle des Faisans Velasquez had several places about court, and the order of St Jago, and being in possession of the office of "Aposentador Mayor," he went to Irun, on the frontiers of France, in March, 1660, to make arrangements for the meeting of the sovereigns The fatigues of the journey and the business he had to superintend affected his health so much, that on his return to Madrid, in August, 1660, he fell ill, and died

In the memoirs of those days it is mentioned that De Breves had a rod tied to the sash of the child, but that he used it but seldom. One day the Prince made use of some low or passionate expression to one of the gentlemen who served him, upon which the governor sent for the servants out of the kitchen to attend him, instead of the gentlemen.

De Breves was succeeding so well in the education of the Prince, that it caused a jealousy at court. Louis XIII., who was a prey to that devouring passion, sent away the governor loaded with presents, and substituted in his stead other instructors not so worthy.

Gaston grew up with an uncertain, unstable character: he was fond of play, of magnificence; and the talents which had been cultivated gave him a taste for collections, for antiquities, and for pictures; but he could not fix his mind long upon friend or pursuit.

Louis showed all through his life the most unworthy envy of his brother's talents; and as the King had no heir for a great number of years after his marriage, Gaston was looked on as heir-apparent to the throne, and all his accomplish-

ments were commented on and lauded to the skies.*

Ornano was his first and earliest friend: he died a prisoner in the Château of Vincennes. Chalais was his next: he fell on the scaffold. The brave Montmorency was also sacrificed. Puylaureus, and Cinq-Mars, and De Thou, all perished; and they were all leagued, publicly and privately, with the Duke of Orleans.

Gaston was as volatile in love as in friendship: neither man nor woman could depend upon him.

A powerful intrigue, led by the Duchess de Chevreuse, preceded the marriage of Gaston, and occupied the court of the young Queen of Louis XIII. As yet Anne of Austria had had no child, and it was insinuated to her that it was her interest to keep her brother-in-law unmarried, that in case the King should die she might marry him. The Queen received a reprimand in full council, and was there reproached with having desired

* Gaston was the first person who had a botanical garden in France. His favourite pursuit was botany, and his collection of herbals was celebrated. In his garden at the Castle of Blois, he had a collection of plants to be naturalized, to add to the science of medicine. He sent all over the world for these plants, and loved to arrange them in order himself.

another husband. "I should not have gained much by the exchange," was her answer; however, she wept bitterly, and never pardoned Richelieu for having subjected her to this disgraceful scene.

At the imprisonment of Chalais, Gaston wished to leave the kingdom, but Le Coigneux, incited by Richelieu, detained him in France. Instead of punishment, he was offered a young and beautiful wife, with a yearly revenue of 300,000 crowns; and all the honours due to his birth were to be accorded to him. Richelieu gave him advice, and Richelieu was eloquent. The young Prince went to solicit the pardon of his friends; he prayed, entreated, threatened. "Mais avec trois conserves et deux prunes de Gènes, je chassai toute l'amertume de son cœur," said Richelieu to the Pope's nuncio, Spada

The minister's discourse, backed with authority like his, proved enough for Gaston to abandon the cause of his friends; and Ornano heard the rejoicings for his marriage from his prison at Vincennes, as Chalais did from his dungeon at Nantes.

Mademoiselle de Montpensier brought the Prince as her dower the sovereignty of Dombes, the

Duchies of Montpensier, Chatellerault, and Saint Fargeau; and at his marriage he became Duke of Orleans and Chartres, and Comte de Blois. La grande Mademoiselle was born of this marriage, and some days after her birth the Duchess of Orleans died.

Gaston was continually leading others into rebellion against the government, and never helping them out of the plots he let them into. Deeply concerned in the rebellion of the brave Montmorency, he offered any submission to save his life. He wrote to Louis for his pardon thus:—"Bathed in tears, on my knees, I implore, with all the submission due to my king, for his clemency, his pity, and his pardon."

When Gaston failed to obtain pardon, never was anything like his sorrow or his resentment: he declared that nothing would have made him humble himself but the hope of saving Montmorency; and after the execution of his friend he left France, went to Brussels, and placed himself under the protection of Spain. When at Brussels, he charged D'Elbeuf to announce to Louis his second marriage, with Margaret, the daughter of the Duke of Lorraine.

Gaston left France four several times, and re-entered the kingdom bearing arms against his brother. His life was without success and without glory. He engaged in the conspiracy of Cinq-Mars and De Thou; but lost them on their trial by his answers during the examination He entered into everything; never could resist any one who would draw him on; but left them as quickly as he had joined them, because he had no courage for following up any affairs.

Gaston, however, inherited some of the good points of his father, Henry IV. He had "l'esprit vif," and like him a quick power of repartee. His daughter, Mademoiselle, had also this latter power. One day the Abbé de la Rivière said to her that Gaston was a wise and religious Prince, and that he was worth a great deal. "You ought to know how much," said Mademoiselle, "for you have sold him often"

In 1642 the Cardinal de Richelieu died, and the same year Marie de Médicis, and the following year Louis XIII. The last act of Richelieu's ministry was to deprive the Duke of Orleans of the regency, but Louis XIII., on his death-bed, left him the charge of Lieutenant-General of the French Forces,

and his marriage was for the first time legally acknowledged.

The Fronde lasted four years, and every person changed sides in that political dance. The derivation of the word Fronde is curious. It had become the fashion at Paris to censure the government and find fault with the ministers. The court party called themselves Mazarins, the adverse party, Frondeurs. The name of Fronde originated in the plays of children, and it is a ridiculous derivation of the name of a war that had in it all the folly of children's plays. The children of Paris, dispersed at play, formed themselves into bands on the ramparts of the city; and were in the habit of throwing stones at each other with a sling, called in French a *fronde*, an ancient manner of harassing an enemy that modern inventions have superseded. The patrolle of Paris interfered, the children dispersed for an instant, and then returned; sometimes they made head against the patrolle, and pelted them "à coup de fronde." These children, who came and went, sometimes resisting public authority, sometimes revenging themselves, furnished a member of the parliament of Paris with a simile; he compared the opposition to these little Frondeurs.

The word took, as an appropriate word always takes in France; dress, equipage, jewels, everything was *à la fronde;* and to be well received in the opposition coteries, it was necessary to wear some token belonging to their party.

The changes of party were as curious as the origin of the word. The grand Condé besieged Paris for the royal side, and then went over to the adverse party. His brother, the Prince de Conti, the violent enemy of Mazarin, ended in marrying one of his nieces. Turenné, who had first fought the battle of Saint-Antoine against Condé, the next year, although bearing the title of Lieutenant-General of the King's Army, took up arms in favour of the liberty of the princes imprisoned by Mazarin, and fought against the royal cause.

Gaston gave his consent to the arrest of the princes. As soon as the account of this event reached him, he exclaimed:—"There is a fine net-full taken; a lion, a monkey, and a fox;" meaning Condé, Conti, and the Duke de Longueville. The next year Gaston assisted in the liberation of the princes, and brought them out of prison in triumph.

In the chapters concerning the Duchess de

Chevreuse and the Cardinal de Retz, some scenes of the regency of Anne of Austria are described. The following is like the last act of a play, when all the actors and actresses appear at once on the stage. The Queen received a letter from Mazarin, then out of France, entreating of her to send for De Gondy. The hatred of Anne of Austria for the Prince de Condé was then in its full vigour Mazarin wrote to the Queen that to yield to Condé's offers, or rather orders, would be nothing less than to take him to Rheims (meaning to place the crown on his head); accordingly, the Queen sent for the Coadjuteur. She sent him a ticket of safety; he kissed it, threw it into the fire, and went to the palace when it grew night. The Queen proposed to the Coadjuteur to reconcile himself to Mazarin, and she made use of, not only entreaty, but coquetry, to try to gain him over to her purpose; powerful means with De Gondy from a Queen who was still handsome. De Gondy told her that a reconciliation between him and Mazarin was an impossibility—that no one would believe in it—that he should by that means lose all credit with the people and the parliament—that it would only serve to strengthen the Condé interest,

and that he must always appear equally against Mazarin and against his return to France. "How strange!" said the Queen—"to serve me you must be the enemy of him who possesses my confidence. If you would—if you would"—she said affectionately to him.

De Gondy then threw the blame of the impossibility upon Monsieur (Gaston), who, he said, in that case would immediately go over to Condé. "Join me," said the Queen, "and I don't care for your Monsieur, who is the last of men." She then offered to make De Gondy a cardinal, to give him a place in council, and make him prime minister. This last he refused, feeling that it was merely offered to him to fill the niche in which the true saint was to be placed as soon as it could be done. "But," said the Queen, "je fais tout pour vous—que ferez-vous pour moi?"—"Votre Majesté, me permet-elle de lui dire une sottise, parce que ce sera manquer au respect que je dois au sang royal?" "Dites, dites," said the Queen, with energy. "Eh bien! Madame, j'obligerai M. le Prince à sortir de Paris avant qu'il soit huit jours, et je lui enléverai Monsieur dès demain."—"Touchez-là," said the Queen, holding out her hand to De Gondy, "et

vous êtes après cela cardinal, et de plus, le second de mes amis."*

In the detail of the arrangements, the Queen employed the Princess Palatine, who had always declared that she would serve the Princes but to get them out of prison, and afterwards adhere to the Queen's party. De Gondy had in her entire confidence. The agreement between them was, that he was to reappear in parliament; but he told the Queen that that could only be on the condition of Mazarin's absence.

"Go," said the Queen, smiling, "Vous êtes un vrai démon!"

In consequence of this conversation, the Coadjuteur prepared the public for these changes by his writings; and as soon as he had enlightened them sufficiently, he appeared again in parliament.

Meantime the hawkers of books were crying about Paris, "L'Apologie de l'ancienne et légitime Fronde," "La Défense du Coadjuteur," "Le Solitaire," "Les Intérêts du Temps," "Le Vraisemblable," &c., and then the author came forth, and appeared at the palace with his followers.

* De Retz, tom. ii page 242.

De Gondy communicated these matters to the Duke of Orleans, who was at that moment well pleased to get rid of "la morgue de Condé;" and Gaston said to his confidents, "There are M. le Prince and the Coadjuteur on bad terms, and I am going to amuse myself with their chamailleries," an expression that perfectly gave the character of that "étrange seigneur," by which name Anne of Austria called her brother-in-law.

La Fronde usée, time quieted the animosities of all parties, and every one who had marched under its banners seemed to say, with the English diplomate, who, on being asked whether he was ambassador from Monk or Lambert, answered, "I am the humble servant of public events."

An amnesty was now proclaimed. Condé threw himself into the arms of the Spaniards; Gaston retired to Blois; Mademoiselle, after playing a great part, went to her estates, where she listened to romances and sonnets, and wrote her memoirs; the Cardinal de Retz was confined at Vincennes; and this great political tempest was quelled.

Gaston* died at Blois, in 1660, leaving three

* A whole-length portrait of Gaston, by Vandyke, is in the royal collection at Windsor.

daughters by his second marriage; the Grand-Duchess of Tuscany, the Duchess of Savoy, and the Duchess de Guise.

TANCRED DE ROHAN.

Born, 1630; died, 1649.

PAINTERS place in their compositions the strong and powerful colouring of nature, the dark sombre sky, the vivid reds and yellows; the purple, blue, and pink of a glorious setting sun, blended into each other, in art, strike the eye as unharmonious and disagreeable; while in nature they call forth all our admiration. In the same way the romance-writer will not write truth; he is constantly in fear of verging on improbabilities, while the romance of real life is more truly romance than anything that can be thought, composed, or written.

The following story has been carefully collected from the best authorities, and related with an accurate attention to truth and facts. It was a history which occupied all France for some time, quite as

much as the trials in the judicial courts of that country had done in the nineteenth century.

To comprehend the conduct of the Rohan family, as to the contested birth of Tancred de Rohan, it is necessary to give a concise account of the fortunes of that family, during the reign of Louis XIII. and the regency of Anne of Austria, entering as briefly as possible upon the military career of the great Duke de Rohan, which is foreign to the purpose.

The house of Rohan is one of the most ancient and illustrious in France, being of princely origin; and it can boast in its alliances the royal families of France, Scotland, Lorraine, and Savoy; but the reputation of the hero, known by the name of the Huguenot Duke de Rohan, stood higher than his noble birth. He was one of those persons who would have been distinguished in any country, had he belonged to an obscure class: his heroism in good fortune was only equalled by his fortitude in reverses; and he was one of those great men who remain unconquered when the enemy is most successful. Born of Calvinist parents, he was educated in the principles of that sect; and the strong attachment he had to his religious faith, was the cause of

the troubles that agitated all the best years of his life; that drove him to bear arms against his country, and made him an enemy to his King. Voltaire, in the 'Henriade,' has thus described him:—

"Avec tous les talens, le ciel l'avoit fait naître.
Il agit en héros, en sage il écrivit
Il fut même un grand homme en combattant son maître,
Et plus grand lorsqu'il le servit."

To go back to the times of Henry IV.: peace was established between France and Spain; the edict of Nantes having pacified the kingdom, Rohan, then a very young man, resolved to visit the courts of Europe. Rohan's early life, character, and adventures bore many points of resemblance to Sir Philip Sydney. The same chivalrous bearing and the same love of learning, distinguished both of them. When he came to England, Queen Elizabeth named Rohan her knight. When he visited Scotland, James I. asked him to stand sponsor to his son, and that son was the unfortunate Charles I. No one knew the contending interests of the German princes so well as Rohan, or understood the subtle policy of the Italians, and all this at an age when men are usually occupied with their vanities and their pleasures.

But these were the days of true romance, the days of Spencer and of Shakspeare. Look at the portraits of the persons of those days; see the air of the heroes, the poets, and even of the courtiers of those days, wearing the jewelled cap and the heron's feather: they seem ready, at a moment's warning, for battle or for tournament; to follow the wiles of the hawk, or to pen a sonnet to a lady's eyebrow. Then turn to the age of Pope and Voltaire and Horace Walpole, to the days of Mr. Brummell and George IV, and look at the difference; and the very pictures will show that heroism and imagination had together left the world of mankind, leaving in its stead, in the succeeding century, calculated and profound egotism; and that most sickening of all worships—the idolatry of themselves.

On Rohan's return to his native country, Henry IV. gave him in marriage Marguerite de Béthune, the daughter of the great Sully. And when that monarch signed the articles of marriage between Rohan and the daughter of his friend and favourite, he placed his own signature, "Comme parent des deux côtés." The Béthunes' genealogy was one of the noblest in all France; and the Beautouns in

Scotland are supposed to have been one and the same family.

The sister of Rohan was long the object of Henry IV.'s strong attachment and pursuit. Her answer to the monarch, who was urging his passion, is well known:—"I am too poor to be your wife, and too well-born to be your mistress." This lady afterwards married the Duke de Deuxponts. Another sister, Anne de Rohan, was known for her learning, her sense, and her courage. She was as zealous a Calvinist as her brother and the aged mother of this hero; and this heroine would alone have been celebrated, if only from the excellent education she had given her children.

After the death of Henry IV., the Calvinists were no longer in favour at court; and civil war broke out in France, and lasted until 1622, when a treaty to the advantage of the Huguenot party was signed.

The Edict of Nantes was again confirmed, and Rohan took possession of his "government and estates," from which he had been alienated, and he might then boast of having dictated laws to his sovereign; but having obtained these advantages, he threw himself on his knees before Louis XIII·

to ask pardon for his rebellion to the royal authority. The treaty was infringed shortly after; and Rohan again excited the Calvinists to revolt, placing himself at the head of the clergy, having the Bible carried before him, and saying prayers in the churches. Civil war then began in Languedoc; and the Duchess de Rohan heroically defended some of the Protestant towns, until her husband could send troops to her relief and rescue.

The military genius of Rohan was now known and acknowledged, and became the hope of the Huguenot party in every kingdom of Europe. The Prince de Soubise, his brother, with whose name the history of England is more intimately concerned, unfortunately participated in all the factious zeal which animated Rohan, but was totally wanting in his capacity or talents for war; and the affairs of La Rochelle and the Island of Rhé came on under the auspices of Soubise.

La Rochelle was defended by the mother of Rohan ("femme de la vieille roche," as St. Simon describes her), and at that time near seventy years old. She shut herself up with her daughter in La Rochelle, enduring hunger, thirst, and all the privations and perils of a siege. When La Rochelle

was taken by the exertions of Richelieu, these two ladies, not willing to be included in the capitulation, were sent to the prison of Niort The Duke de Rohan says in his memoirs:—"This was a rigour unparalleled in history; that an aged person of such high rank should be placed in confinement without even a servant to wait on her, and without being permitted the exercise of her religion, was indeed severe treatment."

The advice of Rohan was now asked and coveted throughout Europe. His letter to Charles I, to engage him to take the Protestants under his protection, is thought a masterpiece of good writing: unfortunately, Charles was not then under circumstances to help the Protestants of other countries.

Peace again took place in 1629, and again the re-establishment of the Edict of Nantes; and Rohan retired to Venice, where the Senate received him with every mark of respect. At Venice he wrote a little volume which was long the manual of the politicians of Europe, entitled 'Les Intérêts des Princes;' and his Memoirs, containing all that had occurred to him, which, as a literary composition or in a military point of view, placed its author on the footing of one of the best writers of Europe.

These Memoirs are full of beautiful passages. In them he details the reasons for his conduct; and says, in one place, that God had otherwise disposed of events, and blew to atoms all his plans and projects.

All at once Louis XIII. resolved on making use of the talents and abilities of the Duc de Rohan. He wrote to him, confiding to him the interests of the Grisons. Rohan went to Loire, the capital of the Grisons, and the people received him with joy, and elected him their general-in-chief, and Louis, satisfied with his services against the Imperialists, named him ambassador to the Swiss Cantons. His discourse delivered at Berne was full of dignity and eloquence, and contains the wisest reflections on the danger of divisions in small states on pretext of religious zeal. Cardinal Richelieu now invited Rohan to France; but Rohan was too doubtful of his good faith or favourable intentions towards him to trust himself with that minister. Four civil wars, and as many revolts, on religious subjects of complaint had been as often terminated by peace, with the still unvanquished Huguenot party; one of Rohan's plans had been to create independent Protestant states between the Loire and the Garonne,

and this being known to the French government, he might well be suspicious of Richelieu's conduct towards him. On pretence of health, he therefore retired to Geneva, and on the King of France ordering him to leave Switzerland and go to Venice, Rohan would not comply with the orders of his sovereign, but went in 1638 to join his friend the Duke of Saxe-Weimar.

The Duke was laying siege to Rheinfeld, and evinced his respect for the talents of Rohan by requesting him to take the command of his army; but Rohan would not accept this intended honour, placing himself at the head of a regiment as volunteer, where he received the wound of which he died two months after. His remains were conveyed to Geneva, where a monument was erected to him in the cathedral of that town.

The *cause célèbre* of the Rohan family, which interested all France during the regency of Anne of Austria, could not be understood without the above short account of the Duke de Rohan,—a life so curious and interesting in its details, that its having so little occupied the historians of Europe is extraordinary.

Tancred de Rohan, the son of the Duke de

Rohan, was one of those unfortunate persons whose contested birth and prerogative threw many families into disputes and differences, and created a public scandal in society in France.

His story is thus become historical in the eyes of posterity; the manner that his mother, the daughter of Sully, who acknowledged him as her son after her husband's death, explained the mysterious circumstances of his birth, were as follows:—

During the time that the Duke, her husband, was at Venice, she came to Paris in December, 1630, to raise money to forward his projects on the island of Cypress. It had been proposed to Rohan by the Sultan that he should pay two thousand crowns to the Turks, and an annual tribute of twenty thousand crowns, and that the Sultan should cede to him the island of Cypress, and give him the investiture of it.

The Duke had long wished to purchase the island with a view to giving an asylum to the Protestant families of France and Germany; he negotiated the matter warmly with the Porte, through the means of the patriarch, Cyrille Lucar, with whom he was on terms of friendship, but it became necessary to have an agent in France, and thither

the Duchess came for that purpose. When the Duchess arrived at Paris, she was with child, and fearing that the Cardinal de Richelieu should take her infant from her, and have it educated in the Catholic faith, she judged it right, with the approbation of her husband, to conceal the state she was in, and afterwards the birth of the boy.

Instead of going to the Hôtel de Rohan on arriving at Paris, she went to the house of a friend, where she was brought to bed, the 18th of December, 1630, of a son, whom she had christened by the name of Tancred, "so that he might," she said, "one day or other, wish to resemble Tasso's 'Tancred.'" He was baptized in the church of St. Paul's, under a feigned name, and educated secretly at Paris.

The Duke de Rohan came to Paris four years after, and saw his son, but he still persisted in not allowing the secret of his birth to be declared, and two years after the Duchess de Rohan sent Tancred into Normandy, to the house of Préfontaine, her *maître d'hôtel.* The boy had a sister, Mademoiselle de Rohan, who passed for the only child of her father, and one of the greatest heiresses in Europe. She was considerably older than Tancred, and she

now first began to view with uneasiness the existence of a brother, and to consider that it might one day or other deprive her of the immense estates of her father and mother. Some thoughtless young officers, who paid their court to the young heiress, proposed to her to carry off the boy, and Barrière, *un colonel d'autrefois*,* as he appears to have been by his conduct, went with his regiment and took the child from Préfontaine, giving him to the care of another officer of the name of La Sauvetat, who carried Tancred into Holland, and securing the silence of Préfontaine by a bribe of a thousand crowns. For such purposes in those days in France was military authority made use of—to carry off a lady, to shut up a refractory child, or to secrete an heir of a great family, officers took upon them to employ the troops under their command.

Préfontaine undertook to make the Duchess de Rohan believe that her son was dead. Tancred was placed at a school in Holland, kept by a person of the name of Simon Cernolles, where the boy went by the name of Monsieur Charles, and where the teachers were in ignorance of who he was and where he came from. When Tancred was eleven

* See a French play, called 'Un Colonel d'Autrefois.'

years old, La Sauvetat placed him with a merchant at Leyden, named Potenig, who had orders not to give him up to any one without La Sauvetat's permission, and the boy was to receive his education at the University of Leyden.

Meanwhile the loves of Mademoiselle de Rohan and M. de Chabot were taking place in France, to the infinite affliction and displeasure of the Duchess de Rohan. Mademoiselle de Rohan was not only a great heiress, but a great beauty; and both Mademoiselle and Madame de Motteville, in their 'Mémoires,' mention her proud and haughty character, and her affecting a reputation for austere virtue at the court of France, such as could not allow of its being supposed that she would have been touched by the passion of her equal, much less by that of her inferior, and still less that she should feel that passion herself. She kept up this great reputation for pride and austerity during many years, and it seemed a settled matter both in her own mind and in that of others that thus it would always continue. She might have married the Duke of Saxe-Weimar, "a hero as rich in glory as the Cæsars and Augustuses of old" (so writes Mademoiselle), and she had appeared per-

fectly indifferent as to this alliance; but her last and latest triumph was refusing the Duke of Nemours, who was very handsome; and upon the rupture of this marriage, Chabot began to form his hopes of success. In this state of perfect unconcern, Mademoiselle de Rohan continued for some years, and she reached the age of twenty-eight, treating the world of her admirers, like Beatrice, as Madame Disdain. Meanwhile Chabot, seeing that the object of his ambition cared for no one, began to found his hopes on that very circumstance, and under the name of *friend*, obtained a footing of intimacy with her, and under the name of *relation*, had the entrance of her private society whenever he liked, his sister forming part of her household. Chabot was a gentleman of an ancient family in France, without fortune and without establishment; all his expenses consisted in a miserable equipage, that dragged him daily to the house of *la dame de ses pensées*, and the marriage of Chabot, a Catholic, with the daughter and heiress of the Huguenot Duke de Rohan, who had passed his life in fighting for the cause of his religion, appeared a matter not to be thought of but by a madman; but Chabot was good-looking, dressed magnificently,

danced to perfection, and had a hundred good qualities. Chabot never had solicited anything at the court of France, and ever since his head had been filled with his designs on Mademoiselle de Rohan, all other ways of making his fortune seemed insignificant compared with this great affair. This love on both sides lasted for years, always opposed by the Duchess de Rohan, and gave rise to a number of petty intrigues at court, some persons protecting Chabot, others virtually opposing him. Amongst those who served Chabot effectually was his cousin-german, Madame de Fiesque, who had opportunities of doing so, by continually praising and setting forth Chabot's good looks and powers of pleasing to Mademoiselle de Rohan, who was willing to give ear thereto, and Chabot forgot nothing that could ensure the success of his projects, and left no means untried or undone that might serve his ends; meanwhile the world talked, and often maliciously and uncharitably of both parties. At last Chabot felt more secure of the issue of his suit; he had now gained the heart of the proudest woman in the kingdom, and he put himself forward with a magnificence and *recherché* in dress and appointments that showed his security.

Meanwhile Mademoiselle de Rohan passed many an unhappy moment; her reason, her ambition, and her pride all causing her to feel much misery as to the future of her life. Opinion in those days in France was a tyrant not to be overcome, and the whole of life was spent under the thraldom of certain prejudices, which it seemed next to impossible to shake off, while crimes of the blackest hue often passed unnoticed and unpunished. Mademoiselle de Rohan's want of respect for the opinion of her mother gave great offence in a country and in a century where deference and obedience to parents was great, and one of the leading virtues of the times.

However, that same pride—her great characteristic—came to her rescue; and she made herself out a martyr and heroine of virtue, and looked only for an equal amongst the philosophers of Greece and Rome.

The loves of Chabot and Mlle. de Rohan were doomed now to be brought to a termination. One of Mlle. de Rohan's friends saw her state of perplexity and deliberation, and gave her a thousand good reasons for making the happiness of M. de Chabot. She had now exchanged her pride for passion; and he informed her that Chabot had de-

termined to bid adieu to France for ever; upon this she said, "I do not know, whether I can make up my mind to marry him; but I know that I cannot bear to hear of his going away"

The Grand Condé, then Duke d'Enghien, struck the finishing blow to a business that seemed as if it never would end. He liked Chabot, who had been the confident of his attachment to Mademoiselle de Vigean, whom the Prince had loved more than any other person during his life; he was now determined as to the success of his friend Chabot's marriage; accordingly the Prince had a conversation, first with Mlle. de Rohan, then with Anne of Austria, and afterwards with Mazarin. He asked Mazarin to make Chabot a duke; that he should take the name of Rohan, and Anne of Austria being an ardent Catholic, found means of arranging their alliance for the good of the state, by an argument that the children born of this marriage should be educated in the Catholic faith.

The Duke de Sully, Mlle. de Rohan's cousin-german, then told her that her mother might shut her up for life; that there was no security any longer for her, and persuaded her to come to the Hôtel de Sully, where the Prince de Condé met

her; the marriage could not take place at Paris, the Duchess de Rohan having had the precaution to forbid any priest to perform the ceremony; therefore the Duke and Duchess de Sully took Chabot and Mlle. de Rohan with them to the Château de Sully, in the south of France, where, soon after, a priest passing by on the Loire, coming direct from Rome, and luckily bearing with him a dispensation to marry, performed the ceremony.

That the marriage was thought a *mésalliance* by all France was evident; but what is singular, some of these details are made by Mademoiselle in her memoirs. Years afterwards, when Madame de Sévigné wrote to her daughter of the marriage of Lauzun to Mademoiselle, she mentions the pleasure that this *mésalliance* of Mademoiselle's would give to Madame de Rohan-Chabot with reference to her own marriage, as being still greater *mésalliance* than hers had been with M de Chabot. During this long courtship, Tancred de Rohan was in the custody of the merchant of Leyden, when one day reports reached the Duchess de Rohan that her son, whom she had long thought dead, was alive and in concealment. Already had the newly-made Duchess de Rohan-Chabot sent off a confidential

person to take Tancred out of the hands of the merchant of Leyden; but as La Sauvetat had nothing to say to the arrangement, the merchant, who had no acquaintance but with him, refused to render up his charge.

The Duchess de Rohan, informed of these proceedings, had recourse to law to claim her son, through the means of the magistrates of Leyden, and the young man arrived at Paris, July 16th, 1645. His manners were of the class of society that he had associated with. He could only speak the Dutch language, but he had a noble air, a handsome face, and some points of resemblance with the late Duke of Rohan.

Being placed in the house of his mother as her son, and the heir of the great name of Rohan, he soon acquired the ideas suitable to his birth and station, and seemed neither wanting in sense or courage.

The Duchess appeared before parliament to prove the right of Tancred to the dignities and estates of his father. On the other side, his sister and Chabot formed every judicial opposition to this acknowledgment, and the court of France and the relatives took part on one side or the other. The

Dowager-Duchess, seeing that the party against her son was the strongest, allowed of judgment being carried against him in the law proceedings while he was under age, thinking that after he came to his majority, the sentence could be revoked.

This celebrated cause was pleaded by numerous lawyers on both sides; and the Advocate-General, Omer Talon, issued a decree ordering Tancred no longer to call himself the son and heir of the late Duke de Rohan. Tancred, however, without name and without fortune, lived in great magnificence in the house of his mother, who was passionately fond of him, and the young man was much liked by those families who acknowledged his pretensions, and cared but little for the disavowal of those in enmity to him.

He thus awaited his majority to appeal against the sentence pronounced against him; with this hope he took the parliamentary side of the question in the troubles of the Fronde; he was fast approaching to the summit of his own and his mother's wishes; the parliament favoured him, and the Protestant party in France were anxious to have a Duke de Rohan of their own religion, when this young man thought that bearing the great name of Rohan, he should not remain an idle spectator of

the great struggle going forward, but should fight on the popular side; he accordingly entered as a volunteer amongst the parliamentary troops, and performed such prodigies of valour, as to leave no doubt as to the spirit of his ancestors being in him; but he was mortally wounded in an ambuscade near Vincennes, and expired the following day, Feb. 1, 1649.

Every one pitied the fate of this unfortunate young man, who was admitted by the great majority of France to be the true and legitimate Duke de Rohan. His unhappy mother wept his loss during the remainder of her days, and his relations, with the exception of his sister, bitterly deplored his melancholy end.

The writers of the day, both poets and historians, make no difficulty in giving him his name and titles; an author of the name of Gilbert wrote the following *Epitaph* on him:—

"Rohan, qui combattit pour délivrer la France,
Est mort dans la captivité.
Son nom lui fut à tort, en vivant, disputé,
Mais son illustre mort a prouvé sa naissance,
Il est mort glorieux dans la cause d'autrui
C'est pour le parlement qu'il entra dans la lice,
Il a tout fait pour la justice,
Et la justice rien pour lui"

The Duchess de Nemours is also favourable to the pretensions of Tancred, in her memoirs; but the jealous hatred of the Duke and Duchess de Rohan-Chabot would not allow the ashes of this unfortunate young man to rest in peace in the grave; and it was not until 1654, after four years' contestation, that the widow of the Duke de Rohan obtained from Louis XIV., the liberty of interring Tancred de Rohan (along with an epitaph in which he is styled Duke de Rohan) in the tomb of his father in the cathedral at Geneva.

The Latin epitaph to his memory (that was inscribed by his mother, the daughter of the great Sully) on the monument is truly touching; the following is a literal translation:—

HERE LIES
TANCRED, SON OF THE DUKE DE ROHAN,
TRUE HEIR
OF THE VIRTUES AND GREAT NAME OF HIS FATHER,
WHO DIED PIERCED WITH A LEADEN BALL,
FIGHTING WITH COURAGE FOR THE ASSIEGED PARISIANS,
IN THE YEAR 1649, IN THE 19TH YEAR OF HIS AGE.
A MISFORTUNE GREATER FOR HIS FAMILY THAN FOR HIM.
(HEAVEN ONLY SHOWING HIM ON EARTH)
MARGUERITE DE BÉTHUNE, DUCHESSE DE ROHAN,
A DESOLATE WIDOW AND AN INCONSOLABLE MOTHER,
HAS ERECTED THIS MONUMENT TO HIM,
AS AN ETERNAL REMEMBRANCE OF HER GRIEF,
WHICH WILL MAKE KNOWN, FOR CENTURIES TO COME,
THE LOVE THAT SHE FEELS FOR HIS ADORED REMAINS.

The Dowager-Duchess dying in 1660, her daughter obtained an order from government that his Epitaph should be erased from the monument of the unfortunate Tancred. Much has been written on this trial in France. Père Griffet has carefully compiled all the sentences and facts relating to the History of Tancred, in a book printed at Liege in 1767, the most striking passage of which is a letter written by Mlle. de Rohan, after the death of her father to Priolo, her father's confidential friend; who appears to have played a very equivocal part in the shameful transaction, in having burnt many of the papers which would have made proof in favour of Tancred.

The pleadings on the other side of the question and the sentence of the Attorney-General Omer Talon, do not carry with them great conviction; neither is the judgment given by parliament a convincing proof, on taking into consideration all the various motives which induced the relations to declare themselves on one side or the other. This act was signed by forty-two relations, paternal as well as maternal.

On the other hand the adversaries of the young Tancred, brought forward these powerful reasons in their pleadings against him.

First—the silence on the subject in the will of the Duke de Rohan; secondly—that as honourable a man should not have revealed his son's existence to the Duke de Saxe-Weimar, at the time that his daughter's marriage was in treaty with him; thirdly—that in a paper presented by the Dowager-Duchess in 1645, to oppose the marriage of her daughter to M. de Chabot, she says, "that it is not just that the only daughter of an illustrious house, and who represents the chief, should marry without the consent of her parents." (This last objection is however done away with, as at the time that paper was drawn up the Duchess could not be aware of her son's being alive.)

Such are the different opinions gathered together of a cause that interested and occupied every one in France at the time it was pending; and that occasioned the most elaborate lawsuit known; but the whole importance of which was suddenly done away with by the premature death of the unfortunate Tancred.

In summing up facts and evidences of this interesting story, it is rather a satisfaction to know that the domestic life of the Duke and Duchess de Rohan-Chabot was not happy. He lived but ten

years to enjoy rank and riches, that had cost him so much pains to obtain; and during those ten years he fell in love with a young widow, the most charming woman in France—Madame de Sévigné. The energetic, violent, and haughty nature of Madame de Rohan-Chabot governed (it is stated) her husband's will, but not his affections or liking—a common case of domestic life. This piece of literary or court gossip (of Chabot's love for Madame de Sévigné) has come out in M. de Walckenaer's book, in detailing a quarrel that took place at Madame de Sévigné's between M. de Rohan-Chabot and the Marquis de Tonquedec. In consequence of this scene at the house of his relation, the Chevalier Renaud de Sévigné called out M. de Rohan-Chabot. Guards were sent after both parties, and no duel took place; but it was whispered everywhere that Rohan-Chabot did not excel in courage as in dancing. The end of this business was, that the Duke and Duchess were desired to leave Paris. Rohan became too ill shortly after to think of duels, or of anything else in this world; and he died at the Château de Chanteloup, where the physicians had ordered him for change of air.

His widow raised a magnificent monument to his

memory; and by the changes and chances brought about by civil war and revolutions, that monument has now found a resting-place in the Sculpture Gallery at Versailles, amongst those collected by Louis Philippe.

COMTE DE BUSSY-RABUTIN.

Born, 1618; died, 1693.

THE character of the Comte de Bussy-Rabutin presents an exaggerated caricature of the faults of his nation, his class, and his times. He had the honour of being first-cousin to Madame de Sévigné. He was made up of vanity and malignity well blended together, and his cousin bore with him because the same blood ran in their veins, and because he was witty. She forgave him all his falsehoods, his artifices, and his sarcasms; and though she evinces in her measured phrases a certain awe of his bad faith and his littleness, not like the lightness of heart with which "elle fait trotter sa plume" when writing to Madame de Grignan, yet all through her life she kept up an intercourse of letters with Bussy,—perhaps from

pity for a banished man, on whom the sun could hardly be said to shine when out of the reach of the graces of his sovereign.

Bussy was seventeen years in exile, under the displeasure of Louis XIV., whom he never ceased to persecute with his prayers, his entreaties, and his flatteries of the basest sort; and when the King, tired of his eternal representations, permitted him to return to court, he found himself of so little consequence that he wisely went back to his estates, where, to get rid of time, he indulged in every freak and fancy that idleness, revenge, and bad taste could bring together.

The Château de Bussy now remains a monument of Bussy's life and times. It is situated in a defile of the mountains on the banks of the Oise, in the south of France, surrounded by moats full of water. The body of the house was built in Bussy's time; the wings, containing the library and chapel, are of the times of Henry II. He covered the walls of his castle with pictures and paintings which display his pride of ancestry, his disappointed vanity, and the regret he felt in giving up his profession as a courtier. At the end of the library is a tower, the windows of which are

ornamented with Cupids; each group suspended to a band filled with gallant inscriptions, very commonplace in sentiment, and of no poetical talent. The following is under the picture of Pygmalion:—

"Tout le monde en amour est tous les jours dupé,
Les femmes nous en font accroire.
Si vous voulez aimer, et n'être point trompé,
Aimez une femme d'ivoire"

Round the apartment are eleven portraits of gallant ladies, with inscriptions by Bussy, and his own picture amongst them. In Bussy's own room are ranges of portraits of the house of Rabutin, the two last of which are of Madame de Grignan. Over the doors and windows of other rooms in the house his mistresses are painted as goddesses, with inscriptions of his own composition. There were also, formerly, portraits of the kings, of the statesmen, and men of letters of France, many of which were removed in the Revolution. All the inscriptions under the portraits are either bitter or flat, and do not partake of the wit that might have been expected from his character and his times.

Bussy possessed pride of birth and individual vanity to a degree that reminded persons of the heroes of Molière. He writes to Madame de

Sévigné on the subject of the novel of the Princesse de Clèves:—"We think alike, and I feel honoured in so doing; our criticism of the Princesse de Clèves is that of persons of quality;"—a phrase which is worthy of the Marquis de Mascarille in 'Les Précieuses Ridicules.'

COMTE DE LA RIVIÈRE.

Died, 1794.

Bussy's scandalous lawsuit with his son-in-law, the Comte de la Rivière, occupied a part of his life.

M. de la Rivière was of inferior birth to the proud and tenacious Bussy. He had distinguished himself in military life, and retired to an estate he had that joined that of Bussy, who was living there with his daughter, Madame de Coligny, a widow. She fell in love with M. de la Rivière, and married him without her father's knowledge. His vanity was hurt by the connection, and he invented a lawsuit to break the marriage, which occasioned a great scandal in the family histories of France. Bussy forged letters, which were ac-

knowledged as forged on the trial. His son-in-law describes him as interesting himself, with ill-natured views, in every one's affairs; with the love of intrigue; a tyrant in his family, and a coward out of it.

"No one will believe," says M. de la Rivière, "that I married the daughter of M. de Bussy to procure influence at court, friends in this world, or credit in the next world. He is a man who was born to six thousand livres a year; has increased his fortune to four times what his grandfather possessed; but there is no proportion in the increase of his revenue and the increase of his pride."

La Rivière had all the public on his side, and the verdict was given in his favour; but his wife would not live with him, which was extraordinary, as she appeared to have been passionately attached to him. La Rivière produced on the trial a letter from her, promising to marry him, signed with her blood.

Madame de Coligny was said to have much beauty, grace, and wit. Mademoiselle de Scudery said to her father, "Your daughter has as much cleverness as if she saw you all day long, and as much good conduct as if she never saw you at all."

Her conduct to her husband is only to be explained by the influence her father had over her.

La Rivière died in 1734, at the age of ninety-four. He was on terms of friendship with all the most distinguished persons of his time. He wrote the following verses at the age of ninety-three, addressed to the Princesse de Ligne. They are wonderfully well written for the verses of a man of such advanced years.

"Faire des vers à quatre-vingt-treize ans,
Est un espèce de folie,
Le talent de la poésie
N'appartient qu'à de jeunes gens.
Le feu qui fait rimer n'est que pour la jeunesse;
Et ce feu donne aux vers qu'inspire la tendresse,
Et leur force et leurs agréments
Ces vers galants, que l'on fait quand on aime,
Pour moi ne sont plus de saison
Il ne m'est plus permis d'aimer que la raison;
Mais la raison, Princesse, c'est vous-même."

PAUL DE GONDY, CARDINAL DE RETZ.

Born, 1614; died, 1679.

"If it had not been for the Queen, Catherine de Médicis, you would have been a gentleman like any other at Florence."—"Pardon, me, sir,

I should have been as much above you as my ancestors were above yours four hundred years ago." It will be with difficulty believed that this reply was really made by the Cardinal de Retz to the Cardinal de Médicis.

So much for the ancestry of Paul de Gondy. He was born in 1614, and had as his preceptor the man who has shown the most earthly virtue, and the saint who has received the most honour from men—Saint Vincent de Paul. It would be difficult to find a more decided *mésalliance* than between the master and pupil; and when one considers the difference that separated the saint who was not a cardinal, and the cardinal who was not a saint, it must be owned that this was an education that entirely failed.

Paul de Gondy was the younger brother of the Duke de Retz, and was destined early to high ecclesiastical preferment. His first exploit was a duel with Bassompière Hardly past boyhood, he tried to carry off his cousin, Mademoiselle de Retz; and hoped, in the éclat of his gallantries and his duel, to put an end to the projects of his family as to his profession. But his father was not to be moved, and he determined to make an ecclesiastic of his

son, whose vocation was the least calculated for the church of any one in France. Disappointed in his hopes, De Gondy resolved to make himself a name at the Sorbonne; for at the Sorbonne had commenced the reputation of the Cardinal de Richelieu. There did his studies exercise a powerful influence on the stormy part of his life. Rome, as an ancient republic, with its factions, its tribunes, and its conspiracies, spoke more to his uncontrollable spirit than the mild truths of the Gospel.

At eighteen, Paul de Gondy wrote the 'Conjuration de Fiesque.' Richelieu read the book, and exclaimed, "Here is a dangerous spirit!"

The young abbé excused himself from being presented to the prime minister; he even dared to dispute a point with one of Richelieu's protégés at the Sorbonne, and carried it against him; and he added to the éclat by having crossed the affections of the Cardinal in his attachment to the Maréchal de la Meilleraie.

Thus three times he came across Richelieu; and when the minister died, Paul de Gondy was but six-and-twenty. He went off to Venice and to Rome, and returning to France, took to his studies with ardour.

A friendship with the Comte de Soissons brought him on the side of the malcontents; and, not without some scruples, he allowed himself to be drawn into the conspiracy against the life of Richelieu. But he saw glory in thus changing the destinies of Europe, even by assassination! Ancient Rome, he thought, would have admired him; and he adds, "I am persuaded that it requires greater qualities to be a popular leader than to be emperor of the world." Luckily, opportunity was wanting to the assassins.

For some time De Gondy led a quiet life; and Louis XIII. was so struck with his abilities in converting a person from Protestanism that he made him Coadjuteur de Paris. When Anne of Austria became regent, she wished Philippe de Gondy, Paul's father, to be minister. He refused; and Mazarin stood in his place.

The ascendancy that the Coadjuteur had acquired over the populace gave great umbrage to Mazarin He was reproached with his profusion, in giving and spending; and his answer was, "Cæsar owed six times as much at my age!"

The Fronde began; and the practical possibility of the great scenes being acted, the theory of which

had delighted him in his youth, gave him great pleasure. He accordingly dedicated three or four months to gaining popular favour, and attaching to himself the people of Paris.

Although an ecclesiastic, Paul de Gondy's whole youth had passed in conspiracies, in duels, and in love adventures. In 1643 the Coadjuteur became archbishop of Paris, at the death of his uncle. A retirement to Saint Lazare gave him time to study his part; there he settled the programme of his life, and he came forth from this religious retreat with the edifying resolution of overturning the state for his private amusement.

What the war of the Fronde was for, it is difficult to say, further than it was in the factious spirit of the times. Richelieu was dead, and a weak regency stood instead of his strong government, to keep in check such persons as Gaston, Condé, the Duke and Duchess de Longueville, Beaufort, Turenne, La Rochefoucauld, the Duchess de Chevreuse, De Retz, the Princess Palatine, Mademoiselle, Madame de Montbazon, &c. The nature of these materials was too volcanic not to cause an explosion, which accordingly broke forth.

After the battle of Sens, the position of the

court became terrible. On the 26th of August, 1648, the émeute began, on the arrest of Broussel by the court; and cries from the multitude of "Broussel! Broussel!" surrounded the Palais-Royal. Women, children, old men, artizans, and citizens, cried out "Broussel! Broussel!" and De Retz, the great man of the day, appeared amongst the populace. The sedition at length becoming alarming, he and the Maréchal de la Meilleraie went to Anne of Austria. The Coadjuteur describes his reception at court thus:—

"Nous trouvâmes la Reine dans le grand cabinet, accompagnée de Monsieur, du Cardinal Mazarin, de M. de Longueville, du Maréchal de Villeroi, de l'Abbé de la Rivière, de Batru, de Guitaut, capitaine des gardes, et de Nogent. Elle ne me reçut ni bien ni mal: elle était trop fière et trop aigrie. . . . . Le Cardinal me fit un espèce de galimatias . . . . Je feignis de prendre pour bon tout ce qu'il lui plût de me dire, et je lui répondis simplement que j'étais venu là pour recevoir les commandemens de la Reine, &c. La Reine me fit une petite signe de la tête, comme pour me remercier . . . .

"Le Maréchal de Meilleraie, qui vit que La

Rivière, Batru, et Nogent traitaient l'émotion de bagatelle, et qu'ils la tournaient en ridicule, s'emporta beaucoup . . . . Je confirmai ce qu'il avait dit et prédit du mouvement. Le Cardinal sourit malignement, et la Reine se mit en colère, proférant de son ton de fausset, aigre et élevé, ces propres mots: 'Il y a de la révolte à imaginer que l'on puisse se révolter: voilà les contes ridicules de ceux qui la veulent; l'autorité du Roi y donnera bon ordre.' Le Cardinal, qui s'aperçut que j'étais un peu ému de ce discours, prit la parole, et, avec un ton doux, répondit à la Reine: 'Plût à Dieu, madame, que tout le monde parlât avec autant de sincérité que parle M. le Coadjuteur! Il craint pour son troupeau, il craint pour la ville, il craint pour l'autorité de votre majesté. Je suis persuadé que le péril n'est pas au point qu'il se l'imagine; mais le scrupule sur cette matière est en lui une religion louable.' La Reine, qui entendit le jargon du Cardinal, se remit tout d'un coup; elle me fit des honnêtetés, et je répondis par un profond respect et par une mine si naïve, que La Rivière dit à l'oreille à Batru, de qui je le sus quatre jours après: 'Voyez ce que c'est que de n'être pas jour et nuit en ce pays-ci! Le Coad-

juteur est homme du monde, il prend pour bon ce que la Reine vient de lui dire.'

" La vérité est, que tout ce qui était dans ce cabinet jouait la comédie. Je faisais l'innocent, et je ne l'étais pas, au moins en ce fait. Le Cardinal faisait l'assuré, et il ne l'était pas autant qu'il le paraissait. Il y eut quelques momens où la Reine contrefit la douce, et elle ne fut jamais plus aigre. M. de Longueville témoignait de la tristesse, et il était dans une joie sensible, parce que c'était l'homme du monde qui aimait le plus le commencement de toutes les affaires. M. d'Orléans faisait l'empressé et le passionné en parlant à la Reine : je ne l'ai jamais vu siffler avec plus d'indolence qu'il siffla pendant une demi-heure après en entretenant Guerchi dans la petite chambre grise. Le Maréchal de Villeroi faisait le gai, pour faire sa cour au ministre, et il m'avouait en particulier, les larmes aux yeux, que l'état était sur le bord d'un précipice. Batru et Nogent bouffonnaient, et représentaient, pour plaire à la Reine, la nourrice du vieux Broussel (remarquez, je vous prie, qu'il avait quatre-vingts ans), qui animait le peuple à la sédition, quoiqu'ils connussent très bien l'un et l'autre que la tragédie ne serait peut-être pas

fort éloignée de la farce. Le seul et unique Abbé de la Rivière était convaincu que l'émotion du peuple n'était qu'une fumée ; il le soutenait à la Reine, qui l'eût voulu croire, quand même elle aurait été persuadée du contraire ; et je remarquai dans un même instant, et par la disposition de la Reine, qui était la personne du monde la plus hardie, et par celle de La Rivière, qui était le poltron le plus signalé de son siècle, que *l'aveugle témérité et la peur outrée produisent les mêmes effets, lorsque le péril n'est pas connu.*

"Le Chancelier (Séguier) entra dans le cabinet en ce moment. Il était si faible de son naturel, qu'il n'y avait jamais dit, jusqu'à cette occasion, aucune parole de vérité ; mais en celle-là, la complaisance céda à la peur ; il parla, et il parla selon ce que lui dictait ce qu'il avait vu dans les rues. J'observai que le Cardinal parut fort touché de la liberté d'un homme en qui il n'en avait jamais vu. . . . .

"Le Lieutenant Civil entra en ce moment dans le cabinet avec un pâleur mortelle sur le visage : je n'ai jamais vu à la comédie Italienne de peur si naïvement et si ridiculement représentée que celle qu'il fit voir a la Reine, en lui racontant des aven-

tures de rien qui lui étaient arrivées depuis son logis jusqu'au Palais-Royal. Admirez, je vous prie, la sympathie des âmes timides : le Cardinal Mazarin n'avait été jusque-là que médiocrement touché de ce que M. de la Meilleraie et moi lui avions dit avec assez de vigueur, et la Reine n'en avait pas seulement été émue. La frayeur du lieutenant se glissa, je crois, par contagion, dans leur imagination, dans leur esprit et dans leur cœur ; ils me parurent tout-à-coup métamorphosés ; ils ne me traitèrent plus de ridicule ; ils avouèrent que l'affaire méritait de la réflexion Ils consultèrent, et souffrirent que Monsieur, M. de Longueville, le Chancelier, le Maréchal de Villeroi, celui De la Meilleraie, et le Coadjuteur, prouvassent, par de bonnes raisons, qu'il faillait rendre Broussel, avant que les peuples, qui menaçaient de prendre les armes, les eussent prises effectivement. Nous éprouvâmes en cette rencontre *qu'il est bien plus naturel à la peur de consulter que de décider*

"Je sortis ainsi du Palais-Royal, et, quoique je fusse ce que l'on appelle enragé, je ne dis pas un mot, de là jusqu'à mon logis, qui pût aigrir le peuple. J'en trouvai une foule innombrable qui m'attendait, et qui me força de monter sur l'impé-

riale de mon carrosse, pour lui rendre compte de ce que j'avais fait au Palais-Royal. . . . . J'ajoutai tout ce que je crus pouvoir adoucir . . . . et je n'y eus pas beaucoup de peine, parce que l'heure du souper s'approchait. . . . . Cette circonstance vous paraîtra ridicule, mais elle est fondée; et j'ai observé qu'à Paris, dans les émotions populaires, les plus échauffés ne veulent pas ce qu'ils appellent se désheurer."*

* * * * *

It is only civil war that can produce such scenes and such a knowledge of persons and passions. It is remarkable that the Fronde should have formed both De Retz and La Rochefoucauld. The last resolved all passions into that of self-love; and De Retz found the key of all politics in cowardice.

The succeeding days of political movement to this scene are equally curious. The court took fright and went off to the Castle of Ruelle, the Coadjuteur remaining in full activity at Paris. He had been long master of the people. The revolt was now general, but the episcopal mitre could not head an *émeute*. He says, "I wanted a figure to place before me; that figure, luckily,

* See Mémoires de Retz, vol. i. p. 131-142.

was the grandson of Henry the Great, the Duc de Beaufort. He spoke the language of the lowest of the populace. He had a quantity of fine hair; it is impossible to say the effect that these fair and flowing locks, and this phantom, had on the people."

After these commotions, Mazarin was declared the enemy of the state; and it was not forgotten that the tragical end of Charles I. had commenced by the attainder of Strafford.

It was soon after that De Retz preached a sermon on the forgiveness of injuries, at which all the women cried, and were furious at the persecution of their Archbishop by the court party. Paris was threatened with a general massacre.

One day, during the procession to parliament, De Beaufort discovered something making its way from beneath the folds of the dress of De Retz, which caused him to exclaim, "Voilà le bréviaire de M. le Coadjuteur!" It was a poniard, which he was in the habit of carrying. This event followed the sermon on the forgiveness of injuries.

Some good points honoured this part of the life of De Retz. One was his protecting the Chevalier de la Valette, who had orders to assassinate him;

another, his protecting the library and the effects of his enemy Mazarin; a third was, his obtaining from the parliament of Paris money for Henrietta-Maria, the widow of Charles I., forgotten by the court, and who was at Paris in the greatest state of destitution.

The history of this extraordinary man's power as an individual, and as the confidant and ally of half the powers in Europe, cannot be paralleled in history, nor his life in romance. Cromwell said, "There is but one man in Europe who despises me, and that man is De Retz." Cromwell's envoy found him inaccessible to either entreaties or bribes.

One day La Rochefoucauld had been near assassinating the Coadjuteur in a dispute, so powerful is civil war in drawing out fiery passions and creating crime. Gaston assuaged the quarrel; immediately after which Condé and La Rochefoucauld met him, not in his usual attire of the surplice, as they were accustomed to see him, but in his pontifical habit as Archbishop of Paris, heading a procession of relics, and followed by an immense mob. Condé and La Rochefoucauld got out of their carriage, and knelt in the dust to receive the blessing of their Archbishop. When he arrived before

his two mortal enemies he blessed them, and then took off his cap to Condé, the prince of the blood. These two extraordinary scenes took place on the same morning. The Coadjuteur now made a display of being in love with Anne of Austria; the only results of which were, that the Queen remarked that this rival of "pauvre Monsieur le Cardinal" had very fine teeth.

This intrigue is told by De Retz himself in his memoirs. "Madame de Carignan said one day before the Queen that I was very ugly, and it was the only time in her life that she had ever spoken truth; the Queen answered, 'He has very fine teeth, and no man is ugly who has fine teeth,' and upon this speech a cabal was formed to make De Retz the Queen's lover."

De Retz continues:—"'Let us try,' said Madame de Chevreuse one day to me when we were walking in the gardens of the Hôtel de Chevreuse; 'let us try, and if you play your part well, don't despair of success; act the thoughtful when you are with the Queen, look with admiration at her hands, abuse the Cardinal (Mazarin), and leave all the rest to me.' We agreed as to the details, and each of us acted our parts to perfection; I asked re-

peatedly for audiences . . . . . I stormed against Mazarin, like a mad man; the Queen, who was a great coquette, understood all this, and spoke to Madame de Chevreuse . . . . and was easily persuaded that the Coadjuteur was mad enough, 'de se mettre cette vision dans la fantaisie.' "

A fit of jealousy on the part of Mademoiselle de Chevreuse broke up all this well-gotten-up comedy, offended the Queen, and dispersed the actors.

His character of the Queen is short and given with his usual sagacity. He says, "Anne of Austria had, more than any one, that sort of sense that was necessary to *save her from appearing a fool to those who did not know her intimately.*"

Pope Innocent X. did not love Mazarin. He looked on the Coadjuteur as superior in politics, and made him a Cardinal, hoping to see him in Mazarin's place as prime minister of France. The tragi-comedy of the Fronde ended; Mazarin got the better, and the Coadjuteur become Cardinal de Retz.

"In reading the letters of the Cardinal de Mazarin, and the memoirs of the Cardinal de Retz, it is easy to see that De Retz was the supe-

rior genius. Nevertheless Mazarin triumphed, and De Retz was oppressed. So true is it, that to make a powerful minister it merely requires ordinary abilities, good sense, and good fortune; but to govern a kingdom well, it is necessary to have as a leading principle the public good in view. The great statesman is he who leaves to his country useful institutions, public benefits, and great monuments."*

It was in 1652, while De Retz was in negotiation with Mazarin, that he was arrested at the Louvre. On this occasion the populace, tired of civil war, showed no great interest about the matter. According to his prophetic speech to Gaston d'Orléans, De Retz was sent to the Château de Vincennes, and he only obtained permission to be transferred to Nantes, on a promise of relinquishing his archbishopric.

History cannot offer another instance of so bold a step as the Cardinal now took. He got out of his prison at Nantes, in the very sight of his guards. Fortune favoured him, as, while he was descending the prison wall, a poor man was drowning himself in the river, and all eyes were intent on the sight.

* Voltaire, 'Siècle de Louis XIV.'

De Retz's intention was to go to Paris, and concert measures with Condé; but a fall from his horse obliged him to take refuge in Spain, and, passing through that country, he soon afterwards found himself in the conclave at Rome, where he was treated with all possible honour and respect.

He then led a wandering life in the Low Countries, and in Holland; and, as Bossuet said of him, though at a distance, "threatening Mazarin with his terrible and gloomy looks."

The Cardinal de Retz, not a second but a first Talleyrand, was, however, the dupe of the soft words of Anne of Austria; the public seemed even to have given him due notice of what awaited him, for at a representation of one of Corneille's plays, the audience applied to him these lines, by acclamation:—"Quiconque entre au palais porte sa tête au roi." Mr. James, in his 'History of Louis XIV.,' gives the following curious account of the first act of royal authority performed by Louis XIV. at the early age of fifteen, and in the coolness and dissimulation of the manner with which it was conducted, he gives a fair specimen of his conduct through life. An order for the arrest of the Cardinal de Retz had been long

given; he proceeded to pay his respects to the royal family on the 19th December, 1652. De Retz came with but few attendants, and paused at the apartments of the Maréchal de Villeroi; the Abbé Fouquet (the brother of the unfortunate Fouquet) communicated it to the young King, who, knowing the importance of the occasion, proceeded at once to seek his mother. On the stairs he was met by De Retz himself, and already prepared to make use of the princely virtue of hypocrisy (called by Madame de Motteville, judicious moderation). The King received him with a smiling countenance, and asked him if he had seen the Queen. De Retz replied 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 the guards, to arrest the Cardinal whenever he came out of the Queen's apartments.

In the court De Retz had been met by one of his friends, who, having left him in Villeroi's room, accidentally heard the rumour of the intended arrest of the Cardinal de Retz. He hastened to warn him, but too late, for De Retz was with Anne of Austria, and the young King's order was shortly obeyed, and as soon as the factious prelate

returned to the Queen's antechamber, he was arrested.

They brought him his dinner, which he ate heartily, appearing in no degree concerned, and he was shortly afterwards led to a carriage filled with soldiers, and, under a great escort, conducted to Vincennes. Great apprehensions were entertained that the people would rise to rescue him, but not the slightest movement appeared, and De Retz was conveyed to that same tower where Condé and Longueville had been confined before him. Lord Clarendon speaks of his attachment to the cause of the Stuarts De Retz gave Charles II. good advice, telling him that he never would be restored in England if he changed his religion; and he prevailed on Charles when in exile to accept a sum of money. The Marquis of Montrose,* so celebrated for his devotion to the Stuarts, was a great friend of De Retz, who described him as a man whose character did not belong to the age he lived in, and could only be found in Plutarch.

The Cardinal entered into a negotiation with

* James Graham, Marquis of Montrose, who died the death of a true hero at the age of thirty-eight, in 1650.

Louis XIV., and in exchange for his archbishopric Louis gave him the Abbey of St. Denis, and some other privileges; and as it became necessary to have a Pope in the interests of France, Louis sent him ambassador to Rome. The election of Clement IX. was the last political act of De Retz's life. It is surprising that he never thought of becoming Pope himself; but the retirement and years of seclusion that terminated the private life of the Cardinal de Retz, was the most striking and singular feature of his career. He sold his two principalities, keeping enough to live upon; and giving up his fortune to his creditors, he fixed his residence at St. Michel, in Lorraine,* where, at the desire of his friends, he wrote his memoirs. He afterwards retired to Commercy.†

Madame de Sévigné saw him more than any one in his latter years, at Paris. She writes continually to her daughter of her dear Cardinal; of his disinterestedness; of his benevolence; of the charms of his conversation; and of his gentleness and kind temper. On his intention of retiring from the

* A town in the duchy of Bar.

† A little town in France, in the duchy of Bar, having the title of principality, and a magnificent château that the Cardinal de Retz built during his residence.

world, she writes:—"That day will indeed be a sad one . . . It is true that his mind is of so superior an order, that no common ending in life is to be expected from him . . . When it is a rule to do all that is greatest and most heroic, a retirement from the world should find its place between worldly existence and death; but in this action, he must make all who love him unhappy."

Madame de Sévigné's partiality to "our Cardinal" was great, and went so far, that when she called Turenne "le héros de l'épée," she termed De Retz "le héros du bréviaire" This partiality was not entered into by Madame de Grignan, who could not endure the Cardinal. She writes to her daughter, "The dear Cardinal has nearly put you out of my head." In another letter she says, "I must see our Cardinal to-night. I must pass an hour or two with him before he goes to bed." Madame de Sévigné showed De Retz the character written of him by La Rochefoucauld. She said, "One is so weary of praises to one's face, that it was a pleasure to him to see how he was spoken of by one who did not like him, and who never knew that he should see this piece of writing."

The character written of him by La Rochefoucauld is not very favourable; he says, "That he appears ambitious without being really so—that vanity makes him undertake great things opposed to his profession — that he had brought the greatest disorders on the state, but without design of making use of them for himself,—that he had borne his imprisonment with firmness, and owed his liberty to his boldness. He had been in several conclaves, where his conduct always raised his reputation His natural bent is indolence. In pressing affairs he works with activity, and rests himself indolently as soon as they are terminated. But what most contributes to his reputation, is a talent he has of making his faults appear in a good point of view. Incapable of envy or of avarice, he has borrowed from his friends more than any individual could ever expect to repay. His vanity was gratified in the credit they gave him, and that same vanity was gratified by his undertaking to acquit himself of so enormous a sum."

Twice over did the Cardinal apply to the Pope for leave to divest himself of his ecclesiastical rank; but the Pope forbid his applying further,

and he was, as Madame de Sévigné says, "recardinalisé;" and, moreover, the Pope ordered him to leave his retirement, and go to St. Denis. At the time he was at Saint Michel she writes of him, 15th Oct. 1677:—"I am alarmed about the Cardinal. We must hope that God will preserve him to us. He is killing himself, wearing himself out. He has always a low fever. I don't think others are as anxious as I am, but except the quarter of an hour that he passes in giving bread to his trout, he spends all his time with Don Robert in the subtleties and distinctions of metaphysics, that will be his death. They answer me, why should he kill himself? and what on earth would you have him do? He gives a considerable time to the offices of the church, and yet there remains still too much!"

Madame de Sévigné did not know that at that time the Cardinal was writing his memoirs.

When he came to Paris, his humility made as much sensation as his pride had formerly done. He died in 1679, at the age of sixty-six, much regretted by his friends and dependents.

Lord Chesterfield says, that De Retz's Reflections are those of a great genius, formed on a life

of experience in great affairs. They are just conclusions drawn from great events, and not speculative maxims composed in retirement. The Président Hénault says of the Cardinal de Retz:—"It is difficult to understand how a man who passed his life in caballing never had an object in doing so. He loved intrigue for the pleasure of intriguing. His genius was bold, vast, and romantic; and knowing how to make use of the authority his profession gave him over the people, he made use of his religion to serve his politics, making to himself a merit of what was but a chance, and settling means to events.

"In war, the part of rebel to the royal authority was what he liked the best. Magnificent; a bel esprit; turbulent; having more flighty ideas than settled views, and more chimerical notions than foresight; neither fit for a monarchy nor a republic, because he was neither a faithful subject nor a good citizen; he was as vain, more bold, and had less principle, than Cicero He had more cleverness than Catiline, but possessed less grandeur of character than that conspirator."

It was many years after the death of the Cardinal de Retz that Bossuet, in his funeral oration

upon the death of the Chancellor le Tellier,* gave his character in that magnificent discourse.

"A man so faithful to individuals, so terrible to the state; of so lofty a character that it was impossible to esteem, to fear, to love, or to hate him in moderation. Firm in himself, he shook the universe, and obtained a dignity which he afterwards wished to resign, as unworthy of what it had cost him, and as an object beneath his mighty mind. In the end, he was sensible of his errors, and of the vanity of human greatness; but while he was in search of what he was destined afterwards to despise, he shook everything by his secret and powerful means. Even in the universal overthrow of all around him, he still seemed to suffice for his own support; and at a distance he threatened the victorious favourite with his gloomy and intrepid demeanour."

* Le Tellier, Chancellor of France, died in 1685, aged eighty-three. He was the father of the minister Louvois.

MARIE-LOUISE DE GONZAGUE, QUEEN OF POLAND.

Born, 1612; died, 1667.

THE influence of woman, both on society and on politics, has always been greater in France than in any other country, except during the government of Napoleon, when his strong hand kept under the most rebellious spirits; and he took care to have the generation growing up under his dynasty taught to occupy themselves with trifles. The ladies of the court all took lessons in dancing and music; and the study and science of dress were made of so much importance, that they filled the heads of the women, morning, noon, and night, and prevented their engaging in any deeper study or business. Never had there been a court in France at which women exercised so little influence as at the court of Napoleon.

From time immemorial, women's influence in France had been immense. In 1588, Sir Edward Stafford, the English ambassador at the court of

Henry IV., writes to Queen Elizabeth, "That there are four ladies who have all the news and secretest devices of the court; for they have all an honourer, a lover, or a private friend, of the secretest council of the court, that will hide nothing from them."

But there were two ladies of the house of Gonzague who had greater influence in the affairs of Europe than any others, and who played great parts in the closing years of the reign of Richelieu, and in the events of the regency of Anne of Austria. These were Marie-Louise de Gonzague, and Anne de Gouzague, daughters of the Duke of Mantua.

The history of Marie-Louise de Gonzague is a perfect romance. Both these sisters were brought up in religious strictness in the convent of Fare-Montier. The youngest was intended for a nun, to aggrandize the fortunes of the eldest sister. But Anne was not so easily persuaded to a life of religious seclusion; and the Duke of Mantua dying, and the Duke de Nevers inheriting the duchy of Mantua, they left their convent in all their brilliancy of beauty and youth, to appear at the court of France.

Gaston, the Duke of Orleans, had lost his first wife, and all interested themselves in proposing a princess to replace her. Gaston took a violent

passion for Marie-Louise; and the Queen-mother, instead of employing gentle means with her son's inclinations, used violence, as she was wont to do, to break up the intercourse between the lovers.

The women and the young courtiers united in inventing occasions for Gaston and Marie-Louise to meet. Public fêtes were given; hunting parties were arranged; rendezvous, which were supposed to be accidental visits; and even meetings in the churches under pretext of devotion The Queen-mother, at length, thought herself set at defiance; her violent passions were roused; and in a fit of anger she gave orders to arrest the Princess. Marie-Louise had been sent for by her father, and Gaston had intended to run away with her on the road, and with her to leave France. On the first day of her journey, at the beginning of a dark night, this young person was surrounded by an escort of soldiers, separated from her women, and conducted, with one attendant, to the Château de Vincennes. There had been no time for preparation, and she found neither a bed to lie on, fire, nor food Everything, at first sight, presented the prospect of a horrible imprisonment.

Some time after, Gaston, wandering about France,

Marie-Louise de Gonzague, no longer young, no longer handsome, very poor, and dependent on the compassion of Anne of Austria, having the stories of both Gaston's and Cinq-Mars' love for her publicly known, which had somewhat sullied her reputation, was too happy to ascend a throne by uniting herself to Ladislas, the old King of Poland.

Gaston was the evil spirit of Marie-Louise, all through her eventful and cruel life. Gaston, who had been faithless to her and deserted her for another, years afterwards came again upon her destiny, by his weakness, pusillanimity, and cowardice at the trial of Cinq-Mars, and was the means of his life being sacrificed on the scaffold.

The ceremonies of a royal marriage by proxy were performed at the court of France, and Madame de Motteville says in her Memoirs, that the only satisfaction Marie-Louise obtained was the momentary triumph of seeing her former lover and enemy, Gaston d'Orléans, obliged to do homage and kneel to her as Queen of Poland. The Abbé de La Rivière, Gaston's favourite, who was notorious for his foolish speeches, had the bad taste to say to her on this occasion, that she had much better have remained in France as the wife of Gaston; upon

which Marie-Louise answered very haughtily, that Gaston was destined to be *Monsieur,* and she was destined to be a Queen, and that she was satisfied with her destiny.

The old King of Poland was "accablé de goutes et de graisses;" he received his bride not only with indifference, but with dislike, turning to the French ambassador and saying:—"Is that the great beauty that you told me of?" His death shortly after caused her no affliction; but, that no circumstance should be wanting to make her history extraordinary and full of romance, a dispensation was procured from the Pope, to enable her to marry the brother and successor of Ladislas, Jean Casimir.

As the Queen of this monarch, war and rebellion destined her to strange reverses; she was in every sort of strait and difficulty, and forced to take refuge in Silicia, where she was often in want of the common necessaries of life.

Bossuet alludes, in the sermon preached on her sister's death, to the various distresses and privations that befell the Queen of Poland, in this part of her life.

During her latter years, she was quite given up to the doctrines of Port-Royal; was a benefactress

to that institution, and died in retirement in France.*

After the death of Marie-Louise, Jean Casimir abdicated the throne of Poland and retired to France. It has been said of this king, that in his person he exhibited the greatest vicissitudes that have ever been known in the world. He was a Jesuit, and in 1646 was created a cardinal by Innocent X. Having been elected King of Poland, he

* The stories of the wives of the Kings of Poland would furnish subjects for various historical novels. The adventures of the wife of the great Sobieski, as full of romantic and historical details as those of Marie-Louise de Gonzague. She was the daughter of the Marquis de la Grange d'Arquien, captain of the guard to Gaston d'Orléans, and she accompanied Marie-Louise to Poland, as maid of honour. She married, first, a Radzivill, Prince of Zamoiski, and afterwards she married, secondly, Sobieski, in the year 1665 This lady went through great afflictions and misfortune, although the wife of a hero, and raised to be a Queen, she was not sheltered from an unhappy destiny. In her latter years, she retired to the town of Blois, where she died in 1716.

A few years ago, the Count Razzinski published at Warsaw the letters of Sobieski, addressed to the Queen his wife. There is no doubt as to their authenticity they were written during the campaign, when the Turks were forced to raised the siege of Vienna And this correspondence, that no one knew of, had remained during one hundred and forty years amongst the family archives. Every one who has read these letters in the Polish language is struck with admiration at their beauty.

The King showed the strongest attachment to his wife, and gives such curious historical details in these letters, that the publication has had the greatest success throughout Poland.

remitted his cardinal's hat to the Pope, and the succeeding year married his brother's widow, Marie-Louise de Gonzague. Disgusted with the various misfortunes that assailed him as a sovereign, he abdicated the throne of Poland and retired to France, where he chose a retreat at St. Germain des Près, and Louis XIV. made him abbot of that monastery, but the concluding act of his life was, of all his adventures, the most extraordinary. Three months before his decease, he married the celebrated Marie Mignot.* He died at Nevers, and was interred at Cracow, in Poland.

* Here is St. Simon's account of the three marriages of this extraordinary woman. I know not whether she was the daughter of that cook whom Boileau has celebrated for spoiling a good dinner . . . She married, first, Pierre de Portès, Treasurer and Receiver-General in Dauphiny, she possessed beauty, sense, the spirit of management, and money, all of which she made use of to become, in 1633, the second wife of the Maréchal de l'Hospital (him who was known in the world as the destroyer of the Maréchal d'Ancre, killed against the reiterated and express orders of Louis XIII, whose commands were to have his person secured), the Maréchal de l'Hospital died very rich in 1660, and his widow married, for the third time, twelve years afterwards, in her own house at Paris, Rue des Fossés-Montmatre, Jean Casimir, who had been successively a Prince of Poland, a Jesuit, a Cardinal, and a King of Poland who had abdicated, retired to France, where he enjoyed great ecclesiastical dignities. This marriage was perfectly well known, but never declared. She remained Madame la Maréchale de l'Hospital, and the King of Poland remained in possession of his numerous abbeys.

ANNE DE GONZAGUE, PRINCESS PALATINE.

Born, 1616, died, 1684.

ANNE DE GONZAGUE was passionately in love with Henri de Guise, and he with her. Henri de Guise was then named for the archbishopric of Rheims, but had not as yet taken orders, and he made her a promise of marriage, which to her grief, he never fulfilled. Some years afterwards, she married the Count Palatine of the Rhine, the son of the Duke of Bavaria; and under the name of the Princess Palatine, she became well known throughout Europe.

Her appearance is described as being both graceful and majestic, and her manner and address those of a queen. She had no equal in those days as to political cleverness; she was a diplomate in resources, and her genius lay in negotiation—in the acuteness with which she would discuss affairs of importance; and her fertile imagination found ex-

pedients for obviating difficulties that stood in the way of what she wished to achieve.

She early displayed in all the business of society in France her tact in conversation, and her talent in fêtes and amusements. Madame de Motteville describes her as "having address and capacity for conducting any political intrigue, and great facility at finding expedients to arrive at her ends."

The Princess, also, was a woman of taste and refinement, and wrote well. There is a little essay of hers on Hope, published amongst the letters of Madame de Sévigné, which displays a cultivated and refined taste and turn of mind. The Cardinal de Retz says of her, "Madame la Palatine was as fond of gallantry as she was of solid business. I do not think that Queen Elizabeth of England had more capacity for conducting affairs of state than she had. I have seen her in times of faction,—I have seen her in the cabinet,—and everywhere she was to be depended upon for sincerity."

During the Fronde, the Princess Palatine conducted herself with consummate political skill, while all others, during that period, seemed to have behaved like madmen or children. The Princess was faithful to the state, and to Anne of Austria, to

whom she rendered some important services, as well as to Mazarin, who was not over-grateful in return.

At the time that Mazarin imprisoned the Princes of the blood, the Princess contrived the escape of her friend, the Duchess de Longueville; and then joining the Coadjuteur De Retz, she determined on procuring the release of the Princes. With all her cleverness in the difficult art of uniting contrary opinions and opposite parties with whom she had interest, she would never commit herself; and by a straightforwardness, as rare as it was sincere, she got the confidence of all parties, which she achieved very much from her powers of pleasing, and a gift of language before which everything gave way.

At the peace of the Pyrenees, the Princess Palatine held the place of superintendent of the household of the young Queen of France; but Mazarin, who even in death was ambitious and grasping at honours for his family, asked Louis to prevail on the Princess to relinquish her situation in favour of his niece, the Countess de Soissons. Anne retired to her estate, and returned no more to court until the marriage of her daughter to the eldest son of the Grand Condé, when she resumed

all her former habits, which were those of dissipation and business allied.

A moment, however, was marked in the Princess's life that was to effect an entire change in her character and existence. Her state as regards a future world seemed desperate, for her mind was made up to the most complete and entire scepticism. But the example of the Duchess de Longueville, whose errors and life had been much what hers had been, and who was now expiating her sins in austerities, led her to think of religion in another light.

This woman, gifted with so strong a mind, and with such a masculine understanding, and whose religious opinions were marked with incredulity, nevertheless believed in dreams. A dream came to her, which Bossuet characterizes as one of those dreams which God sends from heaven to make an impression. This dream is of the most foolish and trifling nature, and would never have been mentioned but from its results; but those results cause a great many and various reflections, and lead us to think with wonder of times that have produced such circumstances. In the first place, this dream caused the Princess to renounce the world, its

vanities and illusions; and Mr. Wordsworth's philosophic remark was fulfilled in her, "Miracles believed, are miracles achieved." Of her character there can be no doubt, as both Bossuet and the Cardinal de Retz speak of her powerful mind. But what is much more wonderful is, that Bossuet and the Abbé de la Trappe gave credit to this dream—talked of it—wrote of it—preached of it—and that it much occupied the wisest and cleverest men in France. There is a passage of such force and power on this subject, and on the superstitious belief in omens, from the pen of the author of 'Salmonia,' that imposes a check on all incredulity of this nature, silences wonder, and restrains ridicule:—"In my opinion, profound minds are the most likely to think lightly of the resources of human reason; it is the most superficial thinker who is generally strongest in every kind of unbelief. The deep philosopher sees chains of causes and effects so wonderfully and strangely linked together, that he is usually the last person to decide upon the impossibility of any two series of events being independent of each other."

Was Bossuet that deep philosopher? or did he think—

"Dreams are toys.
Yet for this once, yea, superstitiously,
I will be squared by this"?

Before the Princess renounced the world, she appeared at court in all the simplicity and modesty of a changed character. She not only reformed her own life, but that of her family and attendants; and she retired from the world to give herself up to prayer, penitence, and good works.

Having passed several years in great austerities, the Princess died at the age of sixty-eight, and desired to be buried at Val de Grâce, where her sister was abbess Bossuet preached her funeral sermon, in consequence of her connection with the Condé family, to whom he could refuse nothing. There are parts of this discourse very remarkable. He says:—"The Princess had all the qualities admired by the world, and all the qualities which make persons admire themselves. Unchangeable in friendship, not wanting in worldly duties, *she had all the virtues with which hell is filled* . . . . Of what use were her rare talents? She had the confidence of the court; she twice over protected the prime minister (Mazarin) from his enemies, from his bad fortune, from his fears, and from his irresolute and unfaithful friends.

And what did she reap? An experience of the weakness of political promises, their varying will, their deceiving words,—an experience of the changes that years bring with them — of the illusions of worldly friendships, which pass from us along with years and worldly interests, and of the darkness of the heart of man, who never knows himself, and does not less deceive himself than others."

After a picture of a life at court, its dissipations and its disappointments, Bossuet ends:—"O Eternal Lord of times past and to come! these are the scenes, this is the existence, that those endowed with what the world calls *powerful minds* are taken with, and seduced by."

ANNE DE BOURBON, DUCHESSE DE LONGUEVILLE.

Born, 1619, died, 1679.

MADAME DE SÉVIGNÉ, in her account of the Duchess de Longueville, inspires a strong interest for her. She represents her cruel state of despair

at the death of her dearly beloved son at the battle of the Rhine; she writes of her penitence, and devotion, and charity; she describes the evening when she received, as was the custom then, the public condolence of the crowd; and, last of all, she writes of her death and of the funeral sermon preached in the presence of the Condé family.

The Duchess de Longueville's history is the most romantic and extraordinary of the ladies of those days. She was a great sinner and a great saint; she was a princess of the blood and an aventurière. She had been all grace, and beauty, and activity, in a youth that was anything but respectable; she was all respectability at an age that seemed not to have belonged to the beginning of her life. She died a very Christian death; and she placed on the monument of her son, erected by her at Port-Royal, "Dieu l'avait réservé à une si grande piété."

Both Madame de Sévigné and Madame de Maintenon write of the austerities and mortifications that the Duchess imposed on herself; and the first calls her "cette chère et pénitente princesse." But in those days, in France, the greater had been the sinner, the greater became the saint.

Together with Madame de Chevreuse and the Princess Palatine, the Duchess had played a great part during the minority of Louis XIV. Love, faction, and intrigue occupied the time of these beauties. The poet Voiture represents the Duchess as serious and political when she was very young, and that she presided at the Congress of Munster when her husband was ambassador from France. She was the daughter of the first prince of the blood, the Prince de Condé, who was prisoner at Vincennes; she was sister to the Grand Condé, and she was born in a prison.

When she appeared at court, and in the society of the Hôtel de Rambouillet, she captivated all who saw her, not merely by her beauty (which alone would have done so) but by the grace with which she said and did everything. What made her still more remarkable in the world, she was betrothed to the Prince de Joinville; but he died; and the Duke de Beaufort, who had sought her hand, seeming to renounce it, she married a widower of forty-seven—the Duke de Longueville.

Hardly was the treaty of Munster concluded, which suspended foreign hostilities, when inward divisions began to foment; and the hatred which

the parliament bore to Mazarin gave birth to the Fronde. Then the Duchess showed her abilities, the boldness of her plans, and the steadiness and calmness with which she executed them. The Cardinal de Retz writes of her:—"She would have had but few faults, if gallantry had not given her many; for her passion made her place politics as a secondary consideration, and from the heroine of a party she became the aventurière."

The day of the *Barricades*, Anne of Austria carried the young King to St. Germains. The greatest confusion reigned at Paris, and the Duchess de Longueville had acquired in the conferences at Munster a taste for politics and negotiation. She opposed the court and the minister, having on her side De Retz, La Rochefoucauld, and her youngest brother, the Prince de Conti.

The Prince de Condé remained with the court, though afterwards she drew him into civil war, and finally, was the means of his going off to the Spaniards.

In order the better to gain the confidence of the parliament, at the time that Paris was in a state of siege from the royal troops, the Duchesses de

Longueville and de Bouillon were conducted by De Retz to the Hôtel de Ville. Each of these heroines of the Fronde carried in her arms a child as lovely as its mother. The Duchess de Longueville established herself in the Hôtel de Ville, which served as military quarters, and palace to her court; and the following January, she there gave birth to that son whose death, twenty-three years after, she deplored so bitterly.

The council of state assembled in the Duchess's own room, and there was arranged the movement of armies and the business of parliament. The trophies of victory were deposited at the feet of these two beauties; and in the midst of state affairs. love broke and made cabals and conspiracies, and balls and battles alternately filled the heads of the leading persons of the day. De Retz says, "It was more like an old romance than real life." Two of the Duchess's lovers were killed in duels, the Duke de Nemours and the Comte de Coligny, who fought in her quarrel and by her wish. La Rochefoucauld was another of her lovers. During eight months of the blockade of Paris, Madame de Longueville exercised the greatest interest in all decisions against the court, and in her

rooms were signed the articles of peace in 1649. Peace being concluded between the Frondeurs and the Royalists, she went to the Queen; but the coldness of her reception from Anne of Austria and Mazarin made her hate them still more than she had done, and her reception displeased the Grand Condé; and thus she gained over to her side and to her politics this hero, who had always had an affection for his sister.

The spirit of vengeance animating the court party, they arrested the Princes of the blood, Condé, Conti, and the Duke de Longueville, at the Palais-Royal, whither they had been enticed. The Princess Palatine had given Madame de Longueville notice in time, and she made her escape to Normandy, where her husband had been governor, and where she expected to cause a rising in favour of the Princes; but Mazarin's influence had been there before her, and she was not received as she expected. Afraid of falling into the hands of Mazarin's emissaries, and seeing all her hopes destroyed, she went to a little seaport, and, notwithstanding bad weather, she embarked, and was nearly lost. Obliged to conceal herself under various disguises, she put in practice all the courage

and decision of her nature, and having gained an English captain at Havre, he conveyed her to Rotterdam.

The Prince of Orange came to visit her on her arrival, and invited her to remain at the Hague, but she preferred going to Turenne's head-quarters at Stenay. He gave the sister of Condé a good reception, and, with her beauty and her cleverness, she seduced "le sage Turenne" over to the Fronde side. It was stipulated that the two armies should join, and war should be declared under the support of Spain, until the Princes should be liberated. This plan was adopted with regret by Turenne, whom the King had just before raised to the rank of field-marshal.

It was said that Turenne was not quite so well treated by Madame de Longueville when he pleaded his love, as when he treated of political interests.

At Stenay, a manifesto was published, in which the Duchess accused Mazarin of having sworn the destruction of all the Condés. La Rochefoucauld, at that time the Duchess's lover, sent her very useful advice from his government in Poitou, as to the way she should conduct herself At last, by the help of those who advocated her cause, after

three months of detention, the Princes were set at liberty, had fêtes given to them, and were received everywhere in triumph.

The Duchess, meanwhile, remained at Stenay till the negotiations were concluded, and on her road to Paris she was met by every sort of honour. This time she was well received by Anne of Austria and the young King; but her hotel at Paris became the rendezvous of the disaffected and discontented, and of foreign ministers, and all sorts of persons who were mixed up in public affairs. This gave great offence at court

The Duchess also protected persons of letters, and she embarked in the literary quarrels of Voiture and Benserade. Strange times of civil war, when ladies and sonneteers played such conspicuous parts!

New disputes occupied the court and the Condé party. De Retz calls all that passed at Bordeaux "un galimatias inexplicable." The Duchess de Longueville went to Bordeaux, where the Prince de Condé held his court, and where anarchy divided all parties. This helped Mazarin's views; and he ended by getting the ascendancy.

The Duke de la Rochefoucauld had quarrelled

with the Duchess, and not contented with having left her, he never rested till he caused her to lose the confidence of the Prince de Condé. At length, whether from disgust or vexation no one knew, she asked permission to visit her aunt, the widow of the Duke de Montmorency, who had been beheaded under the government of Richelieu. Madame de Montmorency, Superior of the Convent of the Visitation, at Moulins, was the model of every virtue; and her niece beheld in her the consequences of the religious feelings which had occupied her youth, and which became to her a consolation for her great and uncommon misfortunes. When the Duke de Longueville, having negotiated with success for his wife, came to take her away to his government in Normandy, the Duchess won every heart, and the poor as well as the rich idolized her. All feelings against her were quelled, and Anne of Austria began to show herself more favourably inclined towards her.

But Condé was engaged in a war against France which lasted to the peace of the Pyrenees, when Don Louis de Haro showed such an interest in this Prince of the blood, and spoke in so determined a manner for him in the name of the King

of Spain, that Mazarin could not oppose him. Mazarin spoke to him of the Duchess's character, and how much Condé was influenced by her. "You Spaniards are very happy," said Mazarin; "your women do nothing but occupy themselves with making love. It is not so in France, where we have three women capable of overturning three kingdoms,—the Duchess de Longueville, the Duchess de Chevreuse, and the Princess Palatine."

At last, on the marriage of Louis XIV., and on the peace, the Condé party were restored to favour. Society in France then became the luxury of life, and the great days of French literature began to dawn. Madame de Longueville, at the age of forty, had still charms enough to appear with éclat at the French court, when her enemy Mazarin was no longer in existence; but she was sick of politics, and was content to watch the interests of her own family. There seems to have been in France at that time a universal pardon, forgiveness, and forgetfulness amongst all parties. It was long after, that the Duchess went one day to pay her respects to the King at St. Germains. After some conversation, Louis made her remain to dine with him;

and this little event gave much thought to those about the court, who had not forgotten the time when the Duchess defied the royal authority. She herself felt intimidated when with the King; and perhaps, in consequence of the violent feelings which had that day passed through her mind, she fell asleep in the chapel of the château where Bourdaloue was to preach. As soon as her brother, the Prince de Condé, saw Bourdaloue appear in the pulpit, he called her, saying, "Awaken, Madam, here is the enemy!"

For years religion had by fits and starts come over the Duchess de Longueville, and it ended in calming her. She obtained the favour from Bossuet of his giving some religious conferences at her house. One of her biographers says, that "now there remained nothing for her but devotion; but that as it was necessary for her, even in devotion, to have a party to act for, and a part to play, she made herself the protectress of the Jansenists, and a mediatrix for them with the Pope. It was the Duchess de Longueville who, in 1668, conducted that theological transaction at the court of Rome, called, 'The peace of Clement the Ninth.' Extraordinary woman! who had the talent of making

a sensation in political life! in making her peace with God! of saving herself on the same plank from hell and ennui!"

The Cardinal de Retz says, at the conclusion of the portrait he drew of her character, "La grâce a rétabli ce que le monde ne lui pouvait rendre."

The Duke de Longueville died in 1663, and the Duchess then retired from the world to the austerities of devotional life, unless when called upon on occasions when her rank obliged her to appear. She now gave a great attention to the education of her two sons. For that purpose she bought the hotel* in the Rue St. Thomas du Louvre, which had formerly been the residence of the prime minister De Luynes, and was afterwards known as the Hôtel de Chevreuse

There are destinies in houses as well as in persons; and the Hôtel de Longueville could have told a strange history of grandeurs, of intrigues, and of wretchedness without end; of the beautiful Duchess de Chevreuse, and her hair-breadth

* The Hôtel de Longueville, where the families of De Luynes, Chevreuse, Epernon, and Longueville had succeeded each other in influence and power over the destinies of France, was pulled down in the reign of Napoleon

escapes; of the Cardinal de Richelieu, and the Duke of Buckingham; and the unfortunate Chalais, and Chateauneuf, and many others. Before the doors of that hotel had been the limits of the neutral ground during the Fronde. When the Coadjuteur, De Retz, came of an evening "pour faire sa cour" to Mademoiselle de Chevreuse, he had his guards and advanced sentinels posted at twenty paces from the royal guards. Curious times, when an ecclesiastic came "en visite de galanterie," attended by his guards and advanced sentinels!

But the Duchess de Longueville was doomed in that house to expiate her sins by a degree of misery she had never known before. Her eldest son was of weak understanding; he became an ecclesiastic at Rome, and a renunciation of about three hundred thousand francs in rent was obtained from him in favour of his brother. He died shortly after. The young Duke de Longueville was very handsome, very promising, and had distinguished himself much with the army. He was killed at the battle of the Rhine, in 1672, before the eyes of his uncle, the Grand Condé, and his impetuous valour occasioned the death of many others. He

was three-and-twenty, and was named as likely to become shortly King of Poland.

Madame de Sévigné's account of this event is as follows:—"I have just heard a terrible piece of news, of which I cannot yet give you the details; but I know that in the passage of the Rhine, in the army under the Prince de Condé, M. de Longueville is killed. I was at Madame de La Fayette's when they came to tell this to M. de la Rochefoucauld, and also the death of the Chevalier de Marsillac (his grandson), and that M. de Marsillac (his son) is wounded. This storm fell on him in my presence. He was very much affected, tears fell down his face, but his strength of mind prevented his crying out.

"After this intelligence I asked not a question, but flew to Madame de Pomponne, who reminded me that my son is in the King's army, which has no share in this expedition, which was reserved to the Prince de Condé. They say that the Prince is wounded, but that he has passed the river. . . . . They say that Nogent is drowned, that Guitry is killed, that M. de la Feuillade and M. de Roquelaure are wounded, and that a great number of persons are lost in this cruel business. . . . .

Adieu, my dear child. My head is confused; for although my son is with the King's troops, yet there will be so many actions that it makes one tremble."

In the next letter, Madame de Sévigné writes—"You have never seen Paris as it is now; every one is in tears, or afraid of being so. Poor Madame de Nogent is gone out of her mind; Madame de Longueville breaks one's heart to think of. I have not seen her, but this much I know, that Mademoiselle de Vertus has returned to Port-Royal, where she is generally. They went to fetch her and M. Arnauld to announce this terrible news. Mademoiselle de Vertus had only to show herself; such a sudden return foretold some dreadful event. The Duchess immediately asked how her brother was; her thoughts refused to go further. 'Madam, his wound is doing well.' 'And my son?' to which they made no answer. 'Oh,' she cried, 'my son, my dear son! Answer me, did he die on the spot? had he not one single moment? Oh, my God, what a sacrifice!' and she fell on her bed, and there came upon her all that violent sorrow brings in convulsions, and faintings, and stupor, and groans,

and bitter tears. . . . . She has felt all that can be felt. At present she sees a few friends, takes some food, but she gets no rest; and her health, already very bad, is visibly worse. For my part, I wish for death for her, not understanding how life is to be borne after such a loss. There is one man in the world who is not less affected; and I cannot help thinking that were these two to meet, without any persons present, all other feelings would give way to cries and tears from both of them."

According to the usages then in France, Madame de Longueville, ten days after the news of the death of her only son, received the condolence of the public on her bed. Madame de Sévigné writes:— "Chance placed me near her bed, and she made me come nearer, and spoke to me first, for I found no words for such an occasion. She said that she did not doubt my compassion for her, — that nothing was wanting to her misery. She spoke to me of Madame de La Fayette, and of M. d'Hacqueville, as of those who would feel for her the most; she spoke of my son, and of the friendship her son had for him. The crowd obliged me to go away. The circumstance of

peace being proclaimed adds to her sorrow, and I feel for her when I put myself in her place. For myself, I thank God for peace, as it preserves to me my poor Sévigné and my friends. It is quite true that M. de Longueville had been to confess before he went to the army ; but as he never made a parade of anything, he had not paid court to his mother by telling her of it. It was a confession conducted by our friends at Port-Royal, the absolution of which was deferred during two months This is so true, that Madame de Longueville cannot doubt it ; and you may suppose what a consolation it is to her. He was very liberal of his money, and gave a great deal in charity ; and these charities were made on condition that they should not be talked of. Never had any man so many solid good qualities. He wanted a few faults, such as a little pride and hauteur of character, and a little vanity ; but never was a disposition nearer perfection. Provided he was contented with himself, he cared not for the approbation of others."

The young Duke de Longueville was buried in the Orleans' chapel of the Célestines, at Paris; but his heart was carried to Port-Royal des Champs, where his mother erected a sumptuous monument

to his memory. The long epitaph placed upon it began by stating his numerous titles, his excellent character, and his military bravery, and that he was on the point of being raised to the throne of Poland by the choice of that nation; "but as he was thinking seriously of still greater things (that is, of eternity and the kingdom of God), and that he bitterly lamented the errors of his past life, God, touched with the dangers to which his age and his future dignity exposed him, delivered him from difficult affairs in calling him to Himself on the 12th of June, 1671." . . . . The end of the epitaph states that his mother, "que Dieu avoit réservée à une si grande piété," raised this monument as a mark of her grief and of her hopes.

After this event, the Duchess de Longueville lived mostly in an apartment she had in the court of the Carmelite convent at Paris. Later in life she retired to Port-Royal des Champs. At Port-Royal she built a corps de logis. The Arnaulds, and some other religious friends, formed her society. She practised the most extreme austerities During the disputes between the Jesuits and Jansenists, she made use of all her influence in favour of the latter. For a long time Arnauld was con-

cealed in her house, and she carried him his food herself.

Louis XIV, out of regard to the Duchess, as long as she lived, would not give any severe orders against the nuns of Port-Royal.

For some years the Duchess had been a changed character. She was no longer that haughty princess whose wit and beauty had been made subservient to the most boundless ambition—that person who, to gratify her pride, had plunged her country into civil war. The restless and perturbed spirit was now calm and peaceful.

The Duchess had taken with her to Port-Royal the Prince and Princess de Conti, her brother and sister-in-law; and the same change was soon perceptible in them. They all deplored, in penitence, the widely-extended evils that their ambition had occasioned. Their immense revenues were now devoted to charity; and with ample munificence they gave to those provinces that had suffered by the civil war. They did not refuse to make the most humiliating and public acknowledgments of repentance; nor did they, until a lapse of years, spend more on themselves than was absolutely necessary.

Madame de Sévigné, in speaking of the senti-

ments of a true penitent, says, "Such was Madame de Longueville, that penitent and saint-like princess. She did not forget her state (of sin), nor the abyss from which God had called her; she kept the recollection of it in her mind, to establish her repentance, and her living gratitude to God."

Elsewhere Madame de Sévigné calls her "cette mère de l'église, cette pénitente et chère princesse." Speaking of her funeral sermon, she says, "Une pénitence de vingt-sept ans est un beau champ pour conduire une si belle âme au ciel!"

The Duchess de Longueville died at the age of fifty-nine. She was buried at the Carmelites, where was preached a sermon, at which the Prince de Condé and the family assisted. The prelate who officiated fulfilled his task very skilfully, passing by the awkward parts of the Duchess's career, saying what was best to say, and withholding what it was best to be silent on. But the government opposed the publication of the sermon.

DUKE DE LA ROCHEFOUCAULD.

Born, 1613, died, 1680.

FRANÇOIS, Prince de la Marsillac, and Duke de la Rochefoucauld, was author of the celebrated 'Maxims.' * His education was neglected, but his natural talent supplied the place of education. He had, according to Madame de Maintenon, "une physionomie heureuse, l'air grand, beaucoup d'esprit et peu de savoir."

At the time that the Duke de la Rochefoucauld became known in the world, there was a crisis in the national manners and feelings in France. The nobles, kept under by the strong administration of Richelieu, were rising into faction, and a spirit of intrigue took hold of every one; not like the intrigues of modern days, but showing a disposition

* The family of La Rochefoucauld were the most illustrious in France. At Verteuil, a château near Angoulême, built in the thirteenth century, was a series of family portraits from the tenth century, which were all in good preservation before the French Revolution of 1790 It was at Verteuil that the Comtesse de la Rochefoucauld entertained the Emperor Charles V, who declared, "Qu'il n'avoit jamais entré en maison qui sentit mieux sa grande vertu, honnêtete et seigneurie que celle-là."

in all to make themselves either terrible and dreaded, or necessary and employed. Dominion and power were the objects, and women were the principal agents of attaining those ends. The minority of Louis XIV., and the regency of Anne of Austria, seemed to the nobles a good opportunity of getting an influence in public affairs; for where nothing is settled, everything may be aimed at.

Gifted with great powers of observation, the Duke de la Rochefoucauld was called upon to exercise this power during the civil war. All passions were at this time called into play; all vices and virtues showed themselves. Plunged, from his infancy, into political intrigue, the Duke took an active share in affairs.

The Cardinal de Richelieu, who had the gift of foreseeing the future, sent the Duke away from court; but at the death of Richelieu he re-appeared there, with all the good looks and vivacity of youth. The field, however, was a narrow one for so many rivals.

The parliament of Paris, whose pretensions became greater as its rights seemed more uncertain, opposed the new edicts. This was the origin of the civil war in France, as it was afterwards of that

in England; and so, likewise, did the Revolution of 1789 begin.. This war of the Fronde would have been merely ridiculous had not the names of Condé and Turenne appeared in it. Love formed cabals; the song-writers were often generals of the armies; and a lost skirmish was revenged by an epigram. All passions were brought out; all characters showed themselves. A town opened its gates to "la belle des belles."* The men changed politics as often as the women changed lovers; and this war, as the Grand Condé said of it, should have had its history written in burlesque verses. All was arranged by the wits and beauties of the day.

La Rochefoucauld was just the man to play a part in such times. He was then the lover of the Duchess de Longueville. At the combat of St. Antoine he received a blow from a musquet, which for some time deprived him of his sight. The following well-known lines he had applied to his situation in times still chivalric, and they had become the device of his banner:—

"Pour mériter son cœur, pour plaire à ses beaux yeux,
J'ai fait la guerre aux rois, je l'aurais faite aux dieux."

* The Duchess de Montbazon.

After he had quarrelled with Madame de Longueville, he parodied the lines thus:—

"Pour ce cœur inconstant, qu'enfin je connois mieux,
J'ai fait la guerre aux rois, j'en ai perdu les yeux"

The Fronde had made faction ridiculous—the only way of quieting public affairs in France: and the monarchy became settled under Louis XIV. The Duke de la Rochefoucauld now retired into private life. The first half of his life was passed in war, intrigue, and love adventures; the other half in the quiet society of his friends and family.

The long friendship of De la Rochefoucauld for Madame de La Fayette is become as celebrated as his passion for the Duchess de Longueville. Madame de La Fayette said of him, "Il m'a donné de l'esprit, mais j'ai reformé son cœur." His house became the rendezvous of all the most distinguished persons for wit and talent; and at this time he composed his memoirs and his book of maxims. But the comfort of his life was destroyed by miserable sufferings from attacks of gout. Madame de Sévigné writes to Madame de Grignan, "I was yesterday with M. de la Rochefoucauld. His Château en Espagne is, to be well enough to

be carried to his friends' houses, or into his carriage to take the air." Another day she writes to her daughter:—"I found him crying out with pain, his agony was so great; he was in his chair, in a fever of agitation that gave me great pain to see. I had never before seen him in that state. He begged that I would tell you that those racked on the wheel only suffer one moment what he goes through half his life, and that he looks for death as his coup de grâce."

To these bodily sufferings, which he commonly bore with patience, others of a different nature came, which triumphed over all his firmness of mind. At the passage of the Rhine his son was killed, and his grandson wounded. Madame de Sévigné says:—

"Cette grêle est tombée sur lui en ma présence; il a été très vivement affligé, ses larmes ont coulé du fond du cœur, et sa fermeté l'a empêché d'éclater."

Again she says:—"Je vous conseille d'écrire à M. de la Rochefoucauld sur la mort du Chevalier, et sur la blessure de M. de Marsillac. J'ai vu son cœur à découvert dans cette cruelle aventure; il est au premier rang de ce que je connais de cou-

rage, de mérite, de tendresse et de raison. Je compte pour rien son esprit et ses agrémens."

These losses, joined to repeated attacks of gout, hastened his end, which was that of a Christian and of a philosopher. Madame de Sévigné says:—"His state of mind is worthy of admiration—his conscience quiet and settled. Believe me, it is not uselessly that his whole life has been a life of reflection; for he has thus so anticipated his last moments, that they have nothing new or strange for him."

He died in 1680, leaving his friends and family inconsolable at his loss. This account of M. de la Rochefoucauld may be concluded with the portrait that was drawn of him by the Cardinal de Retz—a portrait which it was thought De Retz had drawn in anger at the one which Madame de Sévigné had shown him of himself by M. de la Rochefoucauld. But this is not likely, as the strict truth with which the Cardinal wrote his Memoirs, and in which he never spared his own character, prevents his being suspected of this littleness. In fact, all the characters written by De Retz are looked upon as true.

In speaking of his shy and bashful air, however,

he might be supposed to be untrue, as no one contests the spirit and vivacity of La Rochefoucauld's appearance; yet it is probably just, for Huet, in his memoirs, says that La Rochefoucauld always refused to take his place at the French Academy, because he was shy, and afraid of speaking in public.

The following is the Cardinal's portrait of the Duke de la Rochefoucauld:—"There is a je ne sais quoi in everything about M. de la Rochefoucauld. He has meddled in intrigues since his childhood, in times when he did not comprehend the value of little interests, and when he knew nothing of great interests. He never was equal to great affairs, and I cannot say why he was not; for he had qualities which could have supplied the absence of those he did not possess. His views were not comprehensive; and he did not see the tout ensemble of what was before him; but his cleverness, admirable in theory, joined to his gentleness and powers of persuasion, and to the ease of his manners, which are perfect, ought to have made up more than they have done for his want of penetration. He always had an uncertain and irresolute disposition, for which I cannot find a cause, as it

feeling that directed it. A great part of his life had been agitated by strong passions, and occupied successively by love and ambition, war and political intrigue He had lived both in camps and courts, and civil war had brought him in contact with all kinds of persons; and when all this was over, when years had cooled his ardour, and old age brought its calm to his impetuosity; when beauty had lost its charm for him; he looked back and brought to his recollection the events he had been a spectator of, the parts that each person had played, and looking for the secret motives that had actuated those characters which birth, chance, or necessity had placed in relation with him, he discovered, or thought he had discovered, that the first principle, the strongest motive in all our actions, is SELF-LOVE. La Rochefoucauld explains by self-love, the mysteries of the mind; he thinks as a philosopher that the passions and affections of mankind are precipitated, as it were, by an unknown power towards the centre. This principle once acknowledged, he deduced from it every possible consequence. *Friendship* became merely an exchange of good offices, a reciprocal management of faults and virtues; a commerce, in which self-love

finds something to gain. *Goodness* was only a means of acquiring popularity. *Justice* was the fear of getting injustice from others; and, in short, all our good and bad qualities become fluctuating and depending on circumstances.

It could only be one whose character stood as high as the Duke de la Rochefoucauld's did, who could dare thus to lower the principle of all human actions; and as half his life gave the example of every virtue, it might be allowable in him to write these maxims Had many others written such a book, it would but have appeared like their own story

La Rouchefoucauld is reproached with having given to the world a system that weakens all virtue, and discourages all belief in it. But the times he lived in were extraordinary times; in civil war, men and women are not seen *en beau;* and all who have written on revolutions, or during revolutions, have not judged them better. Rousseau is one of those who has most condemned the maxims of La Rochefoucauld, and this is well explained by Rousseau's own character. He was himself governed by self-love; and he was angry that the great secret of all his discontent was revealed to the world.

LA BRUYÈRE.

Born, 1644; died, 1696.

THE talent of observation, which consists in a philosophical spirit, cultivated to the last degree, made La Bruyère study the writings of the ancients. He translated the Characters of Théophrastus, and resolved on drawing the portraits of the persons of his own day, as the Greek philosopher has painted his. When La Bruyère had finished his book, he showed it to M. de Malézieux, who said to him, "This book will bring you as many enemies as readers."

The book came out in 1687, and was read with avidity; not wholly on account of its merit, but because the author was supposed to have had malicious intentions in writing it, which never existed. The principal persons about court, however, were to be found in the most satirical sketches; and La Bruyère retired from that world which he had too strongly pictured. He was

shielded only by the excellence of his own character, which was as much esteemed as the book was admired. He himself is to be found in the portrait of the true sage:—"Go into the apartment of the philosopher; you find him pouring over the works of Plato that treat of the soul's spirituality; or calculating the distances of the planets of Saturn and Jupiter; in putting it in his power to oblige you, you bring him something more precious than gold or silver; the man of business or money-lender is a bear not to be tamed, or to be dealt with with difficulty or distrust, but the man of letters does not play the part of the great man, but is accessible to all."

La Bruyère has made an ingenious satire of the vices and follies of his times; but he cannot be placed amongst those rigid moralists who make human nature hated and despised. Follow him into the world, which he has painted with strong colours, you see a man who goes into society without prejudices and without distrust; sees it without evil passions, and quits the world without ill-humour. He makes his way through the crowd without being carried away by prevailing opinions, and passes by received prejudices without either

shocking or humouring them. But to the weaknesses of the human race he accords everything that reason or virtue will allow of.

It was in the most polished circles of Europe that La Bruyère studied mankind. There he formed his code of morals, and there he found his models. He is superior to his Greek predecessor, because the days of the reign of Louis XIV. were the most polished that France had ever known. Each of his pictures is the most finished performance, and yet it appears the most careless sketch. His art lies in surprising his reader, and at the same time interesting him in getting at the truth.

La Bruyère's book represents the world as it is, and as it always will be; it is like society itself where the scene changes every moment, where all seems chance and hazard, and where each day brings a new subject of wonder, of observation, and of interest. Boileau wrote four lines under the portrait of La Bruyère:—

"Tout esprit orgueilleux qui s'aime,
Par ses leçons se voit guéri,
Et dans son livre si chéri
Apprend à se haïr lui-meme."

LA MARQUISE DE GANGES.

Born, 1636, died, 1658.

THERE are three stories of the reign of Louis XIV. that belong neither to history, to literature, or to society; but that may be classified in the romantic annals of the times of Madame de Sévigné. The tragical story of Madame de Ganges; the life of the Abbé de Rancé; and the mysterious history of the man known by the name of the Iron Mask.

It was early in the reign of Louis that Madame de Castellane appeared at the court of France. She was born at Avignon, in 1636. Her name was Anne Elizabeth de Rossan, and she married, at the age of thirteen, the Marquis de Castellane, grandson of the Duke de Villars. When she first appeared at Versailles, Louis XIV., then very young, admired her much amongst the crowd of beauties who ornamented his court. The beauty of Madame de Castellane, her birth, the large for-

tune she brought her husband, and the species of favour she was honoured with by the King, all made her the fashion at Paris, where she was known as La belle Provençale.

M. de Castellane, who was an officer in the navy, was shipwrecked, and perished on the shores of Sicily; and Madame de Castellane remained a rich young window, without children. Her hand was immediately sought by a crowd of admirers of the court of Louis; and her unlucky destiny made her fix upon the young Lañede, Marquis de Ganges, whom she took to be her second husband in July, 1658.

Two months afterwards, the Marquis de Ganges took his wife to Avignon, and the first years of their marriage passed happily enough. M. de Ganges had two brothers, the Abbé and the Chevalier de Ganges; and both these persons fell in love with their sister-in-law.

At the end of two or three years, some misunderstanding arose between the husband and wife. A taste for dissipation on one side, and a little coquetry on the other, caused some dissensions. The Abbé de Ganges, who was an intriguant, embroiled and reconciled the married couple at his

pleasure. Being the confidant of his sister-in-law, he trusted to time making her listen to his own passion for her; but when he made it known, his vows of love and constancy were rejected with disdain.

The other brother, with the same pretensions, made the same trial, and was not better received. The two brothers, accordingly, joined together to revenge themselves, and tried, by administering poison, to get rid of their sister-in-law. Madame de Ganges swallowed the poison in chocolate; but either it was not sufficiently strong, or it was weakened by the mixture, for she was only slightly ill. The crime, however, was publicly known at Avignon.

Madame de Ganges agreed to accompany her husband to pass the autumn at his estate of Ganges. There are always some little circumstances in all histories that are inexplicable. It seems that this unfortunate woman foresaw her end; for in a letter written to her mother, dated from the Château de Ganges, she said she had passed through the gloomy avenues of that melancholy abode with a feeling of horror.

There is something in this story allied to that of

Madonna Pia, in Dante; so did Nello Della Pietra carry his young and beautiful victim to the old, ruined château in the woods, where certain death awaited her; so had he silently and securely settled her death.

Her husband left her in the château with his two brothers, and returned to Avignon. Some time before leaving that town, Madame de Ganges had inherited a considerable property; and what proves that she did not think with confidence of her husband or of his relations was, that she had made a will at Avignon, in which, in case of her death, she gave the administration of her property to her mother, Madame de Rossan, until her children came of age

This Will became a subject of persecution from her brothers-in-law, and she was weak enough to consent to revoke it. Hardly was the act of revocation signed, than a new attempt at poisoning her was tried. It did not succeed, but the brothers had advanced too far in crime to recede One day, Madame de Ganges, confined to her bed by illness, saw her two brothers enter the room; the Abbé having a pistol and a cup of poison, the other holding a drawn sword. "You must die,"

said they; "choose the manner of your death!" Madame de Ganges, almost out of her senses, threw herself from her bed at the feet of the two wretches, and asked of what crime she was guilty. "Choose the manner of your death!" was the only reply.

Finding no help within reach, and all resistance useless, the unfortunate lady took the cup of poison and drank it, while the Abbé held a pistol to her throat. This horrible scene over, the two brothers fastened their victim into her room, and departed, promising to send her a confessor.

When left alone, her first thought was how to escape; her second, to try by every means to bring up the poison which she had swallowed She succeeded in part by putting her long hair down her throat, and, getting to the window, she threw herself, half-naked, into the court, a distance of twenty-two feet from the ground. But how was she to escape from her murderers, who were the masters of the château? The compassion of a servant caused him to open a door through the stables into the open country, and she took refuge in the farmer's house near.

The Chevalier de Ganges, who had seemed less

ferocious than his brother, followed her, and made the farmer believe her to be out of her mind. He followed her from chamber to chamber with his sword drawn, and, just as she was escaping from the house, gave her several wounds, the violence of which was so great that part of the sword, remained in her shoulder. At her cries, the Abbé, who had remained at the door to prevent persons from entering, came in with the crowd, and, furious at seeing Madame de Ganges still alive, he fired a pistol that missed her. The witnesses, hitherto terrified, threw themselves upon the Abbé, who made his escape.

Madame de Ganges lived nineteen days after this horrible scene, and before she expired implored the mercy of God on her assassins. Her body was opened, and her inside was found burnt, from the strength of the poison she had swallowed. Her husband, who it appears had absented himself from his château during these last scenes, was with her at her death, and there was strong presumptive evidence against him; but his wife, even under the torture she was suffering, always compassionate in disposition, did all in her power to dissipate those suspicions

The Parliament of Toulouse, by an act passed in 1667, condemned the Abbé and the Chevalier de Ganges to be (according to the French law-term) "Rompus par contumace. The Marquis de Ganges had his estates confiscated; he was degraded from his rank, and condemned to a perpetual exile. The Chevalier escaped to Malta, and was killed in fighting against the Turks. The Abbé de Ganges fled into Holland, and there, under a feigned name, adventures happened to him that might form a romance.

This history of Madame de Ganges has served for melodramas and novels without end.

THE ABBÉ DE RANCÉ, ABBOT OF LA TRAPPE.

Born, 1626, died, 1700.

ARMAND DE RANCÉ, the reformer of the Abbey of La Trappe, in Normandy, was born at Paris, in 1626. His family had filled great offices under the government, and he was a godchild of the Cardinal de Richelieu. From his earliest youth, his

countenance was very beautiful, his figure noble; he was tall and of great strength; his hair curled in profusion over his shoulders, and his whole appearance gave evidence of a powerful intellect, joined to great sensibility and to great personal beauty.

M de Rancé's paternal fortune was great, and his ecclesiastical benefices were still greater. He took his degree at the Sorbonne with distinction; and when he came out into the world, he was one of the best-informed men of his day in all species of literature. His head was enlightened, but his heart was dead in sins and trespasses His learning was the pride of the universities, and his fortune, his birth, beauty, and accomplishments made him universally sought in society.

M. de Rancé had been a Knight of Malta from his early youth; and as he grew up, the Queen took a lively interest in his success in the world. Given up to every species of dissipation, the time that he passed in hunting, when in the depths of the forest, seems to have been the only period when any serious thoughts crossed his mind as to the evil course of the life he was engaged in, and which continued for some years

Although De Rancé led a life of pleasure, and was spending his church revenues in gambling, ambition was the leading passion in his character, and in some of his greatest projects he was disappointed. He preached well; and it often happened to him that after hunting for some hours at early day, he would travel forty or fifty miles, and then go into the pulpit with as much tranquillity as if he had left his library but a moment before. He refused the bishopric of Léon, because the appointments were not good enough to satisfy his ambitious views; and he intended to succeed his uncle as Archbishop of Tours.

A friendship with the Cardinal de Retz injured De Rancé with Mazarin; and the misfortunes of De Retz and the death of his friend Gaston, Duke of Orleans, affected him so much that he quitted Paris in disgust, and went to his estates at Veret, thinking to dissipate his sorrows in hunting